
Introduction



Site Editor's Preface

There are three versions of George Fox's *Journal*, now widely available for purchase or reading on the web:

- 1) The Nickalls version. A one large volume, abbreviated version of the official Ellwood two volume version; still for sale.
- 2) The official two volume version edited by Thomas Ellwood, and published many times, but of limited availability for sale.
- 3) The one volume *Short Journal*, edited by Penney, (with Rufus Jones commentary) and translated into several languages, widely available on the web, and still for sale. This is a seriously abridged version.

Penney published the *Short Journal*, with a few text additions that he discovered in researching the remarkable *Cambridge Journal*. Penney went back to all the original handwritten manuscripts of George Fox and others who assisted. They found considerable material omitted from the official Quaker/Ellwood *Journal*, and published all in the 1911 the *Cambridge Journal*. However, the *Short Journal* is significantly lacking in the details of Fox's translation into paradise as well as avoids Fox's exposure of the conflicting doctrines of the mainstream Christianity of his day and more importantly, today.

The *Journal* on this site is the full two-volume set published many times - the official Quaker *Journal*, edited by Thomas Ellwood. We have modernized the language; but you can view the original book, (see

the Image Library). To make the Journal on this site even more interesting, we have included significant portions of the omitted text found in the *Cambridge Journal*. When reading the Journal on this site, you will occasionally see, {Text within braces}, denoting text from the *Cambridge Journal*. We have also included supplementary information from other sources, but they are well marked within.

The history of the Journal, including comments by the publishers of the *Cambridge Journal*, as they speculate on all the reasons why certain text was changed or omitted, are included in an additional section with links into the Journal where the subject text is found. You may find interesting the three exhibits, including a photograph of one of the handwritten manuscripts of George Fox, also available on the sidebar.

A JOURNAL
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS,
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES AND LABOUR OF LOVE
IN THE

WORKS OF THE MINISTRY

OF THAT

ANCIENT, EMINENT, AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF
JESUS CHRIST,

GEORGE FOX

PREFACE

Being a summary account of the many dispensations of God to men,
from the beginning of the world to that of our present age,
by the ministry and testimony of his faithful servant George Fox,
as an introduction to the ensuing Journal.

*By William Penn, George Fox's dear Friend, Brother in Christ,
and admirer*

William Penn

(1644-1718)



William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania and West Jersey, was an upper class commoner, highly educated intellectual of his age, who spoke five languages. In settlement of the King's debts to his father, he was granted by the King huge territories in the new world, what is now Pennsylvania and western New Jersey.

He established colonies in the new world to escape the religious persecutions that Quakers were experiencing from the Puritan Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians in England and Europe; which colonies which had a significant influence on the later form of government adopted by the United States of America. His colonies featured full freedom of religion, fair trials, elected representatives of the people in power, and a separation of powers—again ideas that would later form the basis of the American constitution. Well ahead of his time, Penn wrote and urged for a Union of all the English colonies in what was to become the United States of America. He was also the first to propose the United States of Europe as a way to avoid the continual wars on the continent.

Penn's father was Admiral Penn and the family the resided in Ireland while Cromwell was in power. The Admiral was a supporter of the deposed king's son, and as such was retired. He invited a Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, to come to his home so that they might judge first-hand what their message was; young William was deeply impressed at 12 years of age. When the crown was returned to power, Penn's previous support catapulted him back into the Admiralty, this time being knighted through the powerful support from King Charles II and his brother, the future King James II. At fifteen, Penn went to Oxford where he again heard the Quaker preaching of Thomas Loe, who held some meetings there. He was deeply impressed by their message, and he decided to join the Quakers. It

was no part of his father's plan that his son should be a despised Quaker, and many efforts were made to turn him from that purpose.

All of his father's efforts were without effect, for in William's twenty-fourth year he became a Quaker minister, and through a long life faithfully served his Lord and Master in England, Europe, and America. Before Admiral Penn died his views were very much changed, and he confessed that his son had been wise in choosing the service of Christ, rather than the applause of the world. For those of you interested, several of Penn's [writings](#) are on this site, in addition to a [biography](#) of his life - America's most famous Quaker.

This preface is a wonderful book by itself, in that it not only testifies to George Fox's life in Christ, but also to the Light of Christ within each of us as the power to purify, and to the particulars of the ***character of the true Church of Christ***. He also gives us a history of the true church up to his time. This preface has been updated, simplifying sentence structure and modernizing the language to make it more understandable; while preserving the melodious content of his powerful writing, which also testifies to Penn's own possession of Christ, in measure sufficient to perfection.

Text in Light Blue or **bold Light Blue** can be "clicked" for backup in scripture or detail in writings.
When you have clicked to the on-line Bible, you can change and update to see any Bible version that you prefer.

THE PREFACE

MANY have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world, unto the sons of men; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man. Man restored, the emblem of himself, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocence. All was then good that the good God had made; and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law. Not a discord in the whole order; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the

heavens, the fruits of the earth. Yes, the air, the earth, the water, and fire worshipped, praised, and exalted his power, wisdom, and goodness. Oh holy sabbath! Oh holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state did not last not long. For man, the crown and glory of the whole creation, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and happiness; and so fell below it, losing the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity in which he was made. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled from that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence; and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God, who made him, had pity on him; for he seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtlety of the serpent, (that had first fallen from his own state, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the serpent had first deluded). In his infinite goodness and wisdom, God found a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman. So that by means of a woman whom the evil one had prevailed upon man, so also by a woman should the nobler Adam come into the world, who would prevail against him, and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power. This was, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the son of God in the flesh, in the fullness of time, personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's savior and redeemer.

But the manifestation of Christ's power was not limited to that time; for both before and since his blessed manifestation in the flesh, he has been the light and life, the rock and strength of all who ever feared God; he had been present with them in their temptations, following them in their travels and afflictions, and supporting and carrying them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this power, Abel's heart excelled Cain's, and Seth obtained the preeminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this power that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the darkened state of man, after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the scriptures of the Old Testament express in many places, such as to Abraham, Jacob, etc. The next dispensation was the law by Moses, which as the

apostle tells us was also delivered by angels. This dispensation was external, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore, by the apostle Paul, that of a schoolmaster, to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time the law was written on stone, the temple was built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood with external rites and ceremonies that were shadows of the good things to come. These shadows were only to serve until the seed came, (the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ). The seed, Christ, being the promise to all men, in whom it always was 'yes and amen'; even life from death, to immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of this promise. Christ succeeded the Mosaic dispensation, which ended in John's ministry, the forerunner of the Messiah. For John's ministry was finished in Christ, the fullness of all. God, who at various times in several ways in the past had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, now spoke to men by his son Christ Jesus, 'who is heir of all things.' Christ being the day of good news, which is the dispensation of sonship to God. Christ brought a nearer testament and a better hope, even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yes, the restoration of the kingdom to Israel.

Now the spirit, which had been more sparingly communicated in former dispensations, began to be 'poured forth upon all flesh,' according to the prophet Joel, and the light that shined in darkness, only dimly before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance in them) of his son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, the merciful, and the persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children became obsolete, and into demand came the new Jerusalem, the mother of the sons of the gospel day. For which reason, God will no longer be worshipped above other places at old Jerusalem or at the mountain of Samaria; for, behold, he is, by his own son, declared and preached a spirit, and he will be known as such, and worshipped in the spirit and in the truth. He will come

nearer than of old time, and he will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and spirit in the inward parts, according to his promise. Then signs, types, and shadows disappeared; the Day having discovered their insufficiency, in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience; and all elementary services expired, in and by him, who is the substance of all.

And the apostles testified to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the son of God; those apostles whom he had chosen and anointed by his spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and to turn the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to **Christ's light and spirit that shined in them**; that they might be made alive from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God in the newness of the spirit of life, and **walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness**. For they are those who **'put on Christ, the light of the world, 'and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts of it.'** So that the light, spirit, and grace that come by Christ, and appear **in man**, were that divine principle from which the apostles ministered, and to which they turned people's minds, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. *To realize this grace, they advised them not to stifle the spirit, but to wait for the spirit, and speak by the spirit, and pray by the spirit, and walk in the spirit too; for such actions controlled by the spirit showed them to be the truly begotten children of God, 'born not of flesh and blood, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God;' by doing his will, and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with his baptism of self-denial; this was the way and path that all the heirs of life have always trod to blessedness.* But alas! Even in the time of the apostles, (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel light), some clouds, (foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory), began to appear; and several of apostles gave early warning to the Christians of their time; that even then there was, and later more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by those who thought to be godly in the flesh, avoiding the hardship of the cross. In consolation, they saw beyond the falling away to more a glorious time than ever, to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came so to pass; for Christians degenerated into outward observances: in days, and meats, and various other ceremonies. And which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another. They envied each other, and as they obtained power, they persecuted one another, to the shame and scandal of their common christianity. Such persecution became a grievous stumbling

block and offended the heathen; the Lord having so long and so marvelously preserved the Christians among the heathen. When the Christians at last got the the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed the concept of the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at least styled the worldly kingdom that was in their hands as the kingdom of Christ. Thus they became worldly, and not true Christians. Human innovations and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, were quickly and massively introduced into the church. The door was opened to these novelties by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians, who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and pretended humility. And as superstition is blind, so is it violent and furious; for all must bow to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it. In the name of the spirit, the very appearance of the spirit of God in others was persecuted and opposed; the same which they resisted in themselves, namely the light, grace, and spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. This was always done through the mistaken accusation of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Although christianity allows of no excuse or pretense whatever for persecuting of any man for matters of religion, so called *christians* persecuted other men. True Christianity's very nature is meek, gentle, and forbearing, and consists of faith, hope, and charity; of this no persecutor can claim. Man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, while violating another's mind or persecuting another's body for matters of faith or worship towards that person's God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the throne. But though she had lost her nature, she would try to keep her good name as the Lamb's bride, which is the true church and mother of the faithful. This false church forced all to receive her mark, either in their forehead or right hand; that is, publicly or privately. But in deed and in truth she was mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots; mother of those who, with all their show and outward religion, had adulterated and gone from the spirit, nature, and life of Christ; and had grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, and cruel, which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the spirit.

Now the true church fled into the wilderness; from superstition and violence to a retired, solitary, and lonely state. There the true church was hidden and out of sight of men, though not out of the world. In the judgment of the Holy Ghost, her usual visibility was not essential to the being of a true church. She

was just as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendor of profession. In this state she made many attempts to return, but the waters of the world were yet too high, and her way was blocked. Many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not deviate from their faithfulness to the truth.

The reformation of the last age did slightly return to the true church, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But their practice quickly failed, for wickedness quickly flowed among the professors of the reformation, because wickedness existed in the church they attempted to reform. They were not distinguished by the fruits of their conversation. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, fell very early to use earthly policy and power to uphold and continue their reformation, which had been begun with only spiritual weapons. I have often thought that their use of earthly power and policy was one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress towards the life and soul of religion. For while the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church those who, one might reasonably say, *should* be saved. [Penn is diplomatically saying that people who say they believe in Jesus and join the church, are still in *need* of salvation]. These were careful to avoid persecution, rather than to be faithful and inoffensive under it. Instead of being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, they focused on taking the worldly power out of the hands of those who inflicted suffering upon them; and it will be well, if the Lord does not let them fall by the very same way they chose to stand, through world power shifts. In doctrine they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another. And as for their worship, generally it was derived more from man than from God. Indeed they owned the spirit, inspiration, and revelation and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from the spirit, in the reading of the scriptures of truth; and this was their plea: the scripture is the text, the spirit the interpreter, and it was left for everyone to interpret for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition, and art that remained both in praying and preaching. There was also too much of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers, especially in England, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased to transfer the people in England from one sect to another. And the next change in sect was characterized by a humbled ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day,

and catechizing of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public.

But even as this sect grew into power, they were not only for forcing some out of the temple, but for forcing others into the temple. And they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than strict in their lives; and stood more for a sect, than for piety. This gave rise to another people, who were even more retired and select. They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves of those who could testify of some manner of conversion, at least of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts, and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to promote religion by the virtues of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishments; by which the previous sect would have terrified people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophesy than those before them; for they allowed any member to speak or pray in addition to their pastor, whom they always chose rather than chosen by the government. If anyone had anything pressing upon them to pray or speak, they had liberty to speak in assembly, even without the distinction of clergy or laity; including persons of any trade, however low or mechanical. But, alas! Even these people suffered great loss; for in tasting of worldly empire, and the favor of princes, and the resulting gain, they degenerated too much. They had cried down national churches, and ministry, and their maintenance. But when it was their own turn to be tried, some of them fell under the weight of worldly honor and advantage, having gotten into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles. Still worse, some of them turned absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, who before had been persecuted themselves. Those being persecuted rebelled against their persecutors to a new salvation-formula, and that was into the water: another baptism; believing they were not scripturally baptized, and hoping to find the presence and power of God, in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

Note: In the beginning of the early Church, they (Peter particularly) maintained Jewish circumcision, dietary law, and the Jewish custom of water purification rites - known by Christians as John's water baptism. Peter even forced these practices on the Gentiles, until: the Holy Spirit corrected him on food, Paul corrected him, and the Apostles Council issued different guideline for Gentiles. Since both Christ and John the Baptist spoke of a better baptism, this baptism was later eliminated from Christian practice and the faith maintained **one** baptism,

the baptism of fire or of the Holy Spirit.

John said: I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that comes after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire: Mat 3:11

Jesus said: For John truly baptized with water; but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence. Acts 1:5

Paul said: There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, **one baptism**, Eph 4:4-5

For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel: 1 Cor 1:17.

Clearly the **one** baptism needed is the fire of the Holy Ghost, which circumcises the heart, by plunging down sin and iniquity, and puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh so that we are without sin. Although to be avoided as an unnecessary ritual, water baptism is not harmful, **unless you think it somehow makes you righteous**, thereby being prevented from your seeking righteousness, which is Christ's top priority command " **Seek ye first** the Kingdom of God and **His righteousness**."

These people also denied human learning as qualification to the ministry, by renouncing or censuring any qualification other than the help and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those gifts naturally common to men; and for a time they seemed like John the Baptist of old, a burning and a shining light, to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain, and serious, strong in scripture, and bold in profession, bearing much reproach and opposition. But what others fell by, also proved to be source of their failure. For worldly power also spoiled them, who had enough of it to try them, to show what they would do if they had more; and they also relied too much upon their water dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and holy ghost, which was His baptism who came with a 'fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor,' and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Therefore, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; losing sight of their infancy and littleness, which had given them something of a real beauty. So many people left them, as well as all visible churches and societies, to wander up and down as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates, seeking their beloved. But they could not find him, as their souls desired to know him, whom their souls loved above their greatest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others. When they became aware of one another, they sometimes met together; but not formally to pray or preach, at appointed times

and places, in their own wills, as they were accustomed to do in times past; but instead, **they waited together in silence**, and as anything rose in any of their minds that they thought came from God, they would sometimes speak. After an abundance of revelation, some of these people, not keeping in humility and the fear of God, were exalted above their measure; and for want of staying their minds in a humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, [they started preaching and teaching before they were authorized and finished by the Teacher]. Mixing their imaginations with their divine openings, they brought forth a monstrous birth; to the scandal of those who feared God, and who waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, circumcised in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling the law for us, to discharge us from any obligation and duty the law required of us. Instead of faith and repentance replacing the law, they believed it was no sin to do what before had been a sin to commit. They believed the slavish fear of the law was taken off by Christ, and anything that man did was good, if he believed so. So many fell into gross and massive evil; pretending as an excuse, that they could commit the same act which was sin for others; thereby making intention the judge of sin or not. This increased sin by the increase of grace, and turned the grace of God into a lack of restraint from evil, licensing a safer way of sinning than before; as if Christ had come, not to save us from our sins, but to save us while still sinning; not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. This appealed to many, and brought them to an complete and sad loss in their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to responsible people. They also gave people, who practiced sin, an excuse for their evil behaviors.

It was about that very same time, as you may see in the following writings, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honor and visit this unenlightened and confused nation with his glorious day-spring from on high. God provided a most sure and certain sound of his word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel. This testimony was effective and blessedly purposeful, of which many thousands can say, Glory be to the name of the Lord forever!

For as this testimony reached the conscience, and broke the heart, it brought many to a sense and search. What people had been vainly seeking without, with much pain and cost, by this ministry

they found within what they wanted and sought: the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because it is in all, and God's talent to all. The light of Christ within them being a faithful and true witness and just monitor in every heart. The light of Christ being the gift and grace of God to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. The traditional christian despised this *light* as a low and common thing, or opposed it as a novelty, under many hard names and terms. Because of the traditional christian's conceit in himself, and being strong in his own will and self-righteousness, and overcome with blind zeal and passion; he denied, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestation of God's power and spirit in man in these days, though it was never more needed to make true christians. This denial was similar to those Jews of old, who rejected the son of God at the very same time that they blindly professed to be waiting for the Messiah to come; because he had not appeared among them as their carnal minds had expected.

This reliance on the light of Christ brought forth many abusive books, which filled most people with envy, and some with rage. To those who received the light of Christ, this rage and envy made the way and progress of this blessed testimony strait and narrow indeed. However, God owned his own work; this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort, and establish the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, and the mournful and sick of many maladies, who had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, their only help from above. After seriously trying all things, these people saw that nothing else could help but Christ himself, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand. The only real help was from he who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother. And, like her, they no sooner felt his power and effectiveness upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power; obeying him with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, confiscations, beatings, imprisonments, and many other jeopardies that they faced for his blessed name's sake.

And truly, their troubles were very many and very great; so that in all human probability they should have been swallowed up quickly by the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them, except the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, so that the

hills often fled, and the mountains melted before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, 'that all things were possible with Christ.' And the more that God required, which seemed to cross man's wisdom and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all opposition to his glory. God's help was so great that if ever any people could say in truth, 'You are our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by you we have leaped over a wall, and by you we have run through a troop, and by you we have put the armies of the aliens to flight,' these people had a right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants of it, what God had done for them. They declared to all what they had found, and where and how they had found it: the way to peace with God; inviting all to come, and see, and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared to them.

And their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to make alive, convince, and sanctify man. They explained to them what the spirit of God in man was, and why it was given to them, and how they might know it from their own spirit, and the subtle appearance of the evil one. And they explained what it would do for all those, whose minds should be turned from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers. They explained how to adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions. They showed how the light gave power to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works. The actions of the light providing man, whom sin had made as a wilderness, overrun with briers and thorns, the opportunity to become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these, who had experienced the operations of the light and were preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they chose, or pray or preach when they pleased; but only when Christ their redeemer had prepared and moved them by his own blessed spirit, for which they

waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as the spirit gave them utterance. Their speaking was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, formal Pharisees. And so it was plainly evident to the serious minded, whose spiritual eye that the Lord Jesus had opened in any measure. To one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of consolation; and all by the same spirit and in its good order, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they grew strong and bold through faithfulness; and by the power and spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful. In a short time thousands were turned to the truth through testimony of their ministry and sufferings. So in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled; and daily there were added those as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labors with an exceeding great increase; despite all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumors, slander, and bitter persecutions. This opposition came not only from the powers of the earth, but from everyone who wished to injure and abuse them; so that they seemed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It would take a volume rather than a preface to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings, from "christians" as well as from the irreverent, and from magistrates as well as the rabble. It may well be said of this abused and despised people that they went forth weeping, and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious seed, the seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, (words that not even the finest and highest that man's intellect can provide), but in power. The kingdom stands in the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father has given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule angels above, and men below. Christ empowered them, as their work witnessed, by the many that were turned through their ministry from darkness to the light, and out of the broad way into the narrow way of life and peace. This brought many people to a weighty, serious, and godly conversation; the practice of the doctrine which they taught.

(Note: Of his true followers, Jesus said: 'No servant is greater than his master. If they persecuted me, they will persecute you also.' (John 15:20). In Penn's time, there were five governments in England: Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, Charles II, James II, and William and Mary. During the reign of Charles II alone, 13,562 Quakers were imprisoned; 338 died from injuries inflicted in meetings or imprisonment, and 198 were sent into slavery over the seas. (Source: *Catholic Encyclopedia*). Under all the kings, *Besse's Sufferings* counts 869 Quakers who

died in prison. Countless others had their personal property seized as 'spoils' for the taking by the courts; after conviction for refusal to swear, failure to remove their hat in court, traveling on Sunday, failure to attend state-approved religious services, failure to pay tithes to the state approved parsonages, and for meeting in groups larger than five in number. Per Fox in his Journal: "Friends never feared their acts, prisons, jails, houses of correction, banishment, nor seizure of personal property; no, nor the loss of life itself; nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw how it would result in good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, except it was for the bringing multitudes out of prison; though they who imprisoned the truth, and quenched the spirit in themselves, would imprison and quench it without them; so that there was a time when so many were in prison, that it became as a by-word, 'truth is scarce any where to be found but in jails.'" The suffering of the early Quakers is weighty testimony to the authenticity of their faith, for Christ has told us that his disciples will always meet with the hatred of the world, particularly the professed *religious* of the world. H.W.)

There is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls without this secret, divine power. So the lack of this generating and begetting power and life is the cause of the little fruit that the many other ministries produce, both now and in the past. Oh! that both ministers and people were sensible of this! My soul is often troubled for them, and I have sorrow and mourning for their sakes. Oh! that they were wise! Oh! that they would consider and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace !

Two things are to be briefly touched upon: 1) the doctrine they taught, and 2) the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon **their fundamental principle, which is the cornerstone of their fabric; and indeed their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle: the light of Christ within each man who comes into the world**, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experienced order.

First, repentance from dead works to serve the living God, which comprehends three operations:

- 1) a sight of sin,
- 2) a sense and godly sorrow for it, and
- 3) a change for the future.

This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people to.

For by the light came sight of the sin;

And with the sight of the sin, a sense and sorrow resulted;

And with a sense and sorrow about the sin revealed by the light, came a change of life from then on

- **repentance.**

Which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of past sins through Christ, the sole propitiation; and the sanctification or cleansing of the soul from the defiling nature and habits of sin; which is justification in the complete sense of the word: comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's **being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and spirit of Christ revealed in the soul**, which is commonly called sanctification.

From here sprang a **second** doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling to all true Christians: **perfection from sin**, according to the scriptures of truth, which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his spirit was and is given. But they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities or death, as some have with a weak or ill mind imagined and insinuated against them. They called this a redeemed state, regeneration, or the **new birth**; teaching everywhere, according to their foundation, that unless this work was known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, this leads to an understanding of eternal rewards and punishments. Of this they obviously believe. Otherwise of all people, they must be the most miserable, who for above forty years have suffered greatly for their profession; and in some cases treated worse than the worst of men - yes, as the refuse and off-scouring of all things.

This was the purpose of their doctrine and ministry, which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness. Which, generally speaking, has been long lost by men departing from that principle and seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but has lost the sense of it. Only by this seed of life can he be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost,

most people lived and worshipped God according to their own wills, and not according to the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the holy spirit. So the Quakers did not express opinions but testified from experience, nor did they express a form of religion, but instead displayed godliness. They were sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, and that without holiness no man should ever see the Lord with comfort.

Besides these doctrines, and out of them as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and further explain the truth and effectiveness of the general doctrine before observed in their lives and examples as follows:

I. Communion and loving one another: This is a noted remark of all sorts of people concerning them: 'They will meet, they will help and stick together.' Where it is common to hear some say, 'Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another.' Others less moderate will say, 'The Quakers love none but themselves.' And if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God and help one another is any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it in abundance, blessed be the Lord.

II. To love enemies: This they both taught and practiced; for they never sought revenge for injuries done to them, and condemned revenge as of an unchristian spirit. But they did freely forgive, yes, help and relieve those who had been cruel to them. They forgave and helped, even when it was in their power to take revenge; of which many examples might be disclosed; endeavoring, through patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian for others to follow.

III. They thought it sufficient to always speak the truth, following Christ's own command of words: let your yes be yes, and no, no. They followed Christ's express prohibition, '*swear not at all,*' Mat 5:34. Being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was both no necessity for an oath, and it would be a reproach to their Christian honesty to guarantee their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking. At the same time they offered to be punished for false speaking, the same as others for perjury, if they were ever guilty of it. They excluded all profane swearing, for which the land did and does mourn, and the great God was, and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting, but instead suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people. They affirm that christianity teaches people 'to beat their swords into plough shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more, that so the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people;' exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against satan, and no longer war one against another; because all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts' lusts, according to the apostle James, and not of the meek spirit of Christ Jesus, who is captain of another warfare, and which is carried out with other weapons. Thus, as speaking the truth cancelled swearing, so faith and patience cancelled fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. **Nor should they be obnoxious to civil government for this**, since if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it, which is no small security to any state; nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not fighting for others when they cannot fight for themselves. And christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with its inconveniences, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to government; and not only for fear, but for conscience sake, where government does not interfere with conscience, believing it to be an ordinance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigor than any other persuasion in this age; while they, of all others, (religion set aside), have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another characteristic of this people is their refusal to pay tithes or to support to a national ministry. They refuse for two reasons: 1) they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, and expressly contrary to Christ's command, 'Freely you have received, freely give;' believing that at least the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free and not forced; and 2) because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the holy ghost is not their foundation, but instead is human learning and principles. Their refusal is not because of bad humor or surliness, but pure conscience towards God. They cannot help to support national ministers where they dwell; for such national ministers have too much and too visibly become a part of the ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons was another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often beaten and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. They did honor virtue and authority, but in a plain and homely manner. Their manner was still sincere and substantial, remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu; but more especially the command of their Lord and master Jesus Christ, who forbids his followers to call men *rabbi*, which implies Lord and master. They also denied and refused the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times; so that self-love and honor, to which the proud mind of man is inclined in his fallen estate, might not be indulged but instead rebuked.

Site Editor's Note : At this time in England, hats were worn in church, the clergy preached in them, they were worn at dinner, and, as a rule, more generally than in modern times. The few occasions when they were taken off were more distinctly occasions of respect. A son must always uncover before his father, every one *uncovered* before the king, and *uncovered* to anyone of class or position such as the nobility. The Quakers called this the *hat-honor*, which they refused to give to man, including to judges in court; resulting in their being fined or imprisoned for such failure to *uncover* in honor. They removed their hats only in prayer as an act of worship. Thus they reversed the *hat-honor* from what society was paying to man and refusing to God, to be paying to God and refusing to man.

VII. They also used the plain language of thou and thee to a single person, whatever was his position among men. And indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirits of those with whom they encountered; exposing what was within them and what predominated, whatever their high and great profession of religion. To many of them, this language was harsh, and they were so affected that they would say, 'Thou me! thou my dog? If thou thouest me, I'll thou your teeth down your throat;' forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common style of the scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech. And what good had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignity for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech?

(Note: thee and thou were also taught in the grammar books of the day as the proper form of singular address; and those of '*importance*' demanded the plural 'you' address instead; only servants

and inferiors were addressed in the singular. Since this is no longer taught as correct, the use of thee and thou is no longer a testimony against the honor demanded by man.)

VIII. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions. They were at a word in dealing; and their customers' many words could not tempt them from it; having more regard to truth than custom, to example than gain. They sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use nor willingly hear unnecessary or unlawful discussions. Thus they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions. They also refused to use the customary 'Good night, Good morning, and God speed.' For they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either; and that in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthinkingly used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides they were words and wishes of course, and had little meaning; as there is no love and service in the custom of putting your cap to your knee and bowing. These excessive customs and words, as well as in other things, was burdensome to them; and therefore they not only declined to use them, but denounced them.

IX. For the same reason they refused toasting, (drinking to people), or drinking first and offering the cup to another, as the manner of the world is. Practices they judged not only unnecessary, but evil; because they encouraged drinking more than was beneficial to people, as well as being vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and shows a distinguishing care above other societies professing christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate, but the man and woman concerned take each other as husband and wife in the presence of a number of credible witnesses, 'promising unto each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation until death shall separate them.' But, prior to marriage, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church where they reside; there declaring their intentions to marry, providing the meeting has nothing to object against it. They are asked the necessary questions, such as if the parents or guardians have consented with their intention. The method of the meeting is to record their declared intention, and to appoint proper persons to inquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians. These investigators make their report to the next Monthly Meeting with

the intended couple present. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting approves their proposal, and so records it in their meeting book. And in case the woman is a widow and has children, due care is there taken that provisions are made for her children before the re-marriage. They then advise the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbors as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage. In the meeting they take one another by the hand, and by name promise reciprocal love and fidelity as previously expressed. A narrative certificate is made to which those married first sign, thereby making it their act and deed; and then the relatives, spectators, and auditors sign their names as witnesses of what the couple said and signed. This certificate is afterwards registered in the meeting's official record where the marriage was solemnized. After this method of marriage had been disputed and contested for lack of the accustomed formality of priest and ring, as it deserves, it was judged in courts of law to be a proper marriage. This society refuses ceremonies of ring and priest based on conscience, reasonably supported in scripture's examples, showing that the priest had no part in marriage other than to be one of the witnesses, before whom the Jews used to take one another in marriage. This people look upon the necessity of a priest in marriage as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy. They considered the use of the ring, to be a heathen and vain custom, which was never in practiced among the people of God, Jews, or primitive Christians. The words of the usual form, as 'With my body I worship you,' etc. are hardly defensible. In short, their method is more careful, exact, and regular than any form now used, and it is free of other method's inconveniences. Their care and checks are so many that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

XI. I shall make mention of their births and burials, which too many so called christians attend with much pomp and solemnity. For births, the parents name their own children, which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, (if she can be there), and those that were at the birth, etc. These witnesses afterwards sign a prepared certificate of the birth and name of the child or children, which is recorded in a proper book of the Monthly Meeting to which the parents belong, all done without the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the corpse of the deceased is near any public meeting place, it is usually carried there, for the more convenient reception of those that

accompany it to the place of burial. While the meeting is gathering for the burial, occasionally some have a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people in attendance. After which the body is carried away by the young men, or those of their neighborhood, or those closest to the deceased party. The body is placed in a plain, simple coffin without any covering or sculpture upon it. At the burial ground, they pause some time before lowering the coffin into its grave, permitting anyone that has the inclination to exhort the people to not be disappointed. This allows the relatives to be more reserved and solemn as they take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred. This occasion also allows the spectators to have a sense of mortality and to reflect upon their own later end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning clothing, which they look upon as a pompous worldly ceremony. They consider the only proper Christian mourning to be of the mind, sensible to the loss, and the love they had for them, and remembrance of them. This mourning was to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of those they loved. Such conduct of theirs, though unfashionable, leaves nothing important neglected or undone. Since they aim for simplicity in life, this is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it was sometimes mocked by the vain world they live in.

These practices appeared to be rough and disagreeable with most people, who thought them to be radical, as indeed in some sense they were; but no more than Paul was so charged, namely to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humor, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his fear, had created in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves; such was none of their business, and such was not their interest. It was not their purpose to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God, having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world through the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of customs that gratified 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world.' These and other vain customs sprang from the affections and passions of men, who were in that night of darkness and apostasy which has been over people, through their degeneracy from the light and spirit of God. Such vain customs are seen by the heavenly day of Christ, which draws in the soul, to recognize them as wrong, or to suffer the pain of their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and made this people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinions, there was and is more conceit in those who judge them so than they were aware of. It

was not very easy for our primitive Friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the 'Scorn and derision of the world;' which they easily foresaw would be the result of their unconventional practices. But in the foolishness of these things to the world, was the wisdom of God seen.

First: That they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world; any disappointment about them failing to observe fashion made them unwelcome despite their greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom, and ability.

Secondly: Their practices opportunely and profitably halted conversation; by making their company uneasy to their relatives and acquaintances, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude, where they met with better company, even the Lord God their redeemer. They grew strong in His love, power, and wisdom, and were better qualified for His service; and their success abundantly showed it; blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world, (for then they had not wanted followers to their own credit and authority), yet they were generally the most sober of the several occupations they were in, and had the greatest reputation for being religious. Many of them were of good position, substance, and reputation among men.

Some among them neither wanted for riches, learning, or estate. Though as in times of old, not many wise or titled were called, or at least accepted the heavenly call, because of the cross of Christ, a requirement to those who sincerely professed such beliefs. But neither do riches nor learning make men the better christians, though they can make men better orators and arguers. It is the ignorance of people about the divine gift of cleansing that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake of profession in the uncleansed flesh. Theory and practice, speculation and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. Oh! It is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying, and holy soul that is the Christian; and that frame is the fruit and work of the spirit, which is the life of Jesus. Whose life, (though hid in the fullness of it), in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. Oh! That people only knew this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed! Re-created and regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works; that they might live to God, and not to themselves. So they might offer up living prayers, and living praises, to the living God, through his own living spirit, in which he only is to be worshipped in this gospel day. Oh!

That they who read this could but feel me; for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? **Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, 'Speak, Lord, for now your poor servants hear?' Oh! that *your will* may be done, your great, your good and holy will, on *earth as it is in heaven!* Do it in us, do it upon us, do what you will with us; for we are yours, and desire to glorify you, our Creator, as our Creator and because you are our Redeemer. For you are redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people to you.** Oh! this would be a brave day for England, if she could say this in truth. But unfortunately, the case is otherwise. Resulting in some of England's inhabitants, Oh land of my nativity, mourning over you with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of your transgressions and stiffneckedness. Because you will not hear, and fear, and return to the Rock, even your Rock, Oh England, from which you were hewn.

But be warned, Oh land of great religious profession - to receive Him into your heart. Behold, it is he that has stood so long knocking at the door, but you will have none of him. Oh! Be awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments swiftly overtake you, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in you. For Jerusalem abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as you do.

Jerusalem withstood the son of God in the flesh, and you resist the son of God in the spirit. He would have gathered her, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and she would not! So would he have gathered you out of your lifeless religious profession, and have brought you to inherit substance; to have known his power and kingdom, for which he has often knocked within, by his grace and spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses; but you would not be gathered. But, on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipped and imprisoned his servants; so have you, Oh land, crucified to yourself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and acted with malice to his spirit of grace. You have slighted the fatherly visitation by persecuting the blessed dispensers of the visitation by your laws and government officials. And you have persecuted them, even though they have previously and lately pleaded with you in the power and spirit of the Lord, in love and meekness, that you might know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But you have treated them evilly and retaliated against them. You have ignored all their counsel, and would have none of their reproof, as you should have had. Their appearance was too strict, and their qualifications were too lowly for you to receive them, who like the Jews of old, that cried, 'Is not this the carpenter's son; and are not his brethren among us; which of the scribes, of the learned (the churches) believe in him?' You have prophesied their elimination in a year or two, and have made and executed severe laws to bring it to pass, by trying to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroying them for abiding faithful to it. But you have seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, which have been overturned and extinguished. They are still preserved, and have become a great and a considerable people among the middle class of your numerous inhabitants. And despite the many difficulties, without and within, which they have labored under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people. The Lord is still adding to their number, in various places, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to you Oh England, have they been and are they lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations around you. Lifted up, so that in their light you may come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the world; and thus see your light and life too, if you would but turn from your many evil ways, and receive and obey the light. For 'in the light of the lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk,' as the scriptures testify.

Remember, Oh nation of great profession, how the Lord has waited upon you since the days of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments with which he has pleaded with you; and awake and arise out of your deep sleep, and yet hear his word in your heart, that you may live.

Let not this your day of visitation pass over your head, nor neglect so great a salvation as this which has come to your house, Oh England! For why should you die, Oh land that God desires to bless? Be assured it is he that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of you; and this is not a delusion, as your mistaken teachers have made you believe. And this you shall find by their marks and fruits, if you will consider them in the spirit of moderation. For:

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were

ripped open as well as their garments changed, and they knew the power and work of God upon them. This was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation that immediately followed upon it.

II. They did not go out or preach in their own time or will, but in the will of God. They did not speak from having studied scripture, but spoke as they were opened and moved by the Spirit of God, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men with any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, 'like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows when it comes, or where it goes.' Yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry. So that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experiential knowledge of God and a holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The direction and effort of their ministry was conversion to God, regeneration, and holiness; not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship. Instead they abandoned the unnecessary in religion, and reduced the ceremonious and ritualistic part. They emphasized the substantial, the necessary, and profitable part to the soul; as all upon a serious reflection must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle, by which they asserted, preached, and exhorted others to the same. So it was known by them through experience to be true; which is a high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry; both that they were certain by experience what they said, and they were not afraid of being tested. Because they were bold from certainty, they did not require any human authority's sanction. They relied upon the conviction of experiential certainty, which they claimed they owned, and directed others to the same, so they too might examine and prove their reality, as it was revealed and worked in man. And this is more than the many ministries in the world pretend to. Others talk of religion; they say many things true in the recorded words of God, Christ, and the spirit, regarding holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, etc. But what other religion speaks of their own knowledge and experience directly from the Spirit; or ever directed men to a divine spirit placed in man by God, to help him; or directed men as to how to know the Spirit and wait to feel its power to work that good and the acceptable will of God in them?

Others indeed have spoken of the spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God. But it was still a mystery as to where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform our duty to God. A mystery reserved for our further degree of reformation. So that this people not only in words, pressed repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it with knowledge and experience; and directed those to whom they preached to a basic principle, and told them where it was, and by what evidences they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and effectiveness of it to their soul's happiness. This is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministries depend; for here is certainty: a base upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it; and not in their own imaginations, polished words, or comments upon scripture. For nothing reaches the heart but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience but what comes from a living conscience. It has often happened, that people have under secrecy revealed their state or condition to some close friends for advice or ease; later **their states were addressed so specifically by ministers of this people**, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and disclosing their states to the ministers. The very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, have cried out of this inward appearance of Christ, 'You are the son of God, you are the king of Israel.' And those who have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity, that the woman of Samaria did of Christ when in the flesh, to be the Messiah. 'It had told them all that ever they had done;' showed them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and completely judged them with depths of righteousness; of which thousands can witness today. The power and virtue of this heavenly principle has been affirmed by this people, for those who turned to it, found it to be true, and more; they found twice more than they had been told to expect of the power, purity, wisdom, mercy, and goodness of God in this.

VI. The accomplishments of this principle fitted even some of the poorest of these people for their work and service. It furnished some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and captivating way of expression. This gave occasion for some to wonder, saying

of them, as was said of their master, 'Is not this person not just a mechanic's son? How could he know so much?' Some even suspected and insinuated they were Jesuits in disguise, who have had the reputation of knowledgeable men in the age past, though the Jesuit's knowledge was not the least true.

VII. They were lowly, and despised and hated, as were the primitive Christians, without the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former religious reformations in part have benefited. But most of all, it may be said this people emerged from the cross, in a contradiction to the ways, worship, fashion, and customs of this world; yes, against wind and tide, so that no flesh might glory before God.

They had no fleshly desire for this work: to expose themselves to scorn and abuse, to spend and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands. They were daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, (1 John 1:5), revived in their spirits by the good spirit and power of God: 'That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, (in disobedience to the light in their consciences, and after the vanity of this world), they lie and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his son should cleanse them from all sin.'

VIII. They suffered for their testimony with perseverance and patience, in all the manners of persecution; sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruising, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons. Four of them in New England were hung by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching among that people. They suffered banishments, and excessive plunders, and seizing of their goods and estates, almost everywhere. Such suffering is not easily expressed, and less easily endured, except by those who have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any immoral ways and means, as often as it was offered to them.

IX. They not only did not show any disposition to revenge, even when in their power to exact, but forgave their cruel enemies, showing mercy to those that had no mercy for them.

X. They spoke frankly to those in authority, not unlike the ancient prophets. Without fear they told them

to their faces of their private and public sins, and they prophesied to them of their afflictions and downfall, when these authorities were at the top of their glory and power. They also prophesied of some national judgments, such as of the plague and fire of London; and likewise they had particular prophecies to various persecutors, which as predicted occurred; and which were very notable by those in the region where they lived. In time these fulfilled prophecies may be made public for the glory of God. (Note: there was a book published regarding the judgments of God to the persecutors of the Quakers, describing the frequent early deaths and ruins of family and estates of the many persecutors of Quakers.)

Thus reader, you see this people in their rise, principles, ministry, and progress, both their general and particular; by which you may be informed how they became so considerable a people. (Note: by 1700 there were 650,00 in England alone.) It remains next that I show also their care, conduct, and discipline, as a Christian and reformed society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. They have suffered both from the unjust charge of error and by the false accusation of disorder. Such slander, indeed, has always followed true reformation, and under which accusations, none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, who were the honor of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

As this people increased daily both in town and country, a holy care fell upon some of the elders among them for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity, to supply the necessities of the poor, and relieve similar needs. For which reason collections were early and liberally made for that and several other services in the church, and entrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; often adding significant funds themselves, which they never recorded or desired should be known, much less repaid to them, that none might want, nor any service be slow or lacking.

They were also very careful that everyone that belonged to them behaved as they professed among men upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were good examples in all things. They recorded their sufferings, and services as well as marriages, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but only among themselves. They took care neither of the intended to be married had any obligations not addressed between themselves or any others. It was then rare that any one

entertained such inclination to marry unless he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent Friends among them, so that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great importance to them. The responsibility for the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters multiplied, and the churches had need of some way and method of proceeding in such affairs between them, to the end they might the better correspond, upon occasion where a member of one meeting might have something to do with one of another. It pleased the Lord in his wisdom and goodness to open the understanding about a good and orderly way of proceeding to an elder; and he felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish communication and cooperation among them. And by his epistles this was also done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited and helped in that service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which is now practiced among this people, is as follows:

This godly elder, (George Fox), in every county where he traveled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting of worship should meet together once a month, to confer about the wants and happenings of the church. As required, those Monthly Meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county; four or six meetings of worship usually making one Monthly Meeting of business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the Monthly meetings, for the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, etc. In each county, these Monthly Meetings should make up one Quarterly Meeting, where the most zealous and eminent Friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise, and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a Monthly Meeting was reluctant to resolve a matter.

Also that these Quarterly Meetings should digest the reports of the Monthly Meetings, and prepare one for the county to go to the Yearly Meeting, in which the Quarterly Meetings bring their business for resolve. This Yearly meeting is held in London, where the churches in this nation and other nations and provinces meet, by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church affairs, and to advise and be advised in any unresolved issue leading to improvement. They

also meet to provide funds for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needed to be here explained.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches could come, if they please, and speak their minds freely in the fear of God to any matter; but the mind of each Quarterly meeting is delivered by the persons chosen and authorized from each meeting.

During their Yearly Meeting, to which the Quarterly meetings have referred certain issues for resolution, care is taken by a select number, for that service chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the meeting including the several matters that have been under consideration, so that the respective Quarterly and Monthly Meetings may be informed of all proceedings, together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity. In all proceedings of the Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings, due record is kept by someone appointed for that service, or who has voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with similar notable evidences of his love and presence, as in any other of their meetings for worship.

It is further noted that in these solemn assemblies for the church's service, no one presides among them as is the manner of the assemblies of other people; only Christ is their president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them. Whatever their capacity or rank, the rest listen with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction, which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people; making good his blessed promise, 'That he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world.' So be it.

Now it may be expected I should mention what authority is exercised by this people upon members of their society, whose lives do not correspond with their profession, being out of this good and wholesome order settled among them. This society has not wanted the reproach and suffering from some tongues and pens regarding such misbehavior.

The power they exercise is what Christ has given to his own people to the end of the world, in the persons

of his disciples: to 'oversee, exhort, reprove,' and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient to repent, to disown them from their society; which expulsion results in them no longer being charged in the sight and judgment of God or men with their conversation or behavior as one of their assembly. This authority is exercised: first, relative to the community's common and general virtue; and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession and distinguish them from all other professors of christianity. This authority is exercised while avoiding two extremes upon which many split: persecution and immorality. Persecution being a coercive power to whip people into the temple; while those who will not conform, though against faith and conscience, being persecuted and personally punished or by loss of property. Immorality being the other extreme: leaving all free to do anything, unaccountable to any but God and the magistrate. This is done with reservation that nothing is worse than the abuse of church power by those who allow their passions and private interests to resort to outward force and corporal punishment: a practice they have been taught to dislike by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle of a universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand they equally dislike an independence in society; one that is unaccountable in practice and conversation to the terms of their own assembly, and to those who are the members of it. They distinguish between: 1) imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship, which is never to be done, nor suffered, nor submitted to; and 2) requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church business in its more civil part and concern, and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society, as a sober and religious community. Their use and limit of church power is to assure that their members practice what they preach, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to be hypocrites without rebuke; all done for the promotion of holiness and charity. They compel none to join them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them; that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding against those who have lapsed or transgressed is this: He is visited by some of them; and the facts are presented to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he professes with them in common. They labor with him in much love and zeal for the good of his soul, the honor of God, and reputation of their profession, to

admit his fault, and condemn it, in a sufficient manner to redress the evil or scandal created by him; which for the most part, is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand. And if it so happen that the party prove obstinate, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess from the reproach of his or her evil doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such behavior, and the person offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honor of the truth they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their profession and themselves, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are received, and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people criticize no man after repentance.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers; as to their rise, appearance, principles, and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline, and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place, because it is to preface the Journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work. This account is a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day. These practices are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

William Penn's Introduction to the Journal Continued

I am now come to the third head or branch of my preface, the author. For it is natural for some to say, "Well, here is the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument; he that in this age was sent to begin this work and people?" I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was, not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse and intimate knowledge of him; for which my soul blesses God, as it has often done; and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my preface, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of God in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of *younger* to his name in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the truth. But he was also a worthy man, witness, and servant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and suitable parents, who endeavored to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation; especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put upon occasion manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother took notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shone through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young. She was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business; and he took most delight in sheep. He was very skilful with the sheep; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocence and solitude; and was a just emblem of his later ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is the best that can be given; and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, in his writings describing the beginnings of his ministry. But, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people. There were some at the time in this nation, especially in those parts, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day, as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighboring countries, and among them he lived until his more ample ministry came upon him.

At this time he taught and was an example of silence, trying to bring people from self reliance. **He testified and turned them to the light of Christ within them.** He encouraged them to **wait in silence to feel the power of the light to stir in their hearts**, so that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life. He taught that this endless life was to be found in the light, if it was obeyed as it was revealed in man. **'For in the word was life, and that life was the light of men.'** Life in the word, light in men, and life too, as the light is obeyed. The children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God. This is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming to the kingdom of God. Whoever comes to the kingdom, is greater than John; that is, than John's ministry, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and opening of the gospel dispensation. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind was exercised towards the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the nearby parts of Yorkshire, where he had a vision of the great work of God

in the earth, and of the way that he was to proceed to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, who in time would be brought home to the Lord; and that there might be but one shepherd, and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a large number of people that would receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a large audience; and from there he went north, as the Lord had shown him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular work and service to be done shown to him, so that the Lord was indeed his leader. For it was not in vain that he traveled. God in most places sealed his commission with the convictionment of people from all walks of life, from worldly people to sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, who have departed the earth, were: Richard Farnsworth, James Naylor, William Dewsbury, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthy men, who cannot all be noted here. Those departed, together with those yet living of the first and great convictionment, felt the divine motions of God; **after God's purging judgments in themselves were experienced, and after considerable time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name,** (which no others can correctly speak, even though they may use the same words). They were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them. Sometimes they called people to repentance in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side, urging them to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths. They directed them to the light of Christ within them; by the light to see, examine, and consider their ways. And they directed people to shun evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. For this, their love and goodwill, they often suffered great hardships, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned. They were treated so poorly, even though they were honest men and of good report where they lived, who had left wives and children, houses and lands, in order visit them with a living call to repentance. The priests generally opposed them, wrote papers against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them; stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts. Yet God was so pleased to fill them with his living power and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that a great number of people were convinced of the way in those parts of the nation.

In the early days, because of the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw and Judge Fell, the priests were never able to gain the point they labored for; which was to have proceeded to shed blood. Like Herod, they sought a cruel exercise of the civil power, to cut them off and root them out of the country. But especially Judge Fell, [who remained a Calvinist Puritan, even after his wife's convictionment], who was not only a check to their rage in legal proceedings, but he finally supported this people. His wife had received the truth early on, and that influenced his spirit; because he was a just and wise man, seeing all the popular uproars against the way of truth, as false accusations against his own wife and family. He protected them however he could, and freely opened his door and gave up his house to his wife and her friends, ignoring the reproach of ignorant or evil minded people. I mention this to his and her honor, and which I believe, will be an honor and a blessing to those of their name and family who are in the tenderness, humility, love, and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

At first, until the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, that house was for some years an eminent meeting place of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern countries had also opened their houses with their hearts to the many publishers of truth, who in a short time the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people. Meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held in those homes, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But for fear this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man. For his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his conversation with his brethren and in the church of God, consider the following:

I. He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though his understanding of worldly matters, and especially his expressions relating to the them, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his center was nevertheless very profound; and the closer one examined him, the greater his qualities showed and taught by example. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him

about divine things, it is well known they were often used as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed, it showed beyond all contradiction that God had sent him, and that nothing of man had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry. So many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he preached to mankind, showed nothing of man's knowledge or wisdom to validate them. So that as a man, he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one who was not taught by man, nor had he learned what he said by study. Nor were his teachings imaginary or speculative. His teachings were sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the Kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of the Kingdom was his work. So that many times I have been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and master at such times, 'I thank you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes.' For many times has my soul bowed in a humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men. Instead he took one who was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world. He chose so that his message and work, which he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest. And so the message might have more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I saw, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly showing in this testimony. It was evidenced by the clearness of the principle, the power and effectiveness of it in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work. Thus it greatly confirmed to me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he labored much to open truth to the people's understandings, and to base them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world. So that by bringing them to something that was of God in themselves, they might better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures. He would go to the core of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them, with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. Much of the substance and drift of his testimonies concerned: the mystery of the first and second Adam, the fall and restoration, the law and gospel, shadows and substance, the servant and son's state, and the fulfilling of the scriptures in Christ; and by Christ the true light, in all who are his through the obedience of faith. All that he witnessed was from God, compelled to speak what he had received from Christ, and what was had been his own experience; such speaking never errs nor fails.

V. But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, and reached others with consolation. I must say that he was in his praying the most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld. And truly it was a testimony that he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know Him most, will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical; what fell from him was very inoffensive, but very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, that it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority except over evil, and did that everywhere and with all; but with love, compassion, and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as he was unlikely to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say, he was of an excellent spirit and savor among them, and because of this, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant laborer; for in his younger years, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for traveled services, he labored much in the word, and doctrine, and discipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He turned many to God, and confirmed those that were convinced of the truth, settling good order in church affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his traveling services, between the years 1671-1677, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in Holland, and Germany, as his following Journal relates; to

the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London, and besides the services of his ministry, which were frequent, he wrote much both to those that are within and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world were received; which letters he had read to him, and then communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held for such services. And he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavoring speedy relief according to the nature of them. So that if he were there, the churches and any of their suffering members were certain to not be forgotten or delayed in their desires.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people. He was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath.

His behavior at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster Hall, with many other places and exercises, was clear evidence of his dedication to serving God, both to his enemies as well as to his friends.

But as in the early church, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those who they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and who became their greatest trouble. Similarly this man of God had his share of suffering from some who had been convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake, opposed him as one who sought dominion over conscience; because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this hostile opposition, was in some an envy of the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people; their groundless suggestions of his imposition and blind obedience must be attributed to their weakness.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that and nobody else; not considering that the principle is one in all. Though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people guided by the same principle are naturally led into. So that what is evil to one is evil to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savor of the one universal principle which is common to all. Even the disloyal also profess this principle to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually minded, and of one heart and one soul. (Note: But these independent minded could not accept others being more mature in Christ, and therefore with greater wisdom and instruction regarding God's plan for order and unity in the body of Christ, worthy of submitting to their judgment. They were so immature that the Spirit of God could not even correct them. H.W.)

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs for discipline in worship, and mistakenly believed that discipline in worship was stressed and recommended by him and other brethren. So they were ready to repeat the same accusations against which dissenters had very reasonably objected, regarding the national churches, which had coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Instead, the matters he recommended and stressed related wholly to conversation, and the outward and (as I may say) civil part of the church, so that men would walk according to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. Some have mistakenly stumbled and fallen with an unreasonable obstinacy, even to a prejudice. Yet blessed be God, the most have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy. An enemy that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is still hope for several of the few that are still in rebellion.

In all these occasions, though George Fox was the target of this discontent, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and did not return harshness and accusation for what he received from them. Instead, he forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtlety of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly, I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the Head and care over the body. His eldership was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age. He was therefore worthy of double honor, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endless life. I write of my own knowledge and not hearsay, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on many occasions; and those occasions being close to him in most difficult of circumstances. And that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man; yes a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man. A divine, and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that while he was ignorant of useless and sophisticated science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behavior; very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us; and as he lived so he died, feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention; recommending to some of us with him the dispatch and distribution of an epistle, just before dictating one to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and dispatching his own books. But above all, recommending to Friends; and of all Friends, particularly those in Ireland and America; twice over, saying, 'Mind poor Friends in Ireland and America.'

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, 'Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord:' which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard street on the first day of the week, and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us; being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children to several generations in the truth. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last; and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that 'being dead, he yet speaks;' and though absent in body, he is present in spirit. Neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that worked by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. As to this part of my preface, I am finished, when I have left this short epitaph to his name. **Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but dear George, thou excellest them all.'**

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, I plead with you to allow my words of exhortation to both fathers and children, and to both elders and young men. The glory of this day and the foundation of the hope (that has not made us ashamed since we were a people), is that blessed principle of the light and life of Christ, which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this we were first touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; and became aware of our latter end, causing us to focus on the Lord, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear. But according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others, yes, towards God our maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, in which our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense one of another, and acted towards one another and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In the feeling of the motions of this, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared, that we might feel those drawings and movings, before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with these moving and drawings of the Lord, stood

our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran ahead, or fell short in our services, we made burdens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves a rebuke, instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of, 'Well done,' we heard "Who has required this at your hands?" In that day we were a directed people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves, especially the young convinced. Often we had the burden of the word of the Lord to our neighbors, relations, and acquaintance, and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding. Treating one another as those who believed and felt God present; which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty, guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world. We held the truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own fleshly spirits, or after our own wills and affections. Our fleshly spirits were controlled and brought into subjection; so much so, that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we liked, or say or do what we liked, or when we liked. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the spirit of truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favor could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame of mind. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them when we could, pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savory, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very evident. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, conceited, and self-righteous persons, etc. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed by the prevalence of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that needed no excuse or temptations to excite them in the conversation of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. Oh! how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles, and how entire and united in our communion, as indeed becomes those who profess one head, even Christ Jesus the Lord!

This being the testimony and example of the man of God before mentioned, who was sent to declare and leave it among us; and we having embraced this as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is: that we continue to be found in the way of this testimony with all zeal and integrity, and so much the more by how much the day of the Lord draws near.

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honored brethren in Christ that are in the exercise of the ministry. Oh, feel life in your ministry! Let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury on all such occasions; else you well know there can be no begetting to God, since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God. And it must be a ministry in and from life that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministries, by the few people who are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts or memory, or the repetition of former revelations in our own will and time that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best. There is another soundness, that is soundest of all: Christ the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens, and none shuts; and shuts, and none can open: as the oil to the lamp and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words. Which made Christ to say, 'My words they are spirit, and they are life.' That is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive that receive them. **If the disciples, who had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem until they received power from the Spirit; so must we wait to receive power before we minister,** if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like minded, that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's spirit; and without it, truly, little is too much, because it is to no profit.

For it is the spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teaches his people to profit. And to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our services, so far are we profitable, and

no farther. For if it is the Lord that must work all things in us, for our salvation, how much more is it the Lord who must work in us for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak when the Lord required it at our hands; **let us be silent when he does not require speech.**

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the Revelations, that he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written in this book. To keep back the counsel of God, is as terrible; for he that takes away from the words of the prophecy of this book, God shall take away his part out of the book of life. **And truly it has great caution in it to those that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks,** that they may not be found of the number of those that add to the words of the testimony of prophecy which the Lord gives them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Therefore brethren, let us be careful neither to run out ahead of our guide, nor loiter behind him; since he that makes haste may miss his way, and he that stays behind may lose his guide. For even those who have received the word of the Lord needed to wait for wisdom, that they might see how to apply the word correctly. Which plainly implies, that it is possible for one who has received the word of the Lord to miss the application of it; which comes from an impatience of spirit and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture, and will not produce a right-minded people living to God.

Above all other considerations I am zealous regarding the public behavior of brethren in the ministry; knowing well how much their behavior determines the present state, future state, and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, which has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry. I intensely desire that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions, and supplies of the same life and power of God for all time.

And wherever it is observed that anyone ministers more from gifts and parts other than the life and power of God, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because out of ignorance such will come to depend upon self-sufficiency, forsaking Christ the living fountain, and hewing out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters. Such self-sufficiency will by degrees to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, and wait for strength and refreshment; and to eventually turn from God to man again, thus making shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God. Faith held in a good conscience towards God can only kept by that divine gift of life that in the beginning created the faith, and wakened and sanctified the soul.

It is not enough that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God. We must keep as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord as ever; since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life goes with what we say; and we must sit quietly and wait for life.

May we have no other fountain, treasury, or dependence; that none may presume in any way to act of themselves for God, because previously they have long acted from God; that we may not substitute our own wisdom for waiting on the wisdom of God, or think that we may take less care and more liberty in speaking than formerly. And if we do not feel the Lord by his power to open us and enlarge us, regardless of what the people expect from us, or has been our customary supply and character, that we will not exceed or fill up the time with our wisdom and words.

I hope we shall always remember who it was that said, 'Of yourselves you can do nothing.' Our sufficiency is in him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defense when exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry in the name of the Lord to the souls of the people. For then of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, 'For it is not you that speak, but the spirit of my Father that speaks in you.'

And indeed the ministry of the spirit must and does keep its agreement with the birth of the spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God unless he is born of the spirit, so no ministry can generate a soul to God except from the spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth, and

in this our elder brethren and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and touched our spirit. And having begun in the spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh; for what is the flesh to the spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of true fellowship. For by drinking into that one spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife can have place with us. We shall watch always for good and not for evil over one another, and rejoice exceedingly; and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenishes his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you committed to the dispensation of the oracles of God, which gives you frequent opportunities and great place with the people among whom you travel, I plead with you not to think it is sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them. But as was the practice of the man of God in great measure before mentioned, when among us, he inquired of the churches visited, who among them was afflicted or sick, who was tempted, and if any were unfaithful or obstinate. Work similarly in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. Such work prepares your way in the hearts of the people to receive you as men of God, and it gives you credibility with them, allowing you to advise them to their good in other respects. The afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored; and those who are stubborn will be softened and fitted for reconciliation, which gives you credibility by your care shown to those in particular need.

Although good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worthy and important, sometimes they do not have the respect they deserve from the people they live among, or in some cases it may not be proper for them to use that authority. But you that travel as God's messengers, if they accept you for the greater responsibility, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it in their own cases? Thus you will know yourselves approved workmen indeed to the praise of His name, who has called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from satan's power unto God and his kingdom which is within. And Oh, that there were more faithful laborers in the vineyard of the Lord! Since the beginning, there has never been more need!

For which reason, I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, who have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men; yet are content to only know truth for yourselves. I cry to you who limit yourselves to go to meetings, exercising ordinary charity in the church and an honest behavior in the world; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth. I cry to you to be more than glad that others succeed in such service. Arise in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! See how the fields are white with seed, awaiting harvest in this and other nations, and how there are so few able and faithful laborers to work the harvest! Your country folks, neighbors, and relatives, want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Do you feel nothing of their burdens in life? Search and see, and lose no time, I implore you, for the Lord is at hand. I do not judge you; there is one who judges all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your material possessions, may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both *while you have a day to do good*. Previously your enemies seized your property for the sake of His name in whom you have believed; therefore he has given you much of the world in the face of your enemies. But Oh, let your riches be your servant and not your master, your diversion rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do. And if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command. When you have put your hand to the plough, be not weary of well doing; and if you faint not, assuredly you shall reap the fruit of your heavenly labor in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones! I urge and exhort you to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. **Look not out but within; let not another's liberty be your snare; neither act by imitation, but sense and feel God's power in yourselves.** Crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor overrun in your desires and your warmth of affections the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose out solitudes, often going to

mountains, gardens, and sea-sides; to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary and sit separate from the world. Two enemies lie near your state: imagination, and liberty. But the plain, practical, living, holy truth that has convinced you will preserve you; if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves. So will a true taste, discerning, and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone; and in your diligence and faithfulness in this way, you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren, and be ready to every good word and work that the Lord shall call you to, that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in the light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible, in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good, and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day. That a generation you may be to God, a holy nation and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when our generation is all dead. Oh! You young men and women, do not be content that you are the children of the people of the Lord! You must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are only after the flesh, and could only produce you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be born into the likeness of the second Adam, by a spiritual regeneration, or you will not, and you cannot be His children or offspring. And therefore, look carefully about you, Oh you children of the children of God! Consider your standing, and see what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the spirit, that is the incorruptible seed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again! God is no respecter of persons; the father cannot save or answer for the child, nor the child for the father. For 'but in the sin that you sin, you shall die, and in the righteousness you do,' through Christ Jesus, 'you shall live.' For it is the willing and obedient who shall eat the good of the land.

Be not deceived, God is not mocked; as all nations and people sow, so shall they reap at the hand of the just God. if you choose not the way of the Lord, your many and great privileges above the children of other people will add weight in the scale against you. For you have heard line upon line of correct teachings, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine but good example. What is even more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, of which others have been ignorant. And you know that you may conduct yourselves with as much goodness as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, or rejected by father and mother for God's sake and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers in the day they first entered into his holy path. If after you have heard and seen the wonders of God in the deliverance and preservation of your parents through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal as well as spiritual blessings that he has filled them with in the sight of their enemies; if you should neglect and turn your backs upon so great and so near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But Oh, that it may never be so with any of you! The Lord forbid, says my soul.

Therefore, Oh you young men and women! Look to the rock of your fathers; choose the God of your fathers. There is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor spirit but his to convince you, quicken and comfort you, to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors as well as professors of the truth, embracing the truth not only by education, but by judgment and conviction; from a sense created in your souls through the operation of the eternal spirit and power of God. By this you may come to be the seed of Abraham through faith, and the circumcision not made with hands, and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers of an incorruptible crown. That, as I said before, you may be a generation to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more nauseous, where any form or appearance of religion has been new and peculiar, and begun and practiced upon a principle with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore, I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession without that salt and savor by which it has obtained a good report among men is not to answer God's love, nor your parents' care, nor the mind of truth in yourselves, nor in those that are without. For though the people without will not obey the truth, they have sight and sense enough to see whether those, who do make a profession of it, obey it or not. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will

quickly break out, and show themselves. The unfaithfulness of such persons is detected; and their insides are seen as not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

For which reason, dear children, let me urge you to shut your eyes to the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not allow your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities that your fathers, for the truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon. But as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God; so that it may never be said of you, as John writes of the Jews of his time, that Christ the true light' came to his own, but his own received him not; but to as many as received him, to them he gave them power to **become** the children of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' This verse is very appropriate to this time. You are exactly and peculiarly like those professing Jews, for you have the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing the form of God's people. And he by his light in you may very well be said to have come to his own. And if you do not obey the light, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be the same as those Jews who would not receive him, which I pray to God may never be your case and judgment. Instead, that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care. That with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, you will turn to the Lord; to his gift and spirit in you. That you may hear his voice and obey it, thus sealing the testimony of your fathers by the truth and evidence of your own experience. That your children's children may bless you, and bless the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the gray hairs of your dear parents, who are yet alive, go down to their graves with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs; and that not only their nature, but their spirit of God, shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this preface with a few words to those who are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come, especially those of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf. That you may come to know him that has made you to be your redeemer and restorer to the holy image, (that through sin you have lost); by the power and spirit of his son Jesus Christ, whom he has given for the light and life of the world. And Oh! That you, who are called christians, would receive him into your hearts! For it is in your hearts that you want him to be, and at that door he stands knocking, so that you should open the door and let him in. But you have not opened the door of your heart to him; you heart is full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as it was then. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews, when he came among them; who knew him not, but rejected and treated him evilly. Unless you come to possess and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will do you no good in the day of God's judgment.

I urge you, consider your eternal condition, and see what you possess; what ground and foundation do you have for your christianity. **Is it more than a statement of belief; is it more than a belief in historical accuracy of the gospel? Have you known the baptism of fire and the holy ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff, the carnal lusts and affections? Have you known divine leaven of the kingdom, which upon receipt, *changes the whole man, sanctifying him throughout in body, soul, and spirit?* If this is **not** the basis of your confidence, **you are in a miserable estate.****

You will say, perhaps, that though you are sinners, and live in the daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith; his righteousness being **imputed** to you.

But, my friends, let me urge you not to deceive yourselves on such an important point as that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you *clean*, it will sanctify you; for the saints' faith was their victory of old; by faith they overcame sin within themselves and sinful men without. And if you are really *in Christ*, you walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit; whose fruits are clearly seen. Yes, you are a new creature, new made, new fashioned, after God's will and spiritual image. Old things are done away, and behold all things have become new: new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. **It is not any longer the disobedient, carnal, and worldly you that**

lives; but it is Christ that lives in you instead. And to live is Christ, and to die is your eternal gain; because you are assured, 'that your corruptible shall put on incorruption, and your mortal immortality;' and that you have a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore, have a care how you presume to rely upon such an opinion, that you are *in Christ* while still sinning in your old fallen nature. For 'what communion has light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?' Hear what the beloved disciple tells you: 'If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth.' That is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and in that state cannot possibly have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness, who receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up their cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy, of holy minds, wills, and practices. Although we have righteousness, it is Christ's; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption. It is the gift of God. But still, it is not ours as from ourselves, for it is Christ's, being of and from him. Yet it is ours, and must be ours in possession, power, and enjoyment, to do us any good; or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. In this way was he made righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption to the primitive Christians; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel, and marrow of the Christian religion, in like manner you must come to learn and obtain it.

(Note: Today's blind guides of Christianity want everyone to do nothing but rely on the "imputed righteousness of Christ" to us, based on our faith; as it was with Abraham. True, Abraham received imputed righteousness even before he was circumcised. True, our faith is imputed righteousness. But Abraham went on to be circumcised, just as we must receive the spiritual circumcision- our heart circumcised from sin. We can't just sit around celebrating our imputed righteousness, which only gives us the right to approach God for help. No, we must go to Him to receive his cleansing grace to become righteous- the fruit of which is peace; the effect of righteousness will be quietness and confidence forever. Isaiah 32:17. *Imputed peace, quietness and confidence forever is the make-believe instant righteousness of make-believe Christians.* H.W.)

Now, my friends, by what you have read, (and will read in what follows), you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met at the same time. Despise not the low status of this appearance. It was, and yet is, we know, a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it. But it is of God; it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another know it as we know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The world talks of God; but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which power is found. If you would know God, and worship and serve God, as you should do, you must accept the way he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for, is found within themselves, and yet they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shines in darkness. They are too busy, and so cannot reap the reward; but the woman, who lost her coin, *found it at home*, after she had lit her candle and swept her house clean. If you do the same, you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, namely truth.

The **light of Christ is within, who is the light of the world, and so is a light to you, which light tells you the truth of your condition**, leads all that obey it out of darkness into God's marvelous light; for light grows upon the obedient. It is sown for the righteous, and their way is a shining light that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

For which reason, Oh friends, turn in, turn inward, I beseech you! Where is the poison, there is the antidote: there you want Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. 'Seek and you shall find,' I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yes, for their eternal lives: diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort, or satisfaction in anything else, unless you find him whom your souls want, and desire to know and love above all. Oh! It is a labor, a spiritual labor! Let the carnal evil world think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, which has eternal foundations, if you ever will arrive there.

Well! And what does this blessed light do for you? Why,

1. It sets all your sins in order before you. It detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and

allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in.

2. It creates a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. **You will then see him** (Christ) distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience; and how you have made him to serve with your sins, and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow.

3. After this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy not surprise you again. Then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbors as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed, for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here communion with the Father and with the son you will know, and the effectiveness of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb; which speaks better things than the blood of Abel, and through the living faith cleanses from all sin; their consciences being sprinkled with his blood, ceasing from dead works to serve the living God.

To conclude. Behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! And behold the blessed man and men that were sent by God for this excellent work and service! All which will be more particularly expressed in the ensuing writings of that man of God; which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious reading, and beseech Almighty God that his blessing may go along with it, to the convincing of many as yet strangers to this holy dispensation, and also to the edification of the church of God in general. Who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people, in this day of his great love, is ever worthy to have the glory, honor, thanksgiving, and renown; and be it rendered and ascribed, with fear and reverence, through him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved son and lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen.

I write as one whom God has long since mercifully favored with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call. To whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and that knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treasure, has chosen it for his chief joy; and therefore recommends it to your love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection your soul's friend,

William Penn

A Postscript to Penn's Introduction

One cannot but be affected by the love for God and his fellow man that William Penn transmits through his writing. May we all know the same love.

Penn was perhaps the closest to Fox of all his brethren. Margaret Fox wrote to Penn about Penn's efforts to recover those Quakers who had run out from the unity, opposing the corporate spiritual guidance of Quarterly Meetings and Yearly Meetings, while being focused and quarreling about Women's Meetings, but really thinking any rules of conduct in their personal lives were an imposition on their conscience. As follows:

To William Penn:

Dear and Faithful: whom the Lord has chosen, owned, and honored with his everlasting truth, who has manifested yourself to be a true follower of the Lamb. Blessed are you forever, who has chosen that good part, that never shall be taken away from you, but in it you will love, grow, thrive and be clothed with beauty, glory, and majesty. My heart and soul's love is dearly remembered unto you, and my spirit does rejoice in you faithfulness and diligence in the Lord's work and service. You are a novel and faithful instrument in the hand of the Almighty for the spreading of his truth and for the

exaltation of his Kingdom. Oh, your name will be held in everlasting remembrance with all the faithful, as they come into that same spirit of grace, life, and power by which you are moved and carried for the good service that you do for the Lord, for his truth, and the gathering of his elect seed. He will reward it a hundred fold into your bosom. Oh! Beautiful are your feet that preach glad tidings to the poor and liberty to the captives (Isa 61:1-2). Children yet unborn will bless the Lord for you. I received your sweet and blessed letter, which was much joy to me and many more, to hear of that good service for the Lord. The day that it came to my hand here, I was in a meeting; and I was moved by the Lord to read it in the meeting. It was a great comfort, joy, and gladness to the hearts of Friends, to hear of your good service and of the Truth's prospering. Oh, blessed and honored by the holy Lord forever, who is enlarging the borders of this sanctuary and spreading abroad his truth. Blessed are the publishers of it.

Dear William: Friends are very much gladdened, and refreshed in the Lord, here on your behalf, for that you have had a tender care over Friends, in this your great travels, and journeys; but it is neither sea, nor land, height nor depth, that can separate from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, which he has shed abroad in the hearts of his people. Your printed epistle was very serviceable, and very dearly received amongst Friends. Remember my very dear, and eternal Love, to your dear wife whom I honor in the Lord for her faithfulness, and constancy, and innocence. The arm of the Almighty preserve, and keep you (both) in that bond and covenant of love, and life that never can be broken. My daughters Sarah's, Susannah's, and Rachell's Love, is dearly and faithfully remembered unto you both. And so I know it is with my son, and daughter Lower but they do not know of my writing now. Robt Widdlers was here this day, whose dear Love is to you. And Tho Langhorne also remembers his dear Love unto you.

And so dearly beloved this is all that I have at present but my never dying Love remains with you, and that I am your,

Dear Friend and Sister in the Lord, *Margaret Fox*

Under the leadership of giants like Fox and Penn, the early Quakers initiated social reforms that are still beneficial to us today. They forced prices to be marked in stores, rather than all pricing being negotiable, even for food and clothing. They reformed the treatment of the mentally insane from being chained in dungeons. They initiated education for women in the trades. From their many harsh imprisonments, they initiated needed reform in the prisons. They provided rest homes for the aged, unable to work. They insisted of women's equality in their church. In 1671, Fox urged Quaker slaveholders in Barbados to give their slaves freedom. In 1688, Pennsylvania Quakers passed an anti-slavery resolution, initiating slavery's long demise in America. Their suffering and patient appeals to the governments resulted in religious toleration and freedom throughout Europe. Their ideals even influenced the United States Constitution in its separation of powers, the separation of Church and State, and the United States Bill of Rights. William Penn's Frame of Government for Pennsylvania implemented a democratic system with full freedom of religion, freedom from unjust imprisonment, fair trials, elected representatives of the people in power, and a separation of powers. Ahead of his time, Penn also submitted a written plan for a United States of Europe.

Regarding the Quakers' care for Friends within the Society: widows, orphans, sick, poor, imprisoned, old, young; they were all cared for by the Quakers. If one assembly was overburdened with expense of care, other assemblies would contribute to their assistance, world-wide. Their care for their own was so thorough that "there was not a beggar among them," and when a local government would discover that they were providing assistance, which the government was obligated to fund, the government would suddenly drop their opposition to their meetings and assemblies.

Regarding their care for all men: from the Journal, "Sometimes there would be two hundred of the poor of other people (non-Quakers) to come and wait until the meeting was done, (for all the country knew we met about the poor); and after the meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give everyone of those poor people a loaf, however many there were of them; for we were taught 'to do good all, though especially to the household of faith.'"

Penn's pleas to the children of these early Quakers were largely heard, for the children secured the promise of God also. But later generations weakened, and by 1880 the substance of the Quaker faith

had disappeared. No longer was purity a requirement. No longer was the Kingdom attained. No longer was their focus internal renewal. But like Martha, the sister of Mary, the Quakers became busy with the outward, forsaking the better part, which cannot be taken away, to sit at the feet of Jesus. Today they are an amalgam of splintered sects, mostly in name of Quaker only; all falling into form and focused on outward social change, with many sects within proud of their diversity of spirits, faiths, and beliefs, including atheists and agnostics. Today they even debate the removal the word "Religious" from the name, Religious Society of Friends, to prevent offending those within who are not.

H.W.

The Testimony of Margaret Fox, *concerning her late husband, George Fox: together with a brief account of some of his travels, sufferings, and hardships endured for the truth's sake.*

It has pleased Almighty God to take away my dear husband out of this evil troublesome world, **who was not a man of it**, being chosen out of it. **He had his life and being in another region**, [George Fox said he lived in paradise; **today he would describe paradise as another dimension**] and his testimony was against the world, that the deeds of it were evil, and therefore the world hated him. I am now to give in my account and testimony for my dear husband, whom the Lord has taken unto his blessed kingdom and glory; and it is before me from the Lord, and in my view, to give a relation and leave upon record the dealings of the Lord with us from the beginning.

He was the instrument in the hand of the Lord in this present age, which he made use of to send forth into the world to preach the everlasting gospel, which had been hid from many ages and generations; the Lord revealed it to him, and made him open that new and living way that leads to life eternal, when he was only a youth and just past adolescence. And when he declared it in his own country of Leicestershire, and in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire, it raised a great fury and opposition among the priests and people against him; because his declaration was against the hireling priests and their practices. Yet there were always some that acknowledged him in several places, but very few that stood firm with him when persecution came. He and one other were put in prison at Derby, but the other man renounced his faith and left George alone in prison there; where he continued almost a whole year. He was released out of prison, and went on with his testimony abroad, but was put in prison again at Nottingham; and there he continued awhile, and after was released again.

And then he traveled on into Yorkshire, and passed up and down that great county, and several received him; as William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam, and others, who all came to be faithful ministers of the spirit for the Lord. And he continued in that country, and traveled through Holderness and the Woulds, and many people were convinced; and several were brought to prison at York for their testimony to the truth, both men and women. We had heard that such a group of people had risen, and we had made serious inquiries about them. After awhile he traveled up farther towards the dales in Yorkshire, as Wensdale and Sedbur; and among the hills, dales, and mountains he came on, and convinced many of the eternal truth.

In the year 1652 it pleased the Lord to draw him towards us; so he came from Sedbur into Westmoreland, to Firbank Chapel, where John Blaykling came with him; and on to Preston, Grarig, Kendal, Under-barrow, Poobank, Cartmel, and Staveley, and on to Swarthmore, my house, where he brought the blessed tidings of the everlasting gospel, for which I and many hundreds in these parts have cause to praise the Lord. My then husband, Thomas Fell, was not at home at that time, but had gone the Welsh circuit, being one of the judges of the assize; and because our house was a place open to entertain ministers and religious people, one of George Fox's friends brought him there, where he stayed all night. And the next day, being a lecture or a fast day, he went to the Ulverston steeple house, [a Calvinist Independent puritan sect], but he did not enter until people were settled inside. My children and I had been there a long time before he arrived. And when they were singing, before the sermon, he came in. When they had finished singing, he stood up upon a seat and asked 'that he might have liberty to

speak;' and he who was in the pulpit said he might. And the first words that he spoke were as follows: 'He is not a Jew that is one outward, neither is that circumcision which is outward; but he is a Jew that is one inward, and that is circumcision which is of the heart' And so he went on and said 'that Christ was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that comes into the world, and that by this light they might he gathered to God,' I stood up in my pew, and wondered at his doctrine; for I had never heard such before. And then he went on, and opened the scriptures, and said, 'The scriptures were the prophets' words, and Christ's and the apostles' words, and what they spoke they enjoyed **and possessed them**, and had received the words from the Lord.' He further said, 'Then what had any to do with the scriptures, unless they had come to possess the spirit that gave them the words. You will say, Christ said this, and the apostles say this; 'but what can you say? Are you a child of light, and have you walked in the light? And what you speak, is it inwardly from God?' This opened me so much, that it cut me to the heart; and then I clearly saw that we were all wrong. So I sat down in my pew again, and cried bitterly; and I cried in my spirit to the Lord, 'We are all thieves, we are all thieves, we have taken the scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves.' So that satisfied me, that I cannot recall what he spoke afterwards; but he continued in declaring against the false prophets, and priests, and deceivers of the people. John Sawrey, a justice of the peace and professor, told the churchwarden to take him away. The churchwarden laid his hands on him several times, and then took them off again to leave him alone.

After awhile he finished and came again to our house that night. He spoke to the family among the servants, and they were all generally convinced: specifically William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Askew, Anne Clayton, and several other servants. I was struck into a great sadness; and because my husband was away from home, I did not know what to do. I saw that what George said was the truth, and I could not deny it. For me, it was like the apostle said, 'I received the truth in the love of it,' and it was revealed to me so clearly that I never had the slightest reservation in my heart against it. Instead, I desired the Lord would preserve me in my understandings, and I desired no greater portion.

He went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Dendrum, and Ramsyde chapels and steeple-houses, and several places up and down, and the people followed him mightily. Large numbers of people were convinced and saw that what he spoke was the truth, but the priests were all in a rage. And about two weeks after that, James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth also left, and sought his location, until they all came back Swarthmore. They stayed awhile with me at our house, and did me much good; for I was under great heaviness and judgment. But the power of the Lord entered upon me within about two weeks after George had arrived. About three weeks after that, my husband came home. Many in the region were in a great rage, and many of the captains and gentry of the region went to meet my then husband as he was coming home. They informed him, 'that a great disaster had occurred in his family, and that the men involved were witches, who had taken us out of our religion; and that unless he sent them away, the whole region would be ruined.' But no weapons formed against the Lord shall prosper, as you may see from what followed.

So my husband came home greatly offended; and anyone would think that based on the condition I was in, that I would either displease my husband or offend God. They had so prejudiced him against us that he was very much troubled with all of us in the house and family. Both James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth were then in our home, and I desired them to come and speak to him. And so they did speak to him very moderately and wisely. At first he was displeased with them, until they told him 'they came in love and good will to his house.' After he had listened for awhile, he was more satisfied. They offered and prepared to leave; but I asked them to stay, and not to go away yet, 'for George Fox will come this evening.' And I wanted my husband to hear from them all, and satisfy himself further regarding them, because when he first returned, the people of the region had so prejudiced him against them to be dangerous and other fearful things. He was relatively moderate and quiet. When dinner was ready, he went to it; and I went in and sat down by him. While I was sitting with him, the power of the Lord seized upon me, and he was struck with amazement. My husband did not know what to think, but he remained quiet and still. The children were all quiet and still, and had become very serious; so much so that they were unable to play their music, which they had been learning. All these things made my husband very quiet and still.

That night George Fox returned. After supper my husband was sitting in the parlor, and I asked him if

George Fox might come in? And he said, yes. So George came in without any compliment, walked into the room, and began to speak presently; and the family, and James Naylor, and Richard Farnsworth all came in. He spoke as excellently as ever I heard him, and opened Christ's and the apostles' practices that they had been in, during their time. And he opened the night of apostasy that had occurred since the apostles' days, and he exposed the priests and their practices in the apostasy. So well did he speak, that I thought if all in England had been there, they could not have denied the truth of those things. And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and he was very quiet that night, said no more, but went to bed. The next morning Lampit, the priest of Ulverston, came and took my husband into the garden, speaking much to him there; but my husband had seen so much the night before, that the priest made little impression upon him. When Lampit, the priest, came into the house, George spoke sharply to him, and asked him, 'When God had spoken to him, and called him to go and preach to the people?' After awhile the priest went away. This was on the sixth day of the week, about the fifth month, 1652.

In our home several Friends were discussing how there were several people convinced of the truth in the area, and we could not decide where to have a meeting of everyone. My husband was also present, and he overheard our discussion and said of his own accord, 'You may meet here if you wish.' That was the first meeting we had, which he offered of his own accord. Notice of the meeting to be held was given that day and day following to Friends; and a good large meeting was held the First day, which was the first meeting to occur at Swarthmore. Meetings continued there from 1652 to 1690. That day my husband went to the steeple house, but nobody went with him except his clerk and his groom. The priest and the people were all troubled and fearful; but praised be the Lord, they never accomplished their desires against us to this day.

After a few weeks, George went to the Ulverston steeple house again, and justice Sawrey, with others, set the rude rabble upon him; and they beat him so that he fell down passing out; and he was sorely bruised and blackened in his body, head, and arms. My husband was not at home at the time; but when he came home, he was displeased for what they had done to George, and he spoke to justice Sawrey saying, 'it was against law to make riots.' After that George was sorely beaten and stoned at Walney until he fell down, and also at Dalton he was beaten and abused; so that he had very harsh treatment in various places in these areas. When a meeting had been settled here, he went again into Westmoreland and settled meetings there. There were many convinced of the truth of his testimonies, and an abundance of brave ministers emerged there: as John Camm, John Audland, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, Miles Halhead, and John Blaykling, and various others. He also went over the sands to Lancaster, and Yelland, and Kellet, where Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and John Lawson were convinced with many others also. About the time he was in those parts, many priests and professors rose up, falsely accused him of blasphemy, and tried to kill him, getting people to swear in court at Lancaster that he had spoken blasphemy. But my then husband and colonel West, having had some sight and knowledge of the truth, withstood the two persecuting justices, John Sawrey and Thompson, and rescued him, and cleared him; for indeed he was innocent. After the court sessions, there was a great meeting in the town of Lancaster. Many of the town's people attended, and many were convinced of the truth in George's message. And thus George traveled around Lancaster, Yelland, West Moreland, and some parts of Yorkshire, and our parts, for over a year. During this time, more than twenty-four ministers emerged, who were ready to go out with their testimony of the eternal truth unto the world. And soon after, Francis Howgil and John Camm went to speak to Oliver Cromwell.

And in the year 1653 George's drawings were into Cumberland by Milholm, Lampley, Embleton, and Brigham, Pardsey, and Cockerrnouth; where, at or near Embleton, he had a dispute with some priests, named Larkham and Benson. But he chiefly disputed with John Wilkinson, a preacher at Embleton and Brigham, who was afterwards convinced, and owned the truth, and was a serviceable minister both in England, Ireland, and Scotland. And then he went to Coldbeck and several places, until he came to Carlisle, and went to their steeple-house. Here they beat and abused him and took him before the magistrates, who examined him, and put him in prison there in the common jail among the thieves. At the assizes was Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, and had been convinced at Appleby, when he was upon the bench, by James Naylor and Francis Howgil, who were then prisoners there, and had been brought before him. So Anthony Pearson spoke to the justices at Carlisle, being acquainted with them and having married his wife out of Cumberland; and after awhile they released

him. Afterwards George went into several other parts of Cumberland, and many were convinced, and owned the truth. He gathered and settled meetings there among them, and up and down in several parts there in the north.

In the year 1654 he went southward to his own country of Leicestershire visiting Friends. And then colonel Hacker sent him to Oliver Cromwell; and after he had been kept prisoner awhile, he was brought before Oliver and was released. He stayed in London to visit Friends and meetings there. He then traveled westward to Bristol, and visited Friends there. When he went into Cornwall, they put he and Edward Pyot in prison at Launceston. Here he had a harsh, long imprisonment. Upon being released, he passed into many parts in the county of Cornwall, settling meetings there. He then traveled through many counties, visiting Friends and settling meetings all along; next going north to Swarthmore and to Cumberland.

George, Robert Widders, James Lancaster, John Grave, and others journeyed to Scotland in the year 1657. He traveled through many places in that nation, including Douglas, Heads, Hamilton, and Glasgow. In Edinburgh they arrested him and haled him before general Monk and the council, where they examined him and asked what his business was in Scotland. George answered that he had come to visit the seed of God. After they had threatened and ordered him to depart Scotland, they let him go. From there he went to Linlithgow, Stirling, Johnstons, and many other places, visiting the people with several being convinced. After he had stayed a short time and had settled some meetings, he returned into Northumberland into the bishopric of Durham, visiting Friends and settling meetings as he went. He then returned back again to Swarthmore, and stayed among Friends for a time before returning south again. In 1658, my husband, Judge Fell, died.

In 1660 he came out of the south into the north, and had a great general meeting around Balby in Yorkshire; and so he traveled on, visiting Friends in many places, until he again came to Swarthmore. Since King Charles had been restored, the justices sent out warrants and arrested him at Swarthmore. Their warrants charged him with drawing away the king's liege people, which threatened to soak the nation in blood; and they sent him as a prisoner to Lancaster castle. Since Judge Fell had been an influential country squire, and since George had been arrested in my house, I was moved by the Lord to go to the king at Whitehall. I took with me a declaration and information of Friends' principles. After great delay and great difficulty, I met with the king. When at last I got to him, I told him that if George were guilty of those things charged, I too was guilty, for he was taken in my house. And I gave him the paper of our principles and requested him to set George at liberty, for the king had previously promised that nobody would suffer for tender consciences in his reign. I told him that we were of tender consciences and desired nothing but the liberty of our consciences. With a great deal of difficulty, after he had been kept prisoner near half a year at Lancaster, we got a habeas corpus, and removed him to the king's bench, where he was released. I would gladly have come home to my great family; but was I bound in my spirit, and did not have the freedom to return for a whole year. The king had promised me several times that Friends would have their liberty, but then the monarchy-men rose, which resulted in a great and general imprisonment of Friends throughout the nation. Until we had gotten a general proclamation for all our Friends' liberty, I did not have the freedom or liberty to come home, which at last occurred.

In 1663 he came north again, and to Swarthmore. Here they sent out warrants, arrested him again, took him Holcrof before the justices; they tendered him the oath of allegiance, *which he could not swear to*, and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. About a month after this, the justices also ordered me out of my house to appear before them, where they tendered me the oath; and then sentenced me to be a prisoner in Lancaster. And the next assizes they tendered the oath of allegiance and supremacy again to us both, and premunired me; but they had missed the date and made other mistakes in his indictment, and so it was quashed; but they tendered him the oath again, and kept him prisoner a year and a half at Lancaster castle. And then they sent him to Scarborough castle in Yorkshire, where they kept him prisoner, under close watch of the the soldiers for almost a year and a half. They guarded him so closely that a Friend could scarcely speak to him; yet, after that, it pleased the Lord that he was released. But I continued in prison and was a prisoner four years at that time. An order was procured from the king's council, by which I was finally set at liberty. At which time I went down into Cornwall

with my daughter and son Lower, and came back by London to the Yearly Meeting; and there I met with George again. He told me, the time was drawing towards our marriage, but he might first go into Ireland. And a little before this time was he had been a prisoner in his own country at Leicester for awhile; and then released. And so into Ireland he went; and I went into Kent and Sussex; and came back to London again. Afterwards I went to the west, towards Bristol, in 1669, and there I remained until he came back from Ireland, which was eleven years after my former husband's decease. In Ireland he had a great service for the Lord and his eternal truth among Friends and many people, escaping many dangers and times of being taken prisoner, having laid in wait beforehand for him in many places. And being returned, at Bristol he declared his intentions of marriage; and there accordingly our marriage was solemnized. Within ten days after our marriage, I came homewards; and my husband stayed up and down in the countries among Friends, visiting them.

(Note: to be *premunired* was to be convicted of supporting an authority other than the king, such as a foreign authority. The Quaker's refusal to take the loyalty oath was considered evidence of their support of a foreign authority to the king, and allowed the court to seize all of their property: real estate, crops, livestock, bank accounts, etc. The merciful King Charles II gave the seized Swarthmore estate to Margaret's children, assuring her to be able to live out her life in her home; he also pardoned her after she had spent over four years in harsh imprisonment.)

Soon after I arrived home, another order came from the counsel to cast me into prison again; and the sheriff of Lancashire sent his bailiff and pulled me out of my own house, taking me as prisoner to Lancaster castle, using the old *premunire*. I was imprisoned for a whole year, and most of that time I was sick and weakly. My husband was also weak and sickly at that time. After awhile he recovered, and sought to have me released from prison. A discharge was finally obtained under the great seal of the king, and so I was set at liberty. I set out to travel to London again because my husband was preparing to travel to America. He was gone to America a full two years before he came back again to England. Arriving at Bristol, he went to London, and intended to travel to the middle of the nation with me. But when we had come into some parts of Worcestershire, the authorities were notified; and by his warrant, justice Parker sent George and my son Lower to Worcester jail. There the justices there tendered him the oath, and *premunired* him, but released my son Lower; but he stayed with George most of the time he was prisoner there.

And after some time he fell sick in a long lingering sickness, and many times he was very ill. So they wrote to me from London, that if I wished to see him alive, I needed to go to him, which accordingly I did. And after I had stayed seventeen weeks with him at Worcester, with no discharge likely to be obtained for him, I went up to London, and wrote to the king an account of his long imprisonment, that he had been taken while traveling with his family on the way; and that he was sick and weak, and that if they kept him long there, he was not likely to live. I went with it to Whitehall myself and met with the king to give him the paper. The king said I must go to the chancellor; he could do nothing in it. So I also wrote to the lord chancellor and went to his house to give him my paper tell him that the king had left the matter wholly to him. I told him that if he did not take pity and release him out of that prison, I feared he would end his days there. And the lord chancellor Finch was a very tender man, and spoke to the judge, who gave out a *habeas corpus* presently. And when we got it, we sent it down to Worcester. At first they would not release him, saying he had been *premunired* and was not allowed be released on the basis of a *habeas corpus*. So we were forced to go to judge North and to the attorney general, where we got another order sent down from them; and with much difficulty and the great labor and industry of William Mead and other Friends, we got him released to London, where he appeared at Westminster Hall at the King's Bench before judge Hales, who was a very honest, tender man. He knew they had imprisoned George based on nothing but envy. So their charges against him were read, and our counsel pleaded that he had been arrested while traveling on his journey home with his family; little else was said, and he was acquitted. This was the last prison that he was in, being freed by the court of king's bench.

When he was at liberty, he recovered again; and then I wanted us to go home together, which we did. This was the first time that he been to Swarthmore since we were married, and he stayed with us about two years, leaving to go to London again for the Yearly Meeting. After some time in London, he went into Holland and some parts of Germany, where he stayed a long while, returning again to London for the next Yearly Meeting. After he had stayed in and around London, he came into the north to Swarthmore again, this time staying for nearly two years. He grew weak, being troubled with pains and

aches, having had many sore and long travels, beatings, and hard imprisonments. But after some time he rode to York, and so passed on through Nottinghamshire and several counties, visiting Friends until he came to London for the Yearly Meeting. He stayed in London and thereabouts until he had finished his course and laid down his head in peace.

And though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, yet he was not willing to stay at it, because it was so remote and far from London, where his service mostly lay. And my concern for God and his holy eternal truth was then in the north, where God had placed and set me; and likewise for the ordering and governing of my children and family; so that we were both willing to live apart some years upon God's account and his truth's service, and to deny ourselves the comfort which we might have had in being together, for the sake and service of the Lord and his truth. And if any took occasion, or judged us harshly for that separation, the Lord will judge them, for we were innocent. And for my own part, I was willing to make many long journeys to be with him, stilling all occasion of evil thoughts regarding our separation. Though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been there nine times, upon the Lord's and his truth's account. Of all the times that I was at London, this last time was most comfortable, for the Lord was pleased to give me strength and ability to travel that great journey, being seventy-six years of age, to see my dear husband, who was in better health and strength than the many times I had seen him before. I look upon it that the Lord's special hand was in it that I should go then, for he only lived but about half a year after I left him, which makes me admire the wisdom and goodness of God in ordering my journey at that time.

And now he has finished his course and his testimony, and is entered into his eternal rest and felicity. I trust in the same powerful God, that his holy arm and power will carry me through, whatever he yet has for me to do; and that he will be my strength and support, and the bearer up of my head unto the end and in the end. For I know his faithfulness and goodness, and I have experience of his love; to whom be glory and powerful dominion for ever. Amen.

Margaret Fox

The testimony of some of the Author's Relations

Neither days nor length of time with us can wear out the memory of our dear and honored father George Fox, whom the Lord hath taken to himself: and though his earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, and mortality put off, yet we believe he has a 'building with God eternally in the heavens, and is entered into rest,' as a reward to those great labors, hard sufferings, and sore trials, he patiently endured for God and his truth. Of which truth he was made an able minister, and one, if not the first to proclaim it in our age; who, though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned as to the outward, being hid from the wisdom of this world, yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest, being deep in the divine mysteries of the kingdom of God. And the word of life and salvation through him reached into many souls, whereby many were convinced of their great duty of inward retiring to wait upon God; and as they became diligent in the performance of that service, were also raised up to be preachers of the same everlasting gospel of peace and glad tidings to others; who are as seals to his ministry both in this and other nations, and may possibly give a more full account of it. However, we knowing his unwearied diligence, not sparing but spending himself in the work and service where he was chosen and called of God, could not but give this short testimony of his faithfulness to it, and likewise of his tender love and care towards us; who as a tender father to children, in which capacity we stood, being so related to him, he never failed to give us his wholesome counsel and advice. And not only so, but as a father in Christ, he took care of the whole family and household of faith, which the Lord had made him an eminent overseer of, and endued him with such an excellent spirit of wisdom and understanding, to propose and direct helps and advantages to the well ordering and establishing of affairs and government in the church, as now are found very serviceable, and have greatly disappointed and prevented the false loose, and libertine spirit in some, who to their confusion have endeavored, by separation and division, to disturb the church's peace. And although many of that sort have at sundry times shot their poisonous darts at him, publicly in print,

and privately other ways, yet he has always been preserved by the heavenly power of God out of the reach of their envy, and all perils and difficulties that attended on their account; who, as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power, did constantly abide, and held his integrity to the last, being of a sweet savory life, and as to conversation kept his garments clean: and though outwardly dead yet lived, and his memory is right precious unto us; and it is and will be to all that abide in the love of truth, and have not declined the way of it. For he was one of the Lord's worthies, valiant for the truth upon earth, not turning his back in the day of battle; but his bow still abiding in its strength, he, through many hardships, brought gladness and refreshment to Israel's camp, being assisted by the might of that power that always put the armies of aliens and enemies to flight. And now, having finished his course, is removed from us into a glorious state of immortality and bliss, and is gathered to the Lord as a shock of corn in its full season, and to that habitation of safety where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary be at rest.

JOHN RODS,	MARGARET RODS,
WILLIAM MEADE,	SARAH MEADE,
THOMAS LOWER,	MARY LOWER,
WILLIAM INGRAM,	SUSANNA INGRAM,
DANIEL ABRAHAM,	RACHEL ABRAHAM,
ABRAHAM MORRICE,	ISABEL MORRICE,

*An Epistle by way of testimony to Friends and brethren
of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England, Wales, and
elsewhere,
concerning the decease of our faithful brother, George Fox.*

*From our Second day's Morning Meeting in London,
the 26th of the Eleventh month, 1690.*

Dear and truly beloved friends, brethren, and sisters in Christ Jesus, our blessed Lord and savior, we sincerely and tenderly salute you all in his free and tender love, with which he has graciously visited us, and largely shed it abroad in our souls, to our own unspeakable comfort and consolation, and towards his whole heritage and royal offspring. Blessed be his pure and powerful name for evermore. And our souls do truly and fervently desire, and breathe unto the God of all our mercies, that you all may be preserved and kept truly faithful and diligent in his work and service, according to your heavenly calling and endowments, with his light, grace, and truth to the end of your days; as being lovingly engaged in all your appointed time to serve him, and to wait until your change comes; that none may neglect that true improvement of your times and talents that God has afforded you here, for your eternal advantage hereafter in that inheritance and life immortal that never fades away. And that the whole flock and heritage of Christ Jesus, which he has purchased and bought for himself with a price incorruptible, may always be preserved in his own pure love and life, so as to grow, increase, and prosper in the same. Thereby to be kept in love, unity, and peace with one another, as becomes his true and faithful followers. This is what our very hearts and souls desire, being often truly comforted and enlarged in the living sense and feeling of the increase and abounding there among faithful friends and brethren.

And dear brethren and sisters, to this our tender salutation we are concerned, in brotherly love and true tender heartedness, to add and impart unto you some account of the decease of our dear and elder brother in Christ, namely, his and his church's true and faithful servant and minister, George Fox, whom it has pleased the Lord to take unto himself, as he has various others of his faithful servants and ministers of late time. Those who have faithfully served out their generation, and finished their testimony and course with joy and peace. However, oh dear brethren and friends, that so many worthies in Israel, and serviceable instruments in the Lord's hand, are of late taken away and removed from us, so soon one after another, appears a dispensation that deeply and sorrowfully affects us and many more, whose hearts are upright and tender towards God and one to another in the truth. The consideration of the depth, weight, and meaning of it is very weighty upon our spirits, though their

precious life and testimony lives with us, as being of that same body, united to one head, even Christ Jesus. In Christ we still hope that we shall ever have secret comfort and union with them, whom the Lord has removed and taken to himself, out of their earthly tabernacles and houses, into their heavenly and everlasting mansions.

This our dear brother, George Fox, was enabled by the Lord's power to preach the truth fully and effectually in our public meeting in WhiteHartCourt, by Gracechurch-street, London, on the 11th day of this instant Eleventh month, 1690: after which he said, 'I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear.' He was the same day taken with some illness or indisposition of body more than usual, and continued weak in body for two days after at our friend Henry Goldney's house in the same court, close by the meeting house, in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. In which time he mentioned various Friends, and sent for some in particular; to whom he expressed his mind for the spreading of Friends' books and truth in the world and through the nations of it, as his spirit in the Lord's love and power was universally set for truth and righteousness, and making known the way to the nations and people afar off; signifying also to some Friends that all is well, and the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself; that though he was weak in body, that the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits: which were his sensible expressions, being in the living faith and sense of it, which he kept to the end. And on the thirteenth instant, between the ninth and tenth hour of the night, he quietly departed this life in peace, being two days after the Lord enabled him to publish and preach the blessed truth in the meeting as before said. So that he clearly and evidently ended his days in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and peace and good will to all men, being about sixty and six years of age, as we understand, when he departed this life.

(Note: the Julian calendar's date of Eleventh Month, 1690, translates to the currently used Georgian calendar's date of First Month, 1691. Fox was 66 years of age when he died. H.W.)

And on the sixteenth of this instant, being the day appointed for his funeral, a very great concourse of Friends and other people assembled at our meeting house in WhiteHartCourt as previously said, about the mid-day, in order to attend his body to our burying place near Bunhillfields, to be interred, as Friends' last office of love and respect due on that account. The meeting was held about two hours, with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed power and presence; and several living testimonies were given from a lively remembrance and sense of this his dear ancient servant, his blessed ministry and testimony of the breaking forth of this gospel-day; his innocent life; long and great travels, and labors of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; also of his manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions which he met with; because of his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and false brethren; and his preservations, dominion, and deliverances out of them all by the power of God; to whom the glory and honor was and is ascribed, in raising up and preserving this his faithful witness and minister to the end of his days, whose blessed memorial will everlastingly remain.

He loved truth and righteousness, and bore faithful testimony against deceit and falsehood, and the mystery of iniquity; and often, of late especially, warned Friends against covetousness, earthly mindedness, against getting into the earth, and into a brittle spirit; and the younger sort, against looseness and pride of life.

A few days before he died he had a great concern upon his mind concerning some in whom the Lord's power was working, to lead them into a ministry and testimony to his truth; who, through their too much entangling themselves in the things of this world, did make themselves unready to answer the call and leadings of the power of God, and hurt the gift that was bestowed upon them, and did not take that regard to their service and ministry as they ought. He mentioned the apostle's exhortation to Timothy, to 'take heed to his ministry, and to show himself approved.' He expressed his grief concerning such as preferred their own business before the Lord's business, and sought the advancing worldly concerns before the concerns of truth. He concluded with a tender and fatherly exhortation to all to whom God had imparted of his heavenly treasure, that they would improve it faithfully; and be diligent in the Lord's work, that the earth might be sown with the seed of the kingdom, and God's

harvest might be minded by those whom he had called and enabled to labor therein; and that such would commit the care of their outward concerns to the Lord, who would care for them, and give a blessing to them. However, this is not mentioned to encourage any to run unsent, or without being called of God.

Many are living witnesses that the Lord raised him up by his power to proclaim his mighty day to the nations, and made him an effectual instrument in our day to turn many from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God; and freely to suffer and bear all reproaches, manifold persecutions, buffetings, halings, stonings, imprisonments, and cruelties, that were in the beginning, and for some time inflicted on him and others, for the name of Christ Jesus.

He was in his testimony as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power, where all that be truly wise, and that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever. He knew and preached the mystery of Christ revealed, the life and substance, and the power of godliness, above all shadows and forms. The Lord endued him with a hidden wisdom and life. He loved peace, and earnestly labored for universal love, unity, peace, and good order in the churches of Christ. Wherever he met with the contrary, it was his great grief and burden. He was greatly for the encouragement of faithful laborers in the Lord's work. It was a great offence and grief to him to have their testimony weakened, or labors slighted, through prejudice in any professing truth.

And as the Lord allowed him to not be delivered up to the will of his enemies and persecutors, who often before breathed out cruelty against him, and designed his destruction. In his good pleasure so fairly and quietly, the Lord took him away in his own time, when his testimony was so blessedly finished, and his work accomplished. This is all remarkable, and worthy of serious and due observation, as being by a special and divine providence and wisdom of God; to whom we ascribe the glory of all, and not to man or creatures. Though we must allow and own that good report and due esteem which faithful elders, ministers, and servants of God and Christ have by faith obtained, to the praise of that blessed power that upheld them, in every age, in their day; many are even of late taken away from the evil to come, and are at rest in the Lord, out of the reach of all envy and persecution, where the wicked cannot trouble them any more.

And we must patiently bear our parting with them, and our loss and sorrow on that account, with respect to their unspeakable gain. Yet how can we avoid being deeply affected with sadness of spirit and brokenness of heart, under the sense and consideration of such loss and revolutions, which we have cause to believe are ominous of calamities to the wicked world, though of good to the righteous? Did the death of plain upright Jacob, namely Israel, who was as a prince of God, so deeply affect both his own children and kindred, as that they made a great and sore lamentation for him; and even the Egyptians also, that they bewailed him seventy days? And the death of Moses so deeply affect the children of Israel, as that they 'did weep and mourn for him in the plain of Moab thirty days?' And the death of Stephen, that faithful martyr of Jesus, so deeply affect certain men fearing God, as 'that they made great lamentation for him?' And the apostle Paul, when taking his leave of the elders of the church at Ephesus, and telling them, 'they should see his face no more?' If this did so deeply affect them, that they wept all abundantly, sorrowing most of all for these words, that they should see his face no more;' with many more of this kind, how then can we otherwise choose but be deeply affected with sorrow and sadness of heart, though not as those which have no hope, when so many of our ancient, dear, and faithful brethren, with whom we have had much sweet society, are removed from us one after another? (We pray God raise up and increase more such !) Yet must we all contentedly submit to the good pleasure and wisdom of the Lord our God in all these things; who takes away, and none can hinder him, nor may any say unto him, 'what are you doing?' Yet we have cause to bless the Lord that he has of late raised, and is raising up more to publish his name in the earth. And we that yet remain have but a short time to stay after them who are gone, but we shall be gone to them also. The Lord God of life keep us all faithful in his holy truth, love, unity, and life to the end. He has a great work still to bring forth in the earth, and great things to bring to pass, in order to make way for truth and righteousness to take place therein; and that his seed may come forth and be gathered, and the power and kingdom of our God and of his Christ made known and exalted in the earth, unto the ends of it.

Dear friends and brethren, be faithful until death, that a crown of life you may obtain. All dwell in the love of God in Christ Jesus, in union and peace in him; to whom we tenderly commit you to keep and strengthen you, bless and preserve you to the end of your days. In whose dear and tender love we remain your dear friends and brethren,

STEPHEN CRISP,	GILBERT LATEY,
GEO. WHITEHEAD,	CHARLES MARSHAL,
FRA. CAMFIELD,	RICH. NEEDHAM,
JAMES PARK,	JAMES MARTIN,
JOHN ELSON,	DANIEL MONRO,
PETER PRICE,	JOHN HEYWOOD,
JOHN FIELD,	GEORGE BOWLES,
JOHN EDRIDGE,	WILLIAM ROBINSON,
NICHOLAS GATES,	WILLIAM BINGLEY,
FRANCIS STAMPER,	JOHN BUTCHER,
JOHN VAUGHTON,	BENJAMIN ANTROBUS.

These names are since added, at the desire of the persons following:

SAM. GOODAKER,
AMB. RIGG,
WILLIAM. FALLOWFIELD.

POSTSCRIPT

BEFORE his death he wrote a little paper, desiring all Friends everywhere, that used to write to him about the sufferings and affairs of Friends in their several countries, should henceforth write to their several correspondents in London, to be communicated to the Second-day's Meeting, to take care that they be answered.

Thomas Ellwood's account of that eminent and honorable servant of the Lord, George Fox.

Note: Thomas Ellwood was George Fox's official biographer. He was a known writer and previous associate of John Milton. He lived at Swarthmore for years, coordinating the collection of Fox's writings and interviewing Fox for his recollection of many letters and events that had not been copied or previously recorded.

THIS holy man was raised up by God in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the sleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations, and publishing again the everlasting gospel to the inhabitants of the earth, after the long and dismal night of apostasy and darkness. For this work the Lord began to prepare him by many and various trials and exercises from his very childhood; and having fitted and furnished him for it, he called him into it very young; and made him instrumental, by the effectual working of the holy ghost, through his ministry, to call many others into the same work, and to turn many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of satan unto God. I knew him not until the year 1660. From that time until the time of his death, I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and

honored him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honor of God before all things.

He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in laboring in it, steady in his testimony to it; immovable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endowed with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care. For indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace of which he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God, beloved of God's people; and, (which was not the least part of his honor), the common butt of all apostates' envy, whose good notwithstanding he earnestly sought.

He lived to see the desire of his soul, the spreading of that blessed principle of divine light through many of the European nations, and not a few of the American islands and provinces, and the gathering of many thousands to an establishment therein; which the Lord gave him the honor to be the first effectual publisher in this latter day world. And having a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith, his righteous soul, freed from the earthly tabernacle, in which he had led an exemplary life of holiness, was translated into those heavenly mansions, where Christ our Lord went prepare a place for him; there to possess that glorious crown of righteousness which is laid up for, and shall be given by the Lord the righteous judge, to all them that love his appearance. Ages to come in people left unborn shall call him blessed, and bless the Lord for raising him up, and blessed shall we also be, if we so walk as we had him for an example: for whom this testimony lives in my heart, He lived and died the SERVANT of the LORD.

Thomas Ellwood



A JOURNAL

OR

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS,

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES AND LABOUR OF LOVE

IN THE

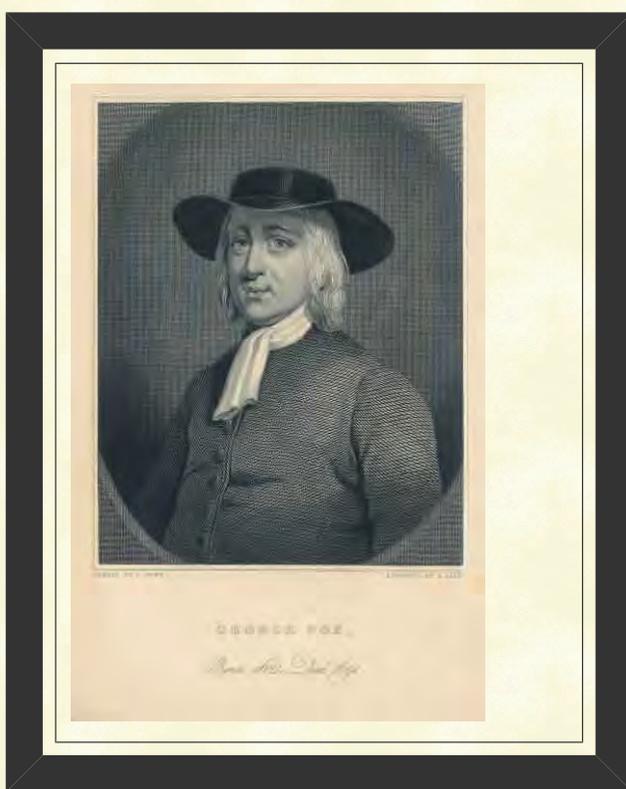
WORKS OF THE MINISTRY

OF THAT

ANCIENT, EMINENT, AND FAITHFUL

SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

GEORGE FOX
(1624-1691)



Although this book was written in the 17th Century,

THIS IS A BOOK FOR ALL TIMES.

For it testifies to the ever-available Christian perfection, purity, and holiness.

Site Editor's Preface

This Journal was scanned from the 1831 *The Works of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood. Several text additions, all marked as to the source, are included for background and additional detail. Text surrounded by braces, i.e., {text xxx} refers to additional text extracted from the *Cambridge Journal*, an unedited reconstruction from the original handwritten manuscripts; the text having been omitted from the officially published version. For more information on the history of the various Journals, [click here](#).

If you are new to Fox, I have a suggestion. Study what he says. If there is something in the Bible, which you think conflicts with what Fox has written, try this approach in resolving the apparent difference: assume Fox is right, and now reexamine the scripture, questioning how it could be interpreted to support what Fox says. If you do that, you will invariably see that every scripture is in harmony with Fox's entire message, with no exceptions. But, if you fail to reconsider your past understandings, which might be wrong, you must discard many scriptures that are incompatible with the subset of scriptures that you hold to be true. Of course, when you can understand how all the scriptures are totally compatible, then you have the correct formula for what God desires and what he detests.

Short Introduction by George Fox

The appearance of the Lord's Everlasting Truth, and breaking forth again in his eternal power in this our day and age in England.

The Lord's mighty power and word of life has been richly and freely preached, to the gathering of many into reconciliation with God. This has exalted our great God and increased his glory by the produce of the heavenly and spiritual fruits from those who have been gathered by his eternal light, power, and spirit back to himself. And by the sowing to the spirit in the hearts of people, life eternal has been reaped; so that his flocks have been gathered, which have the milk of the word in rich abundance, that the riches of the word have flourished, and mightily abounded; and God's heavenly plough with his spiritual men has gone on cheerfully to overturn the fallow ground of the hearts that had not born heavenly fruit to God. And God's heavenly harvesters with his heavenly flail, have with joy and delight separate out the chaff and the corruptions that have been over God's seed and wheat in man and woman; and thus have they threshed in hope, and are made partakers of their hope; through which God's seed has come into his granary.

Oh! the unspeakable glory and the inexpressible excellence of the everlasting glorious truth, gospel, and word of life, that the infinite, invisible, and wise God (who is over all) has revealed and shown!

And how the professed christian believers, priests, and powers have risen up in opposition against his children who have been born of the immortal seed by the word of God! And Oh! how great have been the persecutions, and scorns, and seizures of personal property, all executed upon his children! But for those who have touched them, which are as dear to God as the apple of his eye, how the Lord has manifested himself to be standing with them in the overthrow of powers, priests, and states! What changes have there been since 1644 and 1650 and 1652! Since then in this nation how have the jails been filled with the heirs of life, God's chosen ones, who had no helper in the earth but the Lord and his Christ! So that truth's faithful witnesses were scarcely to be found except in jails and prisons, where the righteous were numbered among the transgressors; who had neither staff nor bag from man, but the staff, the bread of life, and the bag that holds the treasure that does not grow old. But the Lord Jesus Christ, who sent them out, was their exceeding great supporter and upholder, by his eternal power and spirit, both then and now.

George Fox

(Note: George Fox was the founder of the Quakers. Of the many thousands of early Quakers who attained Christ resurrected in them, few were called to be traveling evangelists, as was George Fox. Most were shopkeepers, tradesmen, servants, farmers, and even many soldiers; predominately from the middle class and from all professions. However, each person had an office in the Body of Christ, appointed by the Spirit of God, so that everyone served God in their place and position.)

Early Years and Translation

Text in Light Blue or **bold Light Blue** can be "clicked" for backup in scripture or detail in writings.

When you have clicked to the on-line Bible, you can change and update to see any Bible version that you prefer.

THAT all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles through which he led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work to which he had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify his infinite wisdom and goodness; I think fit, before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire. My father's name was Christopher Fox. He was by profession a weaver, an honest man, and there was a seed of God in him. The neighbors called him righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos, and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and soberness of mind and spirit unusual in children; so much so that when I saw old men conduct themselves lightly and loosely towards each other, a dislike of that rose in my heart, and I said within myself, 'If ever I reach the age to be a man, surely I should not do so, nor be so loose.'

When I was eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child, I was taught how to walk so as to keep pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways: inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to yes and no in all things. For the Lord showed me, that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, yet I was to keep to yes and no in all things; that my words should be few and savory, seasoned with grace; and that I was not to eat and drink to excess, only for health; using the **creatures** in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of him who created them; they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, as *sanctified by the word* [the living Word of God, **not** the Bible] which was in the beginning, by which all things were upheld, in which there is unity with the creation.

(Comment: Do not take Fox's youthful purity as evidence that only the pure can attain the promises of God, for we also have the sixteen year old minister, James Parnell's testimony in his memoir that "he was perfect in sin and exceeded many in the wickedness of his life," until he was changed by the grace of God to become a powerful minister reaching many in his time.)

(Note: the "**creatures**" are anything of the creation.)

But people being strangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink to make themselves unrestrained with the creatures, wasting them upon their lusts, living in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation; all this in the world, in the pollutions of that without God; therefore I was to be a stranger to all such people and practices.

As I grew up my relatives wanted me to be priest or preacher; but others persuaded to the contrary. Later I was apprenticed to a shoemaker by trade who also dealt in wool. He also used grazing, and sold cattle; and I personally handled a lot of business. While I was with him he was blessed, but after I left him, his business failed and came to nothing. I never wronged a man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me, and over me, to preserve me. While I was in that service, I used in my dealings the word 'verily,' and it was a common saying among those that knew me, 'If George says verily, there is no altering him.' When boys and rude persons would laugh at me, I let them alone and went my way; but people generally had a love for me because of my innocence and honesty.

(Note: In Fox's time, anyone who publicly declared or "professed" their belief in scriptures and Christ was a known as a "**professor**". The only colleges were religious schools, naturally taught by a "**professor**." As universities and colleges broadened into secular subjects, all teachers retained the titles of "**professor**.")

When I approached nineteen years of age I was at a fair on business, and one of my cousins, a **professor** named Bradford, accompanied by another professor came and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them. Since I was thirsty I joined with them; and I also loved anyone who valued goodness or that sought the Lord. When we had each drunk a glass of beer, they began to drink toasts "to your health", and called for more drinks. They agreed together that he who quit drinking would buy the drinks. I was grieved that any who professed religion should force the expense of the drinking to the one least prone to excessive drinking. At which point I stood up to leave, put my hand in my pocket, took out a coin, and laid it upon the table before them saying, 'If that's the way it is, I am leaving you.' So I left, and when my business was finished, I returned home; but I did not go to bed that night, and I could not sleep. Instead some of the time I walked up and down, sometimes praying and crying to the Lord; He said unto me: 'You see how young people associate in vanity, and old people into the things of the world; but you must forsake all, young and old, keep out of all, and be as a stranger to all.'

Then at the command of God, on the ninth of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relatives and broke off friendship or fellowship with all people, young or old. I passed to Lutterworth where I stayed some time. From there I went to Northampton, where I also stayed awhile; then I passed to Newportpagnel,

in Buckinghamshire; where after I had stayed awhile, I went to Barnet in the sixth month called June, in the year 1644. Thus as I traveled through the country, professors took notice of me, and sought to be acquainted with me; but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed. During the time I was at Barnet, a strong temptation to despair came upon me. I saw then how Christ was tempted. But I was under a lot of troubles from temptations and depression. Sometimes I kept myself retired in my bedroom, and often walked alone in the forest to wait on the Lord, (hoping to hear him speak about my concerns).

I wondered why these temptations should come to me. I looked upon myself, and said, 'Was I ever like this before now? Then I thought that because I had left my relatives, I had done something wrong to them. So I reviewed my life's past, questioning if I had harmed anyone; but temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted to almost give up hope and quit. And when Satan could not succeed against me in that way, he placed traps and lures in front of me to draw me to commit some sin, by which he might take advantage to bring me to depression or defeat. I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me, and for some years I continued in that condition in great trouble, and would have been very glad to get rid of them. I went to many priests looking for comfort, but I found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a rented a room, and I was very miserable and troubled there too because I looked upon the great professors of the city of London and saw that they were all in darkness and under the chain of darkness. I had an uncle there named Pickering who was a Baptist, and they were open and loving then; yet I could not express my thoughts to him or join with them for I saw everyone, young and old, where they were spiritually. Some tender and loving people would have had me stay with them, but I was fearful of associating with them; and so I returned in the direction of my home in Leicestershire, thinking that I might be grieving my parents and relatives because of my absence.

When I returned to Leicestershire, my relatives wanted me to get married; but I told them I was too young for marriage and I wished to obtain wisdom first. Others wanted me to join the auxiliary companies of the army; but I refused, and I was saddened that they proposed such things to me, being so young. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a room for awhile at a professor's house, until people began to get acquainted with me; for there were many tender and loving people in that town. And after some time I went into my own country again, and continued about a year in great sorrow and trouble walking many nights by myself.

Drayton was the town of my birth, and I often met with the local priest named Nathaniel Stevens. Some of the meetings, he came to me, and others I went to him. Sometimes another priest came with him, and they would defer to me, and let me talk. I would ask them questions and reason with them. Once priest Stevens asked me, why Christ had cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' And why he said, 'If it is possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but yours be done.' I told him, at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and all of mankind's iniquities and transgressions were wounding him; he had to bear the pain of all the evil in the world and to be an offering for it as he was a man, rather than as God; so, in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. I spoke this understanding being at that time in a small way sensible of Christ's sufferings and what he went through. The priest said, 'It was a very good, full answer, and such a one as he had not heard.' Around this time in our relationship, he was very complimentary and he spoke highly of me to others. Priest Stevens would use my statements made to him during our weekday meetings as the subject of his **First-day** sermons, and I grew to dislike him for this use of me. Afterwards this priest became my great persecutor.

(Note: since the days of the week, and months, are named after pagan Gods, and since scripture forbids the speaking or writing of their names, George Fox and the early Quakers named the days and months as **First-day** instead of Sunday, and **Sixth-month** instead of June, etc. H.W.)

After this I went to another elderly priest at Mansetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition. He told me to smoke tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and I was not in a state to sing psalms; I

could not sing. He told me to come again, and he would disclose to me many things; but when I came, he was angry and fretful because having reflected on what I had previously told him, he was displeased. He had revealed my troubles, sorrows, and griefs to his servants including the young milk girls. It grieved me that I had opened my heart's and mind's misery to such an insensitive person. I saw that all the priests and professors were miserable comforters, and this made my troubles even worse upon me. I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who had a reputation as an experienced man. I went seven miles to see him, but I found him like an empty, hollow cask. I heard of Dr. Cradock in Coventry, and I went to him; I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be formed in man? He asked me, 'who was Christ's father and mother?' I told him Mary was his mother, and that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph; but he was the son of God. As we were walking together down the narrow pathway, I accidentally stepped into the garden bed while turning; at which he shouted in anger at me as if his house had been set fire.

Our discussion ended and I left more sorrowful than when I arrived. I concluded the priests and professors were miserable comforters of people, and saw they were all nothing of benefit to me; for they could not understand or help me in my spiritual grief. After this I went to another highly regarded priest, named Maeham. He wanted to give me some medicines and tried to drain blood from me; but as hard as they tried, they couldn't get one drop of blood from me, either from my arms or my head. My body was so dried up with sorrows, griefs, and troubles, which were so great upon me, that I wished I had never been born; or that I would have been born blind so that I might never have seen wickedness nor vanity; and deaf so that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. When the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and celebrating, I knocked on doors, house to house, and upon discovering widows within, I gave them some money. When I was invited to attend marriage ceremonies I did not attend them at all; but the next day, or soon after, I would go and visit them; and if they were poor, I gave them some money; for I had the capacity both to keep myself from being an expense to others, and to administer something to the necessities of others.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going into Coventry, a consideration arose in me, how **it was said**, that 'all christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists;' and **the Lord opened to me** that *if* all were believers, then they were all born of God, and *passed from death to life*; and that none were true believers unless that [~~passed from death to life~~] had happened; and though others **said they were believers, yet they were not**. At another time, as I was walking in a field on a First-day morning, the Lord opened in me an understanding, '**that being educated at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ;**' and this stimulated my thinking about it because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord **opened** it to me, and I was convinced of its truth. I admired the goodness of the Lord, who had opened this understanding to me that morning. This struck at priest Stevens' ministry, namely, 'that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ.' So what opened in me, I saw struck at the priest's ministry.

(Note: "Openings" were clear understandings received directly from the Lord. H.W.)

But my relatives were much troubled that I would not go with them to the "church" to hear the priest; instead I went into the orchard or the fields, with my bible, by myself. I asked them, did not John say to believers, 'that they needed **no man to teach them, but as the anointing teaches them.**' (1 John 2:27). Though they knew this scripture to be true, they were still upset and fearful because I could not yield to their wishes in this matter and go to hear the priest with them. I saw that **a true believer was something different than what they believed one to be**; and I saw that being educated at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ. Knowing that, why would I want to follow people from Oxford or Cambridge? So I could not join in with them or any of the dissenting groups; but I was as a stranger to all and relied entirely upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time it was opened in me, '**that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands.**' This at first seemed strange, because both priests and people used to call their temples or churches, dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God. But **the Lord showed me clearly, that he did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and built, but in people's hearts.** Both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore testimony, that He did not dwell

in temples made with hands, not even in the one temple of Jerusalem which he had once commanded to be built, since he put an end to the typical dispensation; but that his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them. This opened in me, as I walked in the fields to my relation's house. When I came there, they told me Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, had been there, and said, 'he was afraid of me for going after new lights.' I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his fellow priests educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Even though my relatives understood beyond the priests' understandings, I did not relate my understandings to my relatives who still went to hear the priests and were grieved because I would not go with them. But I showed them by the scriptures that there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himself. I had great openings concerning things written in the Revelations; and when I spoke of them, the priests and professors would say that Revelations was a sealed book and discouraged me from reading it. But I told them that Christ could open the seals, and that the Book of Revelations was the nearest book to our generation; because the letters of the Apostles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations had been written of things to come.

After this I met with a group of people that believed women had no souls, (adding in a light manner), no more than a goose. I reprov'd them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, 'My soul does magnify the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in God my savior.'

Going on to another place I came among a people that relied too much on dreams for their spiritual guidance. I told them unless they could distinguish between dream and dream they would confuse them all together for there were three sorts of dreams: multitude of business sometimes caused dreams, there were whisperings of satan in man at night, and there were speakings of God to man in dreams. These people stopped relying on dreams and at last became Friends.

Though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptations came many times upon me, so that when it was day I wished for night, and when it was night I wished for day; and by reason of the openings I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, 'Day unto day utters speech, and night unto night sows knowledge.' When I had openings they answered, one another; and answered the scriptures; for I had great openings of the scriptures; and when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

About the beginning of 1647, I was moved by the Lord to go into Derbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discussions with them. Then passing into the Peak country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty high notions. And traveling on through some parts of Leicestershire, and into Nottinghamshire, I met with a tender people, and a very tender woman, whose name was Elizabeth Hooton. With these I had some meetings and discussions; but my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations. I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my bible, and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places until night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself, for I was a man of sorrows in the time of the first workings of the Lord in me.

Note: Elizabeth Hooton was one of the first people to be convinced of the truth by George Fox, and the first woman to become a Quaker minister in 1650. She was the wife of a high society husband, and she was not only the first female Quaker minister, but the second minister of the Society, and counted as one of the *valiant sixty*, a group of evangelists following George Fox to be sent by the Lord all over England. See later chapters for more on her life.

During all this time I never joined any religious group, but gave up myself to the Lord forsaking all evil company and leaving my father and mother, and all other relatives; I traveled up and down as a stranger in the earth, as the Lord had inclined my heart, taking a rented room to myself in the town where I came, and staying sometimes more, sometimes less in a place; for I dared not stay long in a place, being afraid both of professors and the ungodly persons; being a tender young man, I feared I should be hurt by conversing much with either. Because of this I kept myself as a stranger to all, seeking heavenly wisdom, and getting knowledge from the Lord; and my affections were redirected from outward things to focus on the Lord alone. Though my exercises and troubles were very great, they were not continuous, and I had occasional relief; sometimes I was brought into such a heavenly joy that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and

heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God shown to me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! When my troubles and torments were great, then his love was exceedingly great. You, O Lord, make a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field! You bring down and prop up! You kill and make alive! All honor and glory is yours, O Lord of glory! The knowledge of you in the spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly works death. While there is knowledge of God in the flesh, deceit and self will conform to anything, and will say, yes, yes, to that it does not know. The prophets and apostles talked about fleshly knowledge which the world has. The prophets and apostles were in the life, but the apostates are without life and only have record of their words; they have the holy scriptures in a form, but not in the life or spirit that spoke the scriptures originally. So they all lie in confusion, and are making provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts of the flesh, but not to fulfill the law and commands of Christ in his power and spirit; for that, they say they cannot do. But to fulfill the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

After I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to make a man a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had given up on the priests, so I also left the separate preachers and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could anyone tell me what to do; then, Oh! Then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to your condition.' When I heard it, my heart leaped for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition; namely, that I might give him all the glory. For all are bound under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, and to become free, each person must know that *Christ is the creator and he alone understands us*; he who enlightens, and gives grace, faith, and power. And when God does work, who shall hinder it? This I knew experimentally.

My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. **For though I read the scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew him only by revelation, as he who has the key did open, and as the Father of life drew me to his son by his spirit.** Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books. That love let me see myself, as I was without him; and I was afraid of all company; for I saw them perfectly, where they were, through the love of God which let me see myself. I did not have fellowship with any people, priests, nor professors, nor any sort of separated people. My fellowship was only with Christ who has the key, and opened the door of light and life unto me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. When I was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I could ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I often thought I should give up all hope in despair, and it was very tempting. But when Christ opened to me how he was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome him, and had bruised his head; and that through him and his power, light, grace, and spirit, I would overcome also, I had confidence in him. So it was he that opened to me, when I was shut up, and had neither hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in, and gave me hope, which is himself, revealed himself in me, and gave me his spirit and grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness. Thus in the deepest miseries and in the greatest sorrows and temptations that plagued me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. **I found two thirsts in me;** the one after the things of creation, to be helped and strengthened by them; and the other after the Lord the creator, and his son Jesus Christ; and I saw all the world could do me no good. If I had had a king's diet, palace, and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by his power. I saw professors, priests, and people were whole and at ease in the same condition which was my misery, and they loved what I would have gotten rid of. *But the Lord did fix my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my cares were cast on him alone. Therefore, all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatever condition; wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jesus; for if you so do, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfill it in you.* And blessed are all they indeed that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so; praised be the Lord who fills with it, and satisfies the desires of the hungry soul. Oh! let the house of the spiritual Israel say, his mercy endures forever! It is the great love of God, to make a wilderness of what is pleasant to the outward eye and fleshly mind; and to make a

fruitful field of a wilderness. This is the great work of God. But while people's minds run in the earthly, after the creatures and changeable things, changeable ways and religions, and changeable uncertain teachers; their minds are in bondage, and they are brittle and changeable, tossed up and down with windy doctrines, thoughts, notions, and things; their minds being out of the unchangeable truth in the inward parts, the light of Jesus Christ, which would keep them to the unchangeable. He is the way to the Father; who, in all my troubles preserved me by his spirit and power, praised be his holy name for ever!

Again, I heard a voice which said, 'You serpent, You seek to destroy the life, but you cannot; because the sword which keeps the tree of life shall destroy you.' So Christ, the word of God, that bruised the head of the serpent, the destroyer, preserved me; my mind being joined to his good seed that bruised the head of this serpent, the destroyer. This inward life sprang up in me, to answer all the opposing professors and priests, and brought scriptures to my memory to refute them with. At another time I saw the great love of God, and was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it. I saw what was cast out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom; and how by Jesus, the opener of the door by his heavenly key, the entrance to his kingdom was given. I saw death and how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man, and in me; and how I was formed and recreated in the seed, and what the promise was to. Despite this development within me, that there still seemed to be two distinct things pleading in me; and questions and doubts arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies, and I was tempted again to despair, worrying that I had sinned against the holy spirit. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I still gave up myself to the Lord. One day, when I had been walking solitarily outside and had come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could only admire the greatness of his love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened to me by the eternal light and power within by which I clearly saw that all was done and to be done in and by Christ; and how he conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works, and is over the devil; and that all these troubles and temptations were good for me and were given to me by Christ as the trial of my faith. The Lord opened me so that I could see beyond and through all these troubles and temptations.

When I saw that all was done by Christ the life, my living faith was increased, and my belief was in him. When at any time my I lost sight of my true condition in Christ, my secret belief held firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea; and anchored my immortal soul to its bishop, causing my soul to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are. But Oh! Then did I see my troubles, trials, and temptations more clearly than ever I had done. **As the light appeared, all appeared that is out of the light; darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly; all was exposed and seen in the light. After this, a pure fire appeared in me; then I saw how Christ performed as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's soap. Then the spiritual discerning came into me; by which I discerned my own thoughts, groans, and sighs; and what it was that veiled me, and what it was that opened me. That which could not abide in the patience, nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the flesh, that could not give up to the will of God; which had so veiled me, that I could not be patient in all trials, troubles, anguish, and perplexities; could not give up self to die by the cross, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow him, and that what would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ, what the sword of the spirit cuts down, and which must die, might not be kept alive.** I discerned the groans of the spirit, which opened me, and made intercession to God; in which spirit is the true waiting upon God, for the redemption of the body, and of the whole creation. By this true spirit, in which the true sighing is, I saw over the false sighs and groans. By this invisible spirit I discerned all the false hearing, the false seeing, and the false smelling, which was above the spirit, quenching and grieving it; and that all that were there were in confusion and deceit, where the false asking and praying is, in deceit and atop, in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, wallows in the Egyptian sea, and asks but has not; for they hate his light, resist the holy spirit, turn grace into an excuse to continue in sin, rebel against the spirit, and are erred from the faith they should ask in, and from the spirit they should pray by. He that knows these things in the true spirit can witness them. The divine light of Christ manifests all things, and the spiritual fire tries and severs all things. As the Lord opened to me, I saw several things; for he showed me what can live in his holy refining fire and what can live to God under his law. He gave me understanding of how the law and the prophets were until John; and how the least in the everlasting kingdom of God is greater than John. The pure and perfect law of God is over the flesh to keep it and its imperfect works under by the perfect law; and **the law of God, which is perfect, answers the perfect principle of God in**

everyone. This law the Jews, the prophets, and John were to perform and do. None knows the giver of this law but by the spirit of God; neither can any truly read the law or hear the voice of the law except by the spirit of God's help.

(I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and **with fire**: Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable **fire**. Mat 3:11-12)

He that can receive it, let him. John, who was one of the greatest prophets that was born of a woman, bore witness to the light which was Christ, the great heavenly prophet, the true Light coming into the world that illumines every person; that they might believe in it and become the children of light, and so have the light of life, and not come into condemnation. For the true belief stands in the light that condemns all evil; and the devil, who is the prince of darkness, would draw out of the light into condemnation. They that walk in this light, come to the mountain of the house of God, established above all mountains, and to God's teaching, who will teach them his ways. **These things were opened to me in the light.**

I saw also the mountains burning up, and the rubbish, and the rough, and crooked ways and places made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle. These things are to be found in man's heart; but to speak of these things being within, seemed strange to the rough, crooked, and mountainous ones. Yet the Lord said, 'Oh earth, hear the word of the Lord!'

(Note scripture for comparison to Fox's experience: Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low;

and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth. Luke 3:5)

The law of the spirit crosses the fleshly mind, spirit, and will, which lives in disobedience, and does not keep within the law of the spirit. I saw this law was the pure love of God which was upon me, and which I must go through, though I was troubled while I was under it; for I could not be dead to the law but through the law, which judged and condemned what is to be condemned. **I saw, many talked of the law, who had never known the law to be their schoolmaster; and many talked of the gospel of Christ, who had never known life and immortality brought to light in them by it.** You that have been under that schoolmaster, and the condemnation of it, know these things; for though the Lord in that day opened these things unto me in secret, they have been since published by his eternal spirit, as on the house top. And as you are brought into the law, and through the law to be dead to it, and **witness the righteousness of the law fulfilled in you,** you will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought **into Christ,** who is the author of, and you will have peace and access to God. But if you look out from the faith, and from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleshly things or words, you will be brought into bondage to the flesh again, and to the law which takes hold upon the flesh and sin, and works wrath, and the works of the flesh will appear again. The law of God takes hold upon the law of sin and death; but the law of faith, or the law of the spirit of life, which is the love of God, and which comes by Jesus, (who is the end of the law for righteousness' sake), makes you free from the law of sin and death. This law of life fleshly minded men do not know; yet they will tempt you to draw you from the spirit into the flesh, and so into bondage. Therefore you, who know the love of God, and the law of his spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in him. Stand in that divine faith which he is the author of in you, and don't get entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the ministry of Christ Jesus and his teaching, brings into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man, and by man, which stands in the will of man, brings into bondage, and under the shadow of death and darkness. Therefore none can be ministers of Christ Jesus but in the eternal spirit, which was before the scriptures were given forth; for if they have not his spirit, they are none of his. Though they may have his light to condemn them that hate it, yet they can never bring any into unity and fellowship in the spirit, unless they are in it; for the seed of God is a burdensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding that must perish, and its own wisdom that is devilish. The spirit of God is grieved, vexed, and quenched with what brings into the fleshly bondage; and what wars against the spirit of God must be mortified by it; for the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary to each other. The flesh would have its liberty, and the spirit would have its liberty; but the spirit is to have its liberty, and not

the flesh. Therefore if you quench the spirit, join to the flesh, and be servants of it, then you are judged and tormented by the spirit; but if you join to the spirit, and serve God in it, you have liberty and victory over the flesh and its works.

Therefore, keep in the daily cross, the power of God, by which you may witness all that to be crucified which is contrary to the will of God, and which shall not come into his kingdom. These things are here mentioned and opened for information, exhortation, and comfort to others, as the Lord opened them unto me in that day. In that day I wondered that the children of Israel should murmur for water and food, for I could have fasted long without murmuring or minding victuals. But I was judged at other times, that I was not content to sometimes be without the water and bread of life that I might learn to know how to want, and how to abound.

I heard of a woman in Lancashire, who had fasted two and twenty days, and I traveled to see her; but when I arrived, I saw she was under a temptation. When I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being high in profession. Passing on, I went among the professors at Duckenfield and Manchester, where I stayed awhile and declared truth among them. There were some convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth. The professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection; and could not endure to hear talk of perfection, or of a holy and sinless life. But the Lord's power was over all; though they were chained under darkness and sin, which they pleaded for, and quenched the tender thing in them.

About this time there was a great meeting of the Baptists at Broughton, in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them; and people of other ideas went there, and I went also. Not many of the Baptists came, but many other people were there; and the Lord opened my mouth, and his everlasting truth was declared among them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. In that day the Lord's power began to spring. I had great openings in the scriptures, and several were convinced in those areas of the country and were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God; they received his power, and by it many were raised up to praise God. When I reasoned with professors and other people, some would be convinced and maintain their faith. Still, I was sometimes under great temptations, and my inward sufferings were heavy; but I could find no one to tell about my condition except to the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. I went back into Nottinghamshire, where the Lord showed me that the natures of those things which were destructive in the outside world were also within in the hearts and minds of evil men: the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom, and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, etc. The natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. I cried to the Lord, saying, 'Why should I be in this condition, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?' And the Lord answered, 'It was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions?' In this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also, that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings. As I was walking by the steeple house side in the town of Mansfield, the Lord said to me, '**What people trample on must be your food.**' And as the Lord spoke he opened to me, that **people and professors trampled on the life, even the life of Christ was trampled on; they fed on words, and fed one another with words, but trampled on the life, and trampled under foot the blood of the son of God, which blood was my life; and they lived in their arrogant opinions talking of him.** It seemed strange to me at the first, that I should feed on what the high professors trampled on; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal spirit and power.

Then people from far and near came to see me, and I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was told to give them understandings and openings. A man named Brown had great prophecies and visions about me as he lay on his deathbed. He spoke openly that I was going to be made instrumental by the Lord to his work. And of he spoke of others saying that they would come to nothing; which was fulfilled on some, who were then famous. When this man was buried, a great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me in that fourteen day period. I was very much altered in appearance and body as if my body had been newly formed or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord. Through this discerning I saw plainly that when many people talked of God and of Christ, it was the serpent speaking in them; but this was hard to accept. Yet the work of the Lord continued in some.

My sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept day and night with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. I saw into infinite which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ; I was even brought through that darkness that covers over all the world, which chains down all, and shuts up all in the death. The same eternal power of God which brought me through these things, was what afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors, and people. Then I could say that I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I had come out of it, was brought over it, and by the power of it into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, like wheat spread in planting on the soil, and there was no one to gather it; I mourned with tears at this absence of gatherers. A report went abroad of me that I was a young man who had a discerning spirit; at which time many came to me from far and near, professors, priests, and people. The Lord's power appeared in me, and I had great openings and prophecies, and spoke to them about the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away and spread the fame of my teachings. Then the tempter came and set upon me again, charging me, that I had sinned against the holy spirit; but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, and how a messenger of satan was sent to buffet him. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also.

In the year 1648, as I was sitting in a Friend's house in Nottinghamshire, (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of some to receive the word of life and reconciliation), I saw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth, and a great smoke following the trail of the crack, and that after the crack there should be a great earthquake. This was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken and quaked before the seed of God was raised out of the earth. And it was so; for the Lord's power began to shake them, and great meetings we began to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was among people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

There was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and I went among them. Here they discussed how Paul said he had not known sin but by the law, which said, 'You shall not lust,' and they stated that was the outward law spoken of by Paul. But I told them Paul spoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was raised up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but this was the law of God in his mind which he served, which the law in his members warred against; for that which he thought had been life to him, proved death. So the more sober of the priests and professors yielded, and consented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, which showed the inward lust which Paul spoke of after he was convinced; for the outward law took hold of the outward action, but the inward law of the inward lust.

(Note: To be "**moved**" by the Lord, is to be clearly drawn by vision, understanding, or words)

After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people; **and I was moved to pray; and the Lord's power was so great, that the house seemed to be shaken.** When I had done, some of the professors said, 'It was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were.' After I had prayed, one of the professors would pray; which brought deadness and a veil over them. Others of the professors were grieved at him, and told him, 'it was a temptation upon him.' Then he came to me, and desired that I would pray again; but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after, there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain named Amor Stoddard came in. They were discussing of the blood of Christ. And as they were discussing of it, I saw through the immediate opening of the invisible spirit, the blood of Christ; and I cried out among them, saying, 'Do you not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God.' For I saw it, the blood of the new covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only outside them, and not in them. But captain Stoddard was reached, and said, 'Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak;' when he saw they tried overcome me with their many words.

There were also a company of priests that were looked upon to be tender; one of their names was Kellet, and several tender people went to hear them. I was moved to go after them, and told them mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. That priest Kellet was against parsonages then, but afterwards he obtained a great one, and turned a persecutor.

Now after I had some service in these parts, I went through Derbyshire into my own country Leicestershire again, and several tender people were convinced. Passing there, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying and shouting the scriptures in the fields. They gave the bible to me, and I opened it to the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law; and I opened the inward state to them, and outward state; upon which they fell into a fierce argument and then left, but the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester for a debate, where Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and common prayer men, were said to be all participants. The meeting was in a steeple house; and I was moved by the Lord God to go there, and be among them. I heard their discussion and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit, many of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, what that birth was, viz. being 'born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that lives and abides forever' The priest said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Then I was swept up as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up, and asked the priest, 'Do you call this place (the steeple house) a church? or 'Do you call this mixed multitude a church?' For the woman asked a question, and he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But instead of answering me, he asked me, what a church was? I told him, *the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of;* but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire. The priest came down from his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was cut off. But I went to a great inn and there debated the matter of "church" with the priests and professors of all sorts, and they were all enraged. But I maintained the true church, and the true head of it, over the heads of them all, until they all gave out and fled away. One man seemed loving, and appeared for awhile to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest, in pleading for infant baptism, though he himself had been a Baptist before; so he left me alone. However, there were several convinced that day; and the woman who asked the question was convinced along with her family; and the Lord's power and glory shined over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire again, and went into the Vale of Beavor. As I went, I preached repentance to the people, and there were many convinced in the Vale of Beavor in many towns; for I stayed some weeks among them. One morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; and I sat still. And it was said, 'All things come by nature.' And the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I sat still and said nothing, the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sat still under it and let it alone, a living hope and a true voice arose in me, which said, 'There is a living God who made all things.' Immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God. After some time I met with some people who had such a belief that there was no God, but that all things come by nature. And I had a great dispute with them, and overturned them, and made some of them confess, that there is a living God. Then I saw that it was good that I had gone through that exercise. We had great meetings in those parts; for the power of the Lord broke through in that side of the country. Returning into Nottinghamshire, I found there a company of shattered Baptists, and others. The Lord's power formed mightily, and gathered many of them. Afterwards I went to Mansfield and the area; where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested both at Mansfield, and other towns in the area. In Derbyshire the mighty power of God formed in a wonderful manner. At Eton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of Friends, where appeared such a mighty power of God that they were greatly shaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. And many were moved by the Lord to go to steeple houses, to the priests, and to the people, to declare the everlasting truth unto them.

At a certain time when I was at Mansfield there was a session of the justices about hiring servants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they were holding their session; but finding a company

of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more serious opportunity to discuss it with them, not thinking the present to be an appropriate time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was even struck blind so that I could not see. I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to be that day? He told me they were to have a session at a town eight miles away. And my sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran in that direction as fast as I could. When I came to the house where they and their many servants were, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do what was right and just to them; and I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly, etc. They all received my exhortation kindly, for I was moved by the Lord to speak to them.

Moreover, I was moved to go to several courts and steeple houses at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to cease oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit to the Lord, and do justly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a court there, I was moved to go and speak to one of the wickedest men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whore master, and a rhyme maker; and in the dread of the mighty God I reproved him for his evil courses. When I was done speaking and left him, he came after me, and told me that he was so smitten when I spoke to him that he had scarcely any strength left in him. So this man was convinced, turned from his wickedness, and remained an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of the people who had known him before. Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from darkness to light, within the compass of these three years, 1646, 1647, and 1648. Many meetings of Friends; in several places, were then gathered to God's teaching, by his light, spirit, and power; for the Lord's power broke forth daily more and more wonderfully.

Now I came up in spirit, through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocence, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I came up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was open to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practice medicine for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocence, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord showed me, that such as were faithful to him, in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues of that may be known, through the openings of that divine word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

So [God] drove out the man [Adam and Eve out of paradise, the Garden of Eden]; and He placed at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and a **flaming sword** which turned every way, to keep and guard the way to the tree of life. Gen 3:24

Thus I traveled on in the Lord's service, as he led me. When I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among Friends. From there I went to Clauson, in Leicestershire, in the vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God appeared there also, in several towns and villages where Friends were gathered. While I was there, the Lord opened to me three things, relating to those three great professions in the world, medicine, religion, (so called), and law. He showed me, that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creation were made; and they did not know the benefits of the things created, because they were out of the word of wisdom, by which they were made. And he showed me that the priests were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of; the faith which purifies, gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience. He also showed me that the lawyers were out of the equity, out of the true justice, and out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the spirit of God that was grieved and transgressed in man. And that these three, **the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, ruled the world out of the wisdom,**

out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God; the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the soul, and the third the protection of the property of the people. But I saw they were all out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things to me, I felt his power to be over of all, by which all might be reformed, if they would only receive and bow to it.

The priests might be reformed, and brought into the true faith, which is the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed, and brought into the law of God, which answers that of God, which is transgressed, in every one, and brings to love one's neighbor as himself. This lets man see that if he injures his neighbor, he also injures himself; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would have the do unto him. The physicians might be reformed, and brought into the wisdom of God by which all things were made and created; that they might receive a right knowledge of the created things, and understand the benefits of them, which was placed in them by the word of wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld. Much was shown me concerning these things; how all were out of the wisdom of God, and out of the righteousness and holiness that man at the first was made in. But as all believe in the light, and walk in the light which Christ has enlightened every man, so they become children of the light and of the day of Christ. In his day all things are seen, visible and invisible, by the divine light of Christ, the spiritual heavenly man, by whom all things were made and created.

I saw concerning the priests and ministers, that although they stood in deceit, and acted by the dark power which both they and their people were kept under; yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the scriptures, for they had not come so far spiritually as many of those of scripture had come. But the Lord opened to me who the greatest deceivers were, and how far they could progress spiritually; even those who came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God; those who came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, to praise God on the banks of the seashore; those could speak by experience of God's miracles and wonders; those who had progressed as far as Corah, Dathan, and their company; those who had come as far as Balaam, who could speak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice and knew it, and knew his spirit, and could see the star of Jacob, and the godliness of Israel's tent; the second birth, which no enchantment could prevail against. These that could speak so much of their experiences of God, and yet turned from God's spirit and the word, and went into the opposition; these were and would be the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. Likewise among Christians, such as should preach in Christ's name, should work miracles, cast out devils, and go as far as a Cain, a Corah, and a Balaam in the gospel times; these were and would be the great deceivers. They who could speak of experiences of Christ and God, but did not live in the life of God, these were they who led the world after them, who got the form of godliness, but denied the power; who inwardly devoured from the spirit, and brought people into the form of godliness, but persecuted them that were in the power, as Cain did; and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, through covetousness, loving the wages of unrighteousness, as Balaam did. These followers of Cain, Corah, and Balaam, have brought the world, since the apostles' days to be like a sea. Such as these I saw might deceive now, as they did in former ages; "but it is impossible for them to deceive the elect, who were chosen in Christ, who was before the world began," and before the deceiver was; though others may be deceived in their openings and prophecies, not keeping their minds to the Lord Jesus Christ, who does open and reveal to his.

I saw the state of those, both priests and people who read the scriptures and cried out much against Cain, Esau, Judas, and other wicked men of former times, mentioned in the holy scriptures; but do not see the nature of Cain, of Esau, of Judas, and those others, in themselves. These said, it was "they, they, they," that were the bad people; always applying it to others and not themselves; but when by the light and spirit of truth, some of these came to see into themselves, then they could say, "I, I, I," it is I myself, that have been the Ishmael, the Esau, etc. For then they saw the nature of wild Ishmael in themselves; the nature of Cain, Esau, Corah, Balaam, and of the son of perdition in themselves, sitting above all that is called God in them. So I saw, it was the fallen man that had gotten into the scriptures, and was condemning others with those before mentioned natures. And they focused on the backsliding Jews, calling them the sturdy oaks, tall cedars, fat bulls of Bashan, wild heifers, vipers, serpents, etc. And charging them, that it was they that closed their eyes, stopped their ears, hardened their hearts, and were dull of hearing; that it was they that hated the light, rebelled against it, quenched the spirit, vexed and grieved it, walked despitefully against the spirit of grace, and turned the grace of God into wantonness; that it was they that resisted the holy ghost, got the form of godliness, and turned against the power; and that they were the inwardly ravening wolves who had gotten the

sheep's clothing; and that they were the wells without water, clouds without rain, trees without fruit, etc. But when these, who were so much taken up with finding fault with others, and thought themselves clear from these things, would look into themselves, and with the light of Christ thoroughly search themselves, they might see enough of these conditions in themselves. Then the cry would not be "he or they" are evil, but "I and we" are found in these conditions.

I also saw how people read the scriptures without a right sense of them and without duly applying them to their own states. For when they read that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; they read these things as not applicable to them, and applied them to others, (and the things were true of others), but they did not turn inside to find the truth of these things in themselves. As these things were opened in me, I saw death reigned over them from Adam to Moses; from the entrance into transgression, until they came to the ministry of condemnation, which restrains people from sin that brings death. When the ministry of Moses is passed through, the ministry of the prophets comes to be read and understood, which reaches through the figures, types, and shadows unto John, the greatest prophet born of a woman; whose ministry prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making straight paths. As this ministry is passed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlasting kingdom. I saw plainly, that none could read Moses correctly without Moses's spirit, by which he saw how man was in the image of God in paradise, how he fell, how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. I saw how Moses received the pure law, that went over all transgressors; and how the clean beasts, which were figures and types, were offered up, when the people came into the righteous law that went over the first transgression. Moses and the prophets saw through the types and figures, and beyond them, and saw Christ the great prophet who was to come to fulfill them. I saw that none could read John's words correctly, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with the same divine spirit by which John spoke them; and by his burning, shining light which is sent from God. For by that spirit their crooked natures might be made straight, their rough natures smooth, and the man of greed and man of violence in them might be cast out; and those that had been hypocrites might come to bring forth fruits suitable for repentance, **and their mountain of sin and earthliness might be leveled, and their valley filled in them, that there might be a smooth, level way prepared for the Lord in them;** and then the least in the kingdom is greater than John. But all must first know the voice crying in the wilderness in their hearts, which through transgression has become as a wilderness. Thus I saw it was an easy matter to say, death reigned from Adam to Moses; and that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; but none could know how death reigned from Adam to Moses, etc. but by the same holy spirit which Moses, the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the spiritual meaning of Moses, the prophets, and John's words, nor see their path and travels, much less to see past them, and to the end of them into the kingdom, unless they had the spirit and light of Jesus; nor could they know the words of Christ and of his apostles without his spirit. But as man comes through by the spirit and power of God to Christ, (who fulfils the types, figures, shadows, promises, and prophecies that were of him), and is led by the holy spirit into the truth and substance of the scriptures, sitting down in him who is the author and end of them, then are they read and understood with profit and great delight.

Moreover, the Lord God let me see, **when I was brought up into his image in righteousness and holiness, and into the state of the paradise of God how Adam was made a living soul; and also to the stature of Christ, the mystery that had been hid from ages and generations; which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed with, I found none that could bear to be told that anyone could spiritually grow to Adam's perfection, (that is into that image of God, and righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell), to be clear and pure without sin as he was. Therefore, how would they be able to bear being told that any should spiritually grow up to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ; when it threatens them to hear that any shall come, while upon earth, into the same power and spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it is an absolute truth, that none can understand the Apostle's writings correctly without the same spirit by which they were written.**

The Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, how that **'every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ.'** I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out

of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the scriptures; though afterwards, searching the scriptures, I found it. For I saw in that light and spirit which was before the scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that spirit, if they would know God or Christ, or the scriptures correctly, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

But I observed a dullness and drowsy heaviness upon people, which I wondered about; for sometimes, when I would set myself to sleep, my mind went over all to the beginning, in what is from everlasting to everlasting. I saw death was to pass over this sleepy, heavy state, and I told people they must come to witness death to that sleepy, heavy nature, and a cross to it in the power of God, that their minds and hearts might be on things above.

Once as I was walking in the fields, **the Lord said to me, 'your name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world,'** and as the Lord spoke it, I believed and saw it in the new birth. Some time after, the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world which was like a briery, thorny wilderness. When I came in the Lord's mighty power with the word of life into the world, the world swelled, and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people, were all like a sea when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord among them, and to preach repentance to them.

I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive him in his light, I saw he would give power **to become** (not automatically be, John 1:12) the sons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Christ. **I was to direct people to the spirit**, that gave forth the scriptures, by which (spirit) they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as the authors of the scriptures had been who spoke and wrote them. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by **this grace they might be taught**, which would **bring** them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation near. For I saw that Christ had died for all men, was a sacrificial offering for all, and had **enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light**; and that **none could be true believers, but those that believed in the light**. I saw that the **grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the spirit of God was given to every man, with which to profit. *These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate spirit and power, as did the holy men of God by whom the holy scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the holy scriptures, they were very precious to me; for I was in that spirit by which they were issued; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was in agreement with them.*** I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of Satan, on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.

When the Lord God and his son Jesus Christ sent me forth into the world to preach his everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God; even that divine spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and spirit of God, and the light of Jesus, **I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ the new and living way; from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and off from the world's teachers made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, 'This is my beloved son, listen to him;'** and off from all the world's worships, to know the spirit of truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby, that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship him; those who do not worship in his spirit do not know what they worship. **I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are in vain; that they might know the**

pure religion, might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world. Then there would not be so many beggars; the sight of whom often grieved my heart, as it denoted so much hard heartedness among those that professed the name of Christ. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, prayers, and songs, which stood in forms without power, that their fellowship might be in the holy spirit, the eternal spirit of God; that they might pray in the holy spirit, sing in the spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who has sent his beloved son to be their savior, caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all; and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, (as his outward rain does fall, and his outward sun does shine on all), which is God's unspeakable love to the world. I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, from heathenish fables, from men's inventions and windy doctrines, by which they blew the people about, this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and from all their poor underpinnings, with their **schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ, who are indeed ministers of their own making, but not of Christ's**; and from all their images, crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy days, (so called), and all their vain traditions, which they had got up since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against. In the dread and authority of that was I moved to declare against them all, and against all who preached and not freely, as being such who had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me into the world, he commanded me do not 'put off my hat' to any, high or low; and I was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I traveled up and down, I was not to greet with people 'good morrow,' or 'good evening,' neither was I allowed bow or scrape with my leg to anyone. This made the sects and professions rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to his glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprang from on high, and broke forth quickly; by the light of which many came to see where they were spiritually.

Site Editor's Notes : At this time in England, hats were worn in church, the clergy preached in them, they were worn at dinner, and, as a rule, more generally than in modern times. The few occasions when they were taken off were more distinctly occasions of respect. A son must always uncover before his father, every one *uncovered* before the king, and *uncovered* to anyone of a class or position such as the nobility. The Quakers called this the *hat-honor*, which they refused to give to man, including to judges in court; resulting in their being fined or imprisoned for such failure to *uncover* in honor. They removed their hats only in prayer as an act of worship. Thus they reversed the *hat-honor* from what society was paying to man and refusing to God, to be paying to God and refusing to man.

In Fox's time, the use of *thee* and *thou* was taught in the schools as proper forms of singular address. People of lower class were addressed in the singular, *thee* and *thou*. People of the upper class wanted to be addressed in the plural, *you*, which was to honor them. The honoring of "important" people with the plural address is what God "laid to the dust." Today, the *you* is taught as singular in all the schools; it is no longer a form of honor to address any person as *you*. *You* instead of *thou* is also in the majority of Bible translations available today, including the New King James Version.

But Oh! The rage that was in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all persuasions; but especially in priests and professors; for though "thou" to a single person was according to their grammar books, grammar rules, and according to the bible, yet they could not bear to hear it; and because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all into a rage. But the Lord showed me that it was an earthly honor from below, which he would lay in the dust and stain; an honor which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honor which comes from God only. That it was an honor invented by men in the fall and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it was not given them; yet they expected to be regarded as saints, church-members, and great christians; but Christ said, 'How can you believe, who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that comes from God only?' 'And I (said Christ) receive not the honor of men.' Showing that men have an honor which they will receive and give, but Christ will have none of it. This is the honor which Christ will not receive, and which must be laid in the dust. Oh! The scorn, heat, and fury that arose! Oh! The blows, assaults, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! For that soon tried all men's patience and sobriety, however little it was. Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they were lost to them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to

be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter, and often threatened or injured by the great professors of Christianity, who by that discovered they were not true believers. And though it was but a small thing in the eye of man, yet a wonderful confusion it brought among all professors and priests; but, blessed be the Lord, many came to see the vanity of that custom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of truth's testimony against it.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice; in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; **in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; and in testifying against wakes, feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shows**, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God; and the days set forth for holiness were usually the times when they most dishonored God by these things. In fairs also, and in markets, I was sent to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating, and fraud; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yes be yes, and their no be no, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. **I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages**; for they burdened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. (Mountebanks sold worthless medicines and cures on stage. George Fox in his doctrinal writings wrote that music not to the glory and praise of God was a distraction. I will amplify that statement to say that music which lets you celebrate the beauty of the creation, the praise for God, or you love for your fellow human beings is good; **but Christian music is not pleasing to Him, for it comes from those who don't know Him and reflects false doctrine.** H.W.). I was also very active with schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and neglect of restraint. I was told to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers, in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and that they should be examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God, in the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their servants, (yes the very strangers were to keep the Sabbath among them, and be circumcised, before they might eat of their sacrifices); so all who made a profession of Christianity should train their children and servants in the new covenant of light, Christ Jesus, who is God's salvation to the ends of the earth, that all may know their salvation. And they ought to teach the law of life, the law of the spirit, and the law of love and of faith so that they might be made free from the law of sin and death. And all Christians ought to be circumcised by the spirit, which puts off the body of the sins of the flesh, so that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice, Christ Jesus, that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon but those who have been circumcised by the spirit. Likewise I was opposed the stargazers, who drew people's minds from Christ, the bright and the morningstar, and from the sun of righteousness, by whom the sun, moon, and stars, and all things else were made, who is the wisdom of God, from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

But the black earthly spirit of the priests wounded my life; and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the steeple-house, it struck at my life; for it was just like a market bell to gather people together, that the priest might set forth his ware to sale. Oh! The vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade of the selling of the scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What one other trade in the world is comparable to it? Notwithstanding the scriptures were given forth freely, **Christ commanded his ministers to preach freely**, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free spirit of the Lord Jesus was I sent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Christ, who gives freely, and renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

Note and measure your position in Christ compared to the events listed below and testified to above in detail:

- **the Light,**
- **being shown your condition, the sin that is in you**
- **seeing Christ whom you have pierced, dragging him along with your sin**
- **being schooled by the Law of Sin and Death,**
- **the ministry of condemnation,**
- **the ministry of the prophets (preparing the way)**

- **the fire to burn up all of the chaff,**
- **the mountains being leveled,**
- **the two pleadings.**
- **personally witnessing the events described in the Bible:**
 from Adam and Eve, to Moses, to the Prophets
- **Up to the state of Adam and Eve before the fall, still able to be tempted.**
- **Past the state of Adam and Eve to the state of Christ, unable to be tempted.**
- **Sit down in Christ in Heaven.**
- **none could be true believers, but those that believed in the light**

Thus ends George Fox's conversion, and thus begins the most incredible ministry on record. H.W. <top> <next>

Historical Note from *Valiant for the Truth* :

The court of the immediate past king, James I was distinguished by extravagance in dress and revelry. It seemed, when that monarch was transferred from the scantily furnished palace of Holyrood to his luxurious quarters in England, that his desire for dress and personal ornament became a perfect frenzy. His courtiers followed in his train. At the accession of the then king, Charles I, the same passion continued. Wearing his hair in long, flowing curls, his dress sparkling with jewels, and redolent with perfume, the Cavalier looked with disdain on the closely cropped hair and sober dress of his Puritan neighbor, and laughingly called him Roundhead. These two names afterwards became the rallying cry on many a bloody battlefield.

While the men thus spent their time and money in the adornment of their persons, the process of dressing a court lady was said to be "as complex and tedious as the fitting out of a man-of-war." The wife of a nobleman of Charles's court, presenting a list of her wants to her husband, declares she will be satisfied with an allowance of £6,000 a year for her own personal requirements, with £10,000 more for jewelry.

This was not the only evil of the day. Such profuse expenditure required liberal means, and gambling, both among men and women, was resorted to as a favorite pursuit. Bribery was also extensively practiced. There was hardly a crime committed which the judge could not be induced to pardon, by the application of liberal bribes. Usurers and pawnbrokers increased to an alarming extent; and many ancient estates were lost to their owners by their extravagant living.

Strong lines of demarcation separated the different classes in society. The nobility looked down on the merchant, and he in his turn disdained the artisan. The mode of addressing them was different. Only a great merchant was worthy to prefix Master or Mr. to his name, and the addition of Esquire would have thrown the court into a tumult. The judge must be termed *Most Worshipful*, the minister *Reverend*, and the whole style of conversation was full of unmeaning compliments. Among the country people and mechanics, the pronouns thee and you were always used, but it was considered a great insult to address a person of higher rank in this manner. He was supposed to embody in his person a consequence equal to two or more ordinary individuals. [Thus he demanded to be addressed as 'you,' and became violent if not so addressed. It is sad to consider that today the word *Reverend* is only laughed at by astute pundits, instead of the entire population. As for me, I will never address a false prophet, or even a true prophet as *Reverend*; and a judge is not worthy of being addressed *Your Honor*, much less the ridiculous *Most Worshipful*; he is simply addressed as *Judge*. We are not to seek the approval of men, only of God; and to address men with flattering titles, is to seek their approval. H.W.]

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As I went towards Nottingham on a First-day in the morning, with Friends to a meeting there, when I came on the top of a hill in sight of the town, I saw the great steeple-house: and the Lord said unto me, 'You must go cry against that distant great idol, and against the worshippers inside.' I said nothing of this to the Friends, but went with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord God was among us; in which I left Friends sitting in the meeting, and went to the steeple-house. When I came there all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in his pulpit above: he took for his text these words of Peter, 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy, which you do well to heed, as unto a light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' He told the people this was the scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out, 'Oh! no, it is not the scriptures;' and told them what it was, namely, the holy spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. For the Jews had the scriptures, yet resisted the holy ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried them without the holy ghost. As I spoke thus among them, the officers came, and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison; the smell of which got so into my nose and throat, that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power sounded so in their ears, that they were amazed at the voice, and could not get it out of their ears for some time after; they were so reached by the Lord's power in the steeple-house. At night they took me before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the town. When I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power quieted him. They examined me at large; and I told them how the Lord had moved me to come. After some discourse between them and me, they sent me back to prison; but some time after, the head sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for me to his house. When I came in, his wife met me in the hall, and said, 'Salvation is come to our house.' She took me by the hand, and was much wrought upon by the power of the Lord God; and her husband, children, and servants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them. I lodged at the sheriffs, and great meetings we had in his house. Some persons of considerable condition in the world came to them, and the Lord's power appeared eminently among them. This sheriff sent for the other sheriff, and a woman they had had dealings with in the way of trade; and he told her before the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, (for the other sheriff and he were partners), and that they ought to make her restitution. This he spoke cheerfully; but the other sheriff denied it, and the woman said she knew nothing of it. But the friendly sheriff said it was so, the other knew it well enough; and having discovered the matter, and acknowledged the wrong done by them, he made restitution to the woman, and exhorted the other sheriff to do the like. The Lord's power was with this friendly sheriff, and wrought a mighty change in him, and great openings he had. The next market day, as he was walking with me in the chamber, in his slippers, he said, 'I must go into the market, and preach repentance to the people.' Accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, and preached repentance to the people. Several others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent.

At this points the magistrates grew very angry, ordered me brought from the sheriff's house, and committed me to the common prison. When the assize time arrived, one person was moved to go to it and offer up himself in exchange for me; his body for my body, and yes his life also. But before I could be brought before the judge, the judge had left because the sheriff's man took too long in bringing me to the sessions-house. I understood the judge was offended that he missed me, and said, 'He would

have admonished the youth, if he had been brought before him; for I was then imprisoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to prison again, and put into the common jail. The Lord's power was great among Friends; but the people began to be very rude; which is why the governor of the castle sent soldiers, and dispersed them. After that the people were quiet. Both the priests and the people were astonished at the wonderful power that broke forth; several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

After I was set at liberty from Nottingham jail, where I had been kept prisoner a pretty long time, I traveled as before, in the work of the Lord. Coming to Mansfield Woodhouse, there was a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair loose about her ears. He was about to let her blood, **she being first bound, and many people about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her. I desired them to unbind her and let her alone, for they could not touch the spirit in her by which she was tormented. So they did unbind her; and I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and still; and she was so. And the Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended. Afterwards she received the truth, and continued in it to her death;** and the Lord's name was honored; to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were produced by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifested his power to the astonishment of many; through the healing virtue of the power, many were delivered from great sicknesses, and the devils were made subject through his name; of which particular instances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear. Blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, and may it be everlastingly honored, and over all exalted and magnified is the arm of his glorious power by which he has performed gloriously: let the honor and praise of all his works be ascribed to him alone.

While I was at Mansfield Woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeple house there, and declare the truth to the priest and people. But the people fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stopped me from continuing. I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they drug me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat some hours; and they brought dog whips and horsewhips threatening to whip me. After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where there were many great persons; who, seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening set me at liberty. But the rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the word of life to them. I was hardly able to go, or to stand, because of the ill usage I had received; yet with much difficulty I got about a mile from the town. There I met with some people who gave me something to comfort me, because I was inwardly bruised; but the Lord's power soon healed me again. That day some people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teaching; at which I rejoiced.

Then I went out of Nottinghamshire into Leicestershire, several Friends accompanying me. There were some Baptists in that country, whom I desired to see and speak with, because they were separated from the public worship. So Oats, one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several of their company, came to meet us at Barrow, where we discoursed with them. One of them said, 'what was not of faith, was sin.' Upon which I asked them, what faith was? And how it was created in man? But they turned off from that, and spoke of their baptism in water. Then I asked them, whether their mountain of sin was brought down, and laid low in them? And their rough and crooked ways made smooth and straight in them? They looked upon the scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways; but I told them, they must find them in their own hearts; at which they seemed to wonder. **We asked them, who baptized John the Baptist? who baptized Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles? And put them to prove by scripture, that these were baptized in water: but they were silent.**

Then I asked them, seeing Judas, who betrayed Christ, and was called the son of perdition, had hanged himself, *what son of perdition was that which Paul spoke of, that was in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God? And what temple of God was it, in which this son of perdition sat?* And whether he who betrays the Christ within himself, is not one in nature with the Judas who betrayed Christ in Jerusalem? But they could not tell what to make of this, nor what to say to it. So after some discourse we parted; and some of them were loving to us.

On the First-day following we came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house, where some Friends had gone in; and the people locked them in, and themselves too along with the priest. But after the priest

had finished speaking, they opened the door, and we went in also, and had service for the Lord among them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town among several that were in high opinions of their spirituality. Then passing from there, I heard of a people in prison at Coventry for religion. As I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'MY LOVE WAS ALWAYS TO YOU, AND YOU ARE IN MY LOVE.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail where those prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me; and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and brag, and blaspheme; at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said, they were God; but another of them said, we could not bear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them, whether they did such things by motion, or from scripture? They said, from scripture. Then a bible lying by, I asked them for that scripture; and they showed me that place where the sheet was let down to Peter; and it was said to him, what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. When I had showed them that scripture made nothing for their purpose, they brought another, which spoke of God's reconciling all things to himself, things in heaven and things in earth. I told them I owned that scripture also; but showed them it was nothing to their purpose neither. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them if they knew whether it would rain tomorrow? They said they could not tell. I told them God could tell. I asked them, if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change? They answered, they could not tell. Then said I, God can tell, and he does not change. You say you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or not. So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time. After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters. I had met with none before; and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me, before I went among them. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, published a recantation; upon which they were set at liberty.

From Coventry I went to Atherstone; and it being their lecture day, I was moved to go to their chapel to speak to the priest and people. They were generally pretty quiet, only a few raged and would have had my relations to bind me. I declared largely to them, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers, to hear his son; and some were convinced there.

Then I went to Market-Bossoth, and there was a lecture also. He who preached was Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of the town where I was born. He raged much when I spoke to him and to the people, and told the people I was mad; though he had said before to colonel Purfoy, there was never such a plant bred in England. He bid the people not to hear me; who, being stirred up by this deceitful priest, fell upon us, and stoned us out of the town, yet they did not do us much hurt. Be it as it may, some people were made loving that day; and others were confirmed, seeing the rage of both priests and professors; and some cried out, that the priest dared not stand to prove his ministry.

As I traveled through markets, fairs, and many places, I saw death and darkness in all people, where the power of the Lord God had not shaken them. As I was passing on in Leicestershire, I came to Twy-Cross, where there were tax collectors. I was moved of the Lord to go and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it. There was in that town a great man that had long lain sick, and was given up on by the physicians. Some Friends in the town desired me to visit him. I went up to him in his chamber, and spoke the word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was persuaded, and restored him to health. When I had come downstairs into a lower room and was speaking to the servants and others there, a male servant of his came raving out of another room with a naked rapier in his hand, and placed it against my side. I looked steadfastly on him, and said, 'Alas for you, poor creature! What will you do with your carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw.' The bystanders were much troubled, and he went away in a rage. But when the news of it came to his master, he turned him out of his service. Thus the Lord's power preserved me, and rose up in the weak man; who afterwards was very loving to Friends. When I came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see me.

After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty power of God was among Friends. I went to Chesterfield where there was a priest named Britland. He saw beyond the common sort of priests; for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of truth before he became the priest there; but when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage, and choked himself with it. I was moved to speak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and he was not able to dispute this. But they had me before the

mayor, and threatened to send me with some others to the house of correction; and they kept us in custody until it was late in the night. Then the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to provide for ourselves as we could. So I inclined my direction towards Derby, having a friend or two with me. On our way we met with many professors; and at Kidsey Park many were convinced.

Coming to Derby, I spent the night at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced; and several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell rung; and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it. So I asked the woman of the house, what the bell rung for? She said there was to be a great lecture there that day, and many officers of the army, priests, and preachers, were to be there, and a colonel, that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to join them. When they had finished speaking, I spoke to them what the Lord commanded me; and they were pretty quiet. But an officer took me by the hand, and said, I must go before the magistrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the first hour after noon that we came before them. They asked me, why we came there? I said, God moved us so to do; and told them, 'God dwells not in temples made with hands.' I also said, all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices would never sanctify them; and bid them look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. The power of God thundered among them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward, for they were from the first hour until the ninth at night in examining me. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner that I was taken up in raptures. At last they asked me, whether I was sanctified?

I answered, yes; for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me, if I had no sin? I answered, Christ, my savior, has taken away my sin; and in him there is no sin. They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us? I said, by his spirit that he has given us. They temptingly asked, if any of us were Christ? I answered, no, we were nothing, and Christ was all. They said, if a man steal, is it no sin? I answered that all unrighteousness is sin. When they had wearied themselves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the house of correction in Derby for six months, as **blasphemers**; as may appear by the mittimus, a copy of which follows:

To the master of the house of correction in Derby, greeting.

We have sent you here the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the declared uttering and broaching of various blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late act of parliament; which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you immediately, upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and to safely them keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprise, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of the good behavior, or be delivered from there by order from ourselves. In this you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

GER. BENNET, NATH. BARTON.

Now did the priests bestir themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and much of their work was to plead for it: so that people said, never was the like heard. After some time, the person committed with me, not standing faithful in his testimony, got in with the jailer, and by him made way to the justice to have leave to go see his mother; and so got his liberty. It then was reported, that he said I had bewitched and deceived him; but my spirit was strengthened when he was gone. The priests, professors, justices, and the jailer, were all in a great rage against me. The jailer watched my words and actions, often asking me questions to ensnare me; and sometimes he would ask me such silly questions, as, whether the door was latched or not? Thinking to draw some sudden, unadvised answer from me, from which he might take advantage to charge sin upon me; but I was kept watchful and chaste, so that they could get no advantage of me; which they admired.

Not long after my commitment, I was moved to write to the priests and magistrates of Derby, and first to the priests.

Oh Friends,

I was sent unto you to tell you, that if you had received the gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price; but you make a trade and sale of what the prophets and apostles have spoken; and so you corrupt the truth and the power. As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so you resist the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no further; for your folly shall be made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover, the Lord sent me to tell you, that he looks for fruits. You asked me, if the scripture was my rule? It is not your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasures, pride, and wantonness, in fullness of bread and abundance of idleness; see if this is not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels; but Sodom was envious. You show forth the vain nature; you stand in the steps of them that crucified MY SAVIOR, and mocked him. You are their children; you show forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies, and so have you; they loved to be called rabbi, and so do you.

George Fox

I wrote to the magistrates who committed me, to this effect.

Friends,

I am forced in tender love to your souls, to write to you, and to beseech you to consider what you do, and what the commands of God call for. He requires justice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. But who calls for justice, or loves mercy, or contends for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward? Does not justice stand afar off? Is not truth silenced in the streets, or can equity enter? Do not they who depart from evil make themselves a prey? Oh! Consider what you do, in time, and take heed whom you imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. I entreat you, in time, take heed what you do; for surely the Lord will come, and make manifest both the builders and the work. If it is of man, it will fail; but if it is of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore, I desire and pray that you would take heed and beware what you do, lest you be found fighters against God.

George Fox

Having thus far cleared my conscience to them, I waited in the holy patience, leaving the event to God, in whose will I stood. After some time I was moved to write again to the justices that had committed me, to lay their evils before them that they might repent. One of them, Nathaniel Barton, was a colonel, a justice, and a preacher.

Friends,

You spoke of the good old way, which the prophet spoke of; but the prophet cried against the abominations, which you hold up. Had you the power of God, you would not persecute the good way. He that spoke of the good way was set in the stocks. The people cried, "away with him to the stocks," for speaking the truth. Ah! Foolish people who have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, without understanding! "Fear you not me, said the Lord, and will you not tremble at my presence?" Oh! Your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! You that are preachers, have the principal place in the assemblies, and are called of men, master. Such were and are against my Savior and Maker. They shut up the kingdom of heaven from men; and neither enter in themselves, nor help others through. Therefore you, who have their places and walk in their step, shall receive the greater damnation. You may say if you had been in the days of the prophets or Christ, you would not have persecuted them. Therefore you are witnesses against yourselves, that you are the children of those, seeing you now persecute the way of truth. Oh! Consider; there is a true judge that will give everyone of you a reward according to your works. Oh! Mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations that the true prophet cried against! Oh! Come down, and sit in the dust! The Lord is coming with power, and he will throw down everyone that is lifted up, that he alone may be exalted.

As I had thus written to them jointly; after some time I wrote to each by himself. To justice Bennet in this manner:

Friend,

You who profess God and Christ, in words, see how you are to follow him. To take off burdens, to visit

those who are in prison, to show mercy, clothe your own flesh, and deal your bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments. To relieve the fatherless, to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep yourself unspotted of the world, this is pure religion before God. But if you profess Christ, and follow covetousness and earthly mindedness, you deny him in life, deceive yourself and others, and take him for a cloak. Woe be to you greedy men and rich men; weep and howl for your misery that shall come! Take heed of covetousness and extortion. God forbids that. Woe be to the man who covets with evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. Oh! Do not love that which God forbids. You are the servant of that which you obey, whether it is of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared sumptuously every day, the other was a beggar. See if you are not Dives? Be not deceived, God is not mocked with vain words. Evil communication corrupts good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not.

George Fox

That to justice Barton was in this manner:

Friend,

You who preach Christ and the scriptures in words. When any come to follow that which you have spoken of, and to live the life of the scriptures; those of you who preach the scriptures, but do not lead their lives according, persecute them. Mind the prophets, Jesus Christ, and his apostles, and all the holy men of God; what they spoke was from the life: but they that had not the life, but the words, persecuted and imprisoned those who lived in the life which those had backslidden from.

George Fox

Having written to the justices and the priests, it was upon me to write to the mayor of Derby also; who, though he did not sign the mittimus, had a hand with the rest in sending me to prison. To him I wrote after this manner:

Friend,

You are set in place to do justice; but, by imprisoning my body, you have done contrary to justice, according to your own law. Oh! Take heed of pleasing men more than God, for that is the way of the scribes and Pharisees: they sought the praise of men more than God. Remember who said, "I was a stranger, and you took me not in; I was in prison, and you visited me not." Oh Friend! Your envy is not against me only, but against the power of truth: I had no envy to you, but love. Oh! Take heed of oppression; "for the day of the Lord is coming, that shall burn, as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble; and the day that comes shall burn them up, said the Lord of hosts: it shall leave them neither root nor branch." Oh friend! If the love of God were in you, you would love the truth, hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly. The love of God bears and suffers and envies no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would show mercy; but you show what rules you. Every tree does show forth its fruit; you show your fruits openly. For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity rule among you, both in teacher and people. Oh friend, mercy, true judgment, and justice, are cried for in the streets: oppression, unmercifulness, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleasures, wantonness, and fullness are in your streets; but the poor is not regarded. Oh! Take heed of the woe. "Woe be to the crown of pride! Woe be to them that drink wine in bowls, when the poor are ready to perish." Oh remember Lazarus and Dives! One fared deliciously every day, the other was a beggar. Oh friend, mind these things, for they are near; and see whether you are in Dives's state.

I wrote also to the Court of Derby thus:

I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people which they cannot bear; and of imposing false oaths, or making them take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord said, "I will come near to judgment, and will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that oppress widows and fatherless;" therefore take heed of all these things while you have time. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delights in mercy. So love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.

Likewise to the ringers, who used to ring the bells in the steeple house called St. Peter's, in Derby, I sent these few lines:

Friends,

Take heed of pleasures, and prize your time now while you have it; do not spend it in pleasures or earthliness. The time may come that you will say; you had time, when it is past. Therefore look at the love of God now while you have time; for it brings you to loathe all vanities and worldly pleasures. Oh consider, time is precious; fear God and rejoice in him who has made heaven and earth.

George Fox

While I was there in prison, many professors came to discourse with me. I had a sense before they spoke, that they came to plead for sin and imperfection. I asked them, whether they were believers, and had faith? They said, yes. I asked them, in whom? They said, in Christ. I replied, if you are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that brings death: and if your faith is true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, purify your hearts and consciences, (*for the true faith is held in a pure conscience*), and bring you to please God, and give you access to him again. But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over sin and the devil. They said, 'They could not believe any could be free from sin on this side the grave.' I bid them give over babbling about the scriptures, which were holy men's words, while they pleaded for unholiness. At another time a company of professors came, who also began to plead for sin. I asked them, whether they had hope? They said, yes: God forbid that we should have no hope. I asked them, what hope is it that you have? '*Is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Does it purify you, as he is pure?*' But they could not abide to hear of being made pure *here*. Then I bid them stop talking of the scriptures, which were the holy men's words; for the holy men that wrote the scriptures pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?

The keeper of the prison, being a high professor, was greatly enraged against me, and spoke very wickedly of me; but it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was in great trouble, and under much toror of mind. And as I was walking in my chamber, I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife, 'Wife, I have seen the day of judgment; and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him; because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses.' After this, towards the evening, he came into my chamber, and said to me, 'I have been as a lion against you; but now I am come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling.' And he desired he might lodge with me; I told him, I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he said, 'No, he would want my release; and he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner.' He said, 'He had been plagued, and his entire house had been plagued for my sake.' So I allowed him to lodge with me. Then he told me all his heart, and said, he believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondered that the other man, who was put in prison with me, did not stand to it; and said, 'That man was not right, but I was an honest man.' He confessed also to me, that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, when he refused to let me go, and I laid the weight of that upon him, that he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time after, and in such a condition that he had little strength left him. When the morning came, he arose and went to the justices, and told them, 'That he and his house had been plagued for my sake.' One of the justices replied, (as he reported to me), that the plagues were upon them too for keeping me. This was justice Bennet of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

After this the justices gave leave that I should have permission to walk a mile. I perceived their objective, and told the jailer, if they should mark for me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it sometimes. For I sensed that they hoped I would go away. And the jailer confessed afterwards they did it with that intent to have me go away, to ease them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that spirit. This jailer had a sister, a sickly young woman. She came up into my chamber to visit me; and after she had stayed some time, and I had spoken the words of truth to her, she went down and told them, 'we were an innocent people, and did harm to no one, but did good to all, even to them that hated us;' and she desired them to be tender toward me.

As by reason of my restraint that I did not have the opportunity of traveling about to declare and spread truth through the countries, it came upon me to write a paper and send it forth to be spread among Friends and other tender people, for the opening of their understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves.

It was after this manner:

THE Lord shows a man his thoughts, and discovers all the secret things in man. And man may be brought to see his evil thoughts, running mind, and vain imaginations, and may strive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in; but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. In this state and condition submit to the spirit of the Lord that shows them, and that will bring to **wait upon the Lord; and He that has discovered them will destroy them.** Therefore stand in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, (who is the author of the true faith), and mind him; for he will discover the root of lusts, evil thoughts, and vain imaginations; and how they are begotten, conceived, and bred; and then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member works. He will discover every principle from its own nature and root.

So mind the faith of Christ, and the anointing which is in you, to be taught by it, which will discover all workings in you. As he teaches you, so obey and repent; else you will not grow in the faith, or in the life of Christ, where the love of God is received. Now love creates love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth meet, what joy there is! **Mercy triumphs over judgment;** and love and mercy bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world's judgment is not the love of God; for love bears all things, and is above the world's judgment; for the world's judgment is but foolishness. Though it be the world's judgment and practice to cast all the filthiness that is among themselves upon the saints, yet their judgment is false. The chaste virgins follow Christ the Lamb that takes away the sins of the world; but they that are of that spirit which is not chaste, will not follow Christ the Lamb in his steps, but are **disobedient to him in his commands.** The fleshly mind does mind the flesh, talks fleshly, and its knowledge is fleshly, and not spiritual; but savors of death, not of the spirit of life. Some men have the nature of swine wallowing in the mire. Some have the nature of dogs, to bite both the sheep and one another. Some have the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and destroy. Some the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and sheep of Christ: and some the nature of the serpent, (that old adversary), to sting, envenom, and poison. "He that has an ear to hear, let him hear," and learn these things within himself. Some men have the natures of other beasts and creatures, minding nothing but earthly and visible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some have the nature of a horse, to prance and vapor in their strength, and to be swift in doing evil. Some have the nature of tall sturdy oaks, to flourish and spread in wisdom and strength, who are strong in evil, which must perish and come to the fire.

Thus the evil is but one in all, but works many ways; and whatsoever a man or woman's nature is addicted to that is outward, the evil one will suit him, and please his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions and in the creatures, from the creator. Oh! Therefore do not let the mind go from God; for if it does, it will be stained, venomed, and corrupted. If the mind goes forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again: therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Christ. Oh! Therefore mind that which is eternal and invisible, and him who is the creator and mover of all things: for the things that are made, are not made of things that appear; for the visible covers the invisible sight in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, does open you by his invisible power and spirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you; so the invisible and immortal things are brought to light in you. Oh! Therefore you that know the light, walk in the light! For there are children of darkness that will talk of the light, and of the truth, yet not walk in it; but the children of light love the light, and walk in the light. But the children of darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light. In them the earthly lusts and carnal mind choke the seed of faith, which brings oppression on the seed and death over themselves. Oh! Therefore mind the pure spirit of the everlasting God, which will teach you to use the creatures in their right place, and which judges the evil. To you, Oh God, be all glory and honor, who are Lord of all visibles and invisibles! To you be all praise, who brings out of the deep to yourself, Oh powerful God! Who is worthy of all glory! For the Lord who created all, and gives life and strength to all, is over all and merciful to all. So you, who have made all, and over all, to you be all glory! In you is my strength, refreshment, and life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore! To live and walk in the spirit of God is joy, peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this brings death. When the mind goes into the flesh, and into death, the accuser gets within, and the law of sin and death gets into the flesh. Then the life suffers under the law of sin and death, and then there is straightness and failings. For then the good is shut up, and the self-righteousness is set atop. Then man works in the outward law; and he cannot justify himself by the law, but is condemned by the light: for he cannot get out of that state, except by abiding in the light, resting in the mercy of God, and believing in him from whom all mercy flows. For there is peace in resting in the Lord Jesus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few will abide in it. Therefore keep in the innocence, and be obedient to the faith in him. Take heed of conforming to the world, and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that brings disobedience; and then imaginations and questionings arise, to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But the obedience of faith destroys imaginations, questionings, and reasonings, with all the temptations in the flesh, buffetings, looking forth, and fetching up things that are past. But, not keeping in the life and light, not crossing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man; then burdens will come, and man will be stained with that nature. But Esau's mountain shall be laid waste, and become a wilderness, where the dragons lie; but Jacob, the second birth, shall be fruitful and shall arise. For Esau is hated, and must not be lord; but Jacob, the second birth, which is perfect and plain, shall be lord; for he is beloved of God.

George Fox

I wrote another paper also, much about the same time, and sent it forth among the convinced people as follows:

The Lord is king over all the earth! Therefore, all people praise and glorify your king in true obedience, in uprightness, and in the beauty of holiness. Oh! Consider, in true obedience the Lord is known, and an understanding from him is received. Mark and consider in silence, in lowliness of mind, and you will hear the Lord speak to you in your mind. His voice is sweet and pleasant: his sheep hear his voice, and will not hearken to another. When they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they also sing for joy. Oh! Their hearts are filled with everlasting triumph! They sing and praise the eternal God in Zion. Their joy man shall never take from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore!

But many, who had been convinced of the truth, turned aside, because of the persecution that arose: whereupon I wrote a few lines for the comfort and encouragement of the faithful thus:

Come, you blessed of the Lord, and rejoice together; keep in unity and oneness of spirit. Triumph above the world! Be joyful in the Lord; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy, you may be preserved to the Lord. Oh hear! Oh hearken to the call of the Lord! Come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! Come, sing together, you righteous ones, the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb; which none can learn,

but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.

While I was in the house of correction, my relations came to see me; and being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison, and desired to have me come home with them; offering to be bound for the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds each, guaranteeing that I would not come back there to declare against the priests. So I was brought up before the justices; but because I would not consent that they or any should be bound for me, (for I was innocent of any ill behavior, and had spoken the word of life and truth unto them), justice Bennet rose up in a rage; and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and struck me with both his bands, crying, 'Away with him, jailer: take him away, jailer.'

Therefore I was sent again to prison, and there kept, until the time of my six month commitment expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself; which I made use of as I felt the freedom of the Lord to do so. Sometimes I went into the market and streets and warned the people to repent of their wickedness; and then I returned to prison again. And since there were persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes visited them in their meetings on First-days.

After I had been brought before the justices, and they had required sureties for my good behavior, (which I could not consent should be given, to blemish my innocence), it came upon me to write to the justices again, which I did in the following manner:

Friends

See what it is in you that does imprison. See, who is your head. See, if something does not accuse you. Consider, you must be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one dined sumptuously every day, the other a beggar. Now you have time; prize it while you have it. Would you have me bound to my good behavior? I am bound to my good behavior, and cry for good behavior of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleasures, oppression, and deceits of this world. And there will come a time that you shall know it. Therefore take heed of pleasures, deceits, and pride; and look not at man, but at the Lord: for, "Look unto me, all you ends of the earth, and be you saved, said the Lord."

Some little time after, I wrote to them again:

Friends,

Would you have me bound to my good behavior from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like. The Lord has redeemed me from all these things; and the love of God has brought me to loathe all evil; blessed be his name. Drunkards, fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds; and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you nor any other can justly accuse of these things; praised be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone, who has all men's hearts in his hand.

After some time, not finding my spirit clear of them, I wrote to them again:

Friends,

Had you known who sent me to you, you would have received me; for the Lord sent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you; and to bid you look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you sent me to prison, where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broken your hearts, then would you see what you have done; you would not have imprisoned me, had not my Father suffered you; and by his power I shall be loosed, for he opens and shuts; to him be all glory! In what have I misbehaved myself, that any should be bound for me? All men's words will do me no good, nor their bonds either, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his strength and power I shall be preserved from ungodliness and worldly lusts. The scripture said, "Receive strangers;" but you imprison such. As you are in authority, take heed of oppression, oaths, injustice, and gifts or rewards, for God loathes all such. But love mercy and true judgment and justice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conscience clear; take heed how you spend your time.

I was moved also to write again to the priests of Derby; which I did after this manner:

Friends,

You profess to be the ministers of Jesus Christ in words, but you show by your fruits what your ministry is. Every tree shows forth its fruit: the ministry of Jesus Christ is in mercy and love, to loose them that are bound, to bring out of bondage, and let them that are captivated go free. Now, friends, where is your example, if the scriptures be your rule, to imprison for religion? Have you any command for it from Christ? If that were in you, which you profess, you would walk in their steps who spoke the scriptures. But he is not a Jew who is one outward, whose praise is of men; but he is a Jew who is one inward, whose praise is of God. But if you build upon the prophets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes, which Jesus Christ spoke against such. They that spoke the prophets' words, but denied Christ, they professed a Christ to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him. The saints, whom the love of God did change, were 'brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; for he that dwells in love, dwells in God'. But where envy, pride, and hatred rule, the nature of the world rules, not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you; but so that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you pass your time.

Thus having cleared my conscience to the priests, it was not long before a concern came upon me to write again to the justices, which I did as follows:

I am moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the cross; satisfy not your own minds in the flesh; but **prize your time while you have it, and conduct your life in obedience to what you already know, in obedience to God; you will not be condemned for what you don't know, but only condemned for that you know and choose not to obey.** Consider before it is too late, evaluate yourselves, see where you are, and whom you serve. For if you blaspheme God, and take his name in vain, if you swear and lie, if you give way to envy, hatred, covetousness, and greediness, pleasures and indulgence, or any other vices, be assured that you serve the devil; but if you fear the Lord and serve him, you will loathe all these things. He that loves God, will not blaspheme his name: but where there is opposing of God, and serving the devil, that profession is sad and miserable. Oh! **Prize your time, and do not love that which God forbids; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greediness, covetousness, oppression, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, and all unrighteousness, God does forbid. So consider, evil communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words; the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. Therefore obey that which convinces you of all evil, and tells you that you should do no evil:** it will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord. Oh! Look at the mercies of God, prize them, and do not turn them into unrestrained behaviors. Oh! Eye the Lord and not earthly things!

Besides this, I wrote the following to Colonel Barton, who was both a justice and a preacher, as was limited before:

Friend,

Do not cloak and cover yourself; there is a God who knows your heart, and will uncover you. He sees your way. "Woe be to him that covers, and not with my spirit, said the Lord." Do you act contrary to the law, and then forget about it? Mercy and true judgment you neglect; look what was spoken against such. My Savior said to such, "I was sick and in prison, and you visited me not; I was hungry, and you fed me not; I was a stranger, and you did not take me in." And when they said, "When did we see you in prison, and did not come to you," etc. He replied, "Inasmuch as you failed to visit one of these little ones, you failed to visit me." Friend, you have imprisoned me for bearing witness to the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be a minister of Christ; but if Christ had sent you, you would be freeing people from prison, out of bondage, and would receive strangers. You have been luxuriant upon the earth; you have lived plenteously, and nourished your heart as in a day of slaughter. You have killed the just. Oh! Look where you are, and how you have spent your time! Oh! Remember yourself, and now while you have time, prize it. Do not slight the free mercy of God, and despise his long suffering, which is great salvation; but mind that in you which does convince you, and would not let you swear, nor lie, nor take God's name in vain. You know you should do none of these things; you have learned that which will condemn you: therefore obey the light which does convince you, forsake your sins, look at the mercies of God, and prize his love in sparing you until now. The Lord said, "Look unto me all you

ends of the earth, and be you saved;" and "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." Friend, prize your time, and see whom you serve; for whoever's servant you are, is whom you obey; whether of sin leading to death, or obedience leading to righteousness. If you serve God and fear him, you will not blaspheme his name, nor curse, nor swear, nor take his name in vain, nor follow pleasures and wantonness, whoredom and drunkenness, nor wrath, or malice, or revenge, or rashness, or headiness, pride or gluttony, greediness, oppression or covetousness, or foolish jesting, or vain songs; God does forbid these things, and all unrighteousness. If you profess God, and act any of these things, you take him for a cloak, and serve the devil. Consider with yourself, and do not love that which God hates. He that loves God keeps his commandments. The devil will tell you, it is a hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an easy thing to keep the devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteousness and ungodliness, turning the grace of God into wantonness. But let the unrighteous man forsake his ways, and turn unto me, said the Lord, and I will have mercy; "Turn you, why will you die? said the Lord."

Howl, you great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! Howl, you oppressors, for recompense and vengeance is coming upon you! Woe unto them that covetously join one house to another, and bring one field so near unto another that the poor can get no more ground; that you may dwell upon the earth alone. These things are in the ears of the Lord of hosts. Woe unto him that covetously obtains goods by evil means into his house, that he may set his nest on high, to escape from the power of evil.

While I was yet in the house of correction, a trooper came to me there and said that as he as sitting in the steeple-house listening to the priest, and exceedingly great trouble fell on him; and the voice of the Lord came to him, saying, 'do you not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction.' So I spoke to his condition, and his understanding was opened. I told him that which showed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would show him his salvation; for he that shows a man his sin, is the same that takes it away. While I was speaking to him, the Lord's power opened him so that he began to have a good understanding in the Lord's truth, and to be sensible of God's mercies. He spoke boldly in his quarters among the soldiers, and to others, concerning truth, (for the scriptures were very much opened to him), insomuch that he said; 'his colonel was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison.' Upon this, his colonel conceived a spite against him: and at Worcester fight, the year after, when the two armies lay near to one another, two came out from the king's army, and challenged any two of the parliament army to fight with them; his colonel chose him and another to answer the challenge. And when in the encounter his companion was slain, he drove both his enemies within musket shot of the town, without firing a pistol at them. This, when he returned, he told me personally. But when the fight was over, he saw the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers; and being sensible to how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him, and seeing also to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

The time of my commitment to the house of correction being very near completed, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried, they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market place; where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, asking me, if I would not take up arms for the commonwealth against Charles Stuart? I told them I knew where all wars originated, even from the lusts, according to James's doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. Yet they courted me to accept of their offer, and thought I was complimenting them. But I told them I had come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes existed.

They said, they offered it in love and kindness to me, because of my virtue; and they said other such like flattering words. But I told them, if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they said, 'Take him away, jailer, and put him into the dungeon among the rogues and felons.' So I was put into a lousy stinking place, without any bed, among thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year; yet at times they would let me walk in the garden, believing I would not go away.

When they put me into Derby prison, the people said that I would never come out; but I had faith in God that I would be released in his time: for the Lord had said to me before that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which he had for me to do.

After it was reported abroad that I was in Derby prison, my relatives came to see me again; and were very troubled that I was in prison; for they thought it was a great shame to them for me to be in jail. It was a strange thing then to be imprisoned for religion; and some thought I was mad, because I stood for purity, righteousness, and perfection.

Among others that came to see and discourse with me, there was a certain person from Nottingham, a soldier, who had been a Baptist, as I understood, and with him came several others. In discourse, this person said to me, 'Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there never was any such thing.' Being exceedingly grieved to hear him, I said, 'How! Did not Christ suffer outside the gates of Jerusalem, through the professing Jews, chief priests, and Pilate?' He denied that ever Christ suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him whether there were not chief priests, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? When he could not deny that, I told him, as certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man's words was a false report raised upon us that the Quakers denied Christ who suffered and died at Jerusalem. This was all utterly false, and the least thought of it never entered our hearts. The same person also said, that never any of the prophets, nor apostles, nor holy men of God, suffered anything outwardly, but all their sufferings were inward. I instanced to him many of the prophets and apostles, how and by whom they suffered. So the power of the Lord was brought over his wicked imaginations and whimsies.

Another company also came to me that pretended they were triers of spirits. I asked them, what was the first step to peace? And by what means a man might see his salvation? They were presently up in the airy mind, and said I was mad. Thus they came to try spirits, who did not know themselves or their own spirits.

In this time of my imprisonment I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their courts of judicature, and was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for theft of cattle, and money, and small matters; and to show them how contrary it was to the law of God in the past: for I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it, and under the very sense of death; but standing in the will of God, a heavenly breathing arose in my soul to the Lord. Then did I see the heaven opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God. So I wrote to the judges in manner following:

I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle, or money, etc., for thieves in Biblical times were to make restitution; and if they could not make restitution, they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the scriptures, and the spirit that gave them forth; let them be your rule in executing judgment; and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. Take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God forbids them, and they blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin, God has forbidden it; but that you should judge according to his laws, and show mercy; for he delights in true judgment, and in mercy. I implore you, mind these things, and prize your time, now you have it; fear God, and serve him, for he is a consuming fire.

Besides this, I wrote another letter to the judges, to this effect:

I am moved to write unto you, that you do true justice to every man: see that none be oppressed or wronged, nor any oaths imposed; for the land mourns because of oaths, adulteries, sorceries, drunkenness, and profaneness. Oh consider, you that are in authority; be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Show mercy to the fatherless, to the widows, and to the poor. Take heed of rewards or gifts, for they blind the eyes of the wise; the Lord does loathe all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice and righteousness; for the Lord delights in such. Consider these things in time, and take heed how you spend your time. Now you have time, prize it; and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from the Lord: for he is coming to try all things, and will plead with all flesh as by fire.

Moreover, I laid before the judges what a hurtful thing it was that prisoners should stay so long in jail; showing how they learned wickedness one of another, in talking of their bad deeds; therefore speedy justice should be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God; and being grieved to hear their bad language, I was often made to reprove them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other. People admired that I was so preserved and kept; for they never could catch

a word or action from me, to make any thing of against me, all the time I was there; for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preserved me all that time; to him be praises and glory for ever!

While I was here, there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master. When she was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and jury, showing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing; and moving them to show mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her; and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God; and that all should fear the Lord, avoid earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it; this I gave to be read at the gallows. And though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back to prison, where she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

There was also in the jail, while I was there, a wicked ungodly man who was reputed a conjurer. He threatened how he would talk with me, and what he would do; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And the jailer and he falling out, he threatened to raise the devil, and break his house down; so that he made the jailer afraid. I was moved of the Lord to go in his power and rebuke him, and to say to him, 'Come, let us see what you can do; do your worst.' I told him, 'the devil was raised high enough in him already; but the power of God chained him down;' so he slunk away from me.

The time of Worcester fight coming on, justice Bennet sent constables to press me to become a soldier, since I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told them, that I was brought off from outward wars. They came again to give me press-money; but I would take none. Then I was brought up to sergeant Holes, kept there awhile, and taken down again. Afterwards the constables brought me up a second time, and then I was brought before the commissioners, who said I should go to be a soldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them where envy and hatred is, there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I refused it. Being disappointed, they were angry, and committed me close prisoner, without bail or mainprise. Upon which I wrote to them again, directing my letter to colonel Barton, a preacher, and the rest that were concerned in my commitment. I wrote thus:

You who are without Christ and yet use the words that he and his saints have spoken, consider neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but my savior is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He brings out of prison and bondage; but men, while the carnal mind rules, oppress, and imprison. My savior said, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that spitefully use and persecute you." For the love of God does not persecute any, but loves all where it dwells. "He that hates his brother is a murderer." You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ; yet you have imprisoned me, who is servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any, but were imprisoned themselves. Take heed of speaking of Christ in words, and denying him in life and power. Oh friends, the imprisoning of my body is to satisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow creatures. This is written that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following lines, to go among the convinced and tender people, to manifest the deceptions of the world, and how the priests have deceived the people.

*To all you that love the Lord Jesus Christ with a pure and naked heart,
and the generation of the righteous.*

Christ was always hated; and so the righteous are hated for his sake. Mind who they were that did always hate them. He that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit; so it is now. Mind who were the principal opposers of Christ, even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers, and teachers, that professed the law and the prophets, and looked for Christ. They looked for an outwardly glorious Christ, to hold up their outward glory; but Christ spoke against the works of the world, and against the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ is a hireling; but the servants of Jesus Christ are free men. The false teachers always laid burdens upon the people; and the true servant of the Lord declared against them. Jeremiah spoke against hirelings, and said, it was a horrible thing; and said, "What will you do in the

end?" For the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul spoke against such as made gain from the people, and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous and proud, such as loved pleasures more than God, such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power of that. "For of this sort," said he, "are they, that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, who are ever learning but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt mind, reprobate concerning the faith, and as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these resist the truth; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest unto all men." Moses rejected honors and pleasures, which he might have enjoyed. The apostle in his time saw this corruption entering, which now is spread over the world, of having a form of godliness but denying the power. Ask any of your teachers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions or sins? None of them believe that; but "as long as man is here, he must (they say), carry about with him the body of sin." Thus pride is kept up, and that honor and mastership which Christ denied, and all unrighteousness. Yet multitudes of teachers! Heaps of teachers! The golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages, but labored with his hands, that he might be an example to all that follow him. Oh people, see who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah said, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" but now the priests bear rule by the means (salaries) they get from the people: take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are such as the apostle said, "intruded into those things which they never saw, being vainly puffed up with a fleshly mind;" and as the scriptures declare of some of old, "they go in the way of Cain," who was a murderer, "and in the way of Balaam," who coveted the wages of unrighteousness. The prophet Micah also cried against the judges that judged for reward, and the priests that taught for hire, and the prophets that prophesied for money; yet leaned on the Lord, saying, "is not the Lord among us?" Gifts blind the eyes of the wise. The gift of God was never purchased with money. All the holy servants of God cried against deceit; and where the Lord has manifested his love, they loathe it, and that nature which holds it up.

Again a concern came upon me to write to the magistrates of Derby.

Friends,

I desire you to consider in time whom you imprison; for the magistrate is placed in authority for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of those who do well. But when the Lord sends his messengers to warn you of the woes that will come upon you unless you repent, you persecute them, put them in prison, and say, "We have a law, and by our law we may do it." For you indeed justify yourselves before men, but God knows your hearts. He will not be worshipped with your forms, professions, and shows of religion. Therefore consider, you that talk of God, how you are subject to him; for they are his children that do his will. What does the Lord require of you, but to do justice, to love and show mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherless to their right! But instead of that, you oppress the poor. Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your priests teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who sees all things will discover all your secrets. Know this assuredly: the Lord will deliver his servants out of your hands, and he will recompense all your unjust dealings towards his people. I desire you to consider these things; search the scriptures, and see, whether any of the people of God ever imprisoned anyone for religion. They were themselves imprisoned. I desire you to consider, that it is written, "When the church meets together you may all prophesy one by one, that all may hear, learn, and be comforted;" and then, "if anything be revealed to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace." Thus it was in the true church, and thus it ought now to be; but it is not so in your assemblies: but he that teaches for hire may speak, and none may contradict him. Again, consider the liberty that was given to the apostles, even among the unbelieving Jews, when after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, "You men and brethren, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, say so." I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord; for he is stronger than you. Though you hold his people immobile for a time, yet when he comes, he will acknowledge those who are his; for his coming is like the refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. Then the stone that is rejected by you builders shall be the head stone of the corner. Oh friends, lay these things to heart. Let them not seem light things to you. I wrote to you in love, to mind the laws of God, and your own souls, and to do as the holy men of God did.

Great was the exercise and travail in spirit that I underwent during my imprisonment here, because of the wickedness that was in this town; for though some were convinced there, yet the generality were a hardened people. I saw the visitation of God's love pass away from them. I mourned over them; and it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as a lamentation for them:

As the waters run away when the flood-gates are up, so does the visitation of God's love pass away from you, Oh Derby! Therefore look where you are, and how you are grounded; and consider, before you are utterly forsaken. The Lord moved me twice before I came to cry against the deceits and vanities that are in you, and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The woe is against the crown of pride, against drunkenness and vain pleasures, and against those who make a profession of religion in words, yet are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppression and envy. Oh Derby! Your profession and preaching stink before the Lord. You profess a Sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves in fine apparel, and you uphold pride. *Your women go with stretched forth necks and flirtatious eyes,* etc. which the true prophet of old cried against. Your assemblies are detestable, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is set up and bowed down to, covetousness abounds, and he that does wickedly is honored. So deceit bears with deceit, yet they profess Christ in words. Oh! The deceit that is within you! It even breaks my heart to see how God is dishonored in you, Oh Derby!

After I had seen the visitation of God's love pass away from this place, I knew that my imprisonment here would not continue long; but I saw that when the Lord should bring me forth, it would be as the letting of a lion out of a den among the wild beasts of the forest. For all professions stood in a beastly spirit and nature, pleading for sin, and for the body of sin and imperfection, as long as they lived. They all kicked, and yelled, and roared, and raged, and ran against the life and spirit which gave forth the scriptures, yet professed them in words, as will appear hereafter.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magistrates were uneasy about me, and could not agree what to do with me. One group wanted to send me up to the parliament; another group would have me banished to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, a seducer, and a blasphemer. Afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, they styled me an honest virtuous man. But their good report and bad report were nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other cast me down: praised be the Lord! At length they were made to turn me out of jail, about the beginning of winter in the year 1651, after I had been prisoner in Derby almost a year; six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail.

Being at liberty I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord, passing through the country into Leicestershire, having meetings as I went; and the Lord's spirit and power accompanied me. Afterwards I went near Burton upon Trent, where some were convinced; and to Bushel house, where I had a meeting. I went into the country, where there were friendly people; but there was an outrageous wicked professor who had intent to have done me a mischief, but the Lord prevented him: blessed be the Lord!

As I was walking with several Friends, I lifted up my head, and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was? They said, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me that I must go there. Being come to the house we were going to, I wished Friends to walk into the house, saying nothing to them about where I was to go. As soon as they were gone I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch until I came within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping their sheep. Then I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still for it was winter; and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled, and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying, 'Cry, woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!' So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, 'WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD!' It being market day, I went into the market place, and around in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, 'WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD!' And no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market place appeared like a pool of blood. When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace; and returning to the shepherds gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes again, and was at a stand whether I should or not, until I felt freedom from the Lord so to do: then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again. After this a deep consideration came upon me, for what reason I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it THE BLOODY CITY! For though the parliament had the government at one period, and the king at another period, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more blood that had been shed in many other places. But afterwards I came to understand, that in the emperor Dioclesian's time, a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield. So I was to go, without my shoes, through the channel of their

blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market place, that I might raise up the memorial of the blood of those martyrs, which had been shed above a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets. So the sense of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the Lord. Ancient records testify how many of the Christian Britons suffered there. Much I could write of the sense I had of the blood of the martyrs, that has been shed in this nation for the name of Christ, both under the ten persecutions and since: but I leave it to the Lord, and to his book, out of which all shall be judged; for his book is a most certain record, and his spirit a true recorder.

Then I passed up and down through the countries, having meetings among friendly people in many places; but my relatives were offended by me. After some time, I returned into Nottinghamshire, to Mansfield, and into Derbyshire, visiting Friends. Then passing into Yorkshire, I preached repentance through Doncaster, and several other places; and came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and several others were convinced. So traveling through several places, preaching repentance, and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Naylor lived; who, with Thomas Goodyear, came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife, with many more came to me, who were convinced, and received the truth. From there I passed towards captain Pursloe's, by Selby, and visited John Leek, who had been to see me in Derby prison, and was convinced. I had a horse, but was glad to leave him, not knowing what to do with him; for I was moved to go to many great houses, to admonish and exhort the people to turn to the Lord. I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverly steeple-house, which was a place of high profession. Being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn. As soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house said, 'What! Is it you? Come in,' as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power had bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself, and went to bed. In the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had, went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching.

When he had done, I was moved to speak to him and to the people in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong, that it struck a mighty dread among the people. The mayor came and spoke a few words to me; but none had power to meddle with me. So I passed out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple house about two miles off. When the priest had done, I was moved to speak to him and to the people very largely, showing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said, he was but a child, and could not dispute with me. I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of life and truth to them so that they might all know the one seed which the promise of God was to, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week day, and preach among them: **but I directed them to their teacher, Christ Jesus;** and the next day went to Cransick, to captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to justice Hotham's. Justice Hotham was a pretty tender man, and had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet; where sitting together, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now send his servants to publish it abroad to the people. After awhile a priest came to visit him, with whom I had some discourse concerning truth. His mouth was quickly stopped; for he was nothing but a presuming talker, and not in possession of what he talked of.

While I was there, a great woman of Beverly came to justice Hotham about some business. In discourse she told him, 'The last Sabbath day, as she called it, there was an angel or spirit who came into the church at Beverly, and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all who were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know where it came from nor where it went; but it astonished all, priest, professors, and magistrates.' Justice Hotham related this to me afterwards; and then I gave him an account that I had been that day at Beverly steeple-house, and had declared truth to the priest and people there.

In the country near there were some noted priests and doctors that justice Hotham had acquaintance with. He would gladly have them speak with me, and offered to send for them, under pretence of some business he had with them; but I wished him not to do so.

When the First-day of the week was come, justice Hotham walked out with me into the fields; and captain Pursloe coming after us, justice Hotham left us, and returned home; but captain Pursloe went with me into the steeple-house. When the priest had done, I spoke to both priest and people; declared to them the word of life and truth, and directed them where they might find their teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. Some were convinced, received the truth, and stand fast in it, and have a fine meeting to

this day.

In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, about three miles off, where a great high priest, called a doctor, was preaching; one of them whom justice Hotham wanted me to go and speak to. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed until the priest was finished. The words which he took for his text were these: 'Lo, everyone that thirsts, come you to the waters; and he that has no money, come you, buy and eat, yes, come buy wine and milk without money and without price.' Then was I moved of the Lord God to say to him, 'Come down, you deceiver; do you bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet you take three hundred pounds a year from them for preaching the scriptures to them? You should blush with shame? Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spoke the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, **'Freely you have received, freely give?'** The priest, like a man confused, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I wanted to speak to the people. I directed them from darkness to the light, and to the grace of God that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher to them.

Having cleared myself among that people, I returned to justice Hotham's that night; who, when I came in, took me in his arms, and said, his house was my house, for he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was being revealed. Then he told me why he didn't go with me to the steeple-house in the morning, and what reasonings he had in himself about it; for he thought that if he had gone with me to the steeple-house, the officers would have taken me to him; and then he would not have known what to do: he said he was glad that captain Pursloe had gone with me; yet neither of them was dressed, nor had their bands about their necks. It was a strange thing then to see a man come into a steeple-house without a band; still captain Pursloe went in with me without his band, the Lord's power and truth had so affected him that he did not mind it.

From here I passed on, and came at night to an inn where there was a company of rude people. I asked the woman of the house to bring me some meat if she had any; but because I said thee and thou to her, she looked strangely on me. I asked her if she had any milk? She said, no. I sensed she was lying; and, being willing to try her further, I asked her, if she had any cream? She denied that she had any. A churn stood in the room, and a little boy, playing about, put his hands into it, and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman shown to be a liar. She was amazed, blessed herself, took up the child, and whipped it sorely; but I censured her for her lying and deceit. After the Lord had thus discovered her deceit and perverseness, I walked out of the house, and went away until I came to a stack of hay, and lay in the haystack that night, in rain and snow; it being but three days before the time called Christmas.

The next day I came into York, where there were several very tender people. Upon the First-day following, I was commanded of the Lord to go and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went. When the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. 'Then say it quickly,' said a professor, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them, this was the word of the Lord God to them: that they lived in words, but **God Almighty looked for fruits among them.** As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps. But I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging, and several were convinced there. For the very groans that arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the spirit of God in me, would open people, strike them, and make them confess that the groans which broke forth through me did reach them: for my life was burdened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit.

After I had done my present service in York, and several were convinced there, received the truth of God, and were turned to his teaching, I passed out of York, and looked towards Cleaveland, and I saw there was a people that had tasted of the power of God. I saw there was a seed in that country, and that God had a humble people there. Passing onwards that night, a Papist overtook me, and talked to me of his religion, and of their meetings; and I let him speak all that was in his mind. That night I stayed at an alehouse. Next morning I was moved to speak the word of the Lord to this Papist. So I went to his house, and declared against all their superstitious ways; and told him, that God was come to teach his people himself. This put him into such a rage, that he could not endure to stay in his own house.

Next day I came to Burraby, where a priest and several friendly people were met together. Many of

the people were convinced, and have continued faithful ever since. There is a great meeting of Friends in that town. The priest also was forced to confess to truth, though he came not into it.

The day following I went to Cleaveland, among those people that had tasted of the power of God. They had formerly had great meetings, but were then shattered to pieces, and their leaders had turned Ranters. I told them, that after they had such meetings, they did not wait upon God to feel his power to gather their minds inward, that they might feel his presence and power among them in their meetings, to sit down in that and wait upon him: for they had spoken themselves dry; they had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spoke of, they were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings still; but they took tobacco, and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose. But my message unto them from the Lord was, that they should all come together again, and wait to feel the Lord's power and spirit in themselves, to gather them to Christ, that they might be taught of him, who says, '**Learn of me.**' For when they had declared that which the Lord had opened to them, then the people were to receive it; and both the speakers and the hearers were to live in that themselves. But when these had no more to declare, but went to seek forms without life, that made themselves dry and barren, and the people also; and from there came all their loss: for the Lord renews his mercies and his strength to them that wait upon him. The leaders came to nothing: but most of the people were convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their savior.

Upon the First-day of the next week, the word of the Lord came to me to go to the steeple-house there; which I did. When the priest had done, I spoke the truth to him and the people, and directed them to their teacher within, Christ Jesus, their free teacher who had bought them. The priest came to me, and I had a little discourse with him: but he was soon stopped and silent. Then, being clear of the place, I passed away, having had several meetings among those people.

Though the snow was very deep, I kept traveling, and came to a market town, where I met with many professors, with whom I had much reasoning. I asked them many questions, which they were not able to answer; saying, they had never had such deep questions put to them in all their lives.

From them I went to Stath, where I met with many professors, and some Ranters. I had large meetings among them, and a great conviction there was. Many received the truth; among whom, one was a man who was a hundred years old; another was a chief constable; a third was a priest, whose name was Philip Scafe. The Lord, by his free spirit, did afterwards make him a free minister of his free gospel.

The priest of this town was a lofty one, who significantly oppressed the people for his tithe payments. If they went fishing many leagues off, he would exact the tithe-money of what they made on their fish, though they caught them at a great distance, and carried them as far as Yarmouth to sell. I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, to declare the truth, and lay open the priest. When I spoke to him, and accused him of oppressing the people, he fled away. The chief of the parish were very light and vain. After I had spoken the word of life to them, I turned away from them, because they did not receive it; and left them. But the word of the Lord, which I had declared among them, stuck with some, so that at night some of the heads of the parish came to me. Most of them were convinced and satisfied, and confessed to the truth. Thus the truth began to spread in that country, and great meetings we had; at which the priest began to rage, and the Ranters to be stirred; who sent me word they would have a dispute with me; both the oppressing priest and the leader of the Ranters. A day was fixed, and the Ranter came with his company. Another priest, a Scotchman, came; but not the oppressing priest of Stath. Philip Scafe was with me; and a great number of people met. When we were settled, T. Bushel, the Ranter, told me, he had had a vision of me, that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he had come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; which he did. And many other flattering words he spoke. I told him, it was his own figure, and said, 'Repent, You beast.' He said it was jealousy in me to say so. I asked him the ground of jealousy, and how it came to be bred in man? And the nature of a beast, what made it, and how it was bred in man? For I saw him directly in that nature of the beast; and therefore I queried how that nature came to be bred in him? I told him, he should give me an account of things done in the body, before we came to discourse of things done out of the body. So I stopped his mouth, and all his fellow Ranters were silenced; for he was the head of them. Then I called for the oppressing priest, but only the Scotch priest came, whose mouth was soon stopped, with a very few words, he being out of the life of what he professed. Then I had a good opportunity with the people.

I laid open the Ranters, with the old Ranters in Sodom. The priests I manifested to be of the same stamp with their fellow hirelings, the false prophets of old, and the priests that then bore rule over the people by their means, seeking their gain from their quarter, divining for money, and teaching for filthy lucre. I brought all the prophets, Christ and the apostles, over the heads of the priests, showing how the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, had long since discovered them by their marks and fruits. Then I directed the people to the inward teacher, Christ Jesus, their savior; and preached up Christ in the hearts of his people, when all these mountains were laid low. The people were all quiet, and the opposers' mouths were stopped; for though they broiled inwardly, the divine power so bound them down, that they could not break out.

After the meeting, this Scottish priest desired me to walk with him atop of the cliffs. Upon which I called a brother-in-law of his, who was in some measure convinced, and desired him to go with me, telling him, I desired to have somebody nearby to overhear what we said; for feart the priest, when I was gone, should report something I supposedly said but which I did not say. We went together, the priest asking me many things concerning the light, and concerning the soul; all which I answered him fully. When he had done questioning, we parted; and he went his way; and meeting with Philip Scafe, he broke his cane against the ground in madness, and said, if ever he met with me again, he would have my life, or I should have his; adding, that he would have his head chopped off, if I was not destroyed within a month. By this, Friends suspected his intent was, in desiring me to walk with him alone, either to have thrust me down from the cliff, or to have done me some other mischief; and that being frustrated in that, it made him rage. But I neither regarded his prophecies, nor his threats; for I feared God Almighty. After some years, this very Scotch priest and his wife came to be convinced of the truth; and about twelve years after I was at their house.

Another priest came to a meeting where I was; one in repute above all the priests in the country. As I was declaring, that the gospel was the power of God, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men, and was turning people from darkness to light; this high flown priest said, the gospel was mortal. I told him, the true minister said, the gospel was the power of God; and would he make the power of God mortal? Upon that, the other priest, Philip Scafe, who was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himself, took him up and reprov'd him; so a great dispute arose between them: the convinced priest holding that the gospel was immortal, and the other holding it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this opposer, and stopped his mouth; and many were convinced, seeing the darkness of the opposing priest, and the light that was in the convinced priest.

Another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and Friends went with me to the house where he was; but when he understood we came, he slipped out of the house, and hid under a hedge. The people went and found him, but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a steeple-house nearby, where the priest and people were in a great rage: this priest had threatened Friends with what he would do; but when I came, he fled. For the Lord's power came over him and them. Yes, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and reached to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit, in which they held their profession of religion and worship; so that it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, *'The man in leathern breeches is come.'* At the hearing of that the priests in many places would get out of the way; they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear surprised the hypocrites.

We passed to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had some service for the Lord: large meetings are settled there since. From there I passed over the Woulds to Malton, where we had great meetings, as we had also at the towns thereabouts. At one town a priest sent me a challenge to dispute with me; but when I came he did not show up. I had a good opportunity with the people, and the Lord's power seized upon them. One, who had been a wild drunken man, was so reached by the power, that he came to me as lowly as a lamb; though he and his companions had before sent for drink to make the rude people drunk, on purpose that they might abuse us. When I found the priest would not come out to meet with me, I was moved to go to the steeple-house, and he was confounded; the Lord's power coming over all.

On First-day following, came one of the highest independent professors, a woman, who had let in such a prejudice against me, that she said, before she came, she could willingly have gone to see me hanged. But coming, she was convinced and remains a Friend.

I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there were; to which several more would have come,

but dared not for fear of their relatives; for then it was thought a strange thing to preach in houses, and not go to the "church", as they called the steeple-house; I was therefore much desired to go and speak in the steeple-houses. One of the priests wrote to me, and invited me to preach in his steeple-house, calling me his brother; another priest, a noted man, kept a lecture there. The Lord had showed me, while I was in Derby prison, that I should speak in steeple-houses, to gather people from them; and a concern sometimes came upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests lounged in. For the steeple-houses and pulpits were offensive to my mind, because both priests and people called them the house of God, and idolized them; thinking that God dwelled in the outward house. Instead, they should have looked for God and Christ to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be made the temples of God; for the apostle said, '**God dwells not in temples made with hands:**' but by reason of the people's idolizing those places, it was counted a heinous thing to declare against them. When I came into the steeple-house, there were not above eleven people attending, and the priest was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was there, it was soon filled with people. When the priest had done, he sent the other priest who had invited me there, to bring me into the pulpit; but I sent him word, that I needed not to go into the pulpit. He sent to me again, desiring me to go up into it; for, he said, it was a better place, and there I might be seen of the people I sent him word again, I could be seen and heard well enough where I was; and that I came not there to hold up such places, nor their maintenance and trade. Upon this they began to be angry, and said, 'These false prophets were to come in the last times.' Their saying so grieved many of the people, and some began to murmur at it. Upon which I stood up, and desired all to be quiet; and, stepping upon a high seat, declared to them the marks of the false prophets, showing that they were already come; and set the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles over them; and manifested these to be out of the steps of the true prophets, of Christ, and of his apostles. I directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from darkness to the light. And having opened several scriptures to them, I directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to him, and by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were. So having had a large opportunity among them, I departed in peace.

After some time, I came to Pickering, where the justices held their sessions in the steeple-house, Justice Robinson being chairman. I had a meeting in the schoolhouse at the same time; and abundance of priests and professors came to it, asking questions, which were answered to their satisfaction. It being sessions-time, four chief constables and many other people were convinced that day; and word was carried to Justice Robinson that his priest was overthrown and convinced; whom he had a love to, more than to all the other priests. After the meeting, we went to an inn, and Justice Robinson's priest was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner; but I would by no means allow it. Then he offered me his steeple-house to preach in; but I refused it, and told him and the people, that I came to bring them off from such things to Christ.

The next morning I went with the four chief constables and some others, to visit Justice Robinson, who met me at his chamber door. I told him, I could not honor him with man's honor. He said he did not look for it. So I went into his chamber, and opened to him the state of the false prophets and of the true prophets; and set the true prophets, Christ, and the apostles, over the other; and directed his mind to Christ his teacher. I opened to him the parables, and how election and reprobation (rejection) stood; as that reprobation stood in the first birth, and election in the second birth. I showed also what the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. He confessed to it all, and was so opened with the truth, that when another justice made some little opposition, he informed him. At our parting, he said, it was very well that I exercised that gift which God had given me. He took the chief constables aside, and would have given them some money for me, saying, he would not have me be at any charge in their country; but they told him, they themselves could not get me to take any money; and so accepting his kindness, refused his money.

From there I passed into the country, and the priest that called me brother, (in whose schoolhouse I had the meeting at Pickering), went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang. I asked what they rang for? They said, for me to preach in the steeple-house. After some time I felt drawings that way; and as I walked to the steeple-house, I saw the people gathered together in the yard. The old priest would have had me gone into the steeple-house. I said, 'no, it was no matter.' But it was strange to the people that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. I stood up in the steeple-house yard, and declared to the people, that I came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their augmentations, nor their priests' wages, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions, (for I denied all these), and told them, that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. *I showed them; that the apostles going into the*

*Jews' synagogues and temples, which God had commanded, was to bring people away from that temple, and those synagogues, and from the offerings, tithes, and covetous priests of that time. That those who came to be convinced of the truth, converted to it, and believed in Jesus Christ, whom the apostles preached, met together in dwelling houses; and that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he commanded. So I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwells not in; that they might **know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ**; and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hired teachers, that take tithes, and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money; whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess, when they say, they never heard God's nor Christ's voice. I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, directing them to the spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus *in their own hearts*; that they might come to know Christ, their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the scriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity to open things largely to them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord.*

I passed to another town, where was another great meeting, the old priest being with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. I sat on a haystack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words. The professors would ever and on be speaking to the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak? He bade them wait; and told them, that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spoke. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power. The word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement among them.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

From here I passed on, the old priest being still with me, and several others. As we went along, some people called to him and said, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it.' But he threw up his hands, and said, 'He had enough, he would have none of it; they might keep it;' and 'he praised the Lord he had enough.'

At length we came to this old priest's steeple-house, in the Moors, and he went before me, and held open the pulpit door; but I told him I should not go into it. This steeple-house was very much painted. I told him and the people, the painted beast had a painted house. I opened to them the rise of all those houses; and their superstitious ways, showing them, that as the end of the apostles' going into the temple and synagogues, which God had commanded, was not to hold them up, but to bring them to Christ the substance; so the end of my coming there, was not to hold up these temples, priests, and tithes, which God had never commanded, but to bring them off from all these things to Christ the substance. I showed them the true worship which Christ had set up, and distinguished Christ the true way from all the false ways, opening the parables to them, and turning them from darkness to the true light, that by it they might see themselves, their sins, and Christ their savior; that believing in him they might be saved from their sins.

After this we went to one Birdet's, where I had a great meeting; and this old priest accompanied me still, leaving his steeple-house. He had been looked upon as a famous priest, above common-prayer-men, presbyters, and independents too. Before he was convinced he went sometimes into their steeple-houses, and preached; for he had been a zealous man in his way: and when they complained of him to justice Hotham, the justice told them to seize and take possession of his horse for traveling on the Lord's day, as he called it; but Hotham did that to put them off, for he knew the priest used no horse, but traveled on foot.

Now I came towards Crantsick to captain Pursloe's and justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad the Lord's power had so appeared, that truth was spread and so many had received it, and that justice Robinson was so civil. Justice Hotham said, if God had not raised up this principle of light and life, which I preached, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; because he said, they would have imitated what we said, and obeyed the laws, and still have practiced their own evil beliefs and behaviour. But this principle of truth overthrows their principle in the root and ground of that; therefore he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

From there I traveled into Holderness, and came to a justice's house, whose name was Pearson, where there was a very tender woman, who believed in the truth, and was so affected with it that she said, 'She could have left all and have followed me.'

From there I went to Oram, to George Hartise's; where many of that town were convinced. On the First-day I was moved to go into the steeple-house, where the priest had got another to help him: and many professors and contenders had gotten together. But the Lord's power was over all; the priests fled away, and a great deal of good service I had for the Lord among the people. Some of those great professors were convinced, and became honest faithful Friends; being men of position in that place.

The next day, Friends and friendly people having left me, I traveled alone, declaring the day of the Lord

among people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. As I traveled one day I came towards night into a town called Patrington. As I walked along the town, I warned both priests and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent and turn to the Lord. It grew dark before I came to the end of the town, and a multitude of people gathered about me, to whom I declared the word of life.

When I had cleared myself I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. I desired a little meat or milk, and I would pay for it; but they refused. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed, and asked me, what was happening? I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I was gone a pretty way, I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat, drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. I went to another house, and desired the same; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; "but I saw a ditch, and got a little water there and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch; and, being weary with traveling, I sat down among the evergreen bushes until it was day. About break of day I got up, and passed on through the fields. A man came after me with a great pikestaff, and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. I declared God's everlasting truth among them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; and exhorted them to repent. But they seized me, and had me back to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, staves, and halberds. When I came to Patrington, the entire town was in an uproar, and the priest and constables were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the word of life among them, and to warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they escorted me about nine miles to a justice. When I came near his house, a man came riding after us, and asked me, whether I was the man that was apprehended? I asked him, why he asked? He said, he meant no harm. I told him I was the man; so he rode away to the justice ahead of us. The men that guarded me said it would be good if the justice was not drunk before we got to him, for he used to be drunk early. When I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat, and said "you" to him, he asked the man that rode there before me, whether I was not confused or insane? The man told him, no; it was my principle. I warned him to repent, and come to the light, which Christ had enlightened him with; that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and turn to Christ Jesus while he had time; and that while he had time he should prize it. Yes, yes, said he, the light that is spoken of in the third of John. I desired he would mind it, and obey it. As I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlor with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and showed him I had no letters. He said, I was not a vagrant by my linen: then he set me at liberty. I went back to Patrington with the man that had ridden ahead of me to the justice: for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he wanted me to have a meeting at the Cross; but I said, it was no matter, his house would serve. He desired me to go to bed, or lie down upon a bed; he asked so that they might say they had seen me in or upon a bed, for they had gotten a report that I would not lie on any bed, because I laid so many times outdoors. When First-day was come I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Soon after I had a great meeting at the man's house where I lay; and many were convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses for it to this day; and they were exceedingly grieved that they had not received me, nor given me lodging, when I was there before.

From here I traveled through the country to its farthest part, warning people in towns and villages to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus, their teacher.

On First-day I came to colonel Overton's, and had a great meeting of the prime of the people of that country, where many things were opened out of the scriptures, which they had never heard before. Many were convinced, and received the word of life, and were settled in the truth of God.

I returned to Patrington again, and visited those Friends that were convinced there; from whom I understood that a tailor and some wild young men in that town had been responsible for my being carried before the justice. The tailor came to ask me forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, for fear that I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. What had made them very afraid was this: when I

was in the steeple-house at Oram not long before, a professor gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bid me get out of the church. Alas! poor man! said I, do You call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people whom God has purchased with his blood, and not the house. It happened that justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse, sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the sessions; so affected was he with the truth, and so zealous to keep the peace: and indeed this justice had asked me before, whether any had meddled with me or abused me? But I was not to tell him anything of that kind; but was to forgive all.

From Patrington I went to several great men's houses, warning them to repent. Some received me lovingly, and some slighted me. At night I came to another town, where I desired lodging and meat, and I would pay for it; but they would not lodge me, except I would go to the constable, which was the custom, (they said), of all lodgers at inns, if strangers. I told them I should not go; for that custom was for suspicious persons, but I was an innocent man. After I had warned them to repent, declared to them the day of their visitation, and directed them to the light of Christ and the spirit of God, that they might come to know salvation, I passed a way; and the people were somewhat tendered and troubled afterwards. When it grew dark, I spied a hay-stack, and went and sat under it until morning.

The next day I passed into Hull, admonishing and warning people as I went, to turn to Christ Jesus, that they might receive salvation. That night I got a lodging; but was very sore with traveling on foot so far.

Afterwards I came to Balby, visiting Friends up and down in those parts, and then passed into the edge of Nottinghamshire, visiting Friends there; and so into Lincolnshire, and visited Friends there. On First-day I went to a steeple-house on this side of Trent, and in the afternoon to another on the other side of Trent, declaring the word of life to the people, and directing them to their teacher Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might hear him and receive salvation by him. Then I went further into the country, and had several meetings. To one meeting came a great man, a priest, and many professors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their way peaceably. **There came a man to that meeting, who had been at one before, and raised a false accusation against me, and made a noise up and down the country, reporting, that I said I was Christ; which was utterly false.** When I came to Gainsborough, where a Friend had been declaring truth in the market, the town and market people were all in an uproar. I went into a friendly man's house, and the people rushed in after me; so that the house was filled with professors, disputers, and rude people. This false accuser came in, and charged me openly before the people, that I said I was Christ, and he had witnesses to prove it. Which put the people into such a rage, that they could barely keep their hands off me. Then was I moved of the Lord God to stand up upon the table, in the eternal power of God, and tell the people, 'that Christ was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spoke in me at that time unto them; NOT that I was CHRIST.' And the people were generally satisfied, except the false accuser, a professor, and his own false witnesses. I called the accuser Judas, and was moved to tell him that Judas's end should be his; and that that was the word of the Lord and of Christ through me to him. The Lord's power came over all, and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But **this Judas shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave.** Afterwards the wicked priests raised a scandal upon us, and reported that a Quaker had hanged himself in Lincolnshire, and had a stake driven through him. This falsehood they printed to the nation, adding sin to sin; which the truth and we were clear of: for he was no more a Quaker than the priest that printed it, but was one of their own people. Notwithstanding this wicked slander by which the adversary designed to defame us, and turn people's minds against the truth, we held strong. Many in Lincolnshire received the gospel, being convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, and sat down in it under his heavenly teaching.

I passed in the Lord's power into Yorkshire, came to Warnsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the afternoon; but they shut the door on me. Yet after awhile they let in Thomas Aldam, and then shut it again; and the priest fell upon him, asking him questions. At last they opened the door, and I went in. As soon as I came into the priest's sight he stopped preaching, though I said nothing to him, for he was in a great confusion; and asked me, 'What have you to say?' And presently cried out, 'Come, come, I will prove them false prophets in Matthew.' But he was so confounded, he could not find the chapter.

Then he fell on me, asking me many questions; and I stood still all this while, not saying anything among them. At last I said, 'Seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them.' But as soon as I began to speak, the people violently rushed upon me, thrust me out of the steeple-house again, and locked the door against me. As soon as they had finished their service and were come out, the people ran upon me, knocked me sorely with their staves, threw clods and stones at me, and abused me much. The priest also, being in a great rage, laid violent hands on me himself. I warned them and him of the terrible day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Christ. Being filled with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, but the priest had done before I got there: so I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward teacher, Jesus Christ.

From here I went to Balby, and Doncaster, where I had formerly preached repentance on the market-day; which had made a noise and alarm in the country. On the First-day I went to the steeple-house, and after the priest had done, I spoke to him and the people what the Lord commanded me; and they were in a great rage, hurried me out, threw me down, and haled me before the magistrates. A long examination they made of me, and much work I had with them. They threatened my life, if ever I came there again; and that they would leave me to the mercy of the people. Nevertheless I declared truth among them, and directed them to the light of Christ in them; testifying unto them, 'that God was come to teach his people himself, whether they would hear or receive it.' After awhile they put us out (for some Friends were with me) among the rude multitude, and they stoned us down the streets. An innkeeper, a bailiff, came and took us into his house; and they broke his head, so that the blood ran down his face, with the stones that they threw at us. We stayed awhile in his house, and showed the more sober people the priest's fruits. Then we went away to Balby about a mile off. The rude people laid wait for us, and stoned us down the lane; but, blessed be the Lord, we did not receive much hurt.

The next First-day I went to Tickhill, where the Friends of that side gathered together, and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was among the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house. When I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief people of the parish together in the chancel. I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; the **clerk up with his bible**, as I was speaking, and **struck me on the face with it**, so that **my face gushed out with blood**; and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house.' The people cried, 'Let us have him out of the church.' When they had got me out they **beat me** exceedingly, threw me down, and **threw me over a hedge**. They afterwards drug me through a house into the street, **stoning and beating me as they dragged me along**; so that I was all over besmeared with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me which I never had again. Yet when I got upon my legs, I declared the word of life, showed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonored Christianity. After awhile I got into the meeting again among Friends; and the priest and people coming by the house, I went with Friends into the yard, and there spoke to the priest and people. The priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a trembling himself; and one of the people said, 'Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also.' When the meeting was over, Friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby about seven or eight miles. Friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people; so much that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came and sat at the town to examine the business. **He that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking me in the church, as they called it; but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.**

In the beginning of this year, 1652, great rage got up in priests and people, and in some of the magistrates, in the west riding of Yorkshire, against the truth and Friends, so much, that the priest of Warnsworth procured a warrant from the justices against me and Thomas Aldam, to be executed in any part of the west riding of Yorkshire. At the same time I had a vision of a bear and two great mastiff dogs; that I should pass by them, and they should do me no hurt: and it proved so. For the constable took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York. I went with Thomas twenty miles towards York, and the constable had a warrant for me also, and said, 'He saw me but he was loathe to trouble strangers;' but Thomas Aldam was his neighbor. So the Lord's power restrained him so that he had not power to meddle with me. We went to Lieutenant Roper's, where we had a great meeting of many considerable men. The truth was powerfully declared among them, the scriptures wonderfully opened, the parables

and sayings of Christ expounded, the state of the church in the apostles' days plainly set forth, and the apostasy since from that state discovered. The truth had great dominion that day: so that those great men present did generally confess to it, saying, 'They believed that this principle must go over the whole world.' There were at this meeting James Naylor, Thomas Goodyear, and William Dewsbury, who had been convinced the year before, and Richard Farnsworth also. The constable stayed with Thomas Aldam until the meeting was over, and then went towards York prison; but did not interfere with me.

From here I went to Wakefield, and the next First-day I went to a steeple-house, where James Naylor had been a member of an independent church; but, upon his receiving truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in, and the priest had finished, the people called me to come to the priest; which I did: but when I began to declare the word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me on a sudden, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried, 'Let us have him to the stocks.' But the Lord's power was over them, and so restrained them, that they were not able to put me in. So I passed away to the meeting, where a great many professors and friendly people were gathered, and there was a great conviction that day; for the people were mightily satisfied, that they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves. Here we got lodging; for four of us had laid outside under a hedge the night before, there being then few Friends in that place.

The same day Richard Farnsworth went to another great steeple-house belonging to a great high priest, and declared the word of truth to the people; and he had a great service among them: for the Lord's dread and power was mightily over all.

The priest of that church, which James Naylor had been a member of, whose name was Marshal, raised many wicked slanders upon me, as, 'that I carried bottles about with me, and made people drink of my bottles, which made them follow me.' And, 'that I rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon my black horse in one hour, and in the same hour in another country sixty miles off;' and, 'that I should give a fellow money to follow me when I was on my black horse.' With these hellish lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared among them. But by these lies that he preached, he drove many of his followers away from him; for I traveled on foot, and had no horse at that time; and the people generally knew that. The Lord soon after met with this envious priest, and cut him off in his wickedness.

After this I came to High-Town, where dwelt a woman who had been convinced a little before. We went to her house, and had a meeting. The town's people gathered together; we declared the truth to them, and had some service for the Lord among them; and they passed away again peaceably. But there was a widow woman in the town whose name was Green, who, being filled with envy, went to one called a gentleman in the town, who was reported to have killed two men and one woman, and informed him against us, though he was no officer. The next morning we drew up some questions, to be sent to the priest. When we had done, and were just going away, some of the friendly people of the town came running, and told us, that this murdering man had sharpened a pike to stab us, and was coming with his sword by his side. Since we were just going away, we missed him. But he came to the house where we had been; and the people generally concluded, if we had not been gone, he would have murdered some of us. That night we lay in a wood, and were very wet, for it rained very hard. In the morning I was moved to return to that town, when we had a full report of this wicked man.

From here we passed to a house at Bradford, where we met with Richard Farnsworth, from whom we had parted a little before. When we came in, they set meat before us; but as I was going to eat, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, '**Eat not the bread of such as have an evil eye.**' Immediately I arose from the table and ate nothing. The woman of the house was a Baptist. After I had exhorted the family to turn to the Lord Jesus Christ, and hearken to his teachings in their own hearts, we departed there.

As we traveled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market-town, where a lecture was held that day. I went into the steeple-house, where many priests, professors, and people were. The priest that preached took for his text those words of Jer 5:31, 'My people love to have it so:' leaving out the previous words, 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means.' I showed the people his deceit; and directed them to Christ, the true teacher within: declaring

to them, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all of the world's teachers and hirelings; that they might come to receive freely from him. Then warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh, I passed from there without much opposition.

At night we came to a country place, where there was no public house near. The people desired us to stay all night; which we did and had good service for the Lord, declaring his truth among them.

The Lord had said to me, 'If but one man or woman were raised by his power, to stand and live in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in who gave forth the scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round.' For people had the scriptures, but were not in the same light, power, and spirit, which those were in who gave forth the scriptures: so they neither knew God, Christ, nor the scriptures aright; nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and spirit of God. Therefore as we passed along we warned all, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

As we traveled, we came near a very great and high hill, called Pendlehill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with much ado, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire. From the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places he had a great people to be gathered. As I went down, I found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having had very little to eat or drink over the last several days.

At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and wrote a paper to the priests and professors, declaring 'the day of the Lord, and that Christ was come to teach people himself, by his power and spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off from all the world's ways and teachers, to his own free teaching who had bought them, and was the savior of all them that believed in him.' The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was himself mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river side, coming to the Lord. The place that I saw them in was about Wentzerdale and Sedberg.

The next day we traveled on, and at night made a bed from some some fern fronds, and we lay that night on a common ground. The next morning we reached a town where Richard Farnsworth departed; and then I traveled alone again. I came up Wenizerdale, in that valley at the market-town there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had finished preaching, I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people; warning them to turn from the darkness to the light, and from the power of satan to God, that they might come to know God and Christ correctly, and to receive his teaching, who teaches freely. Largely and freely did I declare the word of life to them, and I did not get much persecution there. Afterwards I passed up the valleys, warning people to fear God; and preaching the everlasting gospel. On my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster, and they invited me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship, and afterwards declared the truth to them. They took me into a parlor, and locked me in, pretending I was mad, and had escaped from my relatives; and they intended to keep me until they could send for my relatives. But I soon convinced them of their mistake; and they let me out, and would have had me to stay, but I was not to stay there. Having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto him, and be saved, I left them, and arrived in the night at a little alehouse on a common, where a company of rude fellows were drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck at me with their clubs.

But I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then walked out of the house upon the common in the night. After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but perceiving he had a knife, I kept off from him, and bid him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by his power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again. Next morning I went on through other valleys, warning and exhorting people everywhere, as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord; and several were convinced. At one house, the man of the house, whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's, would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

As I traveled through the valleys, I came to another man's house, whose name was Tennant. I was moved to speak to the family, and declare God's everlasting truth to them; and as I was turning away from them, I was moved to turn again, and speak to the man himself; who was convinced, with his family, and lived and died in the truth.

Then I came to major Bousfield's, who received me, as did several others. Some that were then convinced have stood faithful ever since. I went also through Grysdale, and several other of those dales; in which some were convinced. In Dent many were convinced also. From major Bousfield's I came to Richard Robinson's, and declared the everlasting truth to him.

The next day I went to a meeting at Justice Benson's, where I met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place that I had seen in the vision, where a people came forth in white raiment. It was a large meeting; the people were generally convinced, and still continue a large meeting of Friends near Sedberg; which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.

The same week there was a great fair where servants were hired. I went and declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard; and many of the people of the fair came to me, with abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the word of life for several hours; showing that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from the entire world's ways and teachers to Christ the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, showing that they were like those who were condemned by the prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles of old. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared. At last a captain said, 'Why will you not go into the church? Is this not a fit place to preach in?' I told him that I denied their church. Then Francis Howgill, a preacher to a local congregation, stood up. He had not seen me before; yet he undertook to answer that captain; and soon put him to silence. Then Francis Howgill said of me, 'This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes.' After this, I opened to the people, that that ground and house was no holier than another place; and that that the house is not the church, but the people, whom Christ is the head of. After awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said that I was mad; so they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, and were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Among these was one called captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

The next First-day I came to Firbank chapel, in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said, he thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprise him; but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner; but most stayed until they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I would or not, though at that time I did not have any inclination to publicly declare against them; but I said that they must leave me to the Lord's movings. While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock close by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered around me, with several of their preachers. We estimated there was over a thousand people there, to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and greatly for about three hours. I directed them all to the spirit of God in themselves that they might be turned from the darkness to the light. And believing in the light: they might become the children of the light, and might be turned from the power of satan to God; and be led into all truth by the spirit of truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counselor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. In the openings of the heavenly life, I opened to them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ, the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hidden; showing the intent and scope of the apostles' writings, and that their epistles were written to the elect. When I had opened the apostles' state, I also

showed the state of the apostasy that has been since the apostles' days. That the priests have gotten the scriptures, but are not in the spirit which gave them forth; and have put them into chapter and verse, to make a trade of the holy men's words; that the teachers and priests now are found in the steps of the false prophets, chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees of old, and are such as the true prophets, Christ and the apostles cried against, and so are judged and condemned by the spirit of the true prophets, of Christ, and of his apostles: and that none in that spirit and guided by it now could own them. Many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill or mountain, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to inform the people, "That the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood, were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those among the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and all now should hearken to him: for he said, "Learn of me;" and God said of him, "This in my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased; hear you him." I declared that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and word of life among them; and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had got up since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the spirit and power that the apostles were in. 'Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached home to the hearts of the people; whereby many were convinced, and all the teachers of that congregation. (who were many), were convinced of God's everlasting truth that day.

After the meeting was over I went to John Audland's, and there came John Story to me and lighted his pipe of tobacco. And said he, "Will you take a pipe of tobacco?" saying, "Come; all is ours." And I looked upon him to be a forward bold lad; and tobacco I did not take, but it came into my mind that the lad might think I had not unity with the creation. For I saw he had a flashy, empty notion of religion. So I took his pipe and put it to my mouth, and gave it to him again to stop him lest his rude tongue should say I had not unity with the creation. (Note: the italicized text was not included in Elwood's Journal, but is inserted from the [Short Journal](#), which was written by Fox while in Lancaster prison. Like some of his miracles, which Elwood, (the original editor of the Journal), was ordered to delete by the Quaker *Morning Meeting*, this removal speaks ill of the Quaker censors; in this case, evidently worried that Fox's putting a pipe in his mouth would be a stumbling block to some. To this editor, it only underscores Fox's pragmatism and lack of prudery. After discovering these deletions, we have sought to discover all others, so they can be included back into this version of the Journal. H.W.)

From there I went to Preston Patrick chapel, where a great meeting was appointed; to which I went, and had a great opportunity to preach the everlasting gospel; showing the people that the end of my coming into that place was not to hold it up; no more than the apostles going into the Jewish synagogues and temple was to uphold those; but to bring them off from all such things (as the apostles brought the saints of old from off the Jewish temple and Aaron's priesthood) that they might come to witness their bodies to be the temples of God, and Christ in them to be their teacher.

From this place I went to Kendal, where a meeting was appointed in the town hall, in which I declared the word of life among the people, showing them, 'how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to have a right understanding of the holy scriptures; opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God; and what would be their condemnation.' After the meeting I stayed awhile in the town: several were convinced there, and many appeared loving. One whose name was Cock met me in the street, and would have given me a roll of tobacco. I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco.

From there I went to Under-barrow, to Miles Bateman's; and I had great reasonings with the several traveling with me, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest and many professors came to the house; and I had a great deal of disputing with them. Supper was provided for the priest and the rest of the company, but I did not have the freedom to eat with them; but I told them, if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for the meeting, and some against it. In the morning, after I had spoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the house, there several poor travelers came by asking relief and I saw they were in need of help. The priests and professors gave them nothing and said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such

hardheartedness among professors; at which point, when they were eating their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Meanwhile some that were in the house, coming out from breakfast and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said that unless I had wings, it was impossible for me to be a quarter of a mile distant from them in so short a time span. At which point the meeting was likely to have been cancelled; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me that many of them were against having a meeting with me. I told them, I ran after those poor people to give them some money; being grieved at their hardheartedness, who gave them nothing. Then Miles and Stephen Hubbersty arrived; who, being more simple hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came. A great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after awhile the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Underbarrow were convinced that day, received the word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus. After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel yard. Upon which I took a bible and opened to them the scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the light of Christ and spirit of God, knew when I spoke scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form to them.

From here I went with an ancient man, whose heart the Lord had opened, and he invited me to his house: his name was James Dickinson. He was convinced that day, received the truth, and lived and died in it.



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The next day I came to James Taylor's of Newton at Cartmel, in Lancashire. On the First-day I went to the chapel where a priest named Camelford used to preach; and after he was finished, I began to speak the word of life to the people. But he was in a rage, and so fretful and annoyed that he had no patience to hear; but stirred up the rude multitude, who forced me out, hit me, and threw me headlong over a stone wall. Yet blessed be the Lord, his power preserved me. He who struck me was John Knipe, a wicked man, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. There was a youth in the chapel serving as a writer for the priest. I was moved to speak to him, and he came to be convinced, and received a part of the ministry of the gospel: his name was John Braithwait.

Then I went to an alehouse, a place which many patronized between the time of their morning and afternoon preaching; and had a great deal of reasoning with the people, declaring to them, that God had come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all false teachers, such as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. Many received the word of life at that time, and lived in it.

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to a steeple-house or chapel called Lyndal. When the priest had done, I spoke to him and the people what the Lord commanded me, and there were great opposers; but afterwards they came to be convinced. After this I went to one captain Sands', who with his wife seemed somewhat affected with truth: and if they could have held the world and truth together, they would have received it; but they were hypocrites, and he a very chaffy light man. For which reason I reprov'd him for his lightness and jesting; telling him, it was not seemly in a great professor as he was. Upon that he told me, he had a son, who upon his death-bed had also reprov'd him for it, and warn'd him of it. But he neither regarded the admonition of his dying son, nor the reproofs of God's spirit in himself.

From here I went to Ulverstone and then to Swarthmore to judge Fell's. Lampitt, a priest who was a high spiritual talker, arrived. I had a great deal of reasoning with him; for he would talk of high ideals and perfections, which deceived the people. He would have claimed me to be his brethren, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and pretended he knew all things. But I told him, 'Death reigned from Adam to Moses; and that he was under death, and did not know Moses: for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses, nor the prophets, nor John.' For that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruptions; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord. He confessed he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do anything. I told him, 'Now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him: but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he was in the same spirit that they were in.' Margaret Fell had been away during the day; and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed; which somewhat troubled her, because she shared the same professed beliefs as he did; but he hid his dirty actions away from them. At night we had a long discussion, and I declared the truth to her and her family. Next day Lampitt came again, and I had a great deal of discourse with him in the presence of Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest; and a conviction of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Soon after her conviction, a day which observed humiliation occurred; and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she had not completely rejected that worship group. [This was a Calvinist Puritan sect, which the Fells attended]. I replied, 'I must do as I am ordered by the Lord.' So I left her and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'Go to the steeple-house after them.' When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the message of the song was so

unsuitable to their spiritual states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, 'He is not a Jew that is one outward; but he is a Jew that is one inward, whose praise is not of man, but of God.' Then, as the Lord opened further, I showed them, 'That he had come to teach his people by his spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships, and ways were but talking of other men's words; but they were out of the life and spirit which those were in who gave them forth.' a justice name Sawrey cried out, 'Take him away;' but judge Fell's wife said to the officers, 'Let him alone; why may he not speak, as well as any other?' In deceit the priest Lampitt also said, 'Let him speak.' So I was able to declare the truth a fair amount of time until justice Sawrey ordered the constable to put me out; and then I spoke to the people in the graveyard, later returning to Swarthmore Hall.

Note From *Valiant for the Truth*: Swarthmore Hall was a stately hall in Lancashire, the ancestral home of Thomas Fell, a noted barrister of Cromwell's court. Having risen rapidly to place and power, Judge Fell at last became dissatisfied with the administration of government, and returned to the practice of his profession and to his home at Swarthmore Hall. This commodious house was built in the Elizabethan style, with a spacious hall, rich oak panelings, and oriel windows. Possessing ample means, both Thomas Fell and his wife loved hospitality, and the doors of their home were open to all, especially to the ministers of the gospel. Margaret Fell was a descendant of Anne Askew, who laid down her life for the sake of her religion in the reign of Henry the Eighth. She evinced the same desire to know the truth that had marked her martyr ancestor, but thus far had not found rest. She says of herself, "I was seeking and inquiring about twenty years."

The First-day after that, I was moved to go to Aldenham steeple-house, and when the priest had finished, I spoke to him; but he got away. Then I declared the word of life to the people, and warned them to turn to the Lord.

From there I passed to Ramside where there was a chapel in which Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was an eminent priest. He very lovingly announced to his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon; which resulted in many being gathered together waiting for me. When I came, I saw there was no place as convenient to meet as the chapel: so I went into the chapel, and all was quiet. Thomas Lawson did not go up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. The everlasting day of the eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlasting truth was greatly declared, which reached and entered into the hearts of the people, and many received the truth in the love of it. This priest came to be convinced, left his chapel, threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After that some rude people reported scandals about him, and thought to have damaged him; but he was carried over all, grew in the wisdom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

I returned to Swarthmore again, and the next First-day went to Dalton steeple-house; where, after the priest had finished, I declared the word of life to the people; that they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God; and might come off from their superstitious ways, and from their teachers made by man, to Christ the true and living way, to be taught of him.

From there I went into the island of Walnah; and after the priest had finished, I spoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were rather rude. I went to speak to the priest at his house, but he could not be found. The people said, he went to hide himself in the hay-mow, and they looked for him there but could not find him. Then they said, he had gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there either. I went to James Lancaster's, who was convinced in the island, and from there returned to Swarthmore, where the Lord's power seized upon Margaret Fell, her daughter Sarah, and several others.

Then I went to Becliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said, they could not dispute; and would gladly have someone else to talk with me; but I bid them 'Fear the Lord; and not to hold talk of the Lord's words in a light way, but put the things in practice.' I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and also their savior Christ Jesus to save them from their sins. This I told them was their **first step to peace** was: to stand still in the light that showed them their sins and transgressions; by

which they might come to see they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world. And by the same light they might see Christ that died for them, to be their redeemer and savior, and their way to God.

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaston: which was built, but a priest had never preached in it. People from all the surrounding area came; and a quiet, peaceable meeting it was, in which the word of life was declared among the people, and many were convinced of the truth around the Gleaston area.

From there I returned to Swarthmore again. After I had stayed a few days, and most of the family were convinced, I went back into Westmoreland, where priest Lampitt had been among the professors on Kendal side, and had greatly incensed them against me; telling them I held many strange ideas. I met with those that he had so incensed, sat up all night with them at James Dickinson's, and answered all their objections. They were both thoroughly satisfied with the truth I had declared, and dissatisfied with him and his lies; so that he clearly lost the best of his congregation and followers, who by this meeting came to see his deceit, and left him.

I passed on to John Audland's and Gervase Benson's, and had great meetings among those that had been convinced before. I passed to John Blakelin's and Richard Robinson's, where I had great and powerful meetings, and then towards Grisedale.

Soon after, judge Fell came home, his wife Margaret sent to me, desiring me to return there; and I, feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, went back to Swarthmore. When I came I found the priests and professors, and justice Sawrey had much incensed judge Fell and captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him, I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment. Then he asked me, 'if I was that George Fox whom Justice Robinson spoke so highly of among many of the parliament men?' I told him, I had been with Justice Robinson, and Justice Hotham, in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgments by the spirit of God, that the principle which I bore testimony to was the truth, and they saw beyond the priests of the nation; so that they and many others were now come to be wiser than their teachers. After we had discoursed a pretty while together, judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world; and did not go to hear them for some years before he died; for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of his people, and their savior. He sometimes wished that I was awhile with judge Bradshaw to discourse with him. Captain Sands, before mentioned, came to Judge Fell's, endeavoring to incense the judge against me; for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me; yet he could speak high things, use the scripture words, and say, 'Behold, I make all things new.' But I told him, then he must have a new God; for his god was his belly. Besides him came also that envious justice, John Sawrey. I told him, 'His heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim.' Several others also came, whose states the Lord gave me a discerning of; and I spoke to their conditions. While I was in those parts, Richard Farnsworth and James Naylor came to see me and the family; and despite all their opposition, judge Fell was satisfied that it was the way of truth and he allowed the meeting to be kept at his house; and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, to the tormenting of the priests and professors; which has continued near forty years, until the year 1690, when a new meeting house was erected near it.

After I had stayed awhile, and the meeting there was well settled, I departed to Underbarrow, where I had a great meeting. From there I went to Kellet, and had a great meeting at Robert Withers's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York; and many were convinced. On the market-day I went to Lancaster, and spoke through the market in the dreadful power of God; declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out against all their deceitful merchandise. I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk, and live in; directing them how and where they might find and receive the spirit of God to guide them there into truth and righteousness. After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, where several people came; and many were convinced, who have stood faithful to the truth.

On the First-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, among the

soldiers and people, to whom I declared the word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them, that all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the scriptures, were good for nothing, while they lived out of the life and power which those were in who gave forth the scriptures. And I directed them to the light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Christ, receive him for their teacher, and know his kingdom to be in them.

In the afternoon I went to the steeple-house at Lancaster, and declared the truth to the priest and people; laying open before them the deceit that they lived in, and directing them to the power and spirit of God which they wanted. But they drug me out, and stoned me along the street until I came to John Lawson's house.

On another First-day I went to a steeple-house by the water side, where one Whitehead was priest; to whom and to the people I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. There came to me a doctor, so full of envy, that he said, 'he could find it in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he was hanged for it the next day;' yet this man came afterwards to be convinced of the truth, so far as to be loving to Friends. Some were convinced in the area, who willingly sat down under the ministry of Christ, their teacher; and a meeting was settled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.

After this I returned into Westmoreland, and spoke through Kendal on a market-day. And so dreadful was the power of God that was upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who had come to teach his people himself. While some opposed me, many others supported me. At last some fell to fighting about me; but I went and spoke to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced.

The next First-day I had a very large meeting in Under-barrow at Miles Bateman's, where I was moved to declare, 'that all people in the fall were gone from the image of God, righteousness, and holiness, and were like wells without the water of life, as clouds without the heavenly rain, as trees without the heavenly fruit; and were degenerated into the nature of beasts, of serpents, of tall cedars, of oaks, of bulls, and of heifers: so that they might read the nature of these creatures within, as the prophets described them to the people of old, that were out of truth. I opened to them, how some were in the nature of dogs and swine, biting and rending; some in the nature of briars, thistles, and thorns; some like the owls and dragons in the night; some like the wild asses and horses, snuffing up the wind; and some like the mountains and rocks, and crooked and rough ways. For which reason I exhorted them to read these things within in their own natures, as well as without: and that, when they read of the wandering stars, they should look within, and see how they have wandered from the bright and morning star. And they should consider, that as the fallow ground in their fields must be ploughed up before it would bear seed to them, so must the fallow ground of their hearts be ploughed up before they could bear seed to God. All these names and things I showed them were spoken of and to man and woman, since they fell from the image of God; but as they come to be renewed again into the image of God, they come out of the natures of these things, and so out of the names of that. Many more such things were declared to them, and they were turned to the light of Christ, by which they might come to know and receive him, and might witness him to be their substance, their way, their salvation, and true teacher. Many were convinced at that time.

After I had traveled up and down in those countries, having great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again; and when I had visited Friends awhile in those parts, I heard of a great meeting the priests were to have at Ulverstone on a lecture day. I went to it, and into the steeple-house in the dread and power of the Lord. When the priest had done, I spoke among them the word of the Lord, which was like a hammer and as a fire among them. And though Lampitt, the priest of the place, had been at variance with most of the priests before, yet against the truth they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; **and so wonderful was the appearance of that power, that priest Bennet said, "The church shook;" so much so that he was afraid and trembled. And after he had spoken a few confused words, he hastened out for fear the steeple-house would**

There were many priests assembled together, but as of yet they had no power to persecute.

When I had cleared my conscience among them, I went to Swarthmore again. Four or five of the priests followed me to Swarthmore. In our discussion I asked them, 'Whether anyone of them could say, he ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people?' None of them dared to say he had; but one of them burst into a passion, and said, 'He could speak his experiences as well as I.' I told him experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord as the prophets and apostles had and did, and as I had to them, was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again; **'Could anyone of them say, he ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at anytime?'** But none of them could say so. Then I told them, the false prophets, false apostles, and antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though themselves never knew nor heard the voice of God and Christ: and such as they might get the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open. For at another time, when I was in a discussion with several priests at judge Fell's house, and he was nearby, I asked them the same question, **'Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him to go to such or such a people, to declare his word or message unto them?'** For anyone, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the scriptures. At which point Thomas Taylor an ancient priest, candidly confessed before judge Fell, 'That he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people: but he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached.' This very much confirmed judge Fell in being persuaded 'that the priests were wrong;' for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, 'that they were sent from God.'

Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time, and traveled with me into Westmoreland. Coming to Crosland steeple-house, we found the people gathered: and the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth, (though he was convinced but the day before), so that he declared among them, 'How he had been before he was convinced,' and, like the good scribe converted to the kingdom, he brought forth things new and old to the people, and showed them, 'how the priests were out of the way:' which fretted the priests. I had a good little discussion with them, but they fled away; and a precious meeting occurred, in which the Lord's power was over all. The people were directed to the spirit of God, by which they might come to know God and Christ, and to understand the scriptures aright. After this meeting I passed on, visiting Friends, and had very large meetings in Westmoreland.

Now the priests began to rage more and more, and they stirred up persecution as much as they could. James Naylor and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby jail, at the instigation of the malicious priests. Some of the priests prophesied, 'that within a month we would be all scattered again, and come to nothing.' But blessed forever is the worthy name of the Lord for his work went on and prospered; and around this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry and approved themselves faithful laborers for it. They traveled up and down and preached the gospel freely; by means which multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord. Among these turned was Christopher Taylor, brother to Thomas Taylor before mentioned, who had been preacher to a people as well as his brother. Soon after they had received the knowledge of the truth, they came into obedience to it, and left their preaching for hire or rewards; and having received a part of the ministry of the gospel, they preached Christ freely, being often sent by the Lord to declare his word in steeple-houses and markets; and they suffered from persecution greatly.

After I had visited Friends in Westmoreland, I returned into Lancashire, and went to Ulverstone, where Lampitt was the priest. Though he had preached of a people that would own the teachings of God, and had said, 'that men and women would come and declare the gospel;' yet when it came to be fulfilled, he persecuted both it and them. I went to this priest's house, where a large number of priests and professors had gotten together after their lecture. I had great disputes concerning Christ and the scriptures with them; for they were very reluctant to give up their revenue, which they collected by

preaching Christ's, the apostles' and prophets' words. But the Lord's power went over the heads of them all, and his word of life was held forth among them; though many of them were exceedingly envious and devilish. Yet after this, many priests and professors came to me from far and near. Those that were innocent and simple-minded were satisfied and went away refreshed; but the fat and full were fed with judgment, and sent away empty: for that was the word of the Lord to be divided to them.

When meetings were set up, and we met in private houses, Lampitt began to rage. He said, 'we deserted the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves' houses.' So many professors began to see how he had declined from that which he had formerly held and preached. At this time the case of Jeroboam's calves was opened to the professors, priests, and people. It was manifested unto them, that their houses (called churches) were more like Jeroboam's calves' houses, than even the old mass houses, which were set up in the darkness of Popery. Those who called themselves Protestants, and professed to be more enlightened than the Papists, still defended these, although God had never commanded them. In fact that temple, which God had commanded at Jerusalem, Christ came to end the service of; and those that received and believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God, of Christ, and of the holy ghost, to dwell in them, and to walk in them. And such were gathered into the name of Jesus whose name is above every name, and there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven but by the name of Jesus. And those who were thus gathered met together in several dwelling houses, which were not called the temple or the church; but their bodies were the temples of God, and the believers were the church of which Christ was the head. So that Christ was not called the head of an old house, which was made by men's hands, neither did he come to purchase, sanctify, and redeem with his blood an old house, which they called their church; but the people, of which he is the head. Much work I had in those days with priests and people concerning their old mass-homes called churches; for the priests had persuaded the people, that they were the houses of God; whereas the apostle says, 'whose house we are.' Hbr 3:6 The people in whom he dwells are God's house. The apostle said, 'Christ purchased his church with his own blood;' and Christ calls his church his spouse, his bride, the Lamb's wife: so that this title church and spouse, was not given to an old house, but to his people the true believers.

On a lecture day I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests and people. I went near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey the justice came to me and said, 'if I would speak according to the scriptures, I should speak.' I admired him for speaking so to me, for I did speak according to the scriptures, and told him, 'I would speak according to the scriptures, and bring the scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them.' Then he said, 'I should not speak anything which contradicted himself, when he had said just before, 'I should speak, if I would speak according to the scriptures.' The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, until this justice Sawrey, (who was the first stirrer up of cruel persecution in the north), incensed them against me, and set them on to *hale, beat, and bruise me. But now all of a sudden the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, knocked me down, kicked me, and trampled upon me.* So great was the uproar, that some tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers; bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, some by my arms and shoulders, who shook and dragged me along. Many friendly people being come to the market, and some to the steeple-house to hear me; several of these they knocked down also, and broke their heads, so that the blood ran down from several; and judge Fell's son came running after to see what they would do with me; they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, 'Knock the teeth out of his head.' When they had haled me to the common moss side, a multitude following, the constables, and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and thrust me among the rude multitude; who having furnished themselves with staves, hedge-stakes, and holm or holly bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, until they had deprived me of sense; so that I fell down upon the wet common. When I recovered again, I saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings revived me; so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the eternal God and stretching out my arms among them, I said, with a loud voice, '*Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks.*' There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow, who with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand, as it was stretched

out; with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again; so that some of the people cried, 'He has spoiled his hand for ever having the use of it any more.' But I looked at it in the love of God, (for I was in the love of God to them all that had persecuted me), and after awhile the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I **recovered** strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all. Then they began to fall out among themselves: some of them came to me, and said, if I would give them money, they would secure me from the rest.

But I was moved of the Lord to declare the word of life, and showed them their false christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry; telling them, they were more like heathens and Jews than true christians. Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go into Ulverstone market. As I went, there met me a soldier, with his sword by his side; 'Sir,' said he to me, 'I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused;' and offered to assist me in what he could. I told him the Lord's power was over all; and I walked through the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But some of the market people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned about, and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his sword again, if he would go along with me: for I was willing to draw him out from the company lest some mischief should be done. A few days after, seven men fell upon this soldier, and beat him cruelly, because he had taken part with Friends and me. For it was the manner of the persecutors of that country, for twenty or forty people to run upon one man. They fell so upon Friends in many places, that they could hardly pass the highways, stoning, beating, and breaking their heads. When I came to Swarthmore, I found the Friends there dressing the heads and hands of Friends and friendly people, which had been broken or hurt that day by the professors and hearers of Lampitt. My body and arms were yellow, black, and blue, with the bruises I received among them that day. Now began the priests to prophesy again, that within half a year we should be all put down and gone.

About two weeks after this, I went into Walney Island, and James Naylor came with me. We stayed one night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced. After awhile a man came with a pistol; whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me, and when I came to him, he snapped his pistol at me; but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing mischief. But I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by divine power, that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himself. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's. As soon as I came to land, there rushed out about forty men, with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles; who fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavoring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had almost thrust me into the sea, and I saw they would have knocked me down in it, I went up into the middle of them; but they attacked me again, knocked me down, and stunned me. When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband was lying over me, to keep the blows and stones from me. For the people had persuaded James's wife that I had bewitched her husband; and had promised her, that if she would let them know when I came there, they would be my death; and having gotten knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take away my life. At length I got upon my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into the boat to me, and set me over the water from them; but while we were on the water, within their reach, they struck at us with long poles, and threw stones after us. By that time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Naylor: for while they had been beating me, he walked into a field, and they never minded him until I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, 'Kill him, kill him.'

When I had come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, 'Kill him, knock him on the head; bring the cart, and carry him away to the church yard.' So after they had abused me, they drove me a quite a

way out of the town, and there left me. Then James Lancaster went back again, to look after James Naylor; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch; and having washed myself, walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced. When I came in, I was so bruised that I could hardly speak to them; but I told them where I left James Naylor. Upon which they each took a horse, and went and brought him back there that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but I was so sore with bruises, that I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain. When I came to Swarthmore, Justice Sawrey and one Justice Thompson, of Lancaster, granted a warrant against me; but judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me: for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home, he sent warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country. James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evil she had done me; and so did some others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some, and destruction has come upon many of them since. Judge Fell desired me to give him an account of my persecution; but I told him, they could not do otherwise in the spirit which they were in; and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made nothing of it; and that I spoke of it as a man that had not been concerned; *for indeed the Lord's power healed me again.*

After I had recovered, I went to Yelland where there was a great meeting. In the evening a priest came to the house with a pistol in his hand under the pretence to light a pipe of tobacco. The maid of the house seeing the pistol, told her master; who, upon hearing that, clasped his hands on both the door posts and told the priest that he could not come into the house. While he stood there, blocking the doorway, he looked up, and noticed over the wall a company of men coming; some were armed with staves, and all of them had a musket. But the Lord prevented their bloody design; because when they saw that they had been discovered, they went their way and did no harm.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster had arrived, and I went there with judge Fell; who on the way told me that he had never had such a matter brought before him, and was not totally clear on what to do in the business. I told him that when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus the governor and King Agrippa beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those accusations; so he might do by me. We arrived at Lancaster and learned that justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson had granted a warrant to apprehend me. Although I had not been apprehended by it, having heard of it, I appeared at the sessions, where about forty priests appeared against me. The priests had chosen a priest of Lancaster named Marshal to be their spokesman; and had provided one young priest and two priests' sons to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy. When the justices were seated, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me while their spokesman Marshal sat by and explained their sayings for them; but the witnesses were so confused, that they showed themselves to be false witnesses. For after the court had examined one of witnesses under oath, and then began to examine another of them, the other witness was at such a loss that he could not answer directly, but said the first witness could testify. This made the justices say to him, 'Have you not already sworn your statements, and given it in already under oath; and now you say that another can testify to it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it!'

Several men who had been at that meeting were in the court at that time that the witnesses swore I spoke those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these men of integrity and reputation in the country declared and affirmed in court that the oath, which the witnesses had taken against me, was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, most of the serious men of that side of the country, then at the sessions, had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that and other meetings also. This was taken notice of by Colonel West, who being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord, and said, *the Lord had healed him that day;* adding, that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. Then turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, 'George, if you have anything to say to the people, you may freely declare it.' I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began to speak, priest Marshal, the spokesman for the rest of the priests, went his way. What I was moved to declare was this: 'That the holy scriptures were

given forth by the spirit of God; and all people must first come to the spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learned; and by the same spirit know the holy scriptures. For as the spirit of God was in them that gave forth the scriptures, so the same spirit must be in all them that come to know and understand the scriptures. By which spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, with the son, with the scriptures, and with one another; and without this spirit they can know neither God, Christ, nor the scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one with another.' I had no sooner spoken these words, but about half a dozen priests, that stood behind me, burst into a passion. One of them, whose name was Jackus, among other things that he spoke against the truth, said, that the spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, **'Then every one that has the letter, has the spirit; and they might buy the spirit with the letter of the scriptures.'** This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved judge Fell and colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them, that **according to that position, they might carry the spirit in their pockets as they did the scriptures.** Upon this, the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices discharged me, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidence was not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me. And after judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had issued against me, and showed them the errors of that, he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open sessions of those lying accusations with which the malicious priests had charged me; and multitudes of people praised God that day because it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson of Westmoreland was convinced and so was major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaster. It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, the free teacher, was exalted and set up; his everlasting gospel was preached, and the word of eternal life was declared over the heaps of the priests, and all such that preached for money. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak his word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reprov'd the priests in their inns, and in the streets, so that they fell like an old rotten house; and the cry was among the people, that the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen. Many were convinced that day, among whom was Thomas Briggs. Before he had been so adverse to Friends and truth that when he and John Lawson, a Friend, were discussing perfection, Thomas said to him, 'Do you hold perfection?' And he lifted up his hand as though to have given the Friend a box on the ear. But Thomas, being convinced of the truth that day, declared against his own priest, Jackus; and afterwards became a faithful minister of the gospel, and stood so to the end of his days.



When the sessions were over, James Naylor, who was present, gave a brief account of the proceedings of that in a letter, which soon after he wrote to Friends, and is here added for the reader's further satisfaction:

Dear Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, my dear love unto you all, desiring you may be kept steadfast in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the power of his love, boldly to witness forth the truth, as it is revealed in you by the mighty working of the Father: to him alone be everlasting praise and honor forevermore! Dear Friends, the Lord greatly shows his love and power in these parts. Upon the second day of the last week my brother George and I were at Lancaster. There were many Friends from all parts; and a great many who sided with the priests; who let it be known that they now hoped to see a stop put to us; that great work which had gone on so fast, and with such power, that their kingdom had been much shaken. We were called before judge Fell, colonel West, justice Sawrey, etc. to answer what was charged against George. There were three witnesses to eight particulars, but they were very confused in themselves; which gave much light to the truth; by which the justices plainly saw that it was envy; and they told them so several times. One of the witnesses was a young priest, who confessed that he had not been a participant, and would not have been involved had not another priest sent for him, and told him to do it. The other witnesses were two priests' sons. It was proven there by many who heard one of them say, if he had power, he would make George deny his profession and that he would kill him. There was a single witness to one of the greatest untruths charged against George. The justices told him, they believed that because he could not murder George, he was trying to take away his liberty. There was one priest chosen out of the whole number, as a spokesman, to plead against us; who spared no pains to show his envy against the truth: and when he could not prevail, he went down in a rage; and a number of them came into the room; among whom was Jackus. George was then speaking in the room; (one of the justices having asked him to speak if he had anything to say); at which point, the priest Jackus was in such a rage, that he started speaking about many high expressions against the truth spoken by my dear brother George; one of which was, that the letter and the spirit were inseparable. At which point the justices stood up and told him to prove that before he went any further. Then seeing himself caught, he tried to deny it; and when he could not talk his way out of his error, the rest of the priests tried to help him make sense of his words: but the justices would admit no other meaning than the plain sense of the words and told him that he had laid down a position and it was fit he should prove it; putting a lot of pressure on him. At which point the priests, having been silenced, lost the case with greater rage expressed than before. After they had lost the case, and when asked what they had done, some of them lied and said that they could not get into the room; trying to hide their shame and to keep the people in blindness. The justices, judge Fell, and colonel West, were very convinced of the truth and ruled for justice and equity; their ruling has greatly silenced the rage of the people. Many bitter spirits were at Lancaster to see the event; but they went home crying that the priests had lost the day. Everlasting praises be to him who fought the battle for us, who is our king forever! There were others called, who the witnesses confessed were in the room when the things charged on George were said to have been spoken; but they all, as one man, denied that any such words were spoken: which gave much light to the justices, and they relied on what they witnessed; for they said, they knew many of them to be honest men. There was a warrant granted against us at Appleby; but Justice Benson told them it was not according to law; and so it ceased. I hear he is a faithful man to the truth. The priests began to preach against the justices, and said they were not to meddle in these things, but to end controversy between neighbor and neighbor. They are not pleased with the law, because it is not in the statute to imprison us, as the priest that pleaded against us had said. The justices bid him go put it into the statute, if he could; the priest said he should not have to do it. They are much afraid that they shall lose all. They are much discontented in these parts; and some of them cry, "All is lost."

Dear Friends, dwell in patience, and wait upon the Lord, who will do his own work. Look not at man, in the work; nor at man, who opposed the work: but rest in the will of the Lord, that so you may be furnished with patience both to do and to suffer what you shall be called to; that your end in all things may be his praise. Take up his cross freely, which keeps low the fleshly man; that Christ may be set up and honored in all things, the light advanced in you, and the judgment set up, which must give sentence against all that opposed the truth. That the captivity may be led captive, and the prisoner set free to seek the Lord; that righteousness may rule in you, and peace and joy may dwell in you, where is the kingdom of the Father; to whom be all praise forever! Dear Friends, meet often together, and take heed of what exalts itself above its brother; keep low, and serve one another in love for the Lord's sake. Let all Friends know how it is with us, that God may have the praise of all.

James Naylor

Written from Kellet, the 30th day of the 8th month, 1652.

At this time I was in a fast and was not to eat until this work of God which then lay heavily upon me was accomplished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully exalted, and he gave truth and Friends dominion there over all to his glory: and his gospel was freely preached that day over the heads of about forty hireling priests. I stayed two or three days afterwards in Lancaster, and had some meetings there. The rude and baser sort of people plotted together to have drawn me out of the house, and to have thrown me over Lancaster bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another mischief, which was this: after a meeting at Lancaster, they brought down a distracted man, and another with him, having bundles of birchen rods, bound together like a broom, with which they would have whipped me; but I was moved to speak to them in the Lord's mighty power, which chained down the distracted man, and the other also; and the Lord's power being over them, they departed quietly.

But the priests, fretting to see themselves overthrown at the sessions at Lancaster, got some of the envious justices to join with them; and at the following assize at Lancaster informed judge Windham against me. Upon which the judge made a speech against me in open court; and commanded colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue a warrant for arresting me; but colonel West told the judge I was innocent, and spoke boldly in my defense. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or vacate his clerk position and seat. Then he plainly told the judge that he would not do it; but that he would offer up all his estate and his body also for me. Thus he stopped the judge, and the Lord's power came over all; so that the priests and justices could not get their envy executed. The same night of the assize time I came into Lancaster, and hearing of a warrant to be given out against me, I judged it better to show myself openly, than for my adversaries to seek me. So I went to judge Fell's and colonel West's chambers. As soon as I came in, they smiled at me; and colonel West said, 'What! Have you come into the dragon's mouth?' I stayed until the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one interfered with me or questioned me. Thus the Lord's blessed power, which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service for his great name's sake. For though the beast makes war against the saints, yet the Lamb has gotten and will get the victory.

From Lancaster I returned to Robert Withers. From there I went to Thomas Leper's, to a meeting in the evening; and a very blessed meeting we had there, after which, I walked in the evening to Robert Withers's again. No sooner had I left than a company of disguised men came to Thomas Leper's with swords and pistols. These men suddenly entered the house, put out the candles, and swung their swords around among the people of the house, so that the people in the house were forced to hold up the chairs in front of them as shields to keep from being cut and wounded. At length the disguised men drove all the people out the house and then searched the house for me, who it seems was the only person they were looking for. Before entering the house, they had hidden themselves beside the highway that I would have used if I had ridden to Robert Withers's. When I didn't come by the highway, they thought they would find me in Thomas Leper's house, but the Lord prevented them. Soon after I came to Robert Withers's, some Friends from the town where Thomas Leper lived told us about this wicked attempt. They were afraid that these same people might also come to Robert Withers's house to injure me; but the Lord restrained them because they did not come. These men were in disguise, yet Friends perceived some of them to be Frenchmen, and concluded that they were servants belonging to Sir Robert Bindlas: for some of them had said that in France they used to tie the Protestants to trees and whip and kill them. His servants often abused Friends both in the meetings and going to and from their meetings. They once drug Richard Hubbertborn and several others out of

their meeting, carried them a long way into the fields, tied them up, and left them in the fields when it was the winter season. Another time one of his servants came to Francis Flemming's, and thrust his naked rapier in at the door and windows; but a kinsman of Francis Flemming's, not a Friend, came with a short club, and told the servant to put up his rapier. The servant refused and instead threatened him with it and was rude. Francis's kinsman knocked him down, took his rapier from him, and had it not been for Friends, would have run him through with it. So Friends preserved his life, even though he would have destroyed theirs.

From Robert Withers's I went to visit justice West with Richard Hubberthorn accompanying me. Not knowing the way or knowing about the danger of the sands, we rode where no man had ever ridden before, so we were afterwards told; and we swam our horses over a very dangerous place. When we had arrived, justice West asked us if we had seen two men riding over the sands? He said: "Since I am the coroner, I shall have their clothes soon because they cannot escape drowning." But when we told him we were the men, he was astonished and wondered how we escaped drowning. Based on this incident the envious priests and professors raised a false and slanderous report, that water could not drown me, nor could they draw blood from me; and therefore I was a witch. Actually sometimes when they beat me with great staves, they did not draw much of my blood; though they bruised my body very grievously. I did not care at all about these slanders personally, though I was concerned for the truth's reputation, which by such slanders I saw they were trying to prejudice people against the truth. I considered that their forefathers, the apostate Jews, called the master of the house Beelzebub; and these apostate christians from the life and power of God could do no less to his true followers. But the Lord's power carried me over their slanderous tongues, and their bloody murderous spirits, who had the ground of witchcraft in themselves, which kept them from coming to God and to Christ.

Having visited justice West, I went to Swarthmore, visiting Friends, and the Lord's power was over all the persecutors there. I was moved to write letters to the magistrates, priests, and professors in the area, who had raised persecution before. That to justice Sawrey was after this manner:

Friend,

You started all of the persecutions in the north. You were the beginner and the one who made the people agitated. You were the first to stir them up against the righteous seed, and against the truth of God; the first who strengthened the the hands of evil doers against the innocent and harmless: and you shall not prosper. You were the first to stir up of strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers, and prisoners in the north, and of revilers, slanderers, railers, and false accusers and slanderers. This was your work, and you stirred this up. So your fruits declare your spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, you have stirred up the wicked, malicious and envious; and partnered with the wicked. You have made the people's minds envious up and down the country: this was your work. But God has shortened your days, limited you, and set your bounds, broken your jaws, exposed your religion to the simple and newborn, and brought your deeds to light. How has your house fallen and become the house of demons! Your beauty is lost, and your glory has withered! How have you shown your evil, that you have only served God with your lips, and your heart is far from him, and you are a hypocrite! How has the form of your teaching discovered itself to be the mark of the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself! For by their fruits are they known. How are the wise men turned backward! View your ways! Take notice with whom you have joined. That of God in your conscience will tell you. The Ancient of Days will reprove you. How has your zeal appeared to be the blind zeal of a persecutor which Christ and his apostles forbade Christians to follow! How have you strengthened the hands of evil doers, and been a praise to them, and not to those that do well! How like a madman and a blind man did you turn your sword backward against the saints, against whom there is no law! How will you be gnawed and burned one day, when you shall feel the flame, and have the plagues of God poured upon you, and you begin to gnaw your tongue for pain, because of the plagues! You shall have your reward according to your works. You can not escape; the Lord's righteous judgment will find you out, and the witness of God in your conscience shall answer it. How have you caused the heathen to blaspheme, gone with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! How is your latter end worse than your beginning, who has arrived with the dog to bite, and are turned as a wolf to devour the lambs! How have you discovered yourself to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be set in a place to nurture! How were you exalted and puffed up with pride! And now are you fallen down with shame, so that you are covered with that which you stirred up and created. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth until he is reformed: let him not

take his name into his mouth, until he departs from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a profession of the saints' words, except they intend to proclaim themselves hypocrites, whose lives are so contrary to the lives of the saints; whose church has made itself manifest to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of godliness, but not the power, have made them that are in the power your derision, your by-word, and your talk at your feasts. Your ill savor, John Sawrey, the country around has smelled, and all that fear God have been ashamed of your unchristian carriage; and to them you have been a grief; in the day of judgment you shall know it, even in the day of your condemnation. You have mounted up and had set your nest on high, but have never gotten higher than the fowls of the air. But now you have run among the beasts of prey, and are fallen into the earth; so that earthliness and covetousness have swallowed you up. Your conceit would not carry you through; the selfish principle in you has blinded your eye. Your back must be bowed down always; for your table has already become your snare.

George Fox

This justice Sawrey, who was the first persecutor in that country, was afterwards drowned.

I wrote also to William Lampitt, the priest of Ulverstone, thus:

The word of the Lord to you, Oh Lampitt! You are a deceiver, surfeited and drunk with the earthly spirit, rambling up and down in the scriptures, and blending your spirit among the saints' conditions. You had a prophecy, as your father Balaam had; but you erred from it, as your father did. One whose fruit has withered, (of which I am a witness), and many who have known your fruit have seen the end of it, that it is withered; and do see where you are, in the blind world, a blind leader of the blind; a beast wallowing and tumbling in the earth and in the lust; one that is erred from the spirit of the Lord, of old ordained to condemnation. You are in the seat of the Pharisees, are called master by men, stand praying in the synagogues, and have the chief seat in the assemblies; a right hypocrite in the steps of the Pharisees, and in the ways of your fathers, the hypocrites, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. Such with the light you are seen to be, and by the light are comprehended; which is your condemnation who hate it, and will be so eternally except you repent. To you this is the word of God; for in Christ's way you are not, but in that of the Pharisees, as you may read in Mat 23. All that own Christ's words can see you in the Pharisees way. Christ, who died at Jerusalem, cried woe against your kind; and Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever. The woe remains upon you, and from under it you can never escape, except through judgment, condemnation, and true repentance. To you this is the word of God. To that of God in your conscience I speak, which will witness the truth of what I write, and will condemn you. And when you are in your torment, (though now you swell in your vanity, and live in wickedness), remember you were warned in your lifetime. When the eternal condemnation is stretched over you, you shall witness this to be the word of the Lord God to you; and if ever your eye should see repentance, you would witness me to have been a friend of your soul.

George Fox

Having thus cleared my conscience to the justice and the priest of Ulverstone, who had raised the first persecution in that country, it was upon me to send this warning in writing to the people of Ulverstone in general.

Consider, Oh people, who are within the parish of Ulverstone, I was moved of the Lord to come into your public places to speak among you, being sent of God to direct your minds to him, that you might know where to find your teacher; that your minds might be stayed alone upon God, and you might not rove around without you looking for a teacher; for the Lord God alone will teach his people; he has come to teach them, and to gather his people from idols' temples, and from the customary worships which all the world is trained up in. And God has given to every one of you a measure of his spirit according to your capacity; liars, drunkards, whoremongers, and thieves, and who follow all your pleasures, you all have this measure in you. And this is the measure of the spirit of God that shows you sin, evil, and deceit; which lets you see lying is sin; theft, drunkenness, and uncleanness, to be the works of darkness. Therefore mind your measure, (for nothing that is unclean shall enter into the kingdom of God), and prize your time while you have it, for fear the time will come that you will say with sorrow, we had time, but it is past. Oh! Why will you die? Why will you choose your own ways?

Why will you follow the course of the world? Why will you follow envy, malice, drunkenness, and foolish pleasures? Don't you know in your consciences, that all these are evil and sin? And that such as act these things shall never enter into the kingdom of God! Oh, that you would consider and see how you have spent your time, and mind how you spend your time, and observe whom you serve; for the wages of sin is death. Do not you know, that whatever is more than yes and no comes from evil? Oh you drunkards, who live in drunkenness, do you think to escape the fire, the judgment of God? Though you swell in venom, and live in lust for awhile, yet God will find you out, and bring you to judgment. Therefore love the light which Christ has enlightened you with, who said, I am the light of the world, who enlightens everyone that comes into the world. One loves the light, and brings his works to the light, and there is no occasion at all of stumbling: the other hates the light, because his deeds are evil, and the light will reprove him. You that hate this light, you have it. You know lying is evil, drunkenness is evil, swearing is evil, whoredom, theft, all ungodliness, and unrighteousness, are evil. Christ Jesus has given you light enough to let you see these are evil. This light, if you love it, will teach you holiness and righteousness, without which none shall see God; but if you hate this light it is your condemnation. Thus are Christ's words found to be true, and fulfilled among you. You that hate this light set up hirelings and idols' temples, and such priests as bear rule by their office; such shepherds as hold up such things, such as are called of men masters, and have the principal place in the assemblies, whom Christ cried woe against, Mat 23, such as go in the way of Cain, in envy, and after the error of Balaam for wages, gifts, and rewards. These have been your teachers, and these you have held up. But those who love the light are taught of God, and the Lord is coming to teach his people himself, and to gather them who are his from the those who teach for money, from such as seek gain from their position, and from such as maintain authority by their means. The Lord is opening the eyes of foolish people, so that they shall see who rules over them. But all, whose eyes are shut, are such as the prophet spoke of "that have eyes, and see not; but are foolish, upholding such things." Therefore, poor people, as you love your own souls, consider the love of God to your souls while you have time, and do not turn the grace of God into a license to sin. That which shows you ungodliness and worldly lusts should and would be your teacher, if you would pay attention to it; for the saints of old witnessed the grace of God to be their teacher, which taught them to live soberly and godly in this present world. And you that are not sober, this grace of God has appeared unto you; but you turn it into a license to sin, and so set up teachers without you, who are not sober, not holy, not godly. Here you are left without excuse, when the righteous judgment of God shall be revealed upon all who live ungodly. Therefore to the light in you I speak; and when the book of conscience shall come to be opened, then shall you witness what I say to be true, and you all shall be judged out of it. So God Almighty direct your minds, (such of you especially as love honesty and sincerity), that you may receive mercy in the time of need. Your teacher is within you; don't look outside for it: it will teach you, both lying in bed and going abroad, to shun all occasion of sin and evil.

George Fox

As the foregoing was directed to all the inhabitants of Ulverstone in general, so it was upon me to write also to those more particularly that most constantly followed W. Lampitt the priest there. To these I wrote after this manner:

This is the word of the Lord God to all the people that follow priest Lampitt, who is a blind guide: You have turned away from the light of Christ within you, with which he has enlightened you. You are those who followed what Christ cried woe against, that do not go in Christ's way, but in the Pharisees' way, as you may read, Mat 23 which our Lord cried woe against. He is the same yesterday, today, and forever; but you do not own him, while you follow such as he cried woe against, though you have an appearance of belief, and Lampitt, your priest, makes a trade of Christ's and the saints' words, as his fathers, the Pharisees, made a profession of the prophets' and Moses's words. Woe was to them who did not have the life, so woe is to you who do not have the life that gave forth the scriptures, as your fruits have made manifest. For when the Lord moved some to come among you, to preach the truth freely, you knocked them down, beat, punched, and drug them out of your assemblies. Such a people serves you, O Lampitt, to make a prey upon; and these are your fruits. Oh! let shame, shame strike you and you all in the faces, who make a profession of Christ's words, yet are stoners, strikers, mockers, and scoffers. Let all see if this is not a cage of unclean birds, which they who had the life of the scriptures spoke of. Such a company of people you deceive, feed them with your fancies, makes a trade of the scriptures, and take them for your cloak. But you are manifest to all the children of light, for that cloak will not cover you, your skirts are seen, and your nakedness appears. The Lord made one to go naked among you, a figure of your individual nakedness, and of your group nakedness, and as a sign among you, before your destruction comes; that you might see you were naked and not covered

with the truth. To the light in all your consciences I speak, with which Christ Jesus enlightens you. It will show you the time you have spent, and all the evil deeds you have done in that time, who follow such a teacher, that acts contrary to this light, and leads you into the ditch. When you are in the ditch together, both teacher and people, remember you were warned in your lifetime. And if ever your eye comes to see repentance, and you obey the light of Jesus Christ in you, you will witness me to have been a friend of your souls, and that I have sought your eternal good, and written this in dear love to you. Then you will own your condemnation, which you must all own before you can come into that blessed life, of which there is no end. But you who hate the light, because your deeds are evil, this light is your condemnation, and will be: and when your condemnation comes upon you, remember you were warned. *Oh, that you would love this light, and listen to it! It would teach you, as you walk up and down about your occasions, and as you lie upon your beds, and would never let you speak a vain word. In loving it, you love Christ; in hating it, you bring the condemnation of it upon yourselves.* To you this is the word of God, from under whom you can never pass, nor ever escape the terror of the Lord in the state you are in, who hate the light.

George Fox

Among the chief hearers and followers of priest Lampitt, was one Adam Sands, a very wicked, false man, who would have destroyed the truth and its followers, if he could. To him I was moved to write on this wise:

Adam Sands,

To the light in your conscience I appeal, you child of the devil, you enemy of righteousness; the Lord will strike you down, though now for awhile you may reign in your wickedness. The plagues of God are due to you, who hardens yourself in wickedness against the pure truth of God. With the pure truth of God, which you have resisted and persecuted, you are to be threshed down, which is eternal, and comprehends you. And with the light which you despise you are seen, and it is your condemnation. You as one brutish, your wife as a hypocrite, and both as murderers of the just, in that which is eternal are seen and comprehended; and your heart is searched, tried, and condemned by the light. The light in your conscience will witness the truth to you and let you see you are not born of God, but are out of the truth, in the beastly nature. If ever your eye sees repentance, you will witness me a friend of your soul, and a seeker of your eternal good.

George Fox

This Adam Sands afterwards died miserably.

I was moved also to write to priest Tatham.

The word of the Lord to you, priest Tatham, who are found out of the doctrine of Christ; having the highest place in the assembly, being called of men master, and stand praying in the synagogue in the steps of the Pharisees, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. You are not in his way, but in the way of the scribes and Pharisees; as you may read, Mat 23. There Christ's words judge you, and the scriptures of truth condemn you. For you are such a one as sues men at law for tithes, yet profess yourself to be a minister of Christ; which Christ never empowered his to do: neither did any of his apostles or ministers ever do so. **Here I charge you in the presence of the living God** to be out of their doctrine, and that you are one of those evil beasts the scripture speaks of, that minds earthly things which the life of the scriptures is against. You are for destruction in the state where you stand; and it will be your portion eternally, if you do not repent. To that of God in your conscience I speak, which will witness the truth of what I say. You are one that goes in Cain's way, in envy, an enemy to God, and from the command of God. You are one that goes in Balaam's way, from the spirit of God, for gifts and rewards, the wages of unrighteousness. You son of Balaam, you are worse than your father: for though he loved the wages of unrighteousness, yet he dared not take it; but you not only take it, but sue men at the law if they will not give it to you: which no true minister of Jesus Christ ever did. Therefore stop your mouth forever, and make no mention of them, nor profess yourself one of them. With the light you are seen and comprehended; you who are light and vain, and speak a divination of your own brain, and deceive the people. What is in your conscience will witness what I say, and will condemn you. You who are one of those that rule by their office, which the Lord sent

Jeremiah to cry against, Jer 5:31 and so you support the "horrible and foul thing, that is committed in the land." And they that do not tremble at the word of the Lord are the foolish people that support you; they are dull children without understanding. Those who are deceived by you are wise to do evil but not to do good. You are one of those who seek their gain from their position. Your practice shows a greedy dumb dog that never has enough, as those the Lord sent Isaiah to cry against. Isa 56:11. And you are like the ones the Lord sent Ezekiel to cry against, who feeds of the fat, and is clothed with the wool, and makes a prey of the people. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from your mouth, that to you they will no longer be a prey. The prophecy in Eze 34 is fulfilled by you, one of the enemies of God. **I charge the accusations of the prophecy upon you in the presence of the living God.** You are a hireling, and you prepare war against those who do not feed you. You hate the good, and love the evil; which the Lord sent Micah to cry against. Micah 3. Cover your lips, and stop your mouth forever, you child of darkness; for with the light you are comprehended, and seen to be among them whom the holy men of God cried woe against; and you are judged by the spirit of the living God. You are comprehended in the light, which is your condemnation. You who are out of the commands of Christ and out of the doctrine and life of the apostles, your spiritual lineage is seen, and your limits known. You are proved and tried. To you this is the word of the Lord; to you it shall be as a hammer, a fire, and a sword; and from under it you shall never come, unless you repent; who are with the light to be condemned, in that state where you stand. And if ever your eye sees repentance, this your condemnation you must own.

George Fox

I wrote also to Burton, the priest of Sedberg, much to the same purpose because he was in the same evil ground, nature, and practice which the other priests were in. As the Lord moved me, I wrote about that time many other epistles and papers, which I sent among the priests, professors, and people of all sorts. *My purpose was to expose their evil ways to them that they might see and give them up; and open the way of truth to them that they might come to walk in it.* The nature of which are too many and large to be inserted in this place.

After I had cleared my conscience to the priests and people near Swarthmore, I went again into Westmoreland. A company of men with pikes and staves lay waiting for me at a bridge in the way; and they met with some Friends, but missed me. Afterwards they came to the meeting with their pikes and staves; but Justice Benson being there, and many considerable people besides, they were prevented from doing the mischief they intended. So they went away in a great rage, without hurting anybody.

I went from the meeting to Grayrigg and held a meeting at Alexander Dickson's. A Baptist chapel priest came to the meeting to oppose us, but the Lord confounded him by his power. Some of the people knocked down some milk-pails which stood upon the side of the house, (which was very crowded), which was the basis of the priest raising a slander, after he and his company were gone, where he claimed, 'That the devil had frightened him, and took away a side of the house, while he was in the meeting.' Although this was a known falsehood, it served the priests and professors to feed on for awhile; and so shameless they were, that they printed and published it. At another time this priest came to a meeting and fell to doctrinal disputing over words.

First he said, 'The scriptures were the word of God.' I told him, *they were the words of God, but not Christ, the word;* and told him to prove what he said by scripture. Then he said it was not the scripture that was the word; and setting his foot upon the bible, he said it was only copies bound up together. Many unsavory words came from him, but after he had gone we had a blessed meeting; the Lord's power and presence was precious manifested and felt among us. Soon after, he challenged me to meet him at Kendal. I sent him word he didn't need to go as far as Kendal for I would meet him in his own parish. Upon agreeing on the hour, we met; and an large number of rude people gathered together, (besides the baptized people who were his own members), with intent to do mischief, but God prevented them. I declared the day of the Lord to them, and directed them to Christ Jesus. Then the priest pulled out his bible, and said it was the word of God. I told him it was the words of God, but not God the word. His answer was that he would prove the scriptures to be the word before all the people. I let him go on, having a man there that could take down in writing both what he and I said. When he could not prove it, (for I kept him to scripture proof, chapter and verse for it), the people gnashed their teeth for anger; and he said that he would show me later. But in trying to prove that one erroneous claim, he made many more errors. And when finally he saw he could not prove it, he said that he would prove it

a God. So he started over until he sweated again; but could not prove what he had asserted. And he and his company were full of anger; for I kept him and them all conscious of his assertions and told them that I owned what the scriptures said of themselves, namely, that they were the words of God, but Christ was the word. So the Lord's power came over all and they went away having been put to shame and silenced. The Lord disappointed their mischievous intentions against me; Friends were established in Christ, and many of the priest's followers saw the folly of their teacher.

After this, priest Bennet, of Caremel, sent a challenge to dispute with me. I came to his steeple-house on a First-day, and found him preaching. When he was finished, I spoke to him and his people; yet the priest could not stand the criticism and departed. After he was gone, I had a great deal of discussion with the people; and when I came into the steeple-house yard, discussing further with the professors and declaring truth to them, one of them set his foot behind me, and two of them ran and pushed against my chest, which threw me down backwards against a grave stone, wickedly and maliciously seeking to have hurt me; but I got up again and was moved of the Lord to speak to them. Then I went to the priest's house, and asked him to come out so that I might converse with him, since he had challenged me; but he never appeared. So the Lord's power came over them all, which was greatly manifested at that time. There was among the priest's congregation a Richard Roper, one of the bitterest professors the priest had, who was very fierce and hot in his contention; but afterwards he became convinced of God's eternal truth, became a minister of that eternal truth, and continued faithful to his death.

About the beginning of the year 1653, I returned to Swarthmore, and going to a meeting at Gleaston, a professor challenged me to a dispute. I went to the house where he was, and called him to come out; but the Lord's power was over him, so that he did not interfere. I departed there, visited the meetings of Friends in Lancashire, and came back to Swarthmore. I had great openings from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things relating to the civil government. Being one day in Swarthmore hall, when judge Fell and justice Benson were talking of the news, in the News Book, and of the parliament then sitting, (called the long parliament), I was moved to **tell them, that before two weeks to that day the parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair; and two weeks to that day**, Benson coming there again told judge Fell, that now he saw George was a true prophet; for **Oliver had broken up the parliament.**

About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's behalf; for James Milner and Richard Myer had left us based on imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth. I was sent to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and show them their out-goings; and they were brought to see their folly, and condemned it, and came into the way of truth again. After some time I went to a meeting at Arnside, where Richard Myer was, who had been long lame in one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to say unto him among all the people, 'Prophet Myer, stand up upon your legs,' for he was sitting down; and he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and said: 'Be it known by all you people that this day I am healed.' But his parents could hardly believe it; and after the meeting was done, took him aside, removed his jacket, and then they saw it was true. He soon came afterwards to the Swarthmore meeting and declared how the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York, with a message from him, and he disobeyed the Lord; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about nine months later.

Now there were great threats coming from Cumberland that if ever I came there again, they would kill me. When I heard it, I was drawn to go into Cumberland; and went to Miles Wennington's, in the same parish from which those threats came: but they had not power to touch me then.

About this time Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of Friends. He came to Swarthmore; and I being then at colonel West's, they sent for me. Colonel West said, 'Go, George, for it may be of great service to the man.' So I went, and 'the Lord's power reached him.'

About this time also the Lord opened several mouths to declare the truth to priests and people, and many were cast into prison. I went again into Cumberland; and Anthony Pearson and his wife, and several Friends went along with me to Bootel, where Anthony left me, and went to Carlisle sessions; for he was a justice of the peace in three counties. Upon the First-day I went into the steeple-house at Bootel; and when the priest had finished, I began to speak. The people were exceedingly rude, and beat me in the steeple-house yard. One gave me a very great blow over my wrist, so that the people thought

he had broken my hand to pieces. The constable was very willing to have kept the peace, and would have set some of those by the heels that struck me, if I would have allowed it. After my service among them was over, I went to Joseph Nicholson's, and the constable accompanied us, to keep off the rude multitude. In the afternoon, I went up again; and this time the priest had gotten another priest, who came from London and was highly thought of, to help him. Before I went into the steeple-house, I sat a little upon the cross, and Friends with me; but they were moved to go into the steeple-house, and I went in after them. The London priest was preaching, who gathered up all the scriptures he could think of, that spoke of false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, and threw them upon us. When he had done, I recollected all those scriptures, and applied them back upon him. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the constable charged them to keep the peace, and made them quiet again. Then the priest began to rage; and said, I must not speak there. I told him, he had his hour glass, by which he had preached; and he having done, the time was free for me, as well as for him; for he was but a stranger there himself. So I opened the scriptures to them, and let them see, 'that those scriptures, which spoke of the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, described them and their generation, and belonged to those who were found walking in their steps, and bringing forth their fruits; and not to us, who were not guilty of such things.' I manifested to them, that they were out of the steps of the true prophets and apostles; and showed them clearly, by the fruits and marks, that they, and not we, were such as those scriptures spoke of. And I declared the truth and the word of life to the people, and directed them to Christ their teacher. All was quiet while I was speaking; but when I had done, and was come forth, the priests were in such a fret and rage, that they foamed at the mouth for anger against me. The priest of the place made an oration to the people in the steeple-house yard, saying: 'This man has gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him, and now he comes here to do the same.' Then said I to him, 'What will you have left? And what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if they are the honest that receive the truth and are turned to Christ, then they must be the dishonest that follow you, and such as you are.' Some also of the priest's people began to plead for their priest, and for tithes. I told them, it were better for them to plead for Christ, who had ended the tithing priesthood with the tithes, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So the Lord's power came over, put to silence, and restrained the rude people so that they could not do the mischief they intended. When I came down again to Joseph Nicholson's house, I saw a great hole in my coat, which was cut with a knife, but it had not cut through my waistcoat, for the Lord had prevented their mischief. The next day there was a rude wicked man who would have done violence to a Friend, but the Lord's power stopped him.

Now was I moved to send James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at one John Wilkinson's steeple-house near Cockermouth; a preacher in great repute, who had three parishes under him; wherefore I stayed at Milholm in Bootel until he came back again. In the meantime some of the gentry of the country had formed a plot against me, and had given a little boy a rapier to do me a mischief with. They came with the boy to Joseph Nicholson's to seek me; but the Lord had so ordered it, that I had gone into the fields. They met with James Lancaster, but did not abuse him much; and not finding me in the house, went away again. So I walked up and down in the fields that night, and did not go to bed, as very often I used to do. We came the next day to the steeple house, where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve soldiers and their wives, from Carlisle; and the country people came in, like as it had been to a fair. I lay at a house somewhat short of the place, so that many Friends had arrived before me. When I came, I found James Lancaster speaking under a yew tree, which was so full of people that I was afraid they would break it down. I looked about for a place to stand upon, to speak to the people; for they all lay up and down, like people at a league. After I was discovered, a professor asked, if I would not go into the church? I seeing no place abroad convenient to speak to the people from, told him, yes: whereupon the people rushed in, so that when I came, the house and pulpit were so full, I had much ado to get in. Those that could not get in, stood abroad about the walls. When the people were settled, I stood up on a seat. And the Lord opened my mouth to declare his everlasting truth and his everlasting day; and to lay open their teachers, with the rudiments, traditions, and inventions they had been under in the night of apostasy since the apostles' days. I turned them to Christ the true teacher, and to the true spiritual worship; directing them where to find the spirit and truth, that they might worship God there. I explained Christ's parables unto them, and directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, that would open the scriptures unto them. I showed them, how all might come to know their savor, sit under his teaching, come to be heirs of the kingdom of God, and know God's and Christ's voice, by which they might discover all the false shepherds and teachers they had been under, and be gathered to the true shepherd, priest, bishop, and prophet, Christ Jesus, whom God commanded all to hear.

When I had largely declared the word of life unto them for about the space of three hours, I walked

from among the people, who left well satisfied. Among the rest a professor followed me, praising and commending me: but his words were like a thistle to me. At last I turned about, and bid him 'fear the Lord;' whereupon priest Larkham, of Cockermouth, (for several priests who came after the meeting was over, had gotten together on the way), said to me, 'Sir, why do you judge so? You must not judge.' I turned to him, and said, 'Friend, do you not discern an exhortation from a judgment? I admonished him to fear God; and do you say I judge him?' So this priest and I fell into discourse, and I manifested him to be among the false prophets and covetous hirelings; and several being moved to speak to them, he and two other of the priests soon left. When they were gone, John Wilkinson, preacher of that parish, and of two other parishes in Cumberland, began to dispute against his own conscience for several hours, until the people generally turned against him: for he thought to have tired me out; but the Lord's power tired him out, and the Lord's truth came over him and them all. Many hundreds were convinced that day, who received the Lord Jesus Christ and his free teaching with gladness; of whom some have died in the truth" and many stand faithful witnesses of that. The soldiers also were convinced, and their wives, and continued with me until First-day.

On First-day I went to the steeple-house at Cockermouth, where priest Larkham lived. When he had finished, I began to speak, and the people began to be rude; but the soldiers told them we had broken no law, and they became quiet. Then I turned to the priest, and laid him open among the false prophets and hirelings; at which word he went his way saying, 'He calls me hireling;' which was true; all the people knew it. Some great men of the town said, 'Sir, we have no learned men to dispute with you.' I told them, I came not to dispute, but to show the way of salvation to them, the way of everlasting life. I declared largely the way of life and truth to them, and directed them to Christ their teacher, who died for them, and bought them with his blood.

When I was finished, I went about two miles to another great steeple house of John Wilkinson's, called Brigham; where the people, having been at the other meeting, were mightily affected and wanted to put my horse into the steeple-house yard; but I said, 'No, the priest owns the yard; take him to an inn.' When I came into the steeple-house yard, I saw the people arriving in huge groups like the crowds at a fair; and many were already gathered in the lanes and around the steeple-house. I was very thirsty and walked about a quarter of a mile to a brook where I got some water and refreshed myself. As I came up to the yard again, I met Wilkinson; and as I passed by him he said: 'Sir, will you preach today?' If you preach today, I will not oppose you in word or thought.' I replied: 'Oppose, if you will; I have something to speak to the people, and you acted foolishly the other day, and spoke against your conscience and reason so greatly that your congregation shouted against you.' So I left him, and went on; for he saw it was in useless to oppose me when the people were so affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the steeple-house yard, a professor asked, if I would not go into the church? And I seeing no convenient place to meet outside, I went in; and after the people were settled, I stood up on a seat. The priest came in also, but did not go up to his pulpit. 'The Lord opened my mouth, and I declared his everlasting truth and word of life to the people; directing them to the spirit or God in themselves, by which they might know God, Christ, and the scriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowship in the spirit. I declared to them, that everyone that comes into the world was enlightened by Christ, the life; by which light they might see their sins and Christ, who had come to save them from their sins, and died for them. And if they came to walk in this light, within it they could see Christ to be the author of their faith, the finisher of their faith, their shepherd to feed them, their priest to teach them, their great prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, *and to be always present with them*. I explained also to them, in the openings of the Lord, the first covenant, showing them the figures, and the substance of those figures; bringing them on to Christ, the new covenant. I also manifested to them that there had been a night of apostasy since the apostles' days; but that now the everlasting gospel was preached again, which brought life and immortality to light; and the day of the Lord had come, and Christ had come to teach his people himself by his light, grace, power, and spirit.' A fine opportunity the Lord gave me to preach truth that day for about three hours, and all was quiet. Many hundreds were convinced; and some of them praised God, and said, 'Now we know the first step to peace.' The preacher also said privately to some of his congregation that I had broken them and overthrown them.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

And as I was sitting in a house full of people, declaring the word of life to them, I looked at a woman and discerned an unclean spirit in her. I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her; and told her, she was a witch. Upon hearing this, the woman went out of the room. Now since I was a stranger there, and I knew nothing of the woman outwardly, the people were amazed by my calling her a witch and told me afterwards that I had made a great discovery because all the country believed she was a witch. The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and I could try their spirits. Not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and I discerned them to be witches; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare them their conditions to them, telling them plainly they were in the spirit of witchcraft. Later another witch came into Swarthmore hall in the meeting-time; and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was a witch; and the people said afterwards, she was generally believed to be a witch. At another time a woman came there and stood at a distance from me. I fixed my eye on her, and said, 'you have been a harlot;' for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. She answered, many could tell her of her outward sins, but none could tell her of her inward. Then I told her, her heart was not right before the Lord; and that from the inward condition created the outward. This woman was afterwards convinced of God's truth and became a Friend.

From the previously mentioned village we came to Thomas Bewley's, near Coldbeck. I had some service for the Lord at Thomas Bewley's and from there I passed to a market-town, where I had a meeting at the cross. Everything was fairly peaceful and when I had declared the truth to them and directed them to Christ their teacher, some received the truth. Then we passed further, and had another meeting on the borders in a steeple-house yard, to which many professors and contenders came; but the Lord's power was over all; and when the word of life had been declared among them, some received the truth there also.

From there we traveled to Carlisle. The pastor of the Baptists and most of his congregation came to the abbey, where I had a meeting and declared the word of life among them. Many of the Baptists and many of the soldiers attending were convinced. After the meeting, the pastor of the Baptists who very opinionated and showy asked me, 'What must be damned?' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him. I opened to him the states of election and rejection in such a way that he said he had never heard anything like it in his life. Afterwards he was convinced.

Then I went to the castle among the soldiers. They beat a drum and called the garrison together. I preached the truth among them, directing them to the Lord Jesus Christ to be their teacher, and to the measure of his spirit in themselves, by which they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. I warned them all, that they should do no violence to any man, but should show forth a christian life; telling them, that 'he who was to be their teacher, would be their condemner, if they were disobedient to him.' So I left them, having no opposition from any of them, except the sergeants, who afterwards came to be convinced.

On the market-day I went to the cross. The magistrates had both threatened to arrest me and sent their sergeants to do it; and the magistrates' wives had said, if I came there, they would pluck the hair off my head. Nevertheless I obeyed the Lord God and went upon the cross where I declared to them, 'that the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandise; that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yes and no, and speak the truth one to another; so the truth and the power of God was set over them.' After I had declared the word of life to the people, because the crowd of people was so large, the sergeants could not reach me and the

me including some Baptists who were bitter contenders. One of their deacons who was an envious man; finding the Lord's power was over them, he cried out in extreme anger. Upon which I set my eyes upon him, and spoke sharply to him in the power of the Lord; and he cried, 'Do not pierce me so with your eyes, keep your eyes of me.'

The First-day following I went into the steeple-house: and after the priest was finished, I preached the truth to the people and declared the word of life among them. The priest got away; and the magistrates asked me to leave the steeple-house, but I still declared the way of the Lord to them, and told them that I has come to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord to them. The power of the Lord was dreadful among them so that the people trembled and shook; and they thought the steeple-house shook; some of them feared that it would collapse on their heads. The magistrates' wives were in a rage and tried very hard to get to me; but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city rose and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house, crying, 'Down with these round-headed rogues;' and they threw stones. At this point the governor sent a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house to calm the riotous crowd, and they ordered all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and said they would take me along with them. When we came out on the street, the city was in an uproar. The governor came down, and some of those soldiers were put in prison for supporting me against the town's people. A lieutenant, who had been convinced, came and brought me to his house, where there was a Baptist meeting, and Friends came there also. We had a very quiet meeting; they heard the word of life gladly, and many received it. The next day, the justices and magistrates of the town were meeting together in the town hall; they granted a warrant against me; and sent for me to appear before them. I was then away at a Baptist's, but when I heard of the warrant, I went up to the town hall where many rude people had gathered; some of these people had sworn strange false accusations against me. I had a great deal of discourse with the magistrates; in which I revealed the fruits of their priests' preaching and showed them how they were void of Christianity; and though they were great professors of christianity, (for they were Independents and Presbyterians), they did not possess what they professed. After a long examination, they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer; though they could not justify any of the charges against me. The jail at Carlisle had two jailers, an upper jailer and under jailer, both of whom looked like men who kept bears. When I was brought into the prison, the upper jailer took me up into a great chamber, and told me that I could have what I wanted in that room. But I told him that he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his food. Then he put me into another room, where after awhile I got something to lie upon. I stayed there until the assizes came, and then the rumors were that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, Wilfred Lawson, greatly agitated them to execute me; and said, he would escort me to my execution himself. They were in a rage, and assigned three musketeers to guard me; one at my chamber door, another at the stairs' foot, and a third at the street door; and they would let nobody visit me, except occasionally one person was allowed to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, sometimes as late as the tenth hour; who were exceeding rude and devilish. There were a company of bitter, Presbyterian Scotch priests who were full of envy and malice and were so foul-mouthed that they were not fit to speak of the things of God. But the Lord by his power gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits. Great ladies also (as they were called) came to see the man that they said was to die. While the judge, justices, and sheriffs were plotting together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their designs in an unexpected way. For the judge's clerk, as I was informed, started a question among them, which confounded all their counsels; after which they had not power to call me before the judge.

Anthony Pearson being then in Carlisle, and perceiving they did not intend to bring me upon my trial, wrote a letter to the judges, as follows:

To the judges of assize and jail delivery for the northern parts, sitting at Carlisle.

You are raised up to do righteousness and justice, and sent forth to punish him that does evil, and to encourage him that does well, and to set the oppressed free. I am therefore moved to lay before you the condition of George Fox, whom the magistrates of this city have cast into prison for words that he is accused to have spoken, which they call blasphemy. He was sent to the jail, until he should be delivered by due course of law; and it was expected his case should have been processed in the common

and appoints that way of trial. I shall not now mention how hard and unchristian like he has been treated thus far; but you may consider that nothing he is accused of is difficult to judge. And to my knowledge, he utterly abhors and detests every blasphemous opinion which the law identifies as a punishable act. And he differs as much from those people against whom the law was made, as light from darkness. Though he has been committed to prison, he has not had a trial with judgment, nor has he met his accusers so they can repeat their accusations face to face what they have already charged against him; nor has he heard as to the particulars of their accusation, nor does it appear that any word they charge against him is within the act. Indeed I have not yet been able to see the information, not even in court, though I desired it both of the clerk of the assizes and of the magistrate's clerk; nor has he had a copy of them. This is very hard; and that he should be so close restrained, that his friends may not speak with him, I know no law nor reason for. I do therefore claim for him a due and lawful hearing, and that he may have a copy of his charge, and freedom to answer for himself; and that rather before you, than to be left to the rulers of this town, who are not competent judges of blasphemy, as by their mittimus appears; who have committed him upon an act of parliament, and mention words as spoken by him at his examination, which are not within the act, and which he utterly denies. The words mentioned in the mittimus he denies to have spoken, and has neither professed nor avowed them.

Anthony Pearson

Notwithstanding this letter, the judges were resolved not to allow me to be brought before them; but reviling and scoffing at me behind my back, left me to the magistrates of the town: giving them what encouragement they could to exercise their cruelty upon me. Upon which, though I had been kept so close in the jailer's house that friends were not allowed to visit me, and colonel Benson and justice Pearson were denied the right to see me, yet the next day, after the judges were gone out of town, an order was sent to the jailer to put me down into the prison among the moss-troopers, thieves and murderers; which accordingly he did. A filthy, nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a house of office to it; and the prisoners so covered with lice, that one woman was almost eaten to death with them. Yet as bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me, and some of them were convinced of the truth, as the tax collectors and harlots were in Jesus's time. They were so convinced that they were able to confound any priest that might come to the grates to dispute. But the jailer was cruel, and the under jailer very abusive both to me and to Friends that came to see me; for he would beat Friends with a great club, who only came to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat; at which the jailer was often offended. Once he came in a great rage, and beat me with his club, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, come out of the window, though I was then far from it. While he struck me, I was moved to sing in the Lord's power, which made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and set him to play, thinking to vex me; but while he played, I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way.

Justice Benson's wife was moved of the Lord to come to visit me, and to eat no meat but what she ate with me at the bars of the prison window. She was afterwards herself imprisoned at York, when she was great with child, for speaking to a priest; and was kept in prison, and not allowed to go out when the time of her child's birth had come: so she delivered her child in the prison. She was an honest, tender woman, and continued faithful to the truth until she died.

While I was in prison at Carlisle, James Parnell, a little lad about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and he was convinced of the truth. The Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him, though he did not live long. For traveling into Essex in the work of the ministry, in the year 1655, he was Committed to Colchester castle, where he endured very great hardships and sufferings; being put by the cruel jailer into a hole in the castle wall, called the oven. The wall was so high from the ground that he went up to it by a ladder, which being six feet too short, he was obliged to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. And when Friends would have given him a cord and a basket in which to have drawn up his food, the inhuman jailer would not allow it. The jailer forced him to go up and down by that short ladder and rope to get his food, (which for a long time he did), or else he might have famished in the hole. After some time his limbs were very numb from lying in that place. He was still required to go down to obtain food, and as he came up the ladder again with his food in one hand, and reached for the rope with the other,

head, arms, and body, that he died in a short time after. When he was dead the wicked professors, to cover their cruelty, wrote a book of him, and said, 'he fasted himself to death!' which was an abominable falsehood, and was shown to be so by another book, wrote in answer to that called, 'The Lamb's Defense against Lies.'

When I saw that I was not likely to be brought to a public hearing and trial, (although I had previously answered in writing the particular matters charged against me at the time of my first examination and commitment), I was moved to send the following paper, as a public challenge to all those that lied about and me behind my back, to appear and make good their charge.

If any in Westmoreland, Cumberland, or elsewhere, that profess christianity, and pretend to love God and Christ, are not satisfied concerning the things of God, which I, George Fox, have spoken and declared, let them publish their dissatisfaction in writing, and not backbite, lie, and persecute in secret. **This I demand of you all in the presence of the living God, as you will answer for it to him.** This letter is written for the exaltation of the truth, and the confounding of the deceit. To that of God in your consciences I speak. Declare or write your dissatisfaction with anything I have spoken or declared to any of them whom you call Quakers; that truth may be exalted, and all may come to the light, with which Christ has enlightened everyone that comes into the world; that nothing may be hid in darkness, in prisons, holes, or corners; but that all things may be brought to the light of Christ, and by it may be tried. This I am moved of the Lord to write, and publish, to be set upon the market crosses in Westmoreland and elsewhere. To the light of Christ in you I speak, that none of you may speak evil of the things of God, which you do not know; nor none act contrary to the light that gave forth the scriptures, for fear you be found fighters against God, and the hand of the Lord be turned against you.

George Fox

While I lay in prison under the before mentioned conditions, the report raised at the time of the assizes, 'that I should be put to death,' was circulated widely; so much so that the parliament then in session, which I think was called the little parliament, heard that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, and instructed a letter to be sent to the sheriff and magistrates concerning me.

Because of the death of James Parnell in prison, Parliament was motivated to try to prevent another similar occurrence that might be about to happen to another young man in prison for religion that the authorities were rumored to wish to die; that man was George Fox, sent to prison with the magistrates bragging that he would die there. From Ruth S. Murray's *Valiant for the Truth*:

The Little Parliament summoned by Cromwell, consisting mostly of members of his own choice, heard that at Carlisle a young man was imprisoned who was to die for his religion. The Parliament caused a letter to be sent down, inquiring into it. Two of the justices who were friendly to George Fox also wrote a letter to the magistrates, condemning their course, and the prisoner, from his dungeon, sent out a stirring appeal to all who denounced him to come forth and make good their accusations against him. The governor soon after came to the prison, and finding such a noisome place, censured the magistrates for allowing this treatment, and put the under jailer, who had been so cruel, into the same prison. Soon after this those who imprisoned George Fox, being somewhat afraid of the consequence of their actions, set him at liberty and he resumed his labors.

About the same time I also wrote to the justices at Carlisle, who had cast me into prison, and persecuted Friends at the instigation of the priest for tithes, reasoning the restraint of their conduct as follows:

Friends, Thomas Craston and Cuthbert Stadholm,

Your noise has been heard in London by the sober people. What imprisoning, what gagging, what havoc and spoiling the goods of people, have you made within these few years! You act as though you had never read the scriptures, or had not minded them! Is this the end of Carlisle's religion? Is this the end of your ministry? Is this the end of your church and of your profession of Christianity? You have shamed it by your folly, madness, and blind zeal. Was it not always the work of the blind guides, watchmen, leaders, and false prophets, to prepare war against them that would provide food for their mouths? Have not you been the priests' packhorses and executioners? When they spur you up to bear the sword against the just, do not you turn against those who refuse to support the hypocrites that the scriptures

and pretend a fast, when you are full of strife and debate. Did your heart never burn within you? Did you never come to question your conditions? Are you wholly given up to do the devil's lusts to persecute? Where is your love of enemies? Where is your entertainment of strangers? Where is your overcoming evil with good? Where are your teachers, who can stop the mouths of preachers for profit, convince and convert such preachers and any who oppose them? Have you no ministers of the spirit, no soldiers with spiritual weapons, displaying Christ's colors? Instead you have the dragon's colors, the murderer's, the persecutor's arm of flesh, Cain's weapons, chief priests taking counsel, Judas and the multitude with swords and staves, Sodom's company raging about Lot's house, like the priests and princes against Jeremiah, like the dragon, beast, and great whore, and the false church, which John saw should cast into prison, kill, and persecute? Whose weapons are you bearing? Does not the false church, the whore, make merchandise of cattle, corn, wine, and oil, even to the very souls of men? Has not all this happened since the true church went into the wilderness? Read [Revelations the 12th](#), with the Rev 18: do you not read and see what a spirit you are of, and what a bottomless pit you are in? Have you not dishonored the place of justice and authority? What turned your sword backward, like madmen, who are a praise to the evil doer, and would be a terror to the good, with all force and might to stop the way of justice! Do you think the Lord does not see your actions? How many have you wronged? How many have you imprisoned, persecuted, and put out of your synagogues? Are you those who must fulfill the prophecy of Christ. [Mat 23:34](#) and [John 16:1-3](#). Read the scriptures, see how different you are from the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, and what a countenance you have, like those that persecuted the prophets, Christ, and the apostles. You are found in their steps, wrestling with flesh and blood, not with principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness. Your teachers imprison and persecute for outward things, you being their executioners; the likes of which has not been in all the nations. The havoc that has been made, the seizure of people's property, taking away their oxen and fatted beef cattle, their sheep, corn, wool, and household goods; and giving them to the priests that have done no work for them. You are more like moss-troopers than ministers of the gospel. You take property from Friends, bring them in your courts, and fine them because they will not break the command of Christ; that is, because they will not swear. Thus you act against those who do not lift up a hand against you, and as much as you turn against them, you turn against Christ. But he is risen who will plead their cause, and you cannot hide. Your works have come to light, and the end of your ministry is seen for what it is for, profit. You have dishonored the truth, the gospel; and you are of those that take money for it. You have lost your glory. You have dishonored yourselves. Persecution has always been blind and mad. Read what the apostle Paul said of himself when he was Saul in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your lifting up yourselves, has brought you to this; **not being humble, not doing justice, not loving mercy**. When those who you have been beaten and bruised by your rude company, (to whom you are a praise and encouragement), have come and stated their pleas before you hoping for justice and for you to preserve and keep the peace; you, knowing they could not swear, required them to take an oath. This has been your trick and cover so that you could be unjust to the just; but by this means you go on still further to encourage the evil doer. But the Lord sees your hearts! If you were not men past feeling, you would fear and tremble before the God of the whole earth; who is risen, and will stain your glory, mar your pride, deface your beauty, and lay it in the dust. Though for a time you may swell in your pride, glory in your shame, and make a mock of God's messengers who have become your prey for reproving sin in the gate; you will feel the hand of God and his judgments at the last. This is from a lover of the truth, of righteousness, and of your souls; but a witness against all such as make a trade of the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' words, and are found in the steps of them who persecuted the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' life; who persecute those that will not support you, put food in your mouths, and give you profit. Tithes were before the law, and tithes were in the law; but tithes, since the days of the apostles, have been only since the false church arose. Christ, who came to end the law, and to end war, redeems men out of the tenths (1/10 of your income was required), and out of the nines also. The redeemed of the Lord shall reign upon the earth, and know the election which was before the world began. Since the days of the apostles, tithes have been required by the Papists, and by those that went from the apostles into the world; set up by the false church that made merchandise of the people, since the true church went into the wilderness. But now the judgment of the great whore comes; the beast and false prophet (the old dragon) shall be taken and cast into the fire, and the Lamb and his saints shall have the victory. Now Christ has come, who will make war in righteousness, and destroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and inventions that have been set up since the days of the apostles, and since the true church went into the wilderness. And the everlasting gospel, which is the power of God, shall be preached again to all nations, kindreds, and tongues, in this the Lamb's day; before whom you shall appear at judgment You have no way to escape. For he has appeared who is the First and the Last, the Beginning and the ending, the Alpha and the Omega: he that was dead is

I mentioned before that Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson, though they had been justices of the peace, were not permitted to come to me in the prison; whereupon they jointly wrote a letter to the magistrates, priests, and people at Carlisle, concerning my imprisonment, thus:

He who is called George Fox, who is persecuted by rulers and magistrates, by justices, priests, and people, and who suffers the imprisonment of his body at this present time as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer, him do we witness, (who in measure are made partakers of the same life which lives in him), to be a minister of the eternal word of God, by whom the everlasting gospel is preached; by the powerful preaching whereof the eternal Father of the saints has opened the blind eyes, unstopped the deaf ears, let the oppressed go free, and has raised the dead out of the graves. Christ is now preached in and among the saints, the same that ever he was; and because his heavenly image is borne up in this his faithful servant, therefore fallen man, (rulers, priests, and people), persecutes him. Because he lives up out of the fall, and testifies against the works of the world, that the deeds of that are evil, he suffers by you magistrates, not as an evil doer. Thus it was ever where the seed of God was kept in prison under the cursed nature, that nature sought to imprison them in whom it was raised. The Lord will make him to you as a burdensome stone; for the sword of the spirit of the Almighty is put into the hands of the saints, which shall wound all the wicked; and shall not be put up until it has cut down all corrupt judges, justices, magistrates, priests, and professors; until he has brought his wonderful thing to pass in the earth, which is to make new heavens and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness; which now he is about to do. Therefore fear the Lord God Almighty, you judges, justices, commanders, priests, and people; you that forget God, suddenly will the Lord come and destroy you with an utter destruction, and will sweep your names out of the earth, and will restore his people judges as at the first, and counselors as at the beginning. And all persecutors shall partake of the plagues of the whore, who has made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk with the wine of her fornications, and has drunk the blood of the saints; and therefore shall you be partakers of her plagues. We are not allowed to see our friend in prison, whom we witness to be a messenger of the living God. Now, all people, mind whether this is according to law, or from the wicked, perverse, envious will of the envious rulers and magistrates, who are of the same generation that persecuted Jesus Christ: for he said, "as they have done to me, so will they do to you." And as he took the love, the kindness, and service that was showed and performed to any of his afflicted ones in their sufferings, and distress, as done unto himself; so the injuries and wrongs that were done by any to any of his little ones, he resented as done unto himself also. Therefore you, who are so far from visiting him yourselves in his suffering servant that you will not suffer his brethren to visit him, you must depart, you workers of iniquity, into the lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to thresh the mountains, and will beat them to dust; and all corrupt rulers, corrupt officers, and corrupt laws, the Lord will take vengeance on, by which the tender consciences of his people are oppressed. He will give his people his law, and will judge his people himself, not according to the sight of the eye and hearing of the ear, but with righteousness and equity. Now are your hearts made manifest to be full of envy against the living truth of God, which is made manifest in his people, who are condemned and despised of the world, and scornfully called Quakers. You are worse than the heathens who put Paul in prison, for none of his friends or acquaintance were hindered to come to him by them: therefore they shall be witnesses against you. You are shown to the saints to be of the same generation that put Christ to death, and that put the apostle in prison, on the same pretence as you act under; in calling truth error, and the ministers of God blasphemers, as they did. But the day is dreadful and terrible that shall come upon you, you evil magistrates, priests, and people, who profess the truth in words outwardly, and yet persecute the power of truth and them that stand in and for the truth. While you have time, prize it, and remember what is written, Isa 14:17.

*GERVASE BENSON,
ANTHONY PEARSON.*

Not long after this the Lord's power came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty. But some time before I was set at liberty, the governor and Anthony Pearson came down into the prison to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. They found the place so bad, and the savor so ill, that they cried shame of the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things. They called for the jailers into the prison, and required them to find sureties for their good behavior; and the under jailer who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the prison with me among the moss-troopers.

After I was set at liberty I went to Thomas Bewley's, where a Baptist teacher came to oppose me; who was convinced. Robert Widders being with me was moved to go to Cold beck steeple-house, and the Baptist teacher went along with him the same day. The people fell upon them, almost killed Robert Widders, and took the Baptist's sword from him and beat him sorely. This Baptist had the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes, and he went home and gave it up freely. Robert Widders was sent to Carlisle jail, where having lain awhile he was set at liberty. William Dewsbury also went to a steeple-house near by, and the people almost killed him, they beat him so; but the Lord's power was over all and healed them again. In that day many Friends went to the steeple-houses to declare the truth to the priests and people; and great sufferings they underwent, but the Lord's power sustained them.

Now I went into the country, and had mighty great meetings. The everlasting gospel and word of life flourished; thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his teaching. Several who had taken tithes as their right denied the receiving of them any longer, and delivered them up freely to the parishioners. Passing into Westmoreland I had many great meetings. At Stricklandhead I had a large meeting, where Henry Draper, a justice of peace out of Bishopricks, came, and many contenders were there. The priests and magistrates were in a great rage against me in Westmoreland, and had a warrant to apprehend me; which they renewed from time to time. Yet the Lord did not suffer them to serve it upon me. I traveled among Friends, visiting meetings until I came to Swarthmore, where I heard the Baptists and professors in Scotland had sent to have a dispute with me. I sent them word, I would meet them in Cumberland at Thomas Bewley's, where accordingly I went, but none of them came. I underwent some dangers at this time in my travels. Going through Wigton on a market-day, the people of the town had set a guard with pitchforks; and though some of their own neighbors were with us, they kept us out of the town and would not let us pass through it, under pretence of preventing the sickness, which there was no occasion for. However, they fell upon us, and almost injured us and our horses: but the Lord restrained them so that they did not hurt us much; and we passed away. Another time, as we were passing between two Friends' houses, some rude fellows lay in wait in a lane, and stoned and abused us exceedingly; but at last, through the Lord's assistance, we got through them, and did not have serious injuries. But this showed the fruits of the priests' teaching, which shamed their profession of christianity.

After I had visited Friends in that county, I went into Bishopricks, having large meetings by the way. A very large meeting I had at Anthony Pearson's, where many were convinced. From there I passed through Northumberland to Derwentwater, where we had great meetings; and the priests threatened they would come, but none came. The everlasting word of life was freely preached, and freely received; hundreds being turned to Christ, their teacher.

In Northumberland many came to dispute. Some pleaded against perfection; to whom I declared, 'that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell: and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the devil and the fall: but Christ, who came to destroy the devil, said, "Be you perfect." One of the professors alleged that Job said, 'Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in his sight. God charged his angels with folly.' I showed him his mistake, and let him see, 'it was not Job that said so, but one of those who contended against him; for Job stood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they were called miserable comforters.' These professors said, the outward body was the body of death and sin. I discovered their mistake in that also, showing them, 'that Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them; and that man and woman will have outward bodies, [here on earth] when the body of sin and death is put off again; when they are renewed up into the image of God again by Christ Jesus, which they were in before they fell.' They ceased at that time from opposing, and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

Then we passed to Hexam, where we had a great meeting atop of a hill. The priest threatened he would come and oppose us, but he did not come; so all was quiet: and the everlasting day and renowned truth of the ever living God was sounded over those dark countries, and his son exalted over all. It was proclaimed among the people, that the day was now come, wherein all that made a profession of the son of God, might receive him; and that to as many as would receive him, he would give power to *become* the sons of God, as he had done to me. It was further declared, 'that he who *had* the son of God, had life eternal; but he that had not the son of God (though he professed all the scriptures, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelations) had no life.' So after all were directed to the light of Christ, by

truth had been largely declared among them, we passed through Hexam peaceably, and came into Gilsland, a country noted for stealing and thieves.

Here a Friend saw the priest and went to speak to him, and he came to our inn where the town's people gathered around us. The priest said he would prove us deceivers out of the bible, but could find no scripture for his purpose. Then he went into the inn, and after awhile come out again, and brought some broken sentences of scripture that mentioned the doctrines and commandments of men, such as "and touch not, taste not, for they perish with the using." All of which, poor man! was his own condition; for in our condition, we were persecuted because we would not taste, or touch, or handle their doctrines and traditions which we knew perished with using. I asked him, what he called the steeplehouse? 'Oh,' said he, 'The dreadful house of God, the temple of God.' I showed him, and the poor dark people, 'that their bodies should be the temples of God, and that Christ never commanded these temples, but ended that temple at Jerusalem which God had commanded.' While I was speaking, the priest left; and afterwards the people acted as if they feared we would take their purses, or steal their horses; judging us like themselves, who were naturally given to thieving.

The next day we came into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of thousands of people atop of a hill near Langlands. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all; and there were as many as one could speak over and be heard, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were turned to Christ their teacher; and they came to sit under their own vine; so much that Francis Howgill, coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words; for they were sitting under their teacher Christ Jesus; in the sense of which he sat down among them, without speaking anything. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishoprick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; and the plants of God grew and flourished, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them; many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise; yes, to babes and sucklings he ordained strength.

After my release from Carlisle prison, I was moved to go to priest Wilkinson's steeple-house again; and having entered before him, when he arrived, I was declaring the truth to the people, though they were but few; for the most and best of his hearers were turned to Christ's free teaching; and we had a meeting of Friends nearby, where Thomas Stubbs was declaring the word of life among them. As soon as the priest came in, he opposed me: and there we stayed for the most part of the day: for when I began, he opposed me; so if any law was broken, he broke it. When his people dragging me out, I manifested his fruits to be like those Christ spoke of, when he said, 'They shall expell you from their synagogues;' and then he became ashamed, and they released me. He stood there until it was almost night arguing and opposing me; and would not go to his dinner, for he thought to have tired me out. But at last the Lord's power and truth came so over him that he left with his people. When he was gone, I went to the meeting of Friends, who were turned to the Lord, and established by his power upon Christ, the rock and foundation of the true prophets and apostles.

About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us again. They had said long before, that we should be destroyed within a month; after that, they prolonged the time to half a year; but since that time was long ago expired, and we had mightily increased in number, they now predicted that we would impoverish one another. For after meetings, many tender people, having a long way to go to return home, stayed at Friends' houses near the way home; and sometimes there were not enough beds to lodge in; so that some have slept on the haystacks. This frightened the professors and world's people because they were fearful that when we had used up the Friends food and provisions, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes and be chargeable to them. But after awhile, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them; then they saw the falsehood of all their prophecies against us; and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed. At the first convincement Friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a single person, but thee and thou; nor could they bow, or use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world. Because of these practices many Friends, that were tradesmen, lost their customers; for the people were shy of them and would not trade with them; so that for a time some could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, people came to experience Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yes was yes, and their no was no; that they kept their word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them. And that if

and conversations of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then things changed so much that all the inquiry was, 'Where was a draper, or shopkeeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman that was a Quaker' so much that Friends had more business than many of their neighbors; and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors changed their tune, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.' This prospering was the Lord's work to and for his people! And my desire is that all who profess his holy truth may be truly kept sensible of it; and that they all may be preserved in and by his power and spirit, *faithful to God and man*. Faithful first to God by obeying him in all things; and then to do to all men that which is just and righteous, in all things that they have to do or deal with them in; that the Lord God may be glorified in their practicing truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness among people, in their lives and conversations.

Since Friends had grown very numerous in the northern parts of this nation, and various young convinced ones came in daily among us, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it among them, for the stirring up the pure mind, and raising a holy care and watchfulness in them over themselves, and one another, for the honor of truth.

**To you all, Friends everywhere, scattered abroad.*

In the measure of the life of God wait for wisdom from God from whom it comes. And all of you, who are children of God, wait for the living food from the living God to be nourished up to eternal life from the one fountain from where life comes. So that you may all be guided and walk in order; servants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families; that everyone, in your respective places, may adorn the truth in the measure of it. With it let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jesus, from where it comes; that you may be a sweet savor to God, and in wisdom you may all be ordered and ruled; that you may be a crown and a glory to one another in the Lord. And that no strife, bitterness, or self-will may appear among you; but all that may be condemned with the light in which is the unity. And that everyone in the unity may see to and take care of the ordering and ruling of their own family. That in righteousness and wisdom their family may be governed. May the fear and dread of the Lord reside in everyone's heart. May everyone come to receive the secrets of the Lord. May you come to be stewards of his grace; to dispense it to everyone as they have need. And so in savoring and right discerning you may all be kept; that nothing contrary to the pure life of God may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged. That in light, in life, and love you may all live; and all that is contrary to the light, life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light be condemned. And that no fruitless trees be among you; but all cut down, condemned by the light, and cast into the fire; that everyone may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge and in his wisdom. And that none may appear in words, beyond what they are in the life that gave forth the words. Here none shall be as the untimely figs; none shall be of those trees whose fruit withers; such go in Cain's way, from the light; and by it are condemned. Let none of you boast yourselves above your measure; if you do, you are excluded out of God's kingdom; for the boasting part raises the pride and the strife which is contrary to the light that leads to the kingdom of God; which the light gives an entrance to the kingdom and an understanding of the things that belong to the kingdom. In the kingdom everyone receives the light and life of man and receives Him who was before the world was and by whom it was made; who is the righteousness of God, and his wisdom. To whom belongs all glory, honor, thanks, and praise - who is God, blessed forever. Let neither image nor likeness be made; but wait in the light, which will bring condemnation on that part which would make images; for that which makes images prisons the just. Do not yield to the lust of the eye or lust of the flesh; for the pride of life stands in the lust which keeps out the love of the Father; and upon pride his judgments and wrath remain, where the **love of the world is sought after**, and a crown that is mortal is sought. In this ground the evil enters, which is cursed; which brings forth briars and thorns, where death reigns, and **tribulation and anguish are upon every soul**, and the Egyptian tongue is heard; all which by the light is condemned. **There is the world, which must be removed. By the light the world is seen, and by the power the world is removed, and out of its place the world is shaken**; to which the thunders utter their voices, before the mysteries of God are opened, and **Jesus revealed**. Therefore all of you, whose minds are turned to this light, wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown that is immortal, and that fades not away.

This is to be sent among all Friends in the truth, the flock of God, to be read at their meetings



<1> <2> <3> <4>

While Friends stayed in the northern parts, a priest of Wrexham, in Wales, named Morgan Floyd heard reports concerning us and sent two of his congregation into the north to inquire concerning us, to test us, and report back to him their experiences. When these testers came among us, the power of the Lord seized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they stayed some time with us, and then returned to Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his conviction; but the other named John-ap-John, lived in the truth, and received a part of the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

Now the priests became greatly disturbed at Newcastle, Kendal, and in most of the northern counties. A man named Gilpin had sometimes met with us at Kendal. Soon after he ran out from the truth into vain imaginations, and the priests made whatever evil use of him against us that they could; but the Lord's power confounded them all. And the Lord God cut off two of those persecuting justices at Carlisle; after a time and the third justice was turned out of his place and left the town.

About this time the oath of engagement to Oliver Cromwell was tendered to the soldiers; many of whom were disbanded, because they could not swear in obedience to Christ: one of the soldiers was John Stubbs who was convinced when I was in Carlisle prison. He became a good soldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful minister of Christ Jesus; traveling much in the service of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Egypt, and America. And the Lord's power preserved him out of the hands of the Papists, though there were many times that he was in great danger of the inquisition. But some of the soldiers had been convinced in their judgment but had not come into obedience to the truth, and they took O. Cromwell's oath. Afterwards going into Scotland they approached a garrison there. The garrison fired at them, thinking they had been enemies, and several were killed, which was a sad event.

When the churches were settled in the north, and Friends were sitting under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shined over them; I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster about the beginning of the year 1654, visiting Friends, until I came to Synderhill-green. There had been a meeting appointed three weeks before, and the meeting left the north fresh and green under Christ their teacher. We passed through Halifax, a rude town of professors, and came to Thomas Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with some doctrinal arguers: but the Lord's power was over all because I traveled in the motion of God's power. When I came to Synderhill-green, there was a huge meeting. It was estimated that there were several thousand people at the meeting, including many people of position such as captains and other officers. There was a general conviction, the Lord's power and truth were set over all, and there was no opposition.

About this time the Lord moved upon the spirits of many whom he had raised up. He sent them to labor in his vineyard, to travel southwards; and spread themselves in the service of the gospel to the " eastern, southern, and western parts of the nation: Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and many others different ways: for the Lord had raised up more than sixty ministers, and he sent them abroad out of the north country. The sense of their service weighed very heavily upon me and I was moved to give forth the following paper:

To Friends in the Ministry.

ALL Friends everywhere, know the seed of God, which bruises the seed of the serpent, and is atop of the seed of the serpent; which seed sins not, but bruises the serpent's head that does sin, and tempts to sin; which seed God's promise and blessing is to, and which seed is one in the male and in the female.

You have come to the beginning where the seed of God is the head of the head and has raised the head of the other; and the new man is known, and he is known that is servant to the new man; and the promise of God to the seed is fulfilled and fulfilling; and the scriptures come to be opened and owned; and the flesh of Christ is known to be he who took upon him the seed of Abraham according to the flesh; the everlasting priesthood is known, and in the everlasting covenant Christ takes upon him the seed of Abraham, and he is a priest after the order of Melchisedeck; without father, without mother, without beginning of days or end of life; he is the priest that lives forever; the covenant of life, light, and peace. The everlasting offering here is known once and for all, which offering overthrows that nature which offered; out of which the priesthood arose, that could not continue by reason of death. And here is the other offering known, the everlasting offering; which perfects forever them that are sanctified; which offering blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, triumphs over them, and ascends above all principalities and powers. He that has the spirit of Jesus sees this; and here is the love of God received, that does not rejoice in iniquity, but leads to repent of it. This is the word of the Lord God to you all Friends everywhere scattered abroad, know the power of God in one another, and in that rejoice; for then you rejoice in the cross of Christ, who is not of the world; which cross is the power of God to all of them who are saved. You that know and feel the power, feel the cross of Christ; you feel the gospel, which is the power of God for salvation to every one who believes. He that believes in the light, believes in the everlasting covenant, in the one offering; he comes to the life of the prophets and Moses, **comes to see Christ the hope, the mystery, which hope does not perish. The light lets you see the hope that perishes, which is not a mystery; and in that perishing hope the expectation fades. Where this never failing hope is witnessed, the Lord comes to be sanctified in the heart, and you come to the beginning, to Christ the hope, which does not perish; but the other hope and the other expectation perish. So all of you know the perishing of the other hope, and the failing of the expectation within; and know the hope that does not perish; that you may be ready to give your reason for this hope, with meekness and fear, to every man that asks you. Christ the hope, the mystery, that perishes not; the end of all perishing things, the end of all changeable things, the end of the decaying covenant, the end of that which waxes old and does decay; the end of the first covenant, of Moses, and of the prophets; the righteousness of God, Christ Jesus the son; his throne you will know, heirs with him you will be; who makes his children kings and priests to him, and brings them to know his throne, and his power. There is no justification out of the light, out of Christ; justification is in the light, in Christ. Here is one who does the will of God; here is the entering into the kingdom. He that believes in the light, becomes a child of light; and here the wisdom is received, that is justified of her children. Here believing in the light, you shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life; and everyone will come to witness the light that shines in your hearts, which will give you the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. With this light you will see him reign, who is the prince of life and peace; which light turns from him that is out of the truth, and abode not in it; where the true peace is not.**

Friends don't be hasty, for he who believes in the light is not in a hurry. Here the grace is received by which you come to be saved; the election is known that obtains the promise; the will is seen that wills; the mind is known that runs and does not obtain, but stops and dulls. When the light sees, judges and stops the haste, the patience is formed which obtains the crown; and the immortality is brought to light. So all who act contrary to the light and do not believe in it, fail to come to justification. And all Friends, if you go from the light and from wanting to have the promise of God fulfilled to the seed in you, so that you may know Christ to reign in you, you thereby bring on yourselves changeable garments, and come to wear the changeable garments, and the strange flesh, which leads to spiritual adultery, which the law seizes. This shuts out of the kingdom; and out of kingdom works are produced which are for the fire, by which you may come to suffer loss. Therefore love the light, which condemns your apathy; and receive the power from the Lord, with which you stand over the apathy, and condemn it; here you feel and see that which gives you victory over the world, and to see beyond time, to before time was. Again, Friends, know Abraham who obeyed the voice of Sarah; he who fathered a son and cast out the bond-woman and her son. Do not depart from this principle or you will harbor wildness. Know the source of the wild son, and its mother, who is not Sarah; for the promise is to the seed, not of many, but one; which seed is Christ; and this seed you now come to witness standing on the top of all, yes, on the head of the serpent. And so all, as I said before, who come to feel and witness this, come to the beginning; and to the beginning come all the seed of God, the church, that the beginning you may all come to know, where there is no blemish, nor spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing. This is that which is purchased by the blood of Jesus, and presented to the Father out of all that

defiles; which is the pillar and ground of truth. None attain to this, but such who come to the light of Christ, who purchased this church. They who go from the light, are shut out and condemned, though they profess all the scriptures declared from it. **Therefore walk in the light, that you may have fellowship with the son, and with the Father;** and come all to witness his image, his power, and his law, which is his light, that has converted your souls, and brought them to submit to the higher power, above that which is out of the truth: that you may know here the mercy and truth, and the faith that works by love, which Christ is the author of; who lights everyone of you: which faith gives the victory. That which gives the victory, is perfect; and that which the ministers of God received from God, is that which is perfect; and that which they are to minister, is for the **perfecting** of the saints; until they all come in the unity of the faith unto a perfect man. This is the word of the Lord to you all. Everyone in the measure of life wait, that with it all your minds may be guided up to the Father of life, the Father of spirits: to receive power from him, and wisdom, that with it you may be ordered to his glory: to whom be all glory forever! All keep in the light and life, that judges down that which is contrary to the light and life. So the Lord God Almighty be with you all. And keep your meetings everywhere, being guided by that of God; by that you may see the Lord God among you, who enlightens every man that comes into the world; that all men in the world might believe. He that believes not, the light condemns him: he that believes, comes out of condemnation. This light, which enlightens every man that comes into the world; which they that hate it stumble at it - the light of men.

All Friends that speak in public, see that it be in the life of God; for that begets to God; the fruits of that shall never wither. Speaking from the life sows to the spirit which is in prison, and of the spirit reaps life; and the speaking from out of the light sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. This you may see happening all the over world among those speaking out of the life; you can see what they may reap in the field, that is the world. Therefore in the spirit of the Lord wait, which cuts down and casts out all this, the root and branches of it. So **in the light wait to receive power**, and the Lord God Almighty preserve you in it; whereby you may come to feel the light, that comprehends time and the world, and penetrates it; believing in the light gives you victory over the world. **Here the power of the Lord is received, which subdues all** the contrary, and puts off the garments that will stain and pollute. With this light you come to reach the light in every man, with which Christ enlightens every man that come into the world; and here the things of Christ come to be known, and the voice of Christ heard. Therefore keep in the light, the covenant of peace; and walk in the covenant of life. There is that which rejoices over the witness of God, and there is that which rejoices in the Lord; which is over that which has made merry over it: of that take notice, you who are in the light. The Lord beautifies those whose trust is in his strength; and the Lord sees those who trust in his strength and those that are in his light. But those who are not from the light and whose eyes are after their abominations and idols, their eyes are to be blinded; their beautiful idols and their abominations are to be destroyed, and by the light condemned, which they have made from the life in their own strength; which with the light is seen, and overthrown by the power of God. "If you can change my covenant," said the Lord, "which keeps the day in its season, and the night in its season, (mark, my covenant - the light), if you can change this, then may you change the covenant of God with his seed." So all Friends that are turned to the light which comes from him by whom the world was made, who was before it was made, Christ Jesus, the savior of your souls, abide in the light, and you will see your salvation to be walls and bulwarks against that which the light discovers to be contrary to it. Waiting in the light you will receive the power of God, which is the gospel of peace, that you may be shod with it. And know that in one another which raises up the seed of God, sets it over the world and the earth, and crucifies the affections and lusts: then the truth comes to reign, which is the band that encircles.

George Fox

About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a Baptist and was turned Ranter) and his company began to prophesy against me, giving out that I was then at my peak and that I would fall down quickly. He sent a bundle of scoffing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Clauson, and the surrounding towns, judging Friends for declaring the truth in the marketplaces and in the steeple-houses; which papers I answered. But their prophecies came upon themselves; for soon after they fell to pieces, and many of his followers became Friends, and continued so. And through the Lord's blessed power and truth, Friends have increased and do increase in the increase of God; and by the same power I have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting seed that never fell or changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and so disobeyed the command of Christ. Many such false prophets have risen up against me, but the Lord has blasted them, and will blast all who rise against the blessed seed, in which I am. My confidence is in the Lord; for whoever opposed me,

I saw their end, and how the Lord would confound them before he sent me forth.

I was now at Synderhill-green, where I had a large meeting in the day-time, and another at night, in Thomas Stacy's house; for the people came from far, and could not soon depart. The high sheriff of the county told Captain Bradford he intended to come up, with half a dozen of his troopers, to the meeting; but the Lord prevented him. When I had settled some meetings in the area, I traveled up and down in Yorkshire as far as Holderness, and to the Land's end that way, visiting Friends and the churches of Christ; which were finely settled under his teaching. At length I reached Captain Bradford's house, where many Ranters had come from York to argue; but they were confounded. From this area a woman called the lady Montague came; who was then convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

Then I went to Thomas Taylor's, within three miles of Halifax, where was a meeting of about two hundred people; among whom were many rude persons, and several butchers, who before they came had bound themselves with an oath that they would kill me, (as I was told). One of those butchers had been accused for killing a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great disturbance in the meeting, which, being crowded, Thomas Taylor stood up and said to them, 'if you will be civil, you may stay; but if not, I insist that you leave my property.' But they grew worse, and said they would make it like a common; and they yelled and made a noise as if they had been at a bear-baiting. They pushed Friends around; and since they were peaceable, the Lord's power came over the disturbers. Several times they pushed me off from the place I stood on, by the crowding of the people together against me; but still I was moved of the Lord to stand up again each time that I was forced down. At last I was moved of the Lord to say to them, 'If they wanted to discuss the things of God, let them come up to me one by one; and if they had any thing to object, I would answer them all, one after another;' but they were all silent, and had nothing to say; and then the Lord's power came so over them all, and answered the divine witness in them, that they were bound by the power of God, and a glorious powerful meeting we had, and the minds of the people were turned by the holy spirit in them to God, and to Christ their teacher. The powerful word of life was largely declared that day, and in the life and power of God we broke up our meeting, and that rude company went their way to Halifax. The people asked them, 'Why they did not kill me, according to the oath they had sworn?' They maliciously answered, 'I had so bewitched them they could not do it.' Thus was the devil chained at that time. Friends told me, they used to come at other times and be very rude and unruly, and sometimes break their seats and make fearful work among them; but the Lord's power had now bound them. Shortly after, this butcher, that had been accused of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of those that had taken an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was then sent to York jail. Another of those rude butchers, who had also sworn to kill me, having the habit of sticking out his tongue in derision of Friends when they passed by him, had his tongue so swollen out of his mouth that he could never draw it in again, and died so. Several strange and sudden judgments came upon many of these conspirators against me, which would be too large to enumerate here. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the blood thirsty, who sought after blood; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them for him to deal with, who is stronger than all, in whose power I was preserved and carried on to do his work. The Lord has raised a fine people in that area, whom he has drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name; who feel Christ among them, and sit under his teaching.

After this I passed through the countries until I came to Balby, from where several Friends accompanied me into Lincolnshire, of whom some went to the steeple-houses, and some to private meetings. There came to the meeting where I was, the sheriff of Lincoln, and several with him, who made great contention and jangling for a time; but at length the Lord's power so struck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did several others also who had opposed us; they continued among Friends until they died. There were great meetings and a large conviction in those parts. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus, and came to sit under his teaching, leaving their priests and their superstitious ways; and the day of the Lord flourished over all. Among those who came to our meetings in that country was one called Sir Richard Wray who was convinced along his brother and his brother's wife His brother and sister-in-law lived in the truth until death; though afterwards Sir Wray departed from the faith.

Having visited those countries, I came into Derbyshire. The sheriff of Lincoln had been recently convinced and accompanied me. In one meeting we had some opposition, but the Lord's glorious power gave dominion over all. At night a company of bailiffs and serving men came and called me out. I went out to them, having some Friends with me. They were exceeding rude and violent. Evidently they had plotted to have carried me away with them in the dark of the evening by force in order to injure me or kill me; but the Lord's power chained them so that they could not affect their design; and at last they

went away. The next day Thomas Aldam, understanding the serving men belonged to a nearby knight, went to his house and told him about the bad conduct of his servants. The knight rebuked them, and forbid their further evil behavior towards us.

After this we came to Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, where we had a great meeting of many different peoples; and the Lord's power went over them, and all was quiet. The people were turned to the spirit of God, by which many came to receive his power, and to sit under the teaching of Christ, their savior. The Lord now has a great number of people in those parts.

I passed towards Kidsley park, where many Ranters had arrived; but the Lord's power checked them. From there I went into the Peak country to Thomas Hammersley's, where the Ranters of that country and many high professors came. The Ranters opposed me and started swearing. When I reproved them for swearing, they would bring scripture for it, alleging Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph swore; and the priests, Moses, the prophets, and the angels swore. 'I confessed all these did so, as the scripture records; but, said I, Christ (who said, Before Abraham was, I am), commanded, Swear not at all. Christ ends the prophets, the old priesthood, the dispensation of Moses, and reigns over the house of Jacob and Joseph, and he says, Swear not at all. And God, when he brought the first begotten into the world, said 'Let all the angels of God worship him', that is Christ Jesus, who said, 'Swear not at all.' As for the plea that men make for swearing, to end their strife, Christ, who says, Swear not at all, destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife; for that is one of his works. And God said, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased; hear you him." So the son is to be heard, who forbids swearing, and the apostle James, who did hear the son of God, followed him, and preached him, forbids all oaths. James 5:12. So the Lord's power went over them, and his Son and his doctrine was set over them. The word of life was fully and richly preached, and many were convinced that day. This Thomas Hammersley, being summoned to serve upon a jury, was admitted to serve without an oath; and being foreman of the jury, when he brought in the verdict, the judge declared, "That he had been a judge so many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that Quaker had then brought in." Much might be written of things of this nature, which time would fail to declare. But the Lord's blessed power and truth was exalted over all, who is worthy of all praise and glory forever!

Traveling through Derbyshire, I visited Friends until I came to Swanington in Leicestershire. There was a general meeting in this town, to which many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came; for there had been great contests between the Ranters and the priests in that town. Several Friends came to this meeting from several areas including John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Pyot from Bristol, and Edward Burrough from London; and several were convinced in those parts. The Ranters made a disturbance and were very rude, but at last the Lord's power came over them, and they were confounded. The next day Jacob Bottomly, a great Ranter, came from Leicester; but the Lord's power stopped him, and came over them all. A priest also came there, but he was also confounded by the mighty power of the Lord. About this time, the priests, Baptists, Ranters, and other professors were very rude and stirred up rude people against us. We sent a message to the Ranters requesting them to come to the meeting so that their God could be tried. Many of them came and they were very rude by singing, whistling, and dancing; but the Lord's power so confounded them that many of them were convinced.

After this I went to Twycross where some the same ranters came who hand sung and danced before me, but I was moved in the dread of the Lord to reprove them; and the Lord's power came over them, so that some of them were convinced and received the spirit of God; they became a pretty people, living and walking soberly in the truth of Christ. I went to Anthony Brickley's in Warwickshire where there was a great meeting; several Baptists and others came and jangled, but the Lord's power came over them.

Then I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relatives. As soon as I had arrived, the priest Nathaniel Stephens having joined with another priest and given notice to the country, sent to me to come to them; for they could not do anything until I came. Having been three years away from my relatives, I knew nothing of their design. But at last I went into the steeple-house yard, where the two priests were. They had gathered many people. They wanted me to go into the steeple-house. I asked them why I should go in there? They said Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them that he might bear it as well as I could! Richard Farnsworth was with me, and at last we went into a great hall where we had a great dispute with these priests concerning their practice and how contrary they were to Christ and his apostles. The priests wanted to know where tithes were forbidden or ended. I showed them out of

the seventh chapter, to the Hebrews, 'That not only tithes, but the priesthood that took tithes, was ended; and the law was ended and disannulled by which the priesthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid.' Then they stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. I had known Stephens from childhood; therefore I exposed his condition and the manner of his preaching; and how he, like the rest of the priests, applied the promises to the first birth which must die. But I showed that the promises were to the seed, and not to many seeds, but to the one seed, Christ; who was one in male and female: for all were to be 'born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God.' Then he said, I must not judge so. I told him, 'He that was spiritual judged all things.' Then he confessed, that that was a full scripture; 'but, neighbors,' he said, 'this is the business: George Fox has come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks he can put out my star-light.' I told him, 'I would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true light from the morning-star.' But I told him, 'if he had anything from Christ, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching because Christ commanded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely.' So I charged him to preach no more for tithes or any compensation. But he said he would not yield to that. After awhile the people began to be vain and rude, at which point we stopped our debate. Yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Before we parted, I told them, 'If the Lord allowed, I intended to be at the town again that day at seven in the evening.' In the interim I went into the country, had meetings, and came again that evening at seven. During that time this priest had got seven priests to help him; for he had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Adderston, that today there would be a meeting and a dispute with me. I knew nothing of it; but had only said I should be in town that evening at seven again. These eight priests had gathered several hundred people which was even of the people from the surrounding country; and they wanted me to go into the steeple-house. I refused to go in, and went to the top of a hill where I spoke to them and the people. Thomas Taylor, James Parnel, and several other Friends were with me. The priests thought they would have trampled down truth that day; but the truth came over them. Then they grew light and the people rude. The priests would not debate with me; but would be contending here and there a little with one Friend or other. At last one of the priests brought his son to dispute with me; but his mouth was soon stopped. When he could not tell how to answer, he would ask his father, and his father was also confounded when he tried to answer for his son. So after they were exhausted from trying, they went in a rage to priest Stephens's house to drink. As they went away I said, 'I had never been in a meeting where so many priests together would not debate with me.' Upon which they and some of their wives surrounded me, grabbed me, and fawningly said, 'What might I have been if it had not been for the Quakers!' Then they started pushing Friends around to separate them from me, and to surround me. After awhile several bulky fellows approached me, picked me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to have carried me into the steeple-house by force; but the door was locked, and they fell down in a heap with me under them. As soon as I could, I escaped to my hill again; and then they took me from that place, carried me to the steeple-house wall, and set me on the bass of it like a stool. All the priests had returned and stood below with the people. And the priests cried, 'Come, to argument, to argument.' I said, 'I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of the hirelings and the strangers.' They cried, 'Prove it, prove it.' I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might see what Christ said of such; he declared, 'He was the true Shepherd that laid down his life for his sheep, and his sheep heard his voice and followed him; but **the hireling would fly when the wolf came, because he was a hireling.**' I offered to prove that they were such hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off from the bass again, and they all got upon basses under the steeple-house wall. Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all; and I told them, 'If they would listen and hear me quietly, I would show them by the scriptures why I denied those eight priests or teachers that stood there before me along with all the paid teachers of the world whatsoever, and I would give them scriptures for what I said.' At which point, both priests and people consented. Then I showed them out of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and other prophets, that they were in the steps of such as God sent his true prophets to cry against for I said, 'You are such as the prophet Jeremiah cried against, Chap.5 when he said, "**The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;**" **which he called a horrible filthy thing. You are such as used their tongues, and said, Thus said the Lord, when the Lord never spoke to them. Such as followed their own spirits; and saw nothing; but spoke a divination of their own brain; and by their lies and their lightness caused the people to err. Jer 14:14-17. You are such as they were that sought their gain from their quarter; that were as greedy dumb dogs, that could never have enough, whom the Lord sent his prophet Isaiah to cry against: Isa. 56:11. You are such as they were who taught for handfuls of barley and pieces of bread, who sewed pillows under people's arm-holes, that they might lie soft in their sins. Eze 13. You are such as they that taught for the fleece and the wool, and made a prey of the people. Eze 34. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from your mouths, and from your barren mountains; and**

is bringing them to Christ, the one shepherd, whom he has set over his flocks; as by his prophet Ezekiel he then declared he would do. **You are such as those that divined for money, and preached for hire; and if a man did not put into their mouths they prepared war against him,** as the prophet Micah complained, Chap.3.' Thus I went through the prophets too largely to be here repeated. Then coming to the New Testament, I showed from there, that they were like the chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees, whom Christ cried woe against. **Mat 23. And that they were such false apostles the true apostles- christ such as taught for filthy lucre; such antichrists and deceivers as they cried against, that minded earthly things, and served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; for they that served Christ gave freely and preached freely,** as he commanded them. But **they that will not preach without hire, tithes, or outward means, serve their own bellies, and not Christ; and through the good words of the scriptures, and feigned words of their own, they made merchandise of the people then, as (I said) you do now.** When I had largely quoted the scriptures, and showed them how they were like the Pharisees, loving to be called of men masters, to go in long robes, to stand praying in the synagogues, to have the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the like; and when in the sight of the people I had associated them among the false prophets, deceivers, scribes, and Pharisees, and showed without exception how their types were judged and condemned by the true prophets, Christ, and the apostles. I directed them to the light of Jesus, who enlightens every man that comes into the world; that by it they might see whether these things were not true as had been spoken. When I appealed to that of God in their consciences, the light of Christ Jesus in them, they could not abide to hear it. They were all quiet until then; but then a professor said, George, will you never finish talking? I told him, I would be finished shortly. So I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. When I was finished, all the priests and people stood silent for a time; at last one of the priests said that they would like to read the scriptures that I had quoted.' I told them that I welcomed their reading with all my heart. They began to read the twenty-third of Jeremiah, and there they saw the marks of the false prophets that he cried against. When they had read a verse or two, I said, 'Take notice, people;' but the priests said, 'Hold your tongue, George.' I asked them to read the whole chapter throughout, for it was all against them. Then they stopped, and would read no farther; but asked me a question. I told them I would answer their question, the matter being first granted that I had charged them with: that they were false prophets, false teachers, antichrists, and deceivers, such as the true prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. A professor said No to that; but I said, 'Yes: for you leaving the matter, and going to another thing, seem to consent to the proof of the former charge.' Then I answered their question, which was this: 'Seeing those false prophets were adulterated, whether I judged priest Stephens to be an adulterer?' To which I answered, 'He was adulterated from God in his practice, like those false prophets and the Jews.' They would not stand to vindicate him but broke up the meeting. Then the priests whispered together, and Stephens came to me and asked that my father, brother, and I might go aside with him so that as he might speak to me in private while the rest of the priests would keep the people away from us. I was very loath to go aside with him; but the people cried, 'Go George, do George, go aside with him.' Being afraid, if I did not go, they would say I was disobedient to my parents, I went while the rest of the priests were to keep the people away; but they could not for the people wanted to hear and drew close to us. I asked the priest what he had to say? He said, 'If he was out of the way I would pray for him, and if I was out of the way, he should pray for me, and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by.' I replied, 'It seems you don't know whether you are in the right way or not; neither do you know whether I am the right way or not; but I know that I am in the everlasting way. Christ Jesus, of which you are out. And you want to give me the form of words to pray by, yet you deny the Common Prayer Book to pray by as well as I, and I deny your form of words as well as it. If you would have me pray for you by a form of words, is not this to deny the apostle's doctrine and practice of praying by the spirit, as it gave words and utterance?' At that point the people started laughing, but I was moved to speak more to Stephens. When I had cleared myself to him and them, we parted; before leaving I had told them that I would, God willing, be in town that evening at seven again. So the priests left, and many people were convinced that day; for the Lord's power came over all. And where they thought to have confounded truth that day, instead many were convinced of it. By that day's work many of those previously convinced were confirmed in the truth, and lived in it; and it was a great loss to the priests. Yes, my father, though a hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied that he struck his cane upon the ground, and said, 'Truly I see, he that stands for the truth will be vindicated.' I traveled around the country until that evening at seven, and then came back again because we had scheduled a meeting at my relative's house. Priest Stephens had notice of the meeting beforehand and had gotten another priest to join him. They had a company of troopers with them, and sent for me to come to them. But I sent them word that our meeting had already been scheduled and they might come to it if they wished. The priests didn't come, but the

troopers came with many disorderly people. They had planned for the troopers to take every one's name, and then command them to go home; and whoever would not go home would be arrested. Accordingly they began and took several names telling them to go home; but when they came to take my name, my relatives told them I was already at home; so they could not arrest me that time. Nevertheless, they took my name; but the Lord's power was over them, and they went away, both professors and troopers, crossed and vexed because they had not achieved their plans. But several were convinced that day and admired the love and power of God. This was the same priest Stephens, who had once said of me, 'Never was such a plant raised in England;' yet afterwards he reported, 'that I was carried up into the clouds, and found again full of gold and silver;' and he raised many false reports about me, but the Lord swept them all away. The reason why I would not go into their steeple-house was because I was to testify against it, and to bring everyone away from such places to the spirit of God so that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the holy spirit, and to bring them off from all the hireling teachers to Christ, their free teacher, who died for them, and purchased them with his blood.

After this I went into the country, had several meetings, and came to Swanington, where the soldiers came; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not interfere. Then I went to Leicester; and from Leicester to Whetstone. About seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marshal came and arrested me before the meeting, though Friends were beginning to assemble; for there were several Friends from many areas. I told the marshal, 'If He let all the Friends go, I would answer for them all.' Upon which he took me, and let all the Friends go; only Alexander Parker went along with me. At night they had me before colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and a we had a great deal of discussion about the priests and about meetings; for at this time there rumors of a plot against Oliver Cromwell. I reasoned with them for some time about the light of Christ, which enlightens every man that comes into the world. Colonel Hacker asked, whether it was not this light of Christ that made Judas betray his master, and afterwards led him to hang himself? I told him, 'No, that was the spirit of darkness, which hated Christ and his light.' Then Colonel Hacker said that I could go home if I stayed at home without leaving to go to other meetings. I told him, 'I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work.' Then his son Needham said, 'Father, this man has reigned too long; is not this the time to stop him.' I asked him, for what? What had I done, or whom had I wronged from a child? For I had been born and raised in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child? Colonel Hacker asked me again, if I would go home, and stay at home? I told him, 'if I promised him that, it would show that I was guilty of something and it would make my home a prison;' and that if I went to meetings, they would say I had broken their order. Therefore, I told them, I would go to meetings, as the Lord might order me; and I could not submit to their requirements; but I said, we were a peaceable people.' 'Well, then,' said colonel Hacker, 'I will send you tomorrow morning by six o'clock to my lord protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard.' That night I was kept prisoner at the Marshalsea, and the next morning by the sixth hour I was delivered to captain Drury. I asked him to let me speak with Colonel Hacker before I went; and Colonel Hacker let me meet with him at his bedside. Colonel Hacker ordered me to go home again and to attend no further meetings. I told him, 'I could not submit to that; but I must have my liberty to serve God, and to go to meetings. He said: 'Then you must go before the protector.' Upon which I kneeled on his bedside, and asked the Lord to forgive him; for he was like Pilate, even though he washed his hands; and I told him that when the day of his misery and trial came upon him, he should remember what I had said to him. But he was stirred up and influenced by Stephens, and the other priests and professors, by which their envy and baseness was evident; because when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, or resist the spirit of the Lord that was in me, they had soldiers arrest me.

Afterwards, when Colonel Hacker was imprisoned in London, a day or two before his execution, he was reminded of what he had done against the innocent; and he remembered it, and confessed it to Margaret Fell; saying, he knew well whom she meant; and this was the cause of his trouble. So that his son, who had told his father I had reigned too long, and it was time to have me cut off, might observe how his father was cut off afterwards, he was hanged at Tyburn.

Now was I carried up as a prisoner by captain Drury from Leicester; and when we came to Harborough, he asked me, if I would go home, and stay for two weeks? He said that I could have my liberty if I would not go to or hold meetings. I told him that I could not promise any such thing. Several times upon the road he asked and repeated the same offer, but I still gave him the same answers. So he brought me to London and lodged me at the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing-Cross. On the way as

we traveled, when I came to inns or other places, I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. He let me go to visit William Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr who were in prison at Northampton.

Note from *Valiant for the Truth*: THE London which George Fox entered in 1654 would scarcely be recognized by a resident of the present city. It was surrounded by walls whose foundations were laid by the Romans, and could only be entered through embattled gateways. Within these walls was a labyrinth of narrow lanes, of which Cheapside and Cornhill were the most conspicuous. The upper stories of the houses overhung the lower, so that acquaintances could shake hands from the opposite windows, while the street below was like a covered way. There was no provision for lighting the streets at night, and the different classes in society jealously maintained the distinction of rank. The courtiers had an exclusive right to lanterns, merchants and lawyers were accompanied by boys with links, (torches of pitch for light), while mechanics and other artisans must be content with torches. The busy, bustling Strand was the connecting link between London and Westminster, then a distinct city, and instead of being crowded with stores, as at the present day, was lined on either side from Temple Bar to Charing Cross with the houses and gardens of bishops and noblemen.

During Cromwell's Protectorate religion was the prominent topic of the day. Knotty points of doctrine were discussed with as much zest as the state of the markets is now. Outdoor preaching was very common, and crowds would stand patiently three or four hours at a time to listen to eminent preachers. Of one of these, named Howe, it is recorded, that on a fast day he preached for seven hours, with a recess at noon for refreshment. Notwithstanding the length of the sermons, these meetings were not very helpful, and there was a strong desire among many to see some of those Quakers who had arisen in the north of England, and of whom so much was said.

Isabel Butten came to London early in the year 1654, and found two brothers willing to open their houses for all who wished to assemble to worship in this new way. These were the first meetings of Friends held in London. Isabel was busy one First Day evening in St. Paul's Church-yard, circulating some papers written by George Fox, when she was arrested for Sabbath breaking and carried before the Lord Mayor. He committed her and her companions to Bridewell, among the abandoned and guilty, thus showing the fanatical spirit of the times.

Among the sixty ministers, mentioned in a former chapter as going out from the north on their Master's service, were two, very different in age and character, but who were united in their zeal for the truth. These were Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough. Both came from Yorkshire, and their simple appearance and provincial dialect did not make much impression at first upon the subtle Londoners. Their wisdom and zeal, however, produced great effect; and, borne up by a strength not their own, the fruits of their ministry increased to such an extent that after three months of service many other meetings were established, besides the two in the houses of the brothers Dring, and room could hardly be found for the numbers who assembled.

At last a large meeting-place, known as the Bull and Mouth, which would hold one thousand, was obtained. Here, amid wrangling and contention, some extolling the Quakers and some accusing them of heresy, Edward Burrough, the younger of the two evangelists, would take his stand on a bench, with a Bible in his hand, and speak to the tumultuous assembly before him, with so much power that all became calm and attentive. Both Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough laid down their lives for their religion, -the former in Appleby Jail, where he was imprisoned for life; Edward Burrough in Newgate. After ten years of successful ministry this young Boanerges, as he was called, was shut up with a hundred others in such close quarters that many died of jail fever; one of these was this zealous evangelist, at the age of twenty-eight.

After captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he went to give the protector a report about me. When he came to me again, he told me that the protector required that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the present government and that I should write the promise in whatever language I thought was good. I said little in reply to captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved by the Lord to write a paper to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, where **I did in the presence of the Lord God declare** that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man. And that I was sent by God to stand as a witness against all violence and the works of darkness, to turn people from darkness to light, to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel, and to cease from being evil doers, to which the magistrates' sword should be a terror. When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to captain Drury to hand to Oliver Cromwell, which he did. After some time captain Drury brought me before the protector himself at Whitehall. It was in the morning before he was dressed; and a man named Harvey, who had spent a little time among Friends, but was disobedient, now waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house;' and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from him so that by it he might be ordered, and with it he might order all things under his hand to God's glory. I had much to say to him about truth, and we had a long discussion about religion; the whole time he conducted himself very moderately. But he said, we quarreled with the priests, whom he called ministers. I told him, 'I did not quarrel with them, they quarreled with me and my friends.' But said I, 'if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and

spirit.' Then I showed him, that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre, divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs that could never have enough; and that they, who have the same spirit that Christ, the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. **As I spoke, he said several times that it was very good, and it was truth.** I told him, 'that all Christendom, (so called), had the scriptures, but they did not have the power and spirit that those had who gave forth the scriptures; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor one with another.' I had many more words with him; but other people came in, and I drew a little back. **As I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, 'Come again to my house; for if you and I could spend an hour of a day together, we would be closer to each other;'** adding, **that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him, 'If he did, he wronged his own soul; and admonished him to hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel, and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened.'** **He said it was true.** Then I went out; and when captain Drury came out after me, he told me, his lord protector said that I was at liberty and could go where I wished. Then I was brought into a great hall where the protector's gentlemen were to dine. I asked them why they brought me there? They said, it was by the protector's order that I was to dine with them. I told them let the protector know that I would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a cup of his drink. When he heard this, he said, '**Now I see there is a people risen that I cannot win either with gifts, honors, offices, or places; but I can all other sects and people.**' He was told again, 'That we had forsaken our own; and were not likely to seek such things from him.'



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Being set at liberty, I went to the inn where captain Drury had lodged me at first. Although this captain was sometimes fair in his conduct, he was an enemy to me and to the truth, and he opposed it. While I was under his custody and professors came to me, he stood nearby and scoffed at trembling, calling us Quakers as the Independents and Presbyterians had nicknamed us before. But afterwards he came and told me that as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the day time, a sudden trembling seized on him; that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so much that he could not rise from his bed; he was so shaken that he did not have enough strength left to rise. He said he felt that the power of the Lord was on him; and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said that he would never speak against the Quakers or those who trembled at the word of God again.

During the time that I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, many sorts of people came to see me: priests, professors, officers of the army, etc. A company of officers, who were there with me, asked me to pray with them. I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord. At last I felt the power and spirit of God move in me; and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them, that they were amazed, even though they did not live in it.

Among those that came was Colonel Packer, with several of his officers. While they were with me, a man named Cob came with a great company of Ranters. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco, but I did not want them smoking or drinking in my room; I told them, 'If they wished to do so, would they go into another room.' One of them cried, 'All is ours!' and another of them said, 'All is well.' I replied, 'How is all well, while you are so peevish, envious, and crabbed?' for I saw he was of a peevish nature. I told them of their conditions, and they acknowledged my statements, and looked at each other in amazement.

Then colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind concerning God, Christ, and the scriptures; it was a great grief to my soul and spirit, when I heard him talk so lightly; so that I told him, 'He was too light to talk about the things of God for he did not know the hardness of a man.' Then the officers raged that I would say that of their colonel? Packer was a Baptist; he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much because it was the Ranters' manner to be exceedingly complimentary, so that Packer told them to stop their compliments; but I told them, 'They were appropriate company because they both had the same spirit.'

This colonel lived near Waltham at Theobald's and was made a justice of peace. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobald's Park because he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceeding high and railed against Friends and truth; and threatened to apprehend me with their warrants, if ever I came there. Yet after I was set at liberty, I was moved of the Lord to go to Theobald's, and schedule a meeting near them; to which many of his people came, and several of his hearers who were convinced of the way of truth, received Christ the free teacher, and came off from the Baptist; which made the colonel rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him so that he was not able to interfere with me. Then I went to nearby Waltham and had a meeting there. The people were very rude, gathered around the house, and broke the windows. At which point I went out to them with the bible in my hand and asked them to come in, and told them, 'I would show them scripture that applied to their principles and practices.' When I had done so, I showed them also 'that their teachers were in the steps the false prophets that Christ and the apostles cried against.' Then I directed them to the light of Christ, the spirit of God in their own hearts; that by it they might come to know their free teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. The meeting ended, and they went away quieted down and satisfied; and a meeting has since been settled in that town. But this was some time after I was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell.

When I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, (which had been my prison), I did not stay long; but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings: so great were the crowds of people that I could hardly get to and from the meeting; and the truth was hugely spread. T. Aldam, and R. Craven, who had been sheriff of Lincoln, and several Friends came to London after me; but A. Parker stayed with me.

After a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord among them; and that the Lord was come to teach his people himself. So I preached the truth both to the officers and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a priest objected while I was declaring the word of the Lord among them; for Oliver had several priests around him. This priest was his news recorder, an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man. I told him to repent; and he recorded what I said in his news book the next week, 'that I had been at Whitehall, and there had told a godly minister to repent.' When I went there again, I met with him; and many people were gathered around me. Then I showed the priest was a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and he was put to silence. He put in the news book that I wore silver buttons; which was false because they were only pewter. Afterwards he put in the news book that I hung ribbons on people's arms, which made them follow me. This was another of his lies; for I never used or wore ribbons in my life. Three Friends went to examine this priest that had reported this false intelligence; and to ask him where he had obtained the false information? He said it was a woman that told him so; and if they would come again, he would tell them the woman's name. When they came again, he said it was a man, but would not tell them his name then; but if they would come again, he would tell them his name and where he lived. They went the third time; and then he would not say who told him, but offered to place my written denial into the news book. At which point the Friends delivered my written denial; but when they came, he broke his promise and would not put it in; instead he was in a rage and threatened them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies; and he spread these lies over the nation in the news to make truth repelling and to put evil into people's minds against Friends and truth; the details of which may be seen in a book printed soon after, for the clearing of Friends of truth from the slanders and false reports raised and cast upon them. These priests, the news mongers, were of the Independent sect, like them in Leicester; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away; and many came to recognize how wicked these priests were. The God of heaven carried me over all of this in his power, and his blessed power went over the nation; so much so that many Friends about this time were moved to travel sounding the everlasting gospel into most parts of this nation, and also into Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlasting praise. A great conviction occurred in London; some in the protector's house and family. I went to have seen him again, but could not get to him because the officers were so rude.

The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists were in a great rage because so many of their people turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, sat down under his teachings, received his power, and felt it in their hearts; and then they were moved of the Lord to declare against the rest of them.

I scheduled a meeting in the fields near Acton in which the word of life and the saving truth were freely declared. The Lord's power was eminently manifested, and his blessed day exalted over all.

About this time I was moved to write a paper, and send it forth among the professors, on this wise:

**To all professors of Christianity.*

All they that professed Jesus Christ in words, and yet didn't recognize him when he came, said he was a deceiver and a devil. The chief priests and the Jews said, "he has a devil, and is mad; why do you listen to him?" But others said, "These are not the words of someone who has a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?" The Jews then doubted whether he was the Christ or not. So like all the Jews who had knowledge of Christ to come, the false christians profess a Christ in heaven only, but where Christ is risen within a man, they cannot accept this and doubt the possibility of it; though Christ is the same now and forever. Jesus Christ said, "I and my Father are one; then the Jews took up stones to stone him; and where Jesus Christ is now spiritually come and shown, those christians in outward profession only have the same hard hearts inwardly now as the Jews had then; and they cast stones at those in whom he is risen. Jesus said, "For which of these good works do you stone me?" The Jews answered, "For your good works we stone you not; but for blasphemy, in that you being a man, make

yourself God." Jesus answered them; "Is it not written in your law, I said you are gods? And the scripture cannot be broken. Say you of him, whom the Father has sanctified and sent into the world, you blaspheme, because I said, I am the son of God?" The Jews said to him, say we not well, that you have a devil? Jesus answered, I honor my Father, and you dishonor me. And they that were in the synagogue rose up, and thrust him out of the city; and took him up to the edge of the hill whereon their city was built, to cast him down headlong. The Pharisees said, "he casts out devils by the prince of devils." Jesus Christ was called a glutton and a wine-bibber; a friend of publicans and sinners; but wisdom is justified of her children. The officers, when the high-priests and Pharisees asked them, "Why have you not brought him?" said, "Never man spoke like this man." The Pharisees said, Are you also deceived? Do any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believe on him? The only who believe are people who don't know the law and are accursed. Nicodemus said unto them, (he that visited Jesus at night), "does our law judge any man before it hears him?" When Stephen confessed Jesus, the substance of all figures and types, and was brought before the chief priests to his trial, he told them, "The Most High dwells not in temples made with hands;" and brought the prophet's words to witness, and told them, they were stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears; and always, resisted the holy ghost, as their fathers had done. Stephen was full of the Holy ghost, and said, he saw Jesus; and they ran upon him, and stoned him to death, as he was calling upon the Lord. When Paul confessed Jesus Christ, and his resurrection, Festus said, he was mad. When Paul preached the resurrection, some mocked. The Jews persuaded the people, and they stoned him, and drew him out of the city, thinking he had been dead. The Jews stirred up the Gentiles, to make their minds evil-affected towards the brethren. The Jews stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief of the city; and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts; and there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them. In like manner all in the nature of those Jews now, whose religion stands in notions, stir up the rulers and the ignorant people, and incenses them against Jesus Christ, to stone all those people **in whom he is risen** with one consent. This is so that the scripture might be fulfilled, and the blindness of the people might be discovered. And the same power now is made revealed, and overturns the world, as it then overturned the world, to the exalting of the Lord and the pulling down of the kingdom of satan and of this world, and setting up Christ's own kingdom, to his everlasting praise. The Lord is now exalting himself, and throwing down man's self. A proud man's head is arrogant, and fears the loss of his pride and his crown. The priests incense the ignorant people, for fear that their income will decrease; and professors show themselves full of rage; which shows that Jesus Christ the substance is not there; but a stony heart, to stone the precious followers of Christ, where he is risen in them. The carnal mind feeds upon the outward letter; earth feeds upon earth; and the earth's vineyard is not dressed, but is full of briars and nettles; and ravenous beasts, swine, dogs, wolves, and lions, and all venomous creatures lodge in that habitation. That house is foul and is not swept. These are the persecutors of the just, enemies of the truth, and of Christ. These are blasphemers of God and his truth. These are they that call upon God with their lips, but their hearts are far from him. These are they that feed on lies; priests and people. These incense the people, and stir up envy; for it begets its own, one like itself. These are as the waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame. These have double eyes; whose bodies are full of darkness. These paint themselves with the prophets', with Christ's, and with the apostles' words to appear holy. You are white washed walls, painted sepulchers, murderers of the just. Your eyes are double, your minds are double, and your hearts are double. You flatterers, repent and turn from your carnal ends; you who are full of mischief, pretending to be of God, pretending godliness, and taking him for your cloak. But God will uncover you, and he has uncovered you to his children. He will make you bare, discover your secrets, take off your crown, take away your mantle and your veil, and strip you of your clothing; that your nakedness may appear, and how you sit deceiving the nations. Your abomination and your falseness is now made manifest to those who are of God; who in his power triumph over you, rejoice over you, the beast, the dragon, the false prophet, the seducer, the hypocrite, the mother of all harlots. Now you must have your cup double. Give it to her double. Sing over her, you righteous ones, sing over them all, you saints; triumph in glory, triumph over the deceit; sing the song of the Lamb; triumph over the world, spread the truth abroad. Come you captives out of prison, and rejoice with one accord, for the joyful days are coming. Let us be glad, and rejoice forever! Singleness of heart is come; pureness of heart is come; joy and gladness are come. The glorious God is exalting himself: truth has been talked of; but now it is possessed. Christ has been talked of; but now he is come and possessed. The glory has been talked of; but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defaced. The son of God has been talked of; but now he is come, and has given us an understanding. Unity has been talked of; but now it is come. Virgins have been talked of; but now they are come with oil in their lamps. He will be glorified alone. Where pride is thrown down, earth and the fleshly will are thrown down, and the pure is raised up;

there alone is the Lord exalted. Let the heavens bow down to him, and the earth reel to and fro, and stagger up and down. The Lord is setting up his throne and his crown, and throwing down the crown of man; and he alone will be glorified: to whom is all honor and glory, all praises, and all thanks! He gives his children wisdom and strength, knowledge and virtue, power and riches, blessings and durable substance; an eye to discern, and an ear to hear things singly; brings down the pride of man's heart, and turns the wicked out of the kingdom. The righteous ones inherit righteousness; the pure, pureness; the holy, holiness. Praises, praises be to the Lord, whose glory now shines, whose day is broken forth; which is hid from the world, hid from all worldly wise ones, from all the prudent of this world; from the fowls of the air; from all vultures' eyes, all venomous beasts, all liars, all dogs, and all swine. But to them that fear his name, the secrets of the Lord are made manifest, the treasures of wisdom are opened, and the fullness of knowledge: for you, O Lord! make yourself manifest to your children.

George Fox

My spirit was greatly burdened to see the pride that existed in the nation, even among professors; therefore I was moved to write a paper as directed

**To such as follow the world's fashions.*

What a world is this! How the devil garnishes himself! And how people are so obedient to do his will and mind! They are altogether carried away with foolishness and vanities, both men and women. They have lost the hidden man of the heart, and the meek and quiet spirit, which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange that they can scarcely look at one another; they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their heads; and has so lifted them up, that they snort like wild asses; and like Ephraim, they feed upon wind. They are like wild cattle, which feed upon the mountains. Pride has puffed up every one of them. They are out of the fear of God; men and women; young and old; one puffs up another. They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; no, they shall not be respected, if they don't have gold or silver upon their backs, or if the hair is not powdered. But if one has a store of ribbons hanging about his waist, at his knees, and in his hat, of different colors, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair powdered, then he is a brave man; then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker. He has ribbons on his back, belly, and knees, and his hair powdered. This is the array of the world. But is not this from the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life? Likewise the women having their gold, their patches on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads; their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, their cuffs double under and above, like a butcher with his white sleeves; their ribbons tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes; this is no Quaker, say they. This attire pleases the world; and if they cannot get these things, they are discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose adorning was in the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet and meek spirit. This is the adorning of the heathen; not of the apostle, nor of the saints, whose adorning was not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but that of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. Here was the sobriety and good ornament which was accepted of the Lord. This was Paul's exhortation and preaching. But we see, the talkers of Paul's words live out of Paul's command, and out of the example of Sarah, and are found in the steps of the great heathen, who in his gorgeous apparel comes to examine the apostles. Are not these that have ribbons hanging about their arms, hands, backs, waists, knees, hats, like fiddlers' boys? This shows that they have gotten into the basest and most contemptible life, who are in the fashion of fiddlers' boys and stage players, quite out of the paths and steps of solid men. They are in the very steps and paths of the rowdy people, who gave themselves up to every invention and vanity of the world that appears, and are inventing how to get it upon their backs, heads, feet, and legs; and say, if it be out of the fashion, it is worth nothing. Are not these destroyers of the creation, who have the fat and the best of it, and waste and destroy it? Do not these cumber God's earth? Let that of God in all consciences answer, and let those who are in the wisdom judge. And further; if one get a pair of pants like a coat, and hang them about with points, and up almost to the middle, a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and a feather in his cap, he is a gentlemen; bow before him, put off your hats, bow, get a company of fiddlers, a set of music, and women to dance. This is a brave fellow. Up in the chamber; up in the chamber without, and up in the chamber within. Are these your fine christians? Yea, say they, they are christians; but say the serious people, they are out of Christ's life, out of the apostle's command, and out of the saints' ornament. To

see such as are in the fashions of the world before mentioned, a company of them playing at bowling, or at tables, or at shuffleboard, or each taking his horse, with bunches of ribbons on his head, as the rider has on his own, perhaps a ring in his ear too, and so go to horse racing to spoil the creatures. Oh! these are gentleman indeed, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows, they must have their recreations; for all pleasures are lawful. These in their sports scream and shout like wild asses. They are like the cattle or beasts when they are put to grass, lowing when they are full. Here is the glorying of those before mentioned; but it is in the flesh, not in the Lord. These are bad christians and show that they are glutted with the creatures, and then the flesh rejoices. Here is bad raising of young men and young women, who are carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogance, lust, gluttony, uncleanness. They eat and drink, and rise up to play. This is the generation which God is not well pleased with; for their eyes are full of adultery, who cannot cease from evil. These are those who live in pleasures upon earth; these are those who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the flesh: these are those who are out of the life from which the scriptures were given, who live in the fashions and vanities of the world, out of truth's adorning in the devil's adorning, (who is out of the truth), not in the adorning of the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, and is with the Lord of great price. But this ornament and this adorning is not put on by them that adorn themselves, and have the ornament of him that is out of the truth. And that is not accepted with the Lord which is accepted in their eyes.

George Fox

It came upon me about this time from the Lord to write a short paper and send forth, as an exhortation and warning to the pope, and all kings and rulers in Europe.

Friends,

You heads, rulers, kings, and nobles, of all sorts, be not bitter, or hasty in persecuting the lambs of Christ, neither turn yourselves against the visitation of God, and his tender love and mercies from on high, who sent them to visit you; for fear of the Lord's hand, arm, and power taking swift hold upon you; which power is now stretched over the world. It is turned against kings, and shall turn wise men backward, and will bring their crowns to the dust, and lay them low and level with the earth. God and Christ will be king, who gives crowns to whoever obeys his will. This is the age, when the Lord God of heaven and earth is staining the pride of man and defacing his glory. You that profess Christ, and do not love your enemies, but on the contrary shut up and imprison those who are his friends; these are marks that you are out of his life and do not love Christ, you who do not the things he commands. The day of the Lord's wrath is building, his fire is burning up the wicked, which will leave neither root nor branch. They that have lost their habitation with God are out of his spirit that gave forth the scriptures, and from the light that Jesus Christ has enlightened them with; and so from the true foundation. Therefore be swift to hear, slow to speak, and slower to persecute; for the Lord is bringing his people to himself, from all the world's ways, to Christ the way; from all the world's churches, to the church which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; from all the world's teachers, to teach his people himself by his spirit; from all the world's images, into the image of himself; and from all the world's crosses of stone or wood, into his power which is the cross of Christ. For all these images, crosses, and likenesses are among them that are apostatized from the image of God, the power of God, which is the cross of Christ, which now understands the world, and is throwing down that which is contrary to it; which power of God never changes.

Let this go to the kings of France and of Spain, and to the pope, for them to prove all things, and to hold that which is good. And first to prove, that they have not quenched the spirit; for the mighty day of the Lord has come, and is coming upon all wickedness, ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who will plead with all flesh by fire and by sword. And the truth, the crown of glory, and the scepter of righteousness over all shall be exalted; which shall answer that of God in everyone upon the earth even though they are a stranger to it. Christ has come as a light into the world, and enlightens everyone that comes into the world, that all through him might believe. He that feels the light that Christ has enlightened him with, he feels Christ in his mind, and the cross of Christ, which is the power of God; he shall have no need of a cross of wood or stone to put him in mind of Christ, or of his cross, which is the power of God shown in the inward parts.

George Fox

Besides this I was moved to write a letter to the protector, (so called), to warn him of the mighty work that the Lord has to do in the nations, including the shaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtlety, and policy, or seeking any ends to himself.

There was about this time an order for the trying of ministers, (so called) and for approving, or ejecting them out of their places or benefices; whereupon I wrote a paper to the justices and other commissioners, who were appointed to that work, as follows:

Friends,

You that are justices who have a commission to try ministers, who have so long been in the vineyard of God. See if the ministers are such as those mentioned in the scriptures, whom the prophets, Christ, and the apostles disapproved. And if they are such as Christ and his disapproved, how you can stand approved of in the sight of God if you send such back into his vineyard and approve them? They are those who will flatter you to seek your favor; and if you do not give them your favor, they will not admire your persons, (such as Jude 1:16 speaks of)? See if they are not those who teach for filthy lucre, for the love of money, and for covetousness; and see if they are not such as love themselves, who have a form of godliness, but deny the power; from such the apostle commands, turn away. The apostles said, their mouths should be stopped, who served not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies; being evil beasts, slow bellies, who mind earthly things. Paul gave Timothy a description to try ministers by: he said, they must not be covetous, nor given to wine, nor filthy lucre, nor new to the faith; for being new they can be lifted up into pride and fall into the condemnation of the devil. These he was to try and prove without partiality. Take heed of approving such as he disapproved; for since the apostles' days, such as he disapproved have had their liberty; and they have told us, the tongues were their original, that they were orthodox men, and that the steeple house, with a cross on the top of it, was the church, (the Papists' mass-house, you may look on the top of it and see the sign.) But the scriptures tell us, "All the earth was of one language before the building of Babel." And when Pilate crucified Christ, he set the tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin over his head. And John tells us, that the beast had power over the tongues, kindreds, and nations; and that the whore sits upon the tongues, of whose cup all nations have drunk, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her. John also said, the tongues are waters. Christ gives marks to his disciples, and to the multitude, how to try such as these that you are to try. They are called of men master, they love the highest seat in the assemblies, they are sayers, but not doers; and, said he, they will put you out of the synagogues. Seven woes he denounced against them, and so disapproved them. Christ said, false prophets should come; and John saw, they were come; for they went forth from them; and the world since has gone after them. But Babylon must be confounded, the mother of harlots; and the devil must be taken, and with him the beast; and the false prophet must be cast into the lake of fire: for the Lamb and his Saints must reign over all and have the victory. The Lord God sent his prophets of old to cry against the shepherds that sought for the fleece, Eze 34 and to cry against such shepherds that seek for their gain from their congregation, and never have enough, Isa 56:11 and to cry against the prophets that prophesied falsely, and the priests that bore rule by their means; which was the filthy and horrible thing. Jer 5:31. And if you refrained from giving them money, you would see how long they would refrain from prosecuting you. There was in the old time a storehouse for the fatherless, strangers, and widows, to come to and be filled; and those who did not prosper then did not bring their tithes to the storehouse. But did not Christ put an end to that priesthood, tithes, temple, and priests? And does not the apostle say, the priesthood is changed, the law is changed, and the commandment disannulled? Might not they have said that the law of God justified them receiving tithes? Have ever any of the priests prospered that take tithes since by the law of man? Was not the first author of them since Christ's time the pope, or some of his church? Did the apostles cast men into prison for tithes, as your ministers do now? As instance: Ralph Hollingworth, priest of Phillingham, for petty tithes, not exceeding six shillings, has cast into Lincoln prison a poor roofer, Thomas Bromby; where he has been about eight and thirty weeks, and still remains prisoner: and the priest petitioned the judge, that the poor man might not labor in the city to get a little money towards his maintenance in prison. Is this a good savor among you that are in commission to choose ministers? Is this glad tidings, to cast into prison a man that is not in his congregation because he would not put money into his mouth? Can such as are in the fear of God and in his wisdom own such things? The ministers of Christ are to plant a vineyard and then eat of the fruit; to plough, sow, and thresh, and get the corn; and then let them reap; but not cast into prison those for whom they do no work. Christ, when he sent forth his ministers, bid them give freely as they had received freely; and

into what city or town they came, inquire who were worthy, and there stay; and what they set before you, said he, eat. And when these came back again to Christ, and he asked them, if they wanted anything? they said, no. Those that are in the apostasy go to a town and call the people together to know how much they might receive for the year; Christ's Apostles never did such. The apostle said, have I not power (right) to *eat and to drink*? But he did not say, he would take tithes, easter-reckonings, midsummer-dues, augmentations, and great sums of money; but he did say, have I not power to eat and to drink? Yet he did not use that power among the Corinthians. But they that are apostatized from him will take tithes, great sums of money, easter-reckonings, and midsummer-dues; and cast those into prison that will not give it to them, for whom they do no work. The ox's mouth must not be muzzled that treads out the corn; but see if the corn be trodden out in you, and the wheat be in the garner? This is from a lover of your souls, and one that desires your eternal good.'

George Fox

After I had stayed awhile in the city of London and had cleared myself of what service lay upon me at that time there, I was moved of the Lord to go into Bedfordshire to John Crook's, where there was a great meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I arrived there, John Crook told me that the next day several of those called the gentlemen of the country would come to dine with him and to discourse with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. Several Friends went to the steeple-houses that day. And there was a meeting in the country, which Alexander Parker went to; and towards the middle of the day it came upon me to go to it, though it was several miles off. John Crook went with me. When we came there, there was one Gritton, who had been a Baptist, but he was got higher than they, and called himself a trier of spirits. He used to tell people their fortunes, and pretended to discover when goods were stolen, or houses broken up, who the persons were that did it: by which he had got into the affections of many thereabouts. When I came in, this man had gotten into the meeting and was speaking, and he was making a hideous noise over the young convinced Friends; and he asked Alexander Parker to give him a reason for his hope. Alexander Parker told him that Christ was his hope; but because he did not answer him as soon as he expected, with boasting he cried, his mouth is stopped. Then Gritton directed his speech to me, for I stood still and heard him, and he spoke many things not agreeable to scripture. I asked him, 'whether he could prove that which he had spoken by scripture?' He said, 'Yes, yes.' Then I told the people to take out their bibles and search the places he would quote for proof of his assertions; but he could not make good by scripture what he had said. So he was ashamed, and fled out of the house, and his people were generally convinced; for his spirit was exposed, and he no longer bothered them with his presence. When they were settled in God's truth, they published a book against him, denying his spirit and his false discoveries. Many were turned to Christ that day, and came to sit under his teaching; so many that the judges and many of the magistrates in Bedfordshire were in a great rage because so many people were turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching. John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord and yet he was discharged from being a justice.



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After some time I returned to London again; where Friends were finely established in the truth, and there were many new converts. About this time several Friends went beyond sea, to declare the everlasting truth of God. When I had stayed awhile in the city, I went into Kent. When we came into Rochester, there was a guard kept to examine passengers; but we passed by and were not stopped. So I went to Cranbrook, where there was a great meeting; several soldiers were there, and many were turned to the Lord that day. After the meeting some of the soldiers were somewhat rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Thomas Howsgioe, an Independent preacher, who lived not far from Cranbrook, was convinced, and became a faithful minister for the Lord Jesus. Some Friends had traveled into Kent before including John Stubbs and William Caton. The priests and professors had stirred up the magistrates at Maidstone to whip John and William for declaring God's truth to them. This may be read in detail in the journal of William Caton's life. Captain Dunk was also convinced in Kent. He went with me to Rye, where we had a meeting; to which the mayor's officers and several captains came. They took what I said in writing; which I was well pleased with. All was quiet, and the people were affected with the truth.

From Rye I went to Rumnay, where the people had notice of me coming some time before. There was a very large meeting. Samuel Fisher, an eminent preacher among the Baptists also came. He previously had a parsonage reputed worth two hundred pounds a year, and for the sake of his conscience he had given it up. There was also the pastor of the Baptists with abundance of their people. The power of the Lord was so mightily over the meeting, that many were reached, and one was greatly shaken; and the life sprang up in several. One of the pastors of the Baptists, being amazed at the work of the Lord's power, bid one of our Friends that was so affected, to have a good conscience. Upon which statement, I was moved of the Lord to bid him to take heed of hypocrisy and deceit; he became silent. A great conviction there was that day. Many were turned from darkness to the divine light of Christ, and came to see their teachers' errors and to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching; to know him their way, and the covenant of light which God had given to be their salvation; and they were brought to the one baptism, and to the one baptizer, Christ Jesus. When the meeting was done, Samuel Fisher's wife said, 'now we may discern this day between flesh and spirit, and distinguish spiritual teaching from fleshly.' The people were generally well satisfied with what had been declared; but the two Baptist teachers and their company, when they were gone from the meeting, fell to reasoning among the people. Samuel Fisher, with several others, reasoned for the word of life, which had been declared that day, and the other pastor and his party reasoned against it; so it divided them asunder and cut them in the midst. A Friend came and told me, 'that the Baptists were disputing one with another, and desired me to go to them.' I said, 'let them alone, the Lord will divide them, and they that reason for truth will be too hard for the other;' and so it was. Samuel Fisher received the truth in the love of it, became a faithful minister, preached Christ freely, and labored much in the work and service of the Lord; being moved of the Lord to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk, in Holland, and in divers parts of Italy, as Leghorn, and Rome itself; yet the Lord preserved him and his companion John Stubbs out of their inquisitions.

From Rumnay I passed to Dover, and had a meeting, where several were convinced. Near Dover a governor and his wife were convinced, who had been Baptists. The Baptists in the area were much offended and grew very envious; but the Lord's power came over all. Luke Howard of Dover was convinced some time before, and became a faithful minister of Christ.

Returning from Dover I went to Canterbury, where a few honest hearted people were turned to the

Lord, and they sat down under Christ's teaching. There I passed to Cranbrook again, where I had a great meeting. A Friend that was with me went to the steeple-house and was cast into prison; but the Lord's power was manifested, and his truth was spread.

From there I passed into Sussex, and lodged near Horsham, where we had a great meeting that convinced many. Also at Stenning we had a great meeting in the market-house, and several were convinced there and in the area; for the Lord's power was with us. I had several meetings in that area; among those meetings was one appointed at a great man's house, and he and his son went to bring back several priests who had threatened to come and dispute. But none of them came, for the Lord's power was mighty in us. A glorious meeting we had. The man of the house and his son were vexed, because none of the priests would come. So the hearts of people were opened by the spirit of God, and they were turned from the hirelings to Christ Jesus, their shepherd, who had purchased them without money and would feed them without money or price. Many that came expecting to hear a dispute were also convinced; among them was Nicholas Beard.

Thus the Lord's power came over all, and many saw the day of the Lord. There were many Ranters in those parts. There were also professors who had been so loose in their living that they began to be weary of their lives, and had gone into Scotland to live privately; but the Lord's net caught them, and their understandings were opened by his light, spirit, and power, through which they came to receive the truth, and to be settled upon the Lord. So they became very sober men and good Friends in the truth. There was great blessing and praising the Lord there among them, and there was a great admiration of God in the country.

Out of Sussex I traveled until I came to Reading; where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. I stayed until the First-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it proved to be; and great conviction took place, and the people were very satisfied. Two of Judge Fell's daughters came to me, along with George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain. After the meeting, many Baptists and Ranters privately came to reason and discuss; but the Lord's power came over them. **The Ranters pleaded that God had made the devil. I denied it, and told them, 'I had come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was, and bruises his head; and he became a devil by going out of truth; and so became a murderer and a destroyer. So I showed them, that God did not make him a devil; for God is a God of truth, and made all things good, and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself, and not from God.'** So the truth stopped and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord God I was evident, and sought to be made evident to the spirit of God in all, that by it, which they vexed, and quenched, and grieved, they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the holy spirit, and were come sit under his teaching.

After this I passed to London, where I stayed awhile, and had large meetings: then went into Essex, and came to Cogshall, where there was meeting of about two thousand people which lasted several hours, and it was a glorious meeting; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and savior, the way, the truth, and the life.

On the Sixth-day I had a meeting near Colchester, to which many professors and the Independent teachers came. After I was done speaking, I stepped down from the place on which I had stood, and one of the Independent teachers began to make a jangling; which Amor Stoddart noticed and said, stand up again George; for I was going away, and did not hear them at first. But when I heard the Independent, I stood up again; and after awhile the Lord's power came over him and his company, and they were confounded, and the Lord's truth went over all. The Lord Jesus Christ has a great flock of sheep in that country, who feed in his pastures of life. On the First-day following we had a very large meeting not far from Colchester, where the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and the people were very well satisfied; for being turned to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching, they received it gladly. Many of these people were of the stock of the martyrs.

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit **James Parnel** in prison; but the jailer would hardly let us come in, or stay with him. They were very cruel to him. The jailer's wife threatened to have his blood;

and in that jail they killed him, as the reader may see in a book printed soon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and also in an epistle printed with his collected books and writings.

From Colchester I went to Ipswich, where we had a little meeting, and very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. After the meeting, I said, 'if any had a desire to hear further, they might come to the inn;' and there came in a company of rude butchers that had abused Friends: but the Lord's power so chained them they could not do mischief. Then I wrote a paper and gave it forth to the town, 'warning them of the day of the Lord, that they might repent of the evils they lived in; directing them to Christ, their teacher and way; and exhorting them to give up their hireling teachers.'

We passed from Ipswich to Mendlesham, in Suffolk, where Robert Duncan lived. There we had a large meeting that was quiet, and the Lord's power was preciousely felt among us. Then we went to a meeting at a captain Lawrence's in Norfolk where over a thousand people were estimated to be in attendance; and all was quiet. Many persons of note were present, and a there was a great conviction. They were turned to Christ, their way and their teacher; and many of them received him, and sat down under him, their vine. Here we parted with Amor Stoddart and others, who intended to meet us again in Huntingdonshire.

About the second hour in the morning we took horse for Norwich, where Christopher Atkins lived; he was that dirty man who had left the faith and brought dishonor upon the blessed truth and the name of the Lord. But he had been denied by Friends, and afterwards he gave forth a paper of condemnation of his sin and evil. We came to Yarmouth, and stayed awhile. Here there was a Friend, Thomas Bond, in prison for the truth of Christ. There we had some service and some were turned to the Lord in that town. From there we rode to another town about twenty miles away where there were many tender people. In several places as I passed along, I was moved of the Lord to speak to the people as I sat upon my horse.

We went to another town about five miles from there and boarded our horses at an inn; Richard Hubberthorn and I had traveled forty five miles that day. There were some friendly people in the town, and we had a tender, heart rending meeting among them in the Lord's power to his praise.

We asked the innkeeper to have our horses ready by three in the morning, for we intended to ride that morning the thirty three miles to Lynn. But about eleven at night when we were in bed, the constable and officers with a great rabble of people came into the inn, and said they had come with a hue and cry from a justice of peace, that lived near the town where I had spoken to the people in the streets as I rode along. They had come to search for two horsemen that rode upon gray horses, and in gray clothes because a house had been broken into the Seventh-day before at night. We told them, 'we were honest and innocent men, and abhorred such things;' yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberds and pikes upon us that night; making some of those friendly people, with others, watch us. Next morning we were up promptly, and the constable with his guard escorted us to a justice of the peace about five miles off. We took two or three of the men of means from the town with us, who had been at the meeting at captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we had stayed the Seventh-day night and the First-day night at captain Lawrence's; and it was the Seventh-day night that they said the house was broken up. The reader is to be informed, that during the time I was prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, this captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had a great deal of discussion to which they took offence. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ's teaching his people himself and making people as clear while here upon the earth as Adam and Eve were before they fell. These justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending a house had been broken into so that they might falsely accuse and arrest us. They were also angry and troubled to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's; for a colonel was convinced there that day, who lived and died in the truth. But Providence so ordered that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an Independent justice, as the rest had been. When we were brought before him, he began to get angry because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him that I had been before the protector, and he was not offended by my hat, so why should he be offended at it when he was but one of the protector's servants? Then he read the accusation and charges; and I told him, 'that the night when the house was said to have be broken into, we were at captain Lawrence's house; and that we had several men present who could testify of the truth of that.' At which point the justice, having examined us and them, said, 'he believed we were not the men that had broken into the house; but

he was sorry,' he said, 'that he had no more against us.' We told him, 'he ought not to be sorry for not having criminal charges against us, but rather to be glad; for to rejoice when he got criminal charges against people, such house breaking or the like, did not show him to have a good mind.' It was a good while yet before he could resolve whether to let us go or send us to prison; and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him, 'we had good horses; and that if it pleased him, he would take us to Norwich jail.' But we repeated the justice's stated confession, 'that he believed we were not the men that had broken the house;' and after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, so that he let us go. So the plotter's snare was broken. A great people were afterwards gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to speak to them in the street, and from where the false charges came.

Being set at liberty, we traveled to Lynn; we arrived about three in the afternoon. Having put up our horses, we met with Joseph Fuce, who was an ensign. We asked him to announce a meeting in the town to as many of the people who feared God as he could; and to tell the captains and officers to also attend; which he did. We had a very glorious meeting among them, and turned them to the spirit of God, by which they would know God and Christ, and understand the scriptures; and learn of God and of Christ, as the prophets and apostles did. Many were convinced there that day; and a fine meeting exists of those who came off from the hirelings' teaching to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Lynn was then a garrison, and we desired Joseph Fuce to get the gate opened for us by three the next morning; for we had forty miles to ride the next day. By means of getting out early, we arrived at Sutton the next morning around eleven or twelve. Sutton is near the isle of Ely, where Amor Stoddart and the Friends with him met us again. A crowd of people was gathered there, including at least four priests. The priest of the town made a long doctrinal statement; but the Lord's power so confounded him, that he went away. The other three priests stayed; and one of them was convinced. While I was speaking, one of the other two came to lean upon me: but I told him sit down because he was so slothful. There was a great conviction that day. Many hundreds were turned from darkness to light, from the power of satan to God, and from the spirit of error to the spirit of truth, to be led by that into all truth. People came to this meeting from Huntingdon and beyond; the mayor's wife of Cambridge was there also. A glorious meeting it was; many were settled under Christ's teaching, and knew him to be their shepherd who feeds them; for the word of life was freely declared and gladly received by them. The meeting ended in the power of the Lord and in peace; and after it was over, I walked into a garden, where I had not been long before a Friend came and told me that several justices had come to break up the meeting. But many of the people had already left; so they missed their design; and after the justices had stayed awhile, they also departed in an agitated state.

That evening I passed to Cambridge. When I came into the town, the scholars, having heard of me, were ready and exceedingly rude. I kept on my horse's back and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were so rude in the courts and in the streets, that the miners, colliers, and carters could not have been ruder. The people of the house asked us, what we wanted for supper? 'Supper!' said I, 'were it not for the Lord's power over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us.' They knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul at Ephesus. At this place John Crook met us. When it was nighttime, the mayor of the town, being friendly, came and brought me to his house; and as we walked through the streets, there was tumult in the town; but because it was dark, they did not recognize me. They were in a rage not only against me, but also against the mayor; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me, for the crowd's anger. We sent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting in power of God; and I stayed there all night. Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by six, we passed peaceably out of town; and the destroyers were disappointed, for they thought I would have stayed longer in the town, and intended to have done us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning frustrated their evil purposes against us.

Then we rode to Bishop-Stortford, where some were convinced; and to Hertford, where some were also convinced; and where now there is a large meeting.

From there we returned to London, where Friends gladly received us; the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. We had a great service because many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their savior, and they praised the Lord through Christ. James Naylor also came up to London; while Richard Hubberthorn and I stayed some time in the

city, visiting Friends, and answering preachers for profit: for we had great disputes with professors of all sorts. They cast many reproaches upon the truth, including lying slanderous books which they published against us; but we answered them and cleared God's truth by setting it over them; and the Lord's power was over all.

Among other services for the Lord, which were required of me in the city, I was moved to publish a paper to those who scorned trembling and quaking, a copy of which follows: *

THE word of the Lord to you all, that scorn trembling and quaking, who scorn, throw stones at, and belch forth oaths against those who are trembling and quaking, threatening and hating them. You are strangers to all the apostles and prophets; and are of the generation that stoned and mocked the prophets in those ages. You are of the scoffers of which they spoke, that are come in the last times. You are witnesses against yourselves. To the light in all your consciences I speak, that with it you may see yourselves to be out of the life of the holy men of God.

Moses, who was a judge over all Israel, trembled, feared, and quaked, when the Lord said unto him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; then he trembled, and dared not look at God. You teachers and people scoff and scorn those in your streets who witness the power of the Lord, which power makes to tremble. Moses forsook the pleasures of the world, which he might have enjoyed for a season. He might have been called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; he refused it, and left Pharaoh's house; yet, he was no vagabond. David, a king, trembled. He was mocked; they made songs about him; they wagged their heads at him. Will you profess David's words, and Moses' words; you who are in the generation of your fathers, mockers, scoffers, wonderers and despisers, which are to perish? Oh blush! Be ashamed of all your profession, and be confounded! Job trembled, his flesh trembled, and they mocked him; so do you now mock those in whom the same power of God is revealed; yet you profess Job's word's. Oh deceitful hypocrites! Will you not own scripture? Oh, for shame! Never profess scripture words, and deny the power, which, according to the scripture, makes the keepers of the house to tremble, and the strong man to bow himself. These things priests, magistrates, and people scoff at; but with the power you are judged, and by the power and life condemned.

The prophet Jeremiah trembled, he shook, his bones quaked, and he reeled to and fro like a drunken man, when he saw the deceit of the priests and prophets who were turned from the way of God; and these deceitful prophets were not ashamed, neither could they blush. Such were gone from the light; and they were such that ruled over the people. But he was brought to cry, Oh foolish people; that had eyes, and could not see; that had ears, and could not hear; that did not fear the Lord, and tremble at the presence of he who placed the sands for bounds to the sea by a perpetual decree, so that the waves of the sea cannot pass! And he said, "A horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule by their revenue. Shall not I release my anger for these things, said the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged upon such a nation as this?" They were those who did not tremble at the word of the Lord; therefore he called them a foolish people. All of you hear the word of the Lord, you foolish people, who scorn trembling and quaking; stop professing the prophet Jeremiah's words, and making a trade of them; for with his words, you are judged to be among the scoffers, scorners, and stockers. For he was ridiculed in stocks by your generation; and you now ridicule in stocks those that tremble at the word of the Lord, the power of the mighty God, which raises up the seed of God, and throws down the earth which has kept it down. So you that are in the fall, where death reigns, enemies of the truth, despising the power of God, as those of your generation always did, woe and misery is your portion, unless you quickly repent. Isaiah said, "Hear the word of the Lord, all you that tremble at his word." And he said, "This was the man that God regards, who was of a broken and contrite heart, and trembles at my word. When their brethren hated and persecuted them, saying, let the Lord be glorified; he shall appear to your joy, but they shall be ashamed." Isaiah 66:5. Now all you scoffers and scorners, that despise trembling, you regard not the word of the Lord; those who tremble at the word are not regarded by you, but they are regarded by the Lord; therefore you are contrary to Isaiah's words. Be ashamed to profess him and his words or make a trade of them. You that seek for your gain from your position, you greedy, dumb dogs, that never have enough, you are they that despise trembling; you are such as Isaiah cried against, who himself witnessed trembling. Here, therefore you are witnesses against yourselves, that with the light in your consciences you may see you are out of the prophet Isaiah's spirit, and are haters of them that tremble, those whom the Lord regards; but such you regard not, but hate, persecute, mock, and rail against. It is manifest you

walk in the steps of your forefathers, who persecuted the prophets. Habakkuk the prophet of the Lord trembled. Joel, the prophet of the Lord, said, "Blow the trumpet in Zion, and let all the inhabitants of the earth tremble." The people shall tremble, and all faces shall gather blackness; and the people shall be much pained. And now this trembling is witnessed by the power of the Lord. This power of the Lord has come; the trumpet is sounding, the earth is shaking; the inhabitants of the earth are trembling; the dead are rising; and the living are praising God: the world is raging; the scoffers are scorning; and they that witness trembling and quaking wrought in them by the power of the Lord can scarcely travel the streets without stones and blows, fists, and sticks, or dogs set at them, or they are pursued with mockings and reproaches. Thus you vent your malice against them that witness the power of the Lord, as the prophets did; those who are come to the broken heart and contrite spirit; who tremble at the word of the Lord, and whom the Lord regards: these you stone, stock, set your dogs at; these you scoff and scorn; these you revile and reproach; but these reproaches are our riches; praised be the Lord who has given us power over them. If you see one, as Habakkuk, whose lips quivered, whose belly shook, who said, "rotteness was entered into his bones," and who trembled in himself; if you see such a one in this condition now, you say he is bewitched. Here again you show yourselves strangers to that power, to that life which was in the prophet. Therefore, for shame, never make a profession of his words; nor a trade of his words; nor of Joel's, who witnessed trembling, which you scorn and scoff at. You proud scoffers and scorners, misery is your end, except you speedily repent. Daniel, a servant of the most high God, trembled; his strength and his breath were gone. He was imprisoned, he was hated, and he was persecuted. They laid baits and snares for him, in whom the holy spirit of God was. Now for shame, you that make a profession of Daniel's words; give over your profession, priests and people, who scoff and scorn at trembling: with the light you are seen to be out of Daniel's life, and by the same power you are judged, at which you scorn and scoff. Here again you are witnesses against yourselves, that you are scorners and scoffers against the truth; and with the scripture you are judged to be contrary to the life of the holy men of God. Paul, was a minister of God, made by the will of God a messenger of the Lord Jesus, a vessel of the Lord's, to carry his name abroad into several nations. When the dark, blind world have got some of his words and epistles, you filthy teachers make a trade of them, and get great sums of money for it, *and so destroy souls* for dishonest gain; making a trade of his words, and of the rest of the apostles, prophets and of Christ's words, but denying the spirit and life that they were guided by, and that power which shook the flesh and the earth. This the apostle witnessed, who said, "when he came among the Corinthians, he was with them in weakness and fear, and in much trembling, that their faith might not stand in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God;" in that power which made him to tremble. This power it is that the world, and all the scoffing teachers, scoff at and scorn at in your towns, in your villages, in your assemblies, in your alehouses. For shame, lay aside all your professions of the apostle's words and conditions! And some who scoff at his power call it the power of the devil. Some persecute stone, stock, imprison and whip them, in whom that power is made manifest, and load them with reproaches, as not worthy to walk on the earth; hated and persecuted, as the off-scouring of all things. Here you may see you are ill the steps of your forefathers, who persecuted the apostles, and acted so against them; stocked them, mocked them, imprisoned them, stoned them, whipped them, haled them out of the synagogues, reproached them, and shamefully treated them. Do not you here fulfill the scripture, and Christ's saying, who said, "If they kill you, they will think they do God service!" yet you make a profession of Christ's words, of the prophets' and apostles' words, and call yourselves churches, and ministers of the gospel. **I charge you, in the presence of the living God,** to be silent, who do such things! Mind the light in your consciences, you scoffers and scorners, which Christ has enlightened you with; that with it you may see yourselves, what you do, and what you have done; for who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God: for all such things are by the light condemned.

You who come to witness trembling and quaking, the powers of the earth to be shaken, the lustful nature to be destroyed, the scorning and scoffing nature judged by the light, in it wait to receive power from him who shakes the earth. That power we own, and our faith stands in it, which all the world scoffs at; the lofty ones, the proud, the presumptuous, who live in presumption, and yet make a profession of the scriptures, as your fathers, the Pharisees did, who were painted sepulchers and serpents; and as the scribes did, who had the chiefest places in the assemblies, stood praying in the synagogues, and were called of men, masters, whom Christ cried woe against. **These people have not come as far as demons, which believed in Christ being the Son of God and trembled.** Let that judge you. The light and life of the scripture is seen and made manifest; and with it all you scoffers, scorners, persecutors, and railers are seen.

Take warning, all you powers of the earth, how you persecute them whom the world nicknames and calls Quakers, who dwell in the eternal power of God; lest the hand of the Lord be turned against you, and you be cut off. To you this is the word of God; fear and tremble, and take warning; for this is the man whom the Lord regards, he who trembles at his word; which you, who are of the world; scorn, stock, persecute, and imprison. Here you may see you are contrary to God and contrary to the prophets; and are those who hate what the Lord regards; which we, whom the world scorns, and calls Quakers, own. We exalt and honor that power which makes the devils tremble, shakes the earth, throws down the loftiness of man, the haughtiness of man, and makes the beasts of the field to tremble, and causes the earth to reel to and fro, cleaves it asunder, and overturns the world. This power we own, honor, and preach up, whom the world scornfully calls Quakers. But all persecutors, railers, and scorners, stockers, and whippers; we deny you by that power which throws down all that nature; as seeing that all who act such things, without repentance, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, but are for destruction.

So rejoice, all you righteous ones, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for great is your reward in heaven. Rejoice, you that suffer for well doing, for you shall not lose your reward. And wait in the light, that you may grow up in the life that gave forth the scriptures, that with it you may see the saints' conditions, and all that which they testified against; with it you will see the state of those that did reproach and scoff them, mock, persecute, whip, stock, and hale them out of the synagogues before magistrates. To you who are in the same light and life, you see the persecutors doing the same things now as described in the scriptures, that they may fill up the measure of their fathers. With the light now they are seen, where the light, life, and power of God is made manifest; for as they did unto them, so will they do unto you. Here is our joy; the scripture is fulfilled, and fulfilling; with the light which was before the world was, which is now made manifest in the children of light. They see the world, comprehend it, and the actions of it; for he that loves the world, and turns from the light, is an enemy to God; he turns into wickedness; for the whole world lies in wickedness. He who turns from the light, turns into the works of evil, which the light of Christ testifies against. By this light, where it is made manifest, all the works of the world are seen and made manifest.

George Fox

Great was the rage and enmity of the people, "christians" as well as the ungodly, against the truth and people of God at this time; and great the contempt and disdain they showed of Friends' plainness. Therefore I was moved to write the following paper, and send it forth; directed as

An epistle to gathered churches in outward forms, upon the earth.

All you churches gathered into outward forms upon the earth, the son of God is come to reign; and he will tread and trample, will shake, and make you quiver, you that are found out of his life, his light, and his power. His day has appeared; you will be found as mortar and clay. Breaking, shaking; and quaking is coming among you! Your high building is to be laid desolate; your professed liberty shall be your bondage: the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken it. Tremble, you hypocrites, you presumers. The fenced cities shall be laid desolate, the fruitful fields shall become a wilderness; your false joy shall become your sorrow: the time of weeping and desolation draws near! Come you witty ones, see how you can stand before the Almighty, who is now come to plead with you. You will fall like leaves, and wither like weeds! Come you, that have boasted of my name, said the Lord, and have gloried in the flesh, you shall fade like a flower: who have slain my witness, yet boast of my words, which have been as a song unto you. Come you novelists, who love novelties, changeable suits of apparel, who are in the fashions outward and inward, putting on one thing this day, and another the other day. "I will strip you," said the Lord, "I will make you bare, I will make you naked, and you shall know that I am the Lord." What! have you professed the prophets' words? *Have you professed the apostles' words, and my son's words? Have you covered yourself with their expressions? Do you think that I can't see you out of my way of life?* Do you think, you witty one; to hide yourself where no one can see you? Do you think, if you flee to the uttermost parts of the earth, that I am not there? *Is not the earth mine, and the fullness of it, said the Lord?* Come all you that have trusted in your own conceited knowledge and wisdom, who were never yet out of the earth and the lusts of it, never yet taken the load of thick clay off you, never were out of the drunken spirit, whose imperfection appears, who must be treated as a potter's vessel; broken cisterns; you that have been wise in your own conceit, wise in your own eyes, in which pride has lifted you up, and not humility; you must be abased. You have run on, everyone

after his own invention, and every man has done that which was right in his own eyes, that which pleased himself. This has been the course of people upon earth. You have run on without a king, without Christ, the light of the world, which has enlightened everyone that is come into the world. But now is truth risen, now are your fruits withering. You that are fortified, and have fortified your strong houses, called your churches, make your cords strong, the Lord will break you apart, you that are gathering in, and you that are gathered. For the Lord is risen to scatter you, his witness is risen in the hearts of his people; they will not be fed with dead words, nor with that which dies of itself; nor will they be satisfied with the husks which the swine feed upon. And all you priests in the nation, and teachers, that now stand against the light, your envy shows that you are in Cain's way; your greediness shows that you are in Balaam's way; your standing against the light, which has enlightened every man that comes into the world, manifests that you are in Korah's way, that spoke the great high words of vanity; you, whose consciences are seared as with a hot iron, whose judgment does not linger, whose damnation does not slumber, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but instead serve your own bellies; who are as the evil beasts spoken of, which have destroyed many families, taken away their cattle, their horses, their goods, even their household goods; destroyed many poor men, even whole families, taking their whole estates from them, whom you do no work for. Oh! the grievous actions that are seen done by you, the ministers of unrighteousness: whose fruits declare to the whole nation, that you are the devil's messengers! Your actions declare it; your taking tithes, augmentations, treble damages, midsummer-dues, as you call them, from those for whom you do no work or minister to.

All you powers of the earth, beware of holding such up as are unrighteous. Let not the words of the unrighteous overcome you, for fear that the righteous God, the judge of heaven and earth, will take hold of you; whose judgment is according to that of God in you, which will let you see when you transgress. Come, you proud and lofty ones, who have not considered the handy works of the Lord, but have destroyed them; nor have regarded the way of the Lord, but have had plenty of the creatures, and have thereby fattened up yourselves, and forgotten the Lord and his way: Oh! let shame cover your faces here upon earth! Come you that are given to pleasures, who spend your time in sports, idleness, and fullness: your fruits declare the sins of Sodom: yet you will make a talk of my name, and of my saints' words. "But I behold you afar off," said the Lord. You are proud and lofty; you are bad patterns, bad examples, full, rich, and idle; who say, others are idle, that cannot maintain your lusts. Oh! the unrighteous balances that are among people! Oh! the iniquity in measuring! Oh! the oppression in ruling and governing! Because of these things my hand shall come upon you, said the Lord. For the oppression has been heard by the Lord, who gives rest to the weary, to the burdened, to the oppressed; who feeds the hungry, and clothes the naked; who brings the mighty from their seats, beats the lofty to the ground, and makes the haughty bend. Come, said the Lord, you mockers, scorners, and rebellious ones, light and wild people, vain and heady; you have had your day of joy, you have scoffed, you have mocked and derided my messengers, my ambassadors, who have preached in your streets, and cried in your synagogues and temples; a day of trembling and lamentation shall come upon you when you are not aware. I will take away your pride and your height; I will shake you as a leaf, and bring you to be as men distracted. I will distract you, and make you so that you shall not trust one another in the earth; who have joined hand in hand against my servants in the truth. I will smite you with terrors, and bring frets and fears upon you; the cup of my indignation and fury shall you drink. Where will you appear, when repentance is hidden from your eyes; when profane Esau, your father, is set before you, and Ishmael and Cain, wild and envious, whose fruits declare the stock. Come, you proud priests, who have eaten up the fat of the nation, who by violence have taken other men's goods, whose envy has slain many, whose wickedness and darkness has abounded, and whose unrighteousness daily appears. Your fruits every day declare it, in summoning up by writs and subpoenas from most parts of the nation for wages and tithes, for work that you don't do. Oh! the abominable unrighteousness! how is the state of man lost, that these things they do not take to heart, to feel them! What havoc is made in most parts of the nation by such! And all you priests and teachers, who are railing and brawling in the pulpit, setting people at variance one against another, haters and hateful, provoking people to hate one another; here is the seed of enmity seen which you have sown and are sowing, whose seed must be bruised by the seed of the woman, which atop of your heads is set.

George Fox

The oath of abjuration was initiated this year by which many Friends suffered. Several Friends went to speak with the protector about it; but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon Friends, because the envious magistrates used the oath as trap; for the magistrates knew that Friends could

not swear at all. I was moved to write to the protector as follows:

The magistrate is not to bear the sword in vain, who ought to be a terror to the evil doers; but the magistrate that bears the sword in vain, as he is not a terror to evil doers, so he is not a praise to them that do well. God has now raised up a people by his power, whom people, priests, and magistrates, out of the fear of God, scornfully call Quakers, who cry against drunkenness, (for drunkards destroy God's creatures), and cry against oaths, (for, because of oaths the land mourns), and these drunkards and swearers, to whom the magistrate's sword should be a terror, are, we see, at liberty; but for crying against such, many are cast into prison, and for crying against their pride and filthiness, their deceitful merchandise in markets, their cozening, their cheating, their excess and naughtiness, their bowling, and playing at shovel-boards, at cards, and at dice, and their other vain and lewd pleasures. Who live in pleasures are dead while they live, and who live in lewdness kill the just. This we know by the spirit of God which gave forth the scriptures, which God the Father has given to us, and has placed his righteous law in our hearts; which law is a terror to evil doers, and answers that of God in every man's conscience. They who act contrary to the measure of God's spirit in every man's conscience, cast the law of God behind their backs, and walk despitefully against the spirit of grace. The magistrate's sword we see, is borne in vain, while evil doers are at liberty to do evil. Those who cry against evil are punished by the magistrate; you have turned your sword backward against the Lord. Now the wicked one protects himself, and persecutes the innocent, as vagabonds and wanderers, for crying against sin, unrighteousness, and ungodliness openly, in the markets and in the highways; or as railers, because they tell them what judgment will come upon those that follow such practices. Here those that depart from iniquity have become a prey, and few lay it to heart. But God will thresh the mountains, beat the hills, cleave the rocks, and cast it into his press which is trodden outside the city, and will bathe his sword in the blood of the wicked and unrighteous. You that have drunk the cup of abominations, a hard cup you will have to drink, you who are the enemies of God; he will be avenged of you. You in whom something of God is remaining, consider; if the sword was not borne in vain, but turned against evil doers, the righteous would not suffer and be cast into holes, dungeons, corners, prisons, and houses of correction, as peace breakers, for crying against sin openly, as they are commanded of the Lord, and for crying against the covetousness of the priests and their false worship; who exact money of poor people, for whom they do no work. Oh! where will you appear in the day of the Lord? Or how will you stand in the day of his righteous judgment? How many jails and houses of correction are now made places to put the lambs of Christ in; for following him and obeying his commands! The royal law of Christ, "to do unto others as you would have them do unto you," is trodden down under foot; so that men can profess him in words, but crucify him wherever he appears, and cast him into prison, as the talkers of him always did in generations and ages past. And the laborers, which God, the master of the harvest, has sent into his vineyard, do the chief of the priests and the rulers now take counsel together against to cast them into prison: here are the fruits of priests, people, and rulers, without the fear of God. The day has come and is coming that every man's work does and shall appear; glory be to the Lord God forever! See and consider the days you have spent, and the days you do spend; for this is your day of visitation. Many have suffered great fines, because they could not swear, but they abide in Christ's doctrine, who said, swear not at all: and by that means are they made a prey upon for obeying the command of Christ. Many are cast into prison and made a prey upon, because they cannot take the oath of abjuration, though they denied all that is abjured in it; and by that means many of the messengers and ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ are cast into prison, because they will not swear or disobey Christ's command. Therefore, Oh man! consider; to the measure of the life of God in you I speak. Many also lie in jails, because they cannot pay the priests tithes; many have their property seized, and triple damages taken of them; many are whipped and beaten in the houses of correction, who have broken no law. These things are done in your name, in order to protect them in these actions. If men fearing God bore the sword, and covetousness were hated, and men of courage for God were set up, then they would be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well; and not cause such to suffer. Here equity would be heard in our land, and righteousness would stand up and take place; which gives not place to the unrighteous, but judges it. To the measure of God's spirit in you I speak, that you may consider and come to rule for God: that you may answer that which is of God in every man's conscience; for that is it which brings to honor all men in the Lord. Therefore consider for whom you rule, that you may come to receive power from God to rule for him; and all that is contrary to God may by his light be condemned.

From a lover of your soul, who desires your eternal good.

*Sufferings and imprisonments continuing and increasing, and the protector, under whose name they were inflicted, hardening himself against the complaints that were made to him. I was moved to give forth the following lines among Friends, to bring the weight of their sufferings more heavy upon the heads of the persecutors.

Who is moved by the power of the Lord to offer himself to the justice for his brother or sister in prison, to lie in prison in their place, that his brother or sister may come out of prison, and so offer his life for his brother or sister? Where any lie in prison for tithes, witnessing that the priesthood has changed that took tithes, and the unchangeable priesthood has come; if any brother in the light, who witnessed a change of the old priesthood that took tithes, and a disannulling of the commandment for tithes, be moved of the Lord to go to the priest or impropiator, to offer himself to lie in prison for his brother, and to lay down his life that his brother may be released, he may cheerfully do it, and thereby heap coals of fire upon the head of the adversary of God. Likewise where any suffer for the truth by them who are in the untruth, if any brethren be moved of the Lord to go to the magistrate, judge, general, or protector, and offer up themselves to the prison, to lay down their lives for the brethren; as Christ has laid down his life for you, so offer your lives one for another. Here you may go over the heads of persecutors, and reach the witness of God in all. And this shall be a judgment upon them all forever, and be witnessed to that of God in their consciences. Given forth from the spirit of the Lord through

George Fox.

*Besides this, I also wrote a short epistle to Friends, as an encouragement to them in their several exercises.

My Dear Friends,

In the power of the everlasting God which comprehends the power of darkness and all temptations, and that which comes out of it; in this power of God dwell. This will bring and keep you to the word in the beginning; it will keep you up to the life, to feed thereupon, in which you are over the power of darkness, and in which you will feel dominion and life. And that will let you see before the tempter was and over him, into which the tempter cannot come; for the power and truth he is out of. Therefore in that life dwell, in which you will know dominion. **Let your faith be in the power over the weakness and temptations; do not look at them; but in the light and power of God, look at the Lord's strength**, which will be made perfect in your weakest state. So in all temptations look at the grace of God to bring your salvation, which is your teacher to teach you; for when you look or hearken to the temptations, you go from your teacher, the grace of God; and so are darkened in going from that teacher which should bring your salvation, the grace of God, which is sufficient in all temptations to lead out of them and to keep over them.

George Fox

After I had cleared myself of those services for the Lord, which were required of me in the city of London, I passed into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, I had a great meeting, in which the Lord's everlasting power and truth were over all; and many in that country were turned to the Lord. The professors were in a great rage was; for the wicked priests, Presbyterians, and Independents falsely reported, 'That we carried bottles around with us, of which we gave people to drink, which made them follow us:' but the power, spirit, and truth of God kept Friends over the rage of the people. There were many seizures of Friends' property for tithes by the Independent, Presbyterian, and some Baptist priests, who had acquired position in the steeple-houses.

From Wellingborough I went into Leicestershire, where Colonel Hacker had threatened if I came he would imprison me again, though the protector had set me at liberty; but when I was come to Whetstone, the meeting from which he took me before, all was quiet. Colonel Hacker's wife and his marshal came to the meeting, and were convinced; for the glorious, powerful day of the Lord was exalted over all, and many were convinced that day. There were at that meeting two justices of the peace from Wales, their names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin, who came both to be ministers of Christ.

I went from there to Sibley, to William Smith's, where was a great meeting, to which several Baptists came; one of them, a Baptist teacher, was convinced, and came to sit under the Lord's teaching by his spirit and power. This Baptist said he had baptized thirty people in a day.

From there I went to Drayton, my native town, where so many priests and professors had formerly gathered together against me; but now not a single priest or professor appeared. I asked some of my relatives where all the priests and professors were now? They said the priest of Noneaton was dead, and eight or nine of them were seeking to get his position which guaranteed revenue. 'They will let you alone now,' they said, 'for they are like a company of crows, when a rotten sheep is dead, they all gather together to pull out the intestines; so do the priests for a death vacated a revenue position.' These were some of their own congregation that said that of them; but the priests had spent their venom against me, and the Lord delivered me by his power out of their traps.

Then I went to Badgley, where was a great meeting. Numbers of people traveled long distances to come to it. Many were convinced and turned to the Lord; they came under Christ's teaching, and were settled upon him, their foundation and rock.

From there I passed into Nottinghamshire, and had large meetings, and into Derbyshire, where the Lord's power came over all. Many were turned from darkness to light, from the power of satan unto God, and came to receive the Holy Spirit. Great miracles happened in many places by the power of the Lord through several different Friends

In Derbyshire James Naylor met me, and told me, seven or eight priests had challenged him to a dispute. I had an agony in my spirit for him, and the Lord answered me. I was moved to bid him go on, 'and God Almighty would be with him, and give him the victory in his power.' And the Lord did so; so much so that the people saw the priests were foiled, and cried, 'a Nailor, a Nailor has confused them all.' After the dispute he came to me again, praising the Lord. Thus was the Lord's day proclaimed, and set over all their heads. People began to see the apostasy and slavery they had been under to their hiring teachers, and came to know their teacher, the Lord Jesus, who had purchased them, and made their peace between God and them. While we were here, Friends came out of Yorkshire to see us, and were glad of the prosperity of truth.

After this I passed into Warwickshire among Friends, visiting their meetings; and so into Worcestershire. I had a meeting at Birmingham where several were convinced, and turned to the Lord. I came to a house belonging to an old man named Cole, near Chattan. Cole had given an Independent preacher a meeting-place, who came to be convinced; after which he laid aside his preaching; whereupon Cole gave him a hundred pounds a year. I had a meeting there; it was a very great one, so large that the meeting place would not hold the people. Many were turned to the Lord that day. Afterwards, when the time of trials came, this Independent did not stand to that which had convinced him; but turned back into the world; at which point Cole took away his one hundred pounds a year from him. But Cole himself died in God's truth.

I heard that at Evesham the magistrates had cast several Friends into various prisons: and that hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. I sent for Edward Pittaway, a Friend who lived near Evesham, and asked him the truth of the thing. He said it was so. I went that night with him to Evesham; and in the evening we had a large, precious meeting, wherein Friends and people were refreshed with the word of life, and with the power of the Lord. Next morning I rode to one of the prisons, and visited Friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other prison, where were several prisoners. Among them was Humphry Smith, who had been a priest, but had now become a free minister of Christ. When I had visited Friends at both prisons, and was turned to go out of the town, I spied the magistrates coming up the town to have seized me for imprisonment. But the Lord frustrated their intent, the innocent escaped their snare, and God's blessed power came over them all. But about this time the priests and professors in these parts were exceedingly rude and envious.

I went from Evesham to Worcester, and had a precious, quiet meeting there. After which, coming towards our inn, some professors started a discussion with Friends and almost created a riot in the city. As we went into the inn, the professors gathered noisily into the inn's yard; but I went among them and got them quieted down. The next day I walked into the town and had a great deal of discussion with some of the professors concerning Christ and the way or truth. One of them denied that Christ was of

Abraham according to the flesh, and that he was declared to be the son of God according to the spirit. I proved from Rom.1 that he was of the seed of Abraham, being made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and that according to the spirit he was declared to be the son of God. Afterwards I wrote a paper concerning it.

From Worcester we went to Tewksbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting, and the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people came to the meeting. The priest boasted that he would see whether he or I should have the victory. 'I turned the people to the divine light, which Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man, had enlightened them with; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and might also see Christ from whom it comes, their savior and redeemer, who shed his blood and died for them; who is the way to God, the truth, and the life.' Here the priest began to rage against the light, and denied it; for neither priest nor professor could endure to hear of the light. Having railed at the light, the priest went away and left his rude company among us; but the Lord's power came over them, though mischief was in their hearts.

Leaving Tewksbury we passed to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow woman's house with many sober people. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power, and several were convinced, and turned to the Lord. After the meeting, a Baptist in the company began to state their doctrinal arguments; and the bailiff of the town with his officer came in and said, 'What are these people doing here at this time of night?' So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, and me; but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be come back in the morning. The next morning many rude people came into the inn, and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went to the bailiff to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our way for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town, I felt the urging of the Lord to ride to his house to speak to him and to let the bailiff know, 'that since the protector had issued an instrument of government in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very strange that, contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peaceable people that feared God.' The Friends went with me, but the rude people gathered around us with stones. One of them took hold of my horse's bridle, and broke it; but the horse drawing back threw the man under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop or so much as rebuke the rude multitude. It was fortunate we were not slain or hurt in the streets because the people threw stones and struck at us as we rode along the town.

When we were quite out of the town, I told Friends, 'it was upon me from the Lord that I must go back into the town again; and if any one of them felt anything upon him from the Lord, he might follow me; the rest that did not, might go on to Dun-Cow.' So I passed through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the word of life to them; and John Crook followed me. Some struck at me; but the Lord's power was over them, and gave me dominion over all. I showed them their unworthiness of the name of Christians, and the unworthiness of their teachers, that had not brought them into more sobriety; and what a shame they were to Christianity!

Having cleared myself, I turned out of the town again, and passed Coventry; where we found the people closed up with darkness. I went to a professor's house where I had formerly been, and he was drunk, which grieved my soul so, that I did not go into any house in the town. Instead I rode into some of the streets and into the market-place. I felt the power of the Lord was over the town.

Then I went to Dun-Cow, and had a meeting in the evening, and some were turned to the Lord by his spirit, as some also were at Warwick and Tewksbury. We stayed at Dun-Cow that night where we met with John Camm, a faithful minister of the everlasting gospel. In the morning a rude company of priests and people gathered, who behaved more like beasts than men; for some of them came riding on horseback into the room where we were; but the Lord gave us dominion over them.

From there we passed into Leicestershire, where we had a great meeting at the place where I had been formerly arrested. After that we came to Badgley, in Warwickshire. Here William Edmundson, a Friend who lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come into England to see me, met with me; by him I wrote a few lines to Friends then convinced in the north of Ireland.

In that which convinced you, wait;
that you may have that removed you are convinced of.
And, all my dear friends dwell in the life, and love, and power, and wisdom of God,
in unity one with another, and with God;
and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts,
that nothing may rule in you 'but the life which stands in the Lord God.'

George Fox

When these few lines were read among the Friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord seized upon them all that were in the room.

From Badgley we passed to Swanington and Higham, and into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, having great meetings. Many were turned to the Lord by his power and spirit. When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked, 'If there were nothing in that town, no profession?' It was answered me, there were some Baptists, and a sick Baptist woman. John Rush of Bedfordshire went with me to visit her. When we came in, many tender people were around her. They told me 'she was not a woman for this world; but if I had any thing to comfort her concerning the world to come, I might speak to her.' *I was moved of the Lord to speak to her, and he raised her up again, to the astonishment of the town and country.* Her husband's name was Baldock. This Baptist woman and her husband came to be convinced; and many hundreds of people have been at meetings at their house since then. Afterwards there were great meetings and convincements in those parts of the country; many received the word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ their savior. After we had visited this sick woman, we returned to our inn, where we found two desperate fellows fighting so furiously that nobody dared come near to separate them. But I was moved in the Lord's power to go to them; and when I had removed their hands from each other, I held one of them by one hand and the other by the other; and showed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other. They were so loving and thankful to me that people had admiration for it.

From there I passed to Market-street, where God had a people; and through Albans to London, where Friends were glad of the prosperity of truth, and the manifestation of the Lord's glorious power which had delivered us, and carried us through many dangers and difficulties. I also rejoiced to find truth prosper in the city, and all things well among Friends there. Only there was one John Toldervey, who had been convinced of truth and run out from it; and the envious priests took advantage of that to write a wicked book against Friends, which they stuffed with many lies, to render truth and Friends repulsive. They entitled their book, 'The Foot out of the Snare.' But this poor man came to see his folly, and returned, condemned his backsliding, answered the priests' book, and exposed all their lies and wickedness. Thus the Lord's power came over them, and his everlasting seed reigned and reigns to this day.

After I had stayed some time in London, and had visited Friends in their meetings, I went out of town leaving James Naylor in the city. As I passed by him, I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck into me concerning him; but I went away, and rode to Ryegate, in Surry, where I had a little meeting. There Friends told me of Thomas Moore, a justice of peace that lived not far from Ryegate, who was a friendly, moderate man; so I went to visit him at his house, and he became a serviceable man in truth.

We passed to Thomas Patching's, of Binscombe in Godalming, where had a meeting, to which several Friends came from London. John Bolton and his wife came on foot in frost and snow. After we parted with Friends there, we went towards Horsham Park; where having visited Friends, we went to Arundel and Chichester, where we had meetings. At Chichester many professors came in, and made their doctrinal statements; but the Lord's power was over them. The woman of house where the meeting was, though convinced of truth and yet keeping her mind close to that which convinced her, she fell in love with a man of the world, who was there that time. When I knew it, I took her aside and was moved to speak to her and to pray for her; but a light thing got up in her mind, and she slighted it. Afterwards she married that man; and soon after went insane; for he was greatly in debt, and she was greatly disappointed. Then was I sent for her; and the Lord was solicited. He raised her up again and settled her mind by his power. Afterwards her husband died, and she acknowledged the just judgments of God that had come upon her for slighting the exhortation and counsel had given her.

After we left Chichester, we traveled to Portsmouth. There the soldiers took us to the governor's house. After some examination, the Lord's power came over them, and we were set at liberty, and had a meeting in the town. After which we came to Ringwood, where in the evening we had a meeting. Several were convinced, and turned to the spirit of the Lord, and to the teaching of Christ Jesus their savior.

From Ringwood we came to Pool, and having tied our horses at an inn, we sent into the town to inquire for who feared the Lord, and such as were worthy; and we had a meeting their with several sober people. William Bayly, a Baptist teacher, was convinced at that time. The people received truth in the inward parts, and were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their rock and foundation, their teacher and savior; and there had developed a great gathering in the name of Jesus of a very tender people who continue under Christ's teaching.

We went also to Southampton, and had a meeting, where several were convinced. Edward Pyot of Bristol traveled with me all this western journey.

From there we went to Dorchester, and stopped at an inn, a Baptist's house: we sent into the town to the Baptists, to let us have their meeting house to assemble in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they refused us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting house, so the town would know of their refusal. Then we sent them word that if they would not let us come to their house, they or any people that feared God, might come to our inn if they pleased; but they were in a great rage. Their teacher and many of them came up and slapped their bibles on the table. I asked them, 'Why they were so angry? Were they angry with the bible?' But they fell into a discussion about their water baptism. I asked them, 'whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was; and whether they had the same spirit and power that the apostles had?' They said, They had not. Then I asked them, 'How many powers are there and were there powers other than the power of God, and the power of the devil?' They said there was not any other power than those two. Then, I said, since you don't have the power of God that the apostles had, you must be acting by the power of the devil.' Many sober people were present, who said, 'They have thrown themselves down on their backs.' Many substantial people were convinced that night; a precious service we had there for the Lord, and his power came over all. Next morning, as we were passing away the Baptists, being in a rage began to shake the dust off their feet after us.' What,' I said 'in the power of darkness! We, who are in the power of God, shake the dust of our feet against you.'

Leaving Dorchester we came to Weymouth; where we also inquired after sober people; and about eighty of them gathered together at a priest's house, all very sober people. Most of them received the word of life, and were turned to their teacher Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they might see their sins and him who saves from sin. A blessed meeting we had with them, and they received the truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart. The meeting lasted several hours. 'The state of their teachers, and the apostasy was opened to them; and the state of the apostles and of the church in their days; and the state of the law and of the prophets before Christ, and how Christ came to fulfill them; that he was their teacher in the apostles' days; and that he was now come to teach people himself by his power and spirit.' All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and some who had been Ranters came to own the truth and to live very soberly.

There was a captain of horse in the town, who sent to me, and would gladly have had me to have stayed longer; but I was not to stay. He and his man rode out of town with me about seven miles; Edward Pyot also being with me. This captain was the fattest, merriest, most cheerful man, and the most given to laughter, that I had ever met with; insomuch that I was several times moved to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; yet it was become so customary to him, he would presently laugh at anything he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety, and the fear of the Lord, and sincerity. We stayed at an inn that night; and the next morning I was moved to speak to him again, when he parted from us. Next time I saw him, he told that when I spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him that before he got home he was serious enough, and had stopped laughing. He was convinced afterwards, and became a serious good man and died in the truth.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Parting from him, we went to Honiton, and at our inn inquired what people there were in the town that feared God, and we sent for them. Some of the particular Baptists responded and came to us with whom we had great deal of reasoning. I told them, 'they held their doctrine of particular election in Esau's, Cain's, and Ishmael's nature; not Jacob, the second birth: but they must be born again before they could enter the kingdom of God. And that as the promise of God was to the seed, not as many, but as one, which was Christ; so the election and choice stands in Christ; and they must be such as walk in his light, grace, spirit, and truth.' And many more words we had with them.

From there we passed to Topsham, and stayed over First-day; but the innkeeper and his people were rude. The next morning we sent out some inquiries to the priests and professors; then some rude professors came to our inn, and they would have stopped us from leaving, had we not gone when we did. I wore a girdle, which through forgetfulness I left behind me, and afterwards sent for it to the innkeeper; but he would not let me have it again. Afterwards when he was troubled in his mind about it, he burnt it so he would not be "bewitched by it," as he said; yet when he had burned it, he was more troubled than before. Notwithstanding the rudeness of the place, some were convinced; and a meeting was afterwards settled in that town, which has continued ever since.

After this we passed to Totnes, a dark town. We lodged there at an inn; and that night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that the next day we got to King's Bridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife; and we went to their house. They sent for the priest, with whom we had some discussion; but he was confounded and quickly left us. But Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and since then there has been a good meeting of Friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn. There were many people drinking in the house and I was moved by the Lord to go among them, and direct them to the light 'which Christ the heavenly man had enlightened them with and by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds; and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their savior.' The innkeeper stood uneasy, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking; and as soon as the last words were out of my mouth, he snatched up the candle, and said, 'Come, here is a light for you to go into your chamber.' The next morning, when he was cool, I spoke to him of it, and told him, 'What an uncivil thing it was for him so to do;' then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and left.

We came next day to Plymouth, refreshed ourselves at our inn, and went to Robert Cary's, where he had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet. She being somewhat poor of hearing, came close up to me, and cupped her ear very close to me while I spoke; and she was convinced. After this meeting doctrinal disputing Baptists arrived; but the Lord's power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony to the power. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which has continued ever since; where many faithful Friends have been convinced.

From there we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menhenniot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's, to which came Thomas Mounce and a priest with a large number of people. We brought the priest to confess that he was a minister made by the state and maintained by the state; and he was put to shame and silenced, so he went his way; but many of the people stayed. I directed them to the 'light of Christ, by which they might see their sins, and their savior Christ Jesus, the way to God, their mediator to make peace between God and them; their shepherd to feed them, and their prophet to teach them.' I directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know the scriptures, and be led into all truth; and by the spirit might know God, and in it have unity one with another. Many were convinced at that time, and came under Christ's teaching; and there are

fine gatherings in the name of Jesus in those parts at this time.

We traveled from there through Penryn, and came to Helston; but we could not find out the names or locations of any sober people because of the depravity of the innkeepers. At length we came to a village where some Baptists and sober people lived with whom we had discussion. Some of them were brought to confess that they stumbled at the light of Christ. They wished us to stay with them; but we departed to Market-Jew; and having taken up our lodging at an inn, we sent messages that night inquiring for those who feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together with the high sheriff of the county and sent the constables to order us come before them. We asked them for their warrant; and saying that they had none, we told them, we would not go along with them without a warrant. Upon the return of the constables without us, they sent their sergeants, and we asked them for their warrant. They said they had none; but told us the mayor and aldermen waited for us. We told them that the mayor and his company did not do well to trouble us in our inn, and that we would not go with them without a warrant. So they went away and came again; and when we asked them for their warrant, one them plucked his mace from under his cloak. We asked them whether it was their custom to molest and trouble strangers in their inns and lodgings? After some time Edward Pyot went to the mayor and aldermen and had a great deal of discussion with them; but the Lord's power gave him dominion over them all. When he returned several of the officers came to us; and we laid before them the incivility and unworthiness of their carriage towards us, the servants of Lord God, by stopping and troubling us in our inns and lodgings; and what an unchristian act it was. Before we left the town, I wrote a little paper to be sent to the seven parishes at the Laud's End, a copy of which follows:

The mighty day of the Lord has come and is coming, when all hearts shall be made manifest, and the secrets of every one's heart shall be revealed by the light of Jesus, who lights every man who comes into the world, that all men through him might believe, and that the world might have life through him, who said, "Learn of me;" and of whom God said, "This is my beloved son, listen to him" Christ has come to teach his people himself; and everyone that will not hear this prophet which God has raised up, and which Moses spoke of, when he said, "Like unto me will God raise you up a prophet, him shall you hear:" everyone, I say, that will not hear this prophet, is to be cut off. Those who despised Moses's law, died under the hand of two or three witnesses; but how much greater punishment will come upon them that neglect this great salvation. Christ Jesus, who said, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life;" who enlightens every man that comes into the world; which light lets him see his evil ways and evil deeds. But if you hate that light, and go on in evil, this light will be your condemner. Therefore, now you have time, *prize it*: for this is the day of your visitation, and salvation offered to you. Every one of you has a light from Christ; which lets you see you should not lie, nor do wrong to any, nor swear, nor curse, nor take God's name in vain, nor steal. It is the light that shows you these evil deeds: which if you love, and come unto it, and follow it, it will lead you to Christ, who is the way to the Father, from whom it comes; where no unrighteousness enters, nor ungodliness. If you hate this light, it will be your condemnation; but if you love it, and come to it, you will come to Christ; and it will bring you off from all the world's teachers and ways, to learn of Christ, and will preserve you from all the evils of the world, and all the deceivers in it.

George Fox

A Friend who was with me had this paper with him, and when we had gone three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the west, we met a man upon the road and gave him a copy of the paper. This man proved to be a servant to Peter Ceely, a major in the army and a justice of peace in that county. He rode before us to a place called St. Ives and showed the paper to his master. When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse needed new horseshoes. While he was getting his horse shod, I walked to the seaside. When I came back, I found the town in an uproar. They were haling Edward Pyot and the other Friend before Major Ceely. I followed them into the justice's house, though they did not lay hands upon me. When we came in, the house was full of rude people; at which point I asked, whether there was an officer among them, to keep the people civil? Major Ceely said that he was a magistrate. I told him, 'then he should exhibit gravity and sobriety and use his authority to keep the people civil because I never saw any people more rude; the Indians were probably more christian than they were.' After awhile they produced the paper before mentioned, and asked, whether it was mine? I said, yes. Then he tendered the oath abjuration to us: whereupon I put my hand in my pocket, and produced the answer to it, which had been given to the protector. After I had given him that, he examined us all, one by one. He had with him a silly young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions; among the many questions, he desired to cut my hair, which then was pretty long; but I was not to cut it, though many were offended

by it. I told them, 'I had no pride in it; and it was not my doing that it was long.' At length the justice put us under a guard of soldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself: nevertheless we 'warned the people the day of the Lord, and declared the truth to them.' The next day he sent us guarded by a party of horse, with swords and pistols, who took us to Redruth. On First-day the soldiers wanted us to travel with them; but we told them, it was their sabbath, and it was not customary to travel on that day. Several of the town's people gathered around us; and while I held the soldiers in discussion, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and afterwards Edward Pyot held the soldiers in discussion while I spoke to the people. In the meantime the other Friend backed away and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceedingly desperate in a mighty rage against him, and they abused him. Also, when the soldiers missed him, they went into a great rage and seemed ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord and the word of eternal life to the people that gathered about us. In the afternoon the soldiers were resolved to take us away; so we mounted our horses and left. When we had ridden to the town's end, I was moved of the Lord to go back again to speak to the old man of the house. The soldiers drew out their pistols and swore I would not go back. But I did not heed them and rode back, and they rode after me. So I cleared myself to the the old man and the people; and then returned to the journey with the soldiers, reproving them along the way for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town then called Smethick, renamed Falmouth. It was the evening of the First-day and the chief constable of the place and many sober people came to our inn; some of the people began to ask questions about us. We told them that we were prisoners for truth's sake; and we had a long discussion with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober and very loving to us. Some of them were convinced and stood faithful ever after.

When the constable and these people left, others came in, who were also very civil; and they went away very loving. When everyone had left we went to our chamber to go to bed; and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot said, 'I will shut the door, it may be someone may come to harm us.' Afterwards we understood captain Keat, who commanded the party, proposed to have attacked us that night; but the door being bolted, he missed his design. Next morning captain Keat brought a relative of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room, while he stood outside the room. This evil-minded man walked huffing up and down the room; I told him to fear the Lord. Upon which he ran at me, struck me with both his hands; and clapping his leg behind me, would have thrown me down, if he could; but he was not able, for I stood stiff and still, and let him strike. As I looked towards the door, I saw captain Keat look on, and watch his relative beat and abuse me. Upon which I said to him, 'Keat, do you allow this?' He said he did. I said, 'Is this manly or civil to have us under a guard, and put a man to abuse and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or Christian?' I asked one of our Friends to send for the constables, and they came. Then I asked the captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he arrested us; which he did; and his warrant was to conduct us safe to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis castle; and if the governor should not be at home, he was to convey us to Lancelton jail. I told him, he had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his prisoners were to be safely conducted; but he had brought a man to beat and abuse us: so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers, they might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to escort us, they would not have the warrant again. I showed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house in their disappointment, being pitifully blank and down. The constables went to the castle, and told the officers what they had done. The officers showed great dislike of captain Keat's base carriage towards us; and told the constables that major-general Desborough was coming to Bodmin, and that we should meet him; and it was likely he would free us. Meanwhile our old guard of soldiers came by way of entreaty to us, and promised they would be civil to us, if we would go with them. This took most of the morning until about eleven; and then, upon the soldiers' entreaty, and promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again, and we went with them. The civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town was great towards us. They kindly entertained us, and the Lord rewarded them with his truth; for many of them have since been convinced of the truth and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their teacher and savior.

Captain Keat who commanded our guard, understanding that captain Fox, who was governor of Pendennis castle, was gone to meet major-general Desborough, did not take us there; but took us directly to Bodmin, on the way to Lancelton. We met major-general Desborough on the way. The captain of his troop that rode before him knew me and said, 'Oh, Mr. Fox, why are you here?' I replied, 'I am a prisoner!' 'Alas,' he said, 'for what?' I told him, 'I had been arrested as I was traveling.' 'Then,' he said,

'I will speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty. So he came from the head of his troop, and rode up to the coach, and spoke to the major-general. We also gave him an account how we were arrested. He began to speak against the light of Christ, for which I reproved him. Then he told the soldiers, they might escort us to Lanceston; for he could not stay to talk with us for fear his horses should take cold.

So we were taken to Bodmin that night; and when we came to our inn, captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room and went his way. When I came into the room, a man with a naked rapier in his hand stood there. Upon which I left the room and called for captain Keat, and said, 'What now, Keat, what trick have you played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? What is your end in this?' 'Oh,' he said, 'pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man, we can not control him, he is so devilish.' Then, 'I said, 'do you put me into a room where there is an uncontrollable a man with a naked rapier? What an unworthy, base trick this is? And to put me single into this room away from the rest of my Friends that were fellow prisoners with me?' Thus his plot was discovered, and the mischief they intended was prevented. Afterwards we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the truth to the people; but they were dark and hardened. The soldiers, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sat up drinking and roaring all night.

Next day we were brought to Lanceston, where captain Keat delivered us to the jailer. Now there was no friend or friendly people near us; and the people of the town were a dark, hardened people. The jailer required us to pay seven shillings a week for meat for our horses, and seven shillings a week each for our diet. After some time, several sober persons came to see us, and some of the town were convinced; and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced. Then a great rage among their professors and priests was raised against us. They said, 'This people thee and thou all men without respect, and will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man; but we shall see when the assize comes, whether they will dare to thee and thou the judge and keep on their hats before him.' They expected that we would be hanged at the assize. But all this worried us very little; for we saw how God would stain the world's honor and glory; and we were commanded not to seek that honor or give the honor to man; but knew the honor that comes from God only, and we sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the assizes; at which time many people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Bradden camped with his horse troop there, and his soldiers and the sheriff's men escorted us to the court through the multitude that filled the streets; and they had difficulty to getting us through the crowd. Besides that, the doors and windows were filled with people looking at us. When we were brought into the court, we stood a pretty long while with our hats on, and all was quiet; and I was moved to say, 'Peace be among you.' Judge Glyn, a Welshman, then chief justice of England, said to the jailer, 'What are these you have brought here into the court?' 'Prisoners, my lord,' said he. 'Why do you not put off your hats?' said the judge to us. We said nothing. 'Put off your hats,' said the judge again. Still we said nothing. Then said the judge, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then I spoke, and said, 'Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel command any to put off their hats when they came before them in their courts, either among the Jews, (the people of God), or among the heathen? And if the law of England commands any such thing, show me that law either written or printed.' The judge grew very angry, and said, 'I do not carry my law books on my back.' 'But,' said I 'tell me where it is printed in any statute book, that I may read it.' Then said the judge, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I will fernk him.' So they took us away and put us among the thieves. Presently after he called to the jailer, 'Bring them up again. Come,' said he, 'where does it say that they had hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me; I have you fast now.' I replied, 'You may read in third of Daniel that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on.' This plain instance stopped him; so that not having any thing else to the point, he cried again, 'Take them away, jailer.' Accordingly we were taken away and thrust in among the thieves; where we were kept a long time; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us to get through the crowd, and escorted us back to prison with a multitude of people following us and with whom at the jail we had held a lot of discussion and reasoning. We had some good books to define our principles and to inform people of the truth; which the judge and justices hearing of, they sent captain Bradden for them, who came and violently took our books from us. Some books were even pulled from Edward Pyot's hands, and they carried them away; so we never got them again.

In the afternoon we were taken again into the judge's chamber by the jailer, sheriff's men, and troopers,

who had a huge job to get us through the crowd of people. When we were in the court, waiting to be called and observing the jury men and many others swearing, it grieved my life to see that those who professed christianity would so openly disobey and break the command of Christ and the apostle James. And I was moved of the Lord to give forth a paper against swearing, which was all around me, to the grand and petty juries.

Concerning Swearing

Take heed of giving people oaths to swear: for Christ our Lord and master, said, "Swear not at all: but let your communication be yes, yes, and no, no: for whatever else is said comes from evil." If any were to suffer death, it must be by the hand of two or three witnesses; and the hands of the witnesses were to be first upon him to put him to death. The apostle James said, "My brethren, above all things swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, for fear that you fall into condemnation." Hence you may see those that swear fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ's and the apostle's doctrine. Every one of you has a light from Christ, who said, "I am the light of the world," and enlightens every man that comes into the world. He said, "Learn of me," whose doctrine, and that of the apostle, is not to swear; but "let your yes be yes, and your no be no, in all your communications; for whatever else is said is evil:" they that go into more than yes and no go into evil, and are out of the doctrine of Christ. If you say, "that the oath was the end of controversy and strife:" those who are in strife are out of Christ's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace, and who are in that, are in the covenant of peace. The apostle brings that but as an example: as men swearing by the greater, and the oath was the end of controversy and strife among men; saying, verily, men swear by the greater; but God having no greater swears by himself concerning Christ; who has come and taught not to swear at all. So those who are in him, and follow him, cannot but abide in his doctrine. If you say, "They swore under the law, and under the prophets:" Christ is the end of the law and of the prophets, to everyone that believes for righteousness sake. Now mark, "if you believe, I am the light of the world, which enlightens every man that comes into the world," said Christ, by whom it was made; now every man of you that is come into the world is enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, by which the world was made, that all of you through him might believe; that is the reason he enlightens you. Now if you do believe in the light as Christ commands, "Believe in the light, that you may be children of light;" you believe in Christ, and come to learn of him, who is the way to the Father. This is the light which shows your evil actions, the ungodly deeds you have committed, the ungodly speeches you have spoken; and all your oaths, cursed speaking, and ungodly actions. If you hearken to this light, it will let you see all that you have done contrary to it; and loving it, it will turn you from your evil deeds, evil ways, and evil words, to Christ, who is not of the world; but is the light, which lights every man that comes into the world, and testifies against the world, that the deeds of that are evil. So does the light in every man, received from him, testify against all evil works, that they are contrary to the light: and each shall give an account, at the day of judgment for every idle word that is spoken. This light shall bring every tongue to confess, yes and every knee to bow, at the name of Jesus: in which light, if you believe, you shall not come into condemnation, but to Christ, who is not of the world, to him by whom it was made; but if you believe not in the light, this is your condemnation, the light, said Christ.

George Fox

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so when we were called before the judge, he told the clerk to give me the paper, and then asked me, whether that seditious paper was mine? I told him, 'if they would read it fully in open court that I might hear it, if it were mine, I would own it, and stand by it.' He would have had me to have taken it, and looked upon it in my own hand; but I again desired, 'that it might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or not; for if there were, I was willing to suffer for it.' At last the clerk of the assize read it with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it. When he had done, I told them, 'it was my paper, and I would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the scripture; for was not this scripture language, the words and commands of Christ and the apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey?' Then they dropped that subject; and the judge started in on us again about our hats, telling the jailer to remove them; which he did; and giving them to us, we put them on again. We asked the judge and justices, 'why we had been in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected to nothing about us except our hats?' And as for putting off our hats, I told them, 'that was *the honor which God would lay in the dust because they made it so important; the honor which is of men, and which men seek one of another*, and is a mark of unbelievers. For "how can you believe," said Christ, "who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that comes from

God only?" Christ said, "I receive not honor from men;" and all true Christians should be of his mind. Then the judge began to make a pompous speech, how he represented the lord protector's person, who made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to that circuit, etc. 'We desired him then, that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully.' But instead of that, they brought an indictment framed against us; such a strange thing, and so full of lies, that I thought it had been against some of the thieves. 'That we came by force and arms, and in a hostile manner into the court;' who were brought as before said. I told them, 'it was all false; and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by major Ceely.' Then this Peter Ceely said to the judge, 'may it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, involve the nation in blood, and so bring in king Charles. I would have escorted him out of the country, but he would not go. If it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it.' So he called upon his witness; but the judge not being forward to examine the witness, I desired, 'that he would be pleased to let my warrant be read in the face of the court and country, in which my crime was signified for which I was sent to prison.' The judge said, it should not be read. I said, 'it ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life.' The judge said again, 'It shall not be read.' I said, 'It ought to be read; for if I have done anything worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it.' Then seeing they would not read it, I spoke to one of my fellow prisoners, 'You have a copy of it, read it.' The judge said, 'It shall not be read. Jailer take him away. I will see whether he or I shall be master.' So I was taken away, and after awhile called for again. I still asked to have the warrant read; for that signified the cause of my imprisonment. I again asked my Friend and fellow prisoner to read it; which he did, and the judge, justices, and the whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it. It was as follows:

*Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county,
to the keeper of his highness's jail at Lanceton,
or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting:*

'I send you here by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot, of Bristol, and George Fox, of Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire, and William Salt, of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the belief of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause for coming into those parts, being persons altogether unknown, having no pass for traveling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties for their good behavior, according to the law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take the oath of abjuration. These are, therefore, in the name of his highness the lord protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highness's prison before mentioned you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.'

P. CEELY.

When it was read I spoke thus to the judge and justices, 'You who say you are chief justice of England, and you justices, know that, if I had put in sureties, I might have gone where I pleased, and have carried on the design, (if I had had one), which major Ceely has charged me with. And if I had spoken those words to him, which he has here declared, judge you whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case.' Then, turning my speech to major Ceely, I said, 'When or where did I take you aside? Was not your house full of rude people, and you were as rude as any of them at our examination; so that I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the people civil? But if you are my accuser, why do you sit on the bench? It is not the place of accusers to sit with the judge. You ought to come down and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices, whether or not major Ceely is guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he has done? Does he understand his place, either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here, that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design; that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He said, moreover, "he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behavior," as the warrant declares. Now do you not see plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason he talks of, and has made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason until now, nor disclosing it? But I deny and abhor

his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.' So that business was let fall; for the judge saw clear enough, that instead of ensnaring me, he had ensnared himself.

Major Ceely got up again, and said, 'If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life.' At this I smiled in my heart, and said, 'Major Ceely, are you a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tell the judge in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner, struck you, and gave you such a blow as you never had the like in your life? What! Are you not ashamed? Pray sir, major Ceely,' said I, 'where did I strike you, and who is your witness for that? Who was there?' He said it was in the castle-green, and captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. 'I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that; and called again upon major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him, it was not fit the accuser should sit as judge over the accused.' When I called again for his witness he said captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, 'Speak, captain Bradden, did you see me give him such a blow and strike him as he said?' Captain Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only bowed his head again. 'No,' said I, 'speak up, and let the court and country hear; let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But captain Bradden never testified to it. The judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, 'Take him away, jailer;' and when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats; to be kept in prison until we paid it, and sent us back to the jail.

At night captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him who were very civil to us, and told us, they believed, neither the judge nor any in the court gave credit to those charges which major Ceely had accused me of in the face of the country. And captain Bradden said, major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life, if he could have got another witness. 'But,' said I, 'Captain Bradden, why didn't you witness for me or against me, seeing major Ceely produced you for a witness that you saw me strike him?' When I desired you to speak either for me or against me, according to what you saw or knew, you would not speak.' 'Why,' said he, 'when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, "How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, sir." Then you said to him, "Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy and of a rotten heart; for since when have I been your master and you my servant? Do servants try to cast their masters into prison?" This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' Then I called to mind that he had walked by us, and that Ceely had spoken so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he showed openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and in the face of the country; and would have made them all believe that I struck him with my hand.

Now were we kept in prison, and many came from far and near to see us, of whom some were people of significant position in the world; for the report of our trial was spread abroad, and our boldness and innocence in our answers to the judge and court was talked about in the town and country. Among others Humphry Lower came to visit us, a grave, sober, ancient man, who had been a justice of peace, and was very sorry we should lie in prison; telling us how serviceable we should be if we were at liberty. We reasoned with him concerning swearing; and acquainted him how they tendered the oath of abjuration to us as a trap because they knew we could not swear; and showed him that no people could be serviceable to God if they disobeyed the command of Christ; and that they who imprisoned us for not removing our hats, which was an honor of men, and men wanted the honor, they imprisoned the good, and grieved the spirit of God in themselves, which should have turned their minds to him. So we directed him to the spirit of God in his heart, the light of Christ Jesus; and he was thoroughly convinced, and continued so to his death, and became very serviceable to us.

There came also to see us, one colonel Rouse, a justice of peace, and a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk, as I ever I heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him, 'whether he had ever been to school, and knew the difference between questions and answers?' (this I said to stop him.) 'At school!' said he, 'yes.' 'At school!' said the soldiers; does he question our colonel who is a scholar?' Then I said, 'If he is a scholar, let him be still and receive answers to what he has questioned.' Then I was moved of the Lord to speak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth. His face swelled, and was red like a turkey. His lips moved, and he mumbled something; but the people thought he was going to fall down. I stood by him, and then he said that he never been so affected in his life before; for the Lord's power stopped the evil power and air in him so that he was almost choked. The man was very loving ever after to Friends and not so full of airy words to us; though he was full of pride; but the

Lord's power came over him as well as the rest of them that were with him.

Another time an officer of the army came to visit; he was a very malicious, bitter professor, whom I had known in London. He was full of airy talk, and spoke slightly of the light of Christ, and against the truth, as colonel Rouse had done, and against the spirit of God being in men, as it was in the apostles' days, until the power of God that bound the evil in him had almost choked him, as it had done to colonel Rouse. For he was so full of evil air, that he could not speak; but blubbered and stuttered. Ever since the Lord's power struck him and came over him, he had been more loving to us.

The assizes were over, and we realized that we were not likely to be released any time soon from prison, so we stopped giving the jailer seven shillings a week apiece for our horses, and seven shillings a week for ourselves, and sent our horses into the country. This caused him to become very wicked and devilish, and he put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty; stinking place, where they used to put witches and murderers after they were condemned to die. **The place was so noxious, that it was known few ever came out again in good health. There was no house of office in it; and the excrement of the prisoners, that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out, (as we were told), for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water and urine; and he would not let us cleanse it, nor suffer us to have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw; and we went to burn a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves layover our heads, and the head jailer in a room by them over our heads also. It seems the smoke went up into the room where the jailer lay; which put him into such a rage, that he took the pots of excrement from the thieves, and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale, until we were so bespattered that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us, so that what with stink and what with smoke, we were almost choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place.** Moreover he railed at us most hideously, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and such strange names as we had never heard of. In this manner we were obliged to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrement. For a long time he kept us in this condition before he would let us cleanse it, or allow us to have any food brought in other than what we got through the window grate. One time a girl brought us a little to eat; and he arrested her for breaking in his house, and sued her in the town court for breaking in the prison. He put the young woman to a great deal of trouble; therefore others were so discouraged that we had a lot of difficulty getting water, drink, or food. About this time we sent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, who could write and take things well in short-hand, to buy and dress our meat for us. She was very willing to do this for us because it was also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

The head jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt (to mark him for life as a thief) both in the hand and in the shoulder; his wife, too, had been burnt in the hand. The under jailer had been burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder; his wife had been burnt in the hand also. Colonel Bennet a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head jailer there. The prisoners and some wild people would be talking of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it, thinking perhaps to terrify us. But I told them, 'that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ, our priest, would sanctify the walls of the house to us, he who bruised the head of the devil.' The priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law, which Christ, our priest, ended; who sanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the house, the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

As the time for general quarter sessions drew near, and because the jailer was still conducting himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our suffering case, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. Upon the reading of which the justices gave an order, 'That Doomsdale door should be opened, and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town.' We sent up a copy also of our sufferings to the protector, documenting how we were taken and committed by major Ceely, and abused by captain Keat, as before said, and all the rest the abuse in chronological order. Upon which the protector sent an order to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis castle, to examine the matter about

the soldiers abusing us, and striking me. There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the castle; and captain Keat's relative that struck me was sent for before them, and much threatened. They told him, 'If I should change my principle, I might ask for the extreme penalty that the law allowed against him, and might recover damages against him.' Captain Keat was also stopped for allowing the prisoners under his charge to be abused. This was of great service in the country; for afterwards Friends might have spoken in any market or steeple-house in the area, and nobody would interfere with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, one of the protector's chaplains, told him, 'They could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall than to imprison him there.' And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for his service in those parts; for after the assizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue prisoners, several Friends from most parts of the nation came into the country to visit us. Those parts of the west were very dark countries at that time; but the Lord's light and truth broke forth, shined over all, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from satan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the steeple-houses, several were sent to prison to us, and a great convincement began in the country: for now we had liberty to walk in the castle-green, and many people came to us on First-days, to whom we declared the word of life. Great services were had, many were turned to God, up and down the country; but great rage got up in the priests and professors against the truth and us. One of the envious professors had gathered together many scripture sentences to prove, 'that we ought to put off our hats to the people,' and he invited the town of Lancelston to come into the castle yard to hear him read them. Among other instances that he quoted was, 'that Saul bowed to the witch of Endor.' When he had done we got a little liberty to speak, and showed both him and the people, 'that Saul had left the favor or God and had disobeyed him, like them, when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, or Christ, or the apostles ever taught people to bow to a witch.' The man went away with his rude people; but some stayed with us, and we showed them that it was not gospel instruction to teach people to bow to a witch. For now people began to be affected with the truth, and the devil's rage increased, so that we were often in great danger.

One time a soldier came to us, and while one of our Friends was admonishing and exhorting him to sobriety, I saw him begin to draw his sword. Upon which I stood up to him and represented what a shame it was to draw his sword upon a sword less man, and a prisoner, and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry such a weapon; and that, if he should have done such a thing to some men, they would have taken his sword from him and have broken it to pieces. So he was ashamed and went his way; and the Lord's power preserved us.

Another time, about eleven at night, the jailer being half drunk, came and told me, he had a man now to dispute with me, (this was when we had permission to go a little into the town). As soon as he had spoken these words, I sensed there was a plot to harm me within his words. All that night and the next day as I lay down on a plot of grass to slumber, I felt something around my body; and I sat up and struck at it in the power of the Lord, but it was still around my body. Then I rose and walked on to the castle green, and the under keeper came and told me that there was a young woman who wished to speak with me in the prison. I sensed a trap in his words too; therefore I did not go into the prison, but to the window grate; and when I looked in, I saw a man that had lately been brought to prison for being a conjurer. (a psychic who uses supernatural powers), who had a naked knife in his hand. I spoke to him, and he threatened to "cut my cheeks," as was his expression; but since he was within the jail, he was unable to reach me. This was the jailer's great disputer. Soon after this I went into the jailer's house and found him at breakfast; he had the same conjurer out of jail with him. I told the jailer that his plot had been discovered. Then he got up from the table and cast his napkin away in a rage; and I left them, and went away to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomsdale. At the time the jailer had said the dispute should be, I went down and walked in the court, (the place appointed), until about the eleven; but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again; and after awhile, I heard someone call my name. I stepped to the head of the stairs head where I saw the jailer's wife on the stairs, and the conjurer was at the bottom of the stairs holding his hand behind his back and in a great rage. I asked him, 'Man, your hand behind your back? Bring out your hand to the front,' I said; 'let us see your hand, and what you have in it?' Then he angrily pulled his hand around with a naked knife in it. Then I showed the jailer's wife their wicked design against me; for this was the man they had brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, and prevented their evil design; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened me. Then I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down; so that he never after dared appear before me or to speak to me. I saw it was the Lord alone that preserved me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my

hurt. But the Lord prevented them, and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises to him.

Now while I was visited by various sorts of people, some having come in good will to visit us, some out of an envious carping mind to wrangle and dispute with us, and some out of curiosity to see us; Edward Pyot, who before his convincement had been a captain in the army, and had a good understanding in the laws and rights of the people, being sensible of the injustice and envy of judge Glyn to us at our trial, took it on himself to try to make Glyn sensible to his injustices and wrote an epistle to him on behalf of us all which was as follows:

To John Glyn, chief justice of England.

Friend,

We are freemen of England, free-born; our rights and liberties are according to law, and ought to be defended by it; therefore, with you, by whose hand we have so long suffered, and still do suffer, let us a little plainly reason concerning your proceedings against us, whether they have been according to law, and agreeable to your duty and office, as chief minister of the law or justice of England? In meekness and lowliness abide, that the witness of God in your conscience may be heard to speak and judge in this matter; for you and we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ so that everyone may receive according to what he has done, whether it be good or bad. Therefore, friend, in moderation and soberness weigh what is within this letter sent to you.

In the afternoon, before we were brought before you at the assize at Lancelton, you ordered several scores of our books to be violently taken from us by armed men, without due process of law; which books were perused to see if anything in them could be found to have been laid to our charge, (who were innocent men); and then regarding our legal issue, you have withheld the charges from us to this very day. Our books are our goods, our goods are our property, and our liberty it is to have and enjoy our property; and of our liberty and property the law is the defense; which said, "No freeman shall be deprived of his freehold, liberties, or free customs, etc. nor in any way otherwise destroyed: nor we shall not pass upon him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. Magna Charta, chap. 29. Now, friend, consider, is not the taking away of a man's goods violently, by force of arms, as before stated, contrary to the law of the land? Is not the keeping of them, so taken away, a deprivation to him of his property, and a destruction of it and his liberty, yes, his very being, so far as the invading of the guard the law sets about him is in order there? Does not the law call this the destruction of a man? Is there any more than one common guard or defense to property, liberty, and life, viz. the law? And can this guard be broken on the former, viz. property and liberty, and the latter, viz. life to be sure? Does not he that who invades a man's property and liberty, (which he does, who, contrary to law, which is the guard, acts against either), make an invasion upon a man's life; since that which is the ground of the one is also of the other? If a penny or penny's worth be taken from a man contrary to law, may not by the same rule all a man has be taken away? If the bond of the law be broken upon a man's property, may it not on the same ground be broken upon his person? And by the same reason as it is broken on one man, may it not be broken upon all, since the liberty, property, and beings of all men under a government are relative, a communion of wealth, as the members in the body, but one guard and defense to all, the law? One man cannot be injured in this, but it redounds to all. Do not such things tend to the subversion and dissolution of government? Where there is no law, what has become of government? And of what value is the law made, when the ministers of that break it at pleasure upon men's properties, liberties, and persons? Can you clear yourself of these things as regards to us? To that of God in your conscience, which is just, do I speak. Have you acted like a minister, the chief minister of the law, who has taken our goods, and still hold them, without so much as going by lawful warrant, grounded upon due information, which in our case you could not have for none had perused them to give you information? Should you exercise violence and force of arms on prisoners' goods, in their prison chamber, instead of proceeding orderly and legally, which your place calls upon you above any man to tender, defend, and maintain against wrong, and to preserve and entirely guard every man's being, liberty, and livelihood? Should you, whose duty it is to punish the wrong doer, do wrong yourself; Who ought to see the law is kept and observed, break the law, and turn aside the due administration of that! Surely, from you, considering you are chief justice of England, other things were expected, both by us and by the people of this nation.

And friend, when we were brought before you and stood upon our legal issue, and no accuser or accusation came in against us, as to what we had been wrongfully imprisoned for, and in prison

detained for the space of nine weeks, should not you have caused us to have been acquitted by proclamation? Does not the law say so? Ought you not to have examined the cause of our commitment, and there not appearing a lawful cause, to have discharged us? Is it not the substance of your office and duty, to do justice according to the law and custom of England? Is not this the end of the administration of the law? Of the general assizes? Of the jail deliveries? Of the judges going the circuits? Have not you, by doing otherwise, acted contrary to all these, and to Magna Charta? which Chap. 29 said, "We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right." Have you not both deferred and denied to us, who had been so long oppressed, this justice and right? And when of you justice we demanded, said you not, "if we would he uncovered, you would hear us, and do us justice?" "We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man either justice or right," said Magna Charta as before said: again, "We have commanded all our justices, that they shall from here forward do even law, and execution of right to all our subjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any man's person; and without letting to do right for any letters or commandment which may come to them from us, or from any other, or by any other cause, &c. upon pain to be at our will, body, lands, and goods, to do therewith as shall please us, in case they do contrary," said stat. 20 Edw. 3. Chap. 1. Again, "You shall swear, that you shall do even law and execution of right to all, rich, and poor, without having regard to any person; and that you deny to no man common right by the king's letters, nor none other man's, nor for none-other cause. And in case any letter come to you contrary to the law, that you do nothing by such letter; but certify the king of that, and go forth to do the law notwithstanding those letters. And in case you are from henceforth found in default in any of the points before said, you shall be at the king's will of body, lands, and goods, of that to be done, as shall please him," said the oath appointed by the statute to be taken by all the judges. Stat. 18 Ed. 3. But none of these, nor any other law, has such an expression or condition in it as this, viz: "provided he will put off his hat to you, or be uncovered." Nor does the law of God so say, or that your persons be respected; but the contrary. From where then comes this new law, "if you will be uncovered, I will hear you, and do you justice?" This hearing complaint of wrong, this doing of justice upon condition; wherein lies the equity and the reasonableness of that? When were these fundamental laws repealed, which were the issue of so much blood and war; which to uphold, cost the miseries and blood of the late wars, that we shall now be heard, as to right, and have justice done us but upon condition, and that too, such a trifling one as the putting off the hat? Does your saying so, who are commanded, as before said, repeal them, and make them of no effect, and all the miseries undergone, and the blood shed for them of old and of late years? Whether it be so or not indeed, and to the nation, you have made it so to us: to whom you have denied the justice of our liberty when we were before you, and no accuser nor accusation came in against us, and the hearing of the wrong done to us who are innocent, and the doing us right. And bonds have you cast and continued upon us until this day, under an unreasonable and cruel jailer, for not performing that your condition, for conscience sake. But do you think that your own conditional justice makes void the law; or can it do so; or absolve you before God or man or acquit the penalty mentioned in the laws before said; unto which have you not consented and sworn? viz. "And in case you are from here forward found in default in any of the points before said, you shall be at the king's will, of body, lands, and goods, of that to be done as shall please him." And is not your saying, "if you will be uncovered, (or put off your hats), I will hear you, and do you justice;" and because we could not put them off for conscience sake, your denying us justice, and refusing to hear us, as to wrong, who had so unjustly suffered, a default in you against the very essence of those laws, yes, an overthrow of that, for which things' sake, (being of the highest importance to the well-being of men), so just, so equal, so necessary those laws were made, and all the provisions therein. To make a default in any one point of which provisions, exposes to the said penalty. Do not you by this time see where you are?! Are you sure you shall never be made to understand and feel the justice of that? Is your seat so high and your fence so great, and are you so certain of your time and station, above all that have gone before you, whom justice has cut down, and given them their due, that you shall never be called to an account, nor with its long and sure stroke be reached? Deceive not yourself, God is come nearer to judgment than the workers of iniquity in this age imagine, who persecute and evil treat those that witness the just and Holy One, for their witnessing of him, who is come to reign forever and ever. Did he not say that he will be a swift witness against the false swearers? God is not mocked.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Surely, friend, there must be a very great offence to deprive a man of justice, of being heard as to wrong, of the benefit of the law, and of those laws before stated; to defend the justice and equity of which, a man has adventured his blood and all that is dear to him. But to stand covered, (or with the hat on), in conscience to the command of the Lord, is made by you such an offence, (which is not in the law), and rendered upon us, (who are innocent, serving the living God), effectual to deny us justice; though the laws of God, and of man, and the oath, and equity and reason say the contrary, and on it pronounces such a penalty. "If you will be uncovered, (said you), I will hear you, and do you justice:" but justice we had not, nor were we heard, because Jesus Christ, who is the higher power, the lawgiver of his people, in our consciences commanded us not to respect persons; whom we choose to obey rather than man. You have cast us into prison and have kept us there until today because of our obedience to him; having showed us neither law for it, nor scripture, nor instances of either, nor example of heathens or others. Friend come down to that of God that is just in you, and consider, was there ever such a thing as this heard of in this nation? What is become of seriousness, of true judgment, and of righteousness? An unrighteous man standing before you with his hat off shall be heard; but an innocent man appearing with his hat on in conscience to the Lord shall neither be heard or get justice. Is not this regarding of persons contrary to the laws before mentioned, and the oath, and the Law of God? Understand, and judge. Did we not acknowledge authority and government often before the court? Did you not say in the court, you were glad to hear so much from us of our owning magistracy? We did not plead to the indictment, though it was such a novel one as England had never heard of before? Did we not come when you sent for us? Did we not go when you told us to go? And are we not still prisoners at your command and at your will? If the hat had been such an offence to you, could you not have ordered it removed from our heads, when you often heard us declare that we could not remove our hat in conscience to the commands of the Lord; and that for that reason, we did not comply in taking hats off, not in contempt of you, or of authority, nor in disrespect to yours or any persons, (for we said, we honored all men in the Lord, and owned authority, which was a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well; and our souls were subject to the higher powers for conscience sake), as you caused them to be taken off, and to be kept so, when you called the jury to find us transgressors without a law? What effort have you made to take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, and to cause us to suffer further, whom you knew to have been so long wrongfully in prison contrary to law? Is not liberty of conscience a natural right? Had there been a law in this case, and we being bound up in our consciences that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conscience there to take place? For where there is law no law against, there needs no plea of liberty of conscience: but the law have we not offended; yet in your will have you caused, and do you yet cause us to suffer for our consciences, where the law requires no such thing; and yet for liberty of conscience has all the blood been spilt, and the miseries of the late wars undergone, and, as the protector said, this government undertaken, to preserve it; and a natural right, he said, it is; and he that would have it, he said, ought to give it. And if it be a natural right, as is undeniable, then to attempt to force it, or to punish a man for not doing contrary to it, is to act against nature: which as it is unreasonable, so it is the same as to offer violence to a man's life. And what an offence that is in the law, you know; and how, by the common law of England, all acts, agreements, and laws that are against nature are mere nullities: and all the judges cannot make one case to be law that is against nature. But put the case, our standing with our hats on had been a violation of the law, and we willfully, and in contempt, and not out of conscience had stood so, (which we deny), yet that is not grounds for us to be denied justice, or to be heard, as to the wrong done to us. "If you will not offend in one case, I will do you justice in another:" this is not the language of the law, or of justice, which distributes to everyone their right; justice to whom justice is due; punishment to whom punishment is due. A man who does wrong may also have wrong done to him; shall not he who is wronged have right, unless the wrong be corrected to right by he who wronged? The law said not so; but the wrong doer is to suffer, and the sufferer of wrong to be righted. Otherwise is this not a denying, a letting or stopping of even law and execution of

justice, and a bringing under the penalties before said? Mind and consider.

And should you have accused, when no witness appeared against us, as in the particulars of striking Peter Ceely, and dispersing books, (as you said), against magistracy and ministry, with which you did falsely accuse one of us? Said not the law, "The judge ought not to be the accuser!" much less a false accuser. And were you not such a one, in affirming, that he distributed books against magistracy and ministry, when the books were violently taken out of our chamber, not distributed by him, or any of us? Nor did you offer any evidence that the books, you so violently did cause to be taken away, were against magistracy or ministry; or did you bother to respond to his denial of your charge; when he asked you to support your charges by showing the books. Is not the sword of the magistrate of God to pass upon such evil doing? And according to the administration of the law, ought not accusations to be by way of indictment, wherein the offence is to be charged, and the law expressed, against which it is? Can there be an issue without an indictment? Or can an indictment be found, before proof is made of the offence charged therein? And has not you herein gone contrary to the law, and the administration of that, and your duty as a judge? What just cause of offence gave George Fox to you, when, upon your producing a paper concerning swearing, sent by him, (as you said), to the grand jury, and requiring him to say, whether it was his handwriting? he answered, "Read it up before the country; and when he had heard it read, if it were his, he would own it." Is it not equal, and according to law, that what a man is charged with before the country, should be read in the hearing of him and of the country? When a paper is delivered out of a man's hand, alterations may be made in it to his prejudice, which, on a sudden looking over it, may not presently be discerned; but by hearing it read up, may be better understood whether any such alterations have been made therein? Could you in justice have expected, or required him otherwise to do? Considering also, that he was not insensible how much he had suffered already, being innocent; and what endeavors there were used to cause him further to suffer? Was not what he said a plain and single answer, and sufficient in the law? Though, (as has been demonstrated), contrary to law you did act, and to your office, in being his accuser therein, and producing the paper against him. And in his liberty it was, whether he would have made you any answer at all to what you did exhibit, or demand out of the due course of law: for to the law answer is to be made; not to your will. Why you were then so filled with rage and fury upon that his reply? Calmly, and in the fear of the Lord, consider. Why did you revile him, particularly with the reproachful names of juggler and prevaricator? What did he juggle? What did he prevaricate? Why did you use such threatening language, and such menacings to him and us, saying, you would ferk us, with such like? Does not the law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, and threatening, and menacing of prisoners? Soberly mind; is this to act like a judge, or man? Is not this transgression? Is not the sword of the magistrate of God to pass on this as evil doing, which the righteous law condemns, and the higher power is against, which judges for God? Take heed what you do; for you judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment: "Why now, let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed, and do it: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts," said Jehoshaphat to the judges of Judah. Pride, and fury, and passion, and rage, and reviling, and threatening, are not the Lord's: these, and the principle out of which they spring, are for judgment, and must come under the sword of the magistrate of God; and of an ill savor, especially such an expression, as to threaten to ferk us. Is not such a saying more becoming a pedant, or schoolmaster with his rod or ferule in his hand, than you, who are the chief justice of the nation, who sit in the highest seat of judgment; who ought to give a good example, and so to judge, that others may hear and fear? Weigh it soberly, and consider. Does not threatening language demonstrate an inequality and partiality in him who sits as a judge? Is it not a deterring of a prisoner from standing to and pleading the innocency of his cause? Does not the law forbid it? Does the law not say that irons and all other bonds shall be taken from the prisoner, that he may plead without confusion, and with such freedom of spirit as if he were not a prisoner? But when he, who is to judge according to the law, shall beforehand threaten and menace the prisoner contrary to the law, how can the mind of the prisoner be free, to plead his innocency before him; or expect equal judgment from him, who before he hears him, threatens what he will do to him? Is not this the case between you and us? Is not this the measure we have received at your hands? In this matter, have you acted according to law, or to your duty, or as you would be done unto? Let that of God in your conscience judge.

And did you not say, there was a law requiring the removal of the hat; and that you would show a law; and did you not often so express yourself? But did you produce any law; or show where that law might be found; or any judicial precedent, or in what king's reign, when we so often desired it of you? We have never heard of, or known any such law, by which you did judge us. Was not what we demanded of you reasonable and just? Was that a savory answer, and according to law, which you gave us, viz. "I am

not to carry the law books at my back, up and down the country; I am not to instruct you." Was ever such an expression heard, before these days, to come out of a judge's mouth? Is he not to be of counsel in the law for the prisoner and to instruct him accordingly? Is it not for this cause that the prisoner, in many cases, is not allowed counsel by the law? In all courts of justice in this nation, has it not been known so to have been?

And to the prisoner has not this been often declared, when he has demanded counsel, alleging his ignorance in the law, by reason of which his cause might miscarry, though it were righteous, viz. "The court is of counsel for you" Ought not he that judges in the law to be expert in the law? Could you not tell by what act of parliament it was made, or by what judicial precedent, or in what king's reign, or when it was adjudged so by the common law, (which are all the grounds the law of England has), had there been such a law, though the words of the law you could not remember? Surely, to inform the prisoner when he desired it, especially as to a law which was never heard of, by which he proceeds to judge him, that he may know what law it is by which he is to be judged, becomes him who judges for God: for so the law was read to the Jews, by which they were to be judged, yes, every Sabbath day; this was the commandment of the Lord. But instead of that, to say, "I am not to carry the law books at my back, up and down the country; I am not to instruct you:" to say, "there is a law," and to say, "you will show it," and yet not show it, nor to tell where it is to be found; consider whether it be consistent with savoriness, truth, or justice?

Have not your whole proceedings against us made it evidently to appear that your desire was to cause us to suffer, not to deliver us, who being innocent, suffered; to have us aspersed and reproached before the country, not to have our innocence cleared and vindicated? Does not your taking away our books, as before said, and the perusing of them in such haste before our trial, and your accusing us with something which you said was contained in them, make it appear that matter was sought out of them in order to charge us, when the et cetera warrant would not stand in law by which we stood committed, and were then upon our delivery according to the due course of law? Does it not further appear, by your refusing to take from our hands a copy of the strange et cetera warrant by which we were committed, and of the paper for which we were apprehended, to read it, or cause it to be read; that so our long sufferings, by reason of both might be looked into, and weighed in the law, whether just or righteous, and the country might as well see our innocence and sufferings without a cause, and the manner of dealing with us, as to hear such reports which went of us as great offenders, when we called upon you often so to do, and which you ought to have done, and said you would do, but did it not; nor so much as took notice before the country that we had been falsely imprisoned, and had wrongfully suffered? But what might asperse and charge us you brought in yourself, contrary to law, and did call to have us charged therewith. Is not this further manifest, in that you did cause us, on a sudden, to be withdrawn, and the petty jury to be called in with their verdict; whereupon Peter Ceely's falsely accusing George Fox "with telling him privately of a design, and persuading him to join in," was by George Fox made so clear to be a manifest falsehood, and so plainly to be perceived, that the cause of our sufferings was not any evil we had done, or law that we had transgressed, but malice and wickedness? And is it not abundantly clear, from your not permitting us to answer and clear ourselves of the many foul slanders charged upon us in the new found indictment, of which no proof was made? But when we were answering thereunto, and clearing ourselves of that, you did stop us, saying, "You minded not those things, but only the putting off the hat:" when, as before the country, the new found indictment charged us with those things, and the petty jury brought in their verdict, "Guilty of the trespasses and contempts mentioned therein;" of which (except as to the hat) not one witness or piece of evidence was produced; and as to the hat, not any law or judicial precedent, upon the transgression of which all legal indictments are to be grounded? Now the law seeks not for causes whereby to make the innocent suffer; but helps him to right who suffers wrong, relieves the oppressed, and searches out the matter, a man stands accused is guilty of not; seeking judgment and hastening righteousness; and it said, "The innocent and the righteous slay you not." But whether you have done so to us, or the contrary, let the witness of God in you search and judge; as these your fruits do also make manifest.

And friend, consider how abominably wicked, and how highly to be abhorred, denied and witnessed against, and how contrary to the laws such a proceeding is, as to charge a man with many offences in an indictment, which they who draw the indictment, they who prosecute, and they who find the bill, know to be false, and to be put in purposely to reproach and wound his good name; whom, with some small matter which they can prove, they charge and indict, as is the common practice at this day. Prove but one particular charge in the indictment, and it must stand, (say they), for a true bill; though there be never so many falsehoods and lies therein, on set purpose to wrong him who is maliciously

prosecuted: this is known to the judges, and almost to every man who has to do with and attends their courts. How contrary is this to the end and righteousness of the law, which clears the innocent and condemns the guilty, and condemns not the righteous with the wicked! Much it is cried out of; but what reformation is there of that? How else shall clerks of assize, and other clerks of courts fill up their bags, (out of which perhaps their master must have a secret consideration), and be heightened in pride and impudence; that even in open court they take upon them to check and revile men without reproof, when a few lines might serve instead of a hundred? How else shall the spirit that is in men, that lusts unto envy, malice, strife, and contention, be cherished and nourished, to feed the lawyers and dependents on courts with the bread of men's children and the ruin of their families, to maintain their long suits and malicious contentions! For a judge to say, "I mind not these things; I will not hear you; clear yourselves of what you are falsely accused of; one thing I mind in your charge, the rest are but matter of form, set there to render you such wicked men before the country, as the thing that is to be proved against you is not sufficient to make out." Oh! abominable wickedness, and perverting of the righteous end of the law, which is so careful and tender of every man's peace and innocence! How is the law in the administration of that adulterated by the lawyers, as the scriptures are mangled by the priests! And that which was made to preserve the righteous, and to punish the wicked, perverted to the punishing of the righteous and the preserving of the wicked! An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, life for life, burning for burning, wound for wound, a stripe for a stripe; he that accuses a man falsely, to suffer the same as he should have suffered, who was falsely accused, if he had been guilty. This said the righteous law of God; which is agreeable to that of God in every man's conscience. Are not such forms of iniquity to be denied, which are so contrary to the law of God and man; those which serve for the generating of strife, and the kindling of contention? And was not this nature what used to cause us to be indicted? And did not you uphold this form by not permitting us to answer to the many foul slanders therein; saying, "Those things you mind not." Will not the wrath of God be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; who are so far from the power of godliness, that they have not the form, but the form of iniquity, which is set up and held up instead of and as a law, to overthrow and destroy the righteousness of the righteous, and so to shut him up as by the law he can never get out? Is not the cry, think you, gone up? "It is time for you to set to your hand, Oh Lord, for your enemies have made void your law!" Draws not the hour near? Fills not up the measure of iniquity apace? Surely the day is coming, and hasten. **You have been warned from the presence, and by the mouth of the Lord;** and he will be clear when he comes to judgment, and upright when he gives sentence. That of God in everyone of your consciences shall so to him bear witness and confess, and your mouths shall be stopped, and before your judge shall you be silent, when he shall divide you your portion, and render unto you according to your deeds. Therefore, while you have time, prize it, and repent: for verily, "our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people; and the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God is judge himself. Consider this, you that forget God, for fear that he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver."

And, friend, should you have given judgment against us (wherein you did fine us twenty marks apiece, and imprisonment until payment) without causing us, being prisoners, to be brought before you, to hear the judgment, and to move what we had to say in arrest of judgment? Is not this contrary to the law, as is manifest to those who understand the proceedings of that? Is not the prisoner to be called before judgment be given? And is not the indictment to be read, and the verdict? And is not liberty to be given him to move in arrest of judgment? And if it be a just exception in the law, ought not there to be an arrest of judgment? For the indictment may not be drawn up according to law, and may be wrong placed, and the offence charged within may not be a crime in law; or the jury may have been corrupted or menaced, or set on by some of the justices; with other particulars, which are known to be legal and just exceptions. And the judgment ought to be in the prisoner's hearing, not behind his back; as if the judge were so conscious of the error of that, that he dares not give it to the face of the prisoner. But these privileges of the law, this justice we (who had so long and so greatly suffered contrary to law) received not, nor could have at your hands; no, not so much as a copy or sight of that long and new found indictment, (which in England was never heard of before, nor that the matter contained therein was an offence in law, nor ever was there any law or judicial precedent that made it so), though two Friends of ours, in our names and behalf, that night, the next day, and the day following, often desired it of the clerk of the assize, and his assistant and servants; but they could not have it, nor so much liberty as to see it. And it is like it was not unknown or unperceived by you, that, had we been called as we ought to have been, or had known when it was to be given, three or four words might have made a sufficient legal arrest of the judgment given on that new found indictment, and the verdict thereupon.

Therefore as our liberties, who are innocent, have not in your account been worth the minding, and esteemed fit for nothing but to be trampled under foot and destroyed; so, if we find fault with what you have done, you have taken care that no door be left open to us in the law, but a writ of error: the consideration whereof, and the judgment to be given thereon, is to be had only where yourself is chief; of whom such complaint is to be made, and the error assigned for the reverse of the judgment. And what the fruit of that may be well expected to be, by what we have already mentioned as having received at your hands, you have given us to understand. And here you may think you have made yourself secure and sufficiently barred up our way of relief, against whom (though you knew we had done nothing contrary to the law or worthy of bonds, much less of the bonds and sufferings we had sustained) you have proceeded, as has been rehearsed; notwithstanding that you are, as are all the judges of the nation, entrusted not with a legislative power but to administer justice, and to do "even law and execution of right to all, high and low, rich and poor, without having regard to any man's person;" and are sworn so to do; and wherein you do contrary are liable to punishment, as ceasing from being a judge, and becoming a wrong doer and an oppressor; which what it is to be many of your predecessors have understood, some by death, others by fine and imprisonment. And of this you may not be ignorant, that to deny a prisoner any of the privileges the law allows him, is to deny him justice; to try him in an arbitrary way, to rob him of that liberty which the law gives him, which is his inheritance as a freeman: and which to do, is in effect "to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law;" which is treason by the common law: and treasons by the common law are not taken away by the statutes of 25 Edw. III. 1 H. IV. 1, 2. m. See O. St. Johns, now chief justice of the common pleas, his argument against Strafford, fol. 65, &c. in the case.

'These things, friend, we have laid before you in all plainness, to the end that (with the light of Jesus Christ, who lights everyone that comes into the world, a measure of which you have, which shows you evil and reproves you for sin, for which you must be accountable) you being still and cool may consider and see what you have done against the innocent, and shame may overtake you, and you may turn to the Lord, who now calls you to repentance by his servants, whom, for witnessing his living truth in them, you have cast into, and yet continues under cruel bonds and sufferings.'

Edward Pyot,

From the Jail in Lancaster, the 14th day of Fifth-mo. 1656

By this letter the reader may observe how contrary to law we were made to suffer; but the Lord, who saw the integrity of our hearts to him, and knew the innocence of our cause, was with us in our sufferings, bore up our spirits, and made them easy to us; and gave us opportunities of publishing his name and truth among the people: so that several of the town came to be convinced; many were made loving to us, and Friends from several parts of the country came to visit us; among whom were two out of Wales, who had been justices of the peace. Judge Hagget's wife, of Bristol, came to visit us, who was convinced, with several of her children; and her husband was very kind and serviceable to Friends, and had a great love to God's people, which he retained to his death.

Note from *Valiant for the Truth*: The love existing among the early Friends was very strong; for while George Fox lay in this cheerless prison, one of them went to Oliver Cromwell and offered to be imprisoned in Doomsdale in George Fox' place. The Protector, struck by this act of friendship, looked around on his followers with the question: "Which of you would do as much for me if I were in the same condition?"

Now in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, truth began mightily to spread; many were turned to Christ Jesus and his free teaching: for many Friends that came to visit us were drawn to declare the truth in those counties; which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to trap Friends. They set up watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up suspicious persons; under which excuse they stopped and took up Friends coming to visit us in prison; which they did to prevent them from traveling in the Lord's service. *But the way they planned to stop the truth was the means of spreading it even more*; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable, and the other officer, and to the justices they were brought before; which caused the truth to spread more in all their parishes. And when Friends were arrested by the watches, it would be two or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable arrested them and taken them before the justices, and they had discharged them, than another would

arrest them and take them before other justices: which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire arrested him; and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket; and after being robbed, he was cast into Exeter jail. They cast Henry Pollexfen also into prison in Devonshire, under pretence of him being a Jesuit; he had been a justice of the peace for almost forty years before. Many Friends were cruelly beaten by them; some clothiers that were but going to mill with their cloth, and others going about their natural business were arrested and whipped even though these men who earned about eighty or a hundred pounds by the year and were not more than four to five miles from their families.

The mayor of Lanchester arrested all he could and cast them into prison. He would search the under clothing of middle class dignified women. I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor and when a young man came to see us, gave it to him, telling him to seal it up and leave the prison by the back way, and then go into the town through the gates. He did so, and the watch arrested him and carried him before the mayor. He soon searched his pockets and found the letter, in which he read all his actions reported. This so shamed him that from that time on he seldom interfered with the Lord's servants.

From the sense I had of the trap that was laid, and mischief intended in setting up those watches at that time to stop and arrest Friends, it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as

An exhortation and warning to the magistrates.

All you powers of the earth, Christ has come to reign, and is among you, and you know him not; who enlightens everyone of you, that you all through him might believe, who is the light, who treads the wine press alone without the city, and whose feet are upon it. Therefore see all, and examine with the light what you are ripe for; for the press is ready for you.

Before honor is humility. All you that would have honor before you have humility, are you not as the heathen are? You would have honor before you have humility; did not all the persecutors that ever were upon the earth want this humility? They wanted the honor, and yet would have the honor before they had the humility, and have learned that. So you that are out of humility, are out of the honor, and you are not to have the honor who have not the humility: for "before honor is humility," mark before it.

You pretend liberty of conscience, yet a person cannot carry a letter to a Friend, nor men visit their friends, nor visit prisoners, nor carry a book about them, either for their own use or for their friends! Men cannot see their friends: but watches are set up against them to catch and stop them: and these must be well armed too against an innocent people, that have not so much as a stick in their hands, who are in scorn called Quakers. Yet those who set up these watches pretend liberty of conscience; who take up them whose consciences are exercised towards God and men, who worship God in spirit and truth; which they that are out of the light call heresy. These set up watches against those they in scorn call Quakers, because they confess and witness the true light, that lights everyone that comes into the world among people as they pass through the country, or among their friends. This is the dangerous doctrine which watchmen are set up against, to subdue error, as they call it, which is the light that enlightens every man that comes into the world; him by whom the world was made, who was glorified with the Father before the world began. For those whom they in scorn call Quakers, have they setup their watches, able men, well armed, to take them up that bear this testimony either in words, books, or letters. So that is the light you hate, which enlightens every man that comes into the world; and these that witness to this light you put in prison; and after you have imprisoned them, you set up your watches to arrest all that go to visit them, and to imprison them also. So that by setting up your watches, you would stop all relief from coming to prisoners. **Therefore this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge to you all, in the presence of the living God of heaven and earth:** every man of you being enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, the savior of people's souls; to this light, all take heed, that with it you may see Christ from whom the light comes, you may see him to be your savior by whom the world was made; who said, learn of me. But if you hate this light, you hate Christ who enlightens you all, that through him (who is the light) you might believe. But not believing in the light, or bringing your deeds to the light, which will make them manifest and reprove them, this becomes your condemner, even the light. Remember

you are warned in your lifetime; for this light is your way to salvation, if you walk in it; and this light is your condemner, if you reject and hate it. You can never come to Christ, the second priest, until you come to the light with which the second priest has enlightened you. So you that come not to the light; you go to the priests that take tithes, as did the first priesthood; and so hale out of your synagogues and temples as that priesthood did which took tithes: which those of the second priesthood did not. Was there ever such a generation! Or did ever such a generation of men appear as do now in this age, who are so full of madness, envy, and persecution, that they stand up in watches, with bills and weapons, against the truth, to persecute it, as the towns and countries declare; which rings as Sodom, and like Gomorrah! And this has its liberty, and truth is stood against; and to reprove sin is accounted a breach of the peace, as those say who are out of the truth, and set up their watches against it.'

George Fox

Besides this general warning, I received a copy of a warrant issued from the sessions of Exon, in express terms, 'For apprehending of all Quakers;' wherein truth and Friends were reproached and vilified, I was moved to write an answer to it, and send it abroad, for the clearing of truth and Friends from the slanders within cast upon them; and to manifest the wickedness of that persecuting spirit from where it proceeded, which was after this manner:

As there was a warrant granted the last sessions held at Exon, on the eighteenth day of the Fifth-month, 1656, which warrant is "For the apprehending and taking up all such as are Quakers, or call themselves Quakers, or go under the belief of Quakers;" and is directed "to the chief constables, to be sent by them to the petty constables, requiring them to set watches, able men with bills, to take up all such Quakers as before said;" and where in your said warrant you speak of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers; I answer, they, whom you in scorn call Quakers, have no seditious books or papers; but their books are against sedition, and seditious men, seditious books, seditious teachers, and seditious ways. Thus you have numbered honest men, godly men, holy men, men that fear God, among beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; putting no difference between the precious and the vile. You are not fit to judge, who have set up your bills; and armed your men to stand up together in battle against innocent people, the lambs of Christ; who have not lifted up a hand against you. But if you were sensible of the state of your own country, your cities, your towns, your villages, how the cry of them is like Gomorrah, the ring like Sodom, and the sound like the old world, where all flesh had corrupted its way, which God overthrew with the flood; if you did consider this with yourselves, you would find something to turn the sword against, and not against the lambs of Christ, and not make a mock of the innocent, that stand a witness against all sin and unrighteousness in your towns and steeple-houses. Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, was grieved with the filthy conversation of the wicked; so are we now. Just Lot was grieved with their unmerciful deeds, and the filthy conversation of Sodom. And were not these hated of the world, and of them that lived in filthiness? And you speak of those you in scorn call Quakers, that they are a grief to those whom you call pious and religious people, and their religion; such as are in the religion that is vain, whose tongues are not bridled. I believe the Quakers are a grief to those whose religion is vain, but they are not a grief to such as are in the pure religion, which keeps unspotted of the world; which sets not up bills, nor watches, to maintain it by the world. Those in the pure religion are not of the world, and are kept unspotted of the world. Mark, the "pure religion, which keeps unspotted of the world." But such as are in the religion that is not pure; who have a form of godliness, and not the power, such as you call pious, the truth itself to such was always a grief; and so it is in this age. And now your fruits appear, the end of your religion and profession, and what you possess; but you are in the error, and have been except in the profession, while out of the possession of the spirit, and therefore not in the spirit of truth. For where did that ever set bounds, and number the just and innocent with the wicked? But the wicked set bounds and limits to the just, and numbered them among the wicked; yes, all manner of evil they spoke of them, as you are doing now of us. According as it was foretold in the scripture, such as tremble at the word of God, you cast out and hate, you that have your temple-worship. You say the Quakers come to disturb you in your churches, as you call them. Was it not the practice of the apostles to go into the synagogues and temples, to witness against the priesthood that took tithes? Was it not the practice of the Jews to hale them out, persecute them, and stone them, that witnessed Christ the second priest, and went to bring people off from the first priesthood? Was it not the practice of the prophets to go and cry against the high places? And was it not the practice of the Jews, when they were backslidden, and of the heathen, to imprison and persecute the prophets, and send after them into other countries? Is not this your practice now, who are holding up your high places which the Papists set up, which you now call your churches; where you beat and persecute? What kind of religious people

are you, who are filled with so much madness? Did not Paul confess he was mad while he was in your practice, haling, beating, imprisoning, putting out of the synagogues, having his authority from the chief priests? And are not the chief priests the cause of this? Was there ever such a cry made in any age past, as there is now in the pulpits, railing against an innocent people, who lift not up a hand against you; and who are indeed the pious, that are of the pure religion, who fear God, and worship him in the spirit and in the truth, but cannot join with you in your religion? Do not the ministers of God say that the scriptures are a declaration, which you call the "word"? Do not you rob Christ of his title and of his honor, and give it to the letter, and show yourselves out of the doctrine of the ministers of God, who called the scriptures by the name of writings, and treatises, and declarations: and said, Christ's name is called the word of God? Are not you here in the error you speak of, which is common talk among you? There was talk among some of you of your gospel-shining. Does the gospel persecute? Did any of those that did possess it ever cast anyone into prison, and not suffer others to visit them? Are you like christians in this, or like heathen, who set bounds and watches over the land, that they should not pass to visit those in prison? Was ever the like heard in any age? Search and see, if you have not outstripped them all in your watches, if not in your manner of persecution, and in your imprisonments. And Oh! never say that we are a grief to them that are in the pure religion.

And whereas in your warrant we are represented as disaffected to government; I say, the law, that is a terror to the evil doer, we own; the higher power, to which the soul must be subject; but we deny the evil doer, the malicious man reigning, and the envious man seeking for his prey, whose envy is against the innocent; who raises up the country against honest men, and so becomes a trouble to the country, in raising them up to take the innocent: but that we leave that to the Lord to judge. Your false accusations of heresy and blasphemy we deny. You should have declared the details, that people might have seen them; and not have slandered us behind our backs. The law said, The crime should be mentioned in the warrant. Then for your saying, "We deny the godly minister" to be a true ministry of Christ;" that is false; for we say, the godly ministers are the ministers of Christ. But which of your ministers dare say that they are truly godly? And for your charging us with seducing many weak people, that is false also; we seduce none. But you, that deny the light which lights every man that comes into the world, are seduced from the anointing which should teach you; and if you would be taught by it, you would not need that any man should teach you. But such as are taught by the anointing which abides in them, and deny man's teaching, these you call seducers, quite contrary to John's doctrine. 1 John 2. That which is truth you call seducing; and that which he calls seducing, you call truth. Read the latter part of the chapter. And beware, I warn you all from the Lord God of glory, set not any bound against him. Limit not the Holy One of Israel; for the Lord is rising in power and great glory, who will rule the nations with a rod of iron, which to him are but as the drop of a bucket. He that measures the waters in the hollow of his hand will dash nations together as a potter's vessel. And know, you that are found in this his day blaspheming his work which he has brought forth, calling it blasphemy, fighting against it, setting up your carnal weapons, making your bonds strong; God will break asunder that which your carnal policy has invented, and which by your carnal weapons you would uphold, and make you know there is a God in heaven who carries his lambs in his arms, which are come among wolves, and are ready to be torn in pieces in every place, yes, in your steeple-houses; where people have appeared without reason and natural affection. Therefore all you petty constables, sheriffs, and justices, take warning; take heed what you do against the lambs of Christ; for Christ is come, and coming, who will give to everyone of you a reward according to your works, you that have the letter, which speaks of Christ; who are persecuting that which the scripture speaks of: so your fruits make you manifest. Therefore everyone, sheriffs, justices, constables, etc., consider what you possess, and what a profession you are now in, that all these carnal weapons are set up against the innocent, yes, against the truth; which shows, that you have not the spiritual weapons: and that you want the counsel of Gamaliel, yes, you want the counsel of such a man among you, who said, "Let the apostles alone: if it be of God, it will stand; if it be not, it will come to nothing." But you may see yourselves, on the contrary, in the spirit of them that came with Judas, with swords and staves from the chief priests against Christ; it is still against Christ, where he is made manifest. Paul (while Saul) went against him, though he and the Jews professed a Christ that was to come; yet Paul persecuted him, where he was manifested *in his saints*. So you profess a Christ that is come, but persecute him where he is manifest. You that have the letter, the high places, the synagogues, you persecute him where he is made manifest in his saints, as the Jews did. Those who were in the letter, out of the life, persecuted them that were in the life of that which they professed in the letter: so do you persecute them that are in the life, and are yourselves strangers to it; as your fruits make apparent. You have numbered the people of God among transgressors; but have you imprisoned any of the rogues and transgressors you speak of? You have imprisoned the innocent, and let the others go free.

When I had sent abroad the foregoing, so great a sense came upon me of the veil of darkness that was over the priests and professors of christianity, that I was moved to give forth the following, as an awakening warning to them:

Blindness has happened to the professed christians of the letter now-a-days, as blindness happened to the Jews; who professed the letter, but owned not the life, which the letter speaks of: as the christians now, to whom this blindness has happened, who profess the scripture, but own not the life which the scripture speaks of. For against the life the Jews stood, who professed the letter of the scripture; but they were blind, they gathered counsel against the life; they were in an uproar, when the babe was born in Bethlehem, Herod and all the chief priests. And Herod sought to destroy all the young children in Bethlehem, yet missed the babe; Herod, that fox, though he put John to death. You may see here, how the literal professors stood up, not for the truth, but quite against it. Furthermore, the chief priests consulted together how they might take Jesus by subtlety, and put him to death; mark, by their subtlety. The professors of a Christ that was to come, they preached of a Messiah, of a Christ, of a savior; but denied the life, when he was made manifest. The chief priests, who were gathered together with the council, said his disciples had stolen him away by night; and gave large sums of money to the soldiers to declare this. Likewise in the day, when the children of Israel were in Egypt, and they with their children began to spread and multiply, the Egyptians said, "Come let us deal wisely with them to afflict them and tax them;" which held until the Lord overthrew their oppressors, and brought his seed by his mighty power from under the oppressor, and exalted his son above all; though the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things. He made his power known, that all might see that there was no God upon the earth but himself. This power now has brought forth the work of the Lord! Many, who are turned to the light, Christ, have received the power of God, and are thereby become the sons of God. Now this birth, that is born of God, are all the powers of the world joined together to crucify; to put to death those Jews in the spirit, as they put Christ to death in the flesh formerly. This is the birth that all the wicked world is enraged against. Against this they set their watches, this birth, brought forth by the mighty God of Jacob, who rides upon the high places of the earth. This is the birth that the professed christians without the life in our days rage against, and lay all their wisdom about. Are not the chief priests and wise men of the earth consulting together how they may destroy this birth? Is not this the birth that is banished out of your hearts, you that profess the scripture, and are talkers of it, but do not own the light and life which the scripture speaks of, as the Jews would not; and so will not have Christ to reign over you, as they would not? Do you not hale out of your synagogues, and before magistrates? Do you not herein fulfill Christ's words, who said to his disciples, they should be haled out of the synagogues, and before rulers! Do you not persecute them from city to city? Do you not almost fill your prisons with them? And now set your watches, that none should visit them, whom you have put into prison? Is not this an unchristian spirit? How can you for shame say, you are upholders of truth? Or how can you for shame say, that truth has been professed among you? We grant that you have talked of it. And how can you for shame say, "The gospel shines among you," when you will not own it, the life of it; when you call it error, and the evil seed yes, the very truth, the very life of truth you have blasphemed against now, as the Jews did against Christ, calling him a devil; you now call it error, and the evil seed, and stand up against it, and turn the sword against it. As it was in the days of the Jews who turned the sword against Christ; so it is in these days of the christian professors of the scripture, but out of the life that gave it forth; as those were the Jews outward in the flesh, not the Jews in the spirit. Is it not a shame to the ministers of the gospel, (as they are called), that they can find no better way to maintain that which they call the truth, and their gospel, than by carnal weapons, stocks, prisons, whips, watches, and wards, and powers of the earth? Were these the apostles' weapons? Carnal watches, stocks, prisons, and halings out of the synagogues, when they came to speak? Judge yourselves, what an anti-christian spirit you have. Never talk of defending truth with that which is against truth. For are you not setting up the rabble of the world against it? Do they not join with you, with swords and staves against it? Is this the life of Christians? Is not this the life of error, and of the evil seedman? Surely you would find work enough, if you were in the fear of the Lord, to turn your swords against the profaneness, the oaths and wickedness that are in your streets and highways. How do they ring like Sodom, and give a sound like Gomorrah! But these are become a prey in this age, that reprove in your gate sin, wickedness, and profaneness. They are become your by word. Against them your councils are gathered, them you cast into prison, and hale them out of your synagogues; and cast them likewise into prison that write and speak against it; and set your guards to stop and hinder any from visiting them whom you cast into prison, and give them the names of vagabonds and wanderers.

Was ever the like heard of the heathen against the apostles, who witnessed the gospel? Did they set guards and watches in every town, in every city, to take the disciples, the brethren, the believers, that heard the apostles were cast into prison, and came to see what they wanted? Show you not as much rage and fury now in your age, as was in those in that age? How can you talk of the gospel, and of defending the gospel, when you are setting guards and watches against it, and are defending that which stands against it; and the lambs of Christ are almost torn to pieces among you, who are like wolves? For the Lord has now sent his lambs among wolves. Have not you professed the words of Christ, the prophets, and apostles, as the Jews had long professed the scriptures, the words of Moses, and the prophets, that prophesied of Christ that was to come; and stood against him when he was come? As you do in this day of his reign, in this day of his glorious gospel, who are persecuting the messengers of it, imprisoning them, persecuting them in your streets and highways, and setting up your watches against them who bring the glad tidings of peace to your souls; whose feet are beautiful atop of the mountains; mark, atop of the mountains; that against which the mountains rage and swell; but God will make them to melt; the sun is risen, which will make them to melt. God will cleave the rocks and mountains asunder, and make the hills to bow perpetually; for his son he will exalt, and his glory he will give to him, and not to another. Therefore be awakened, you rulers of the earth, and take counsel of the Lord. Take not counsel together against him. Make not your bonds strong. Set not yourselves in battle against him; for you will be found but as briars and thorns before him, which the fire shall consume. Therefore be awakened, all you talkers of the scripture, that gather yourselves together by your multitudes and meetings, and have had your teachers; but not having the spirit that gave forth the scriptures, the Lord God of glory, the Father of spirits, will scatter you. All your bonds will not hold you together, who are out of the spirit, which is the bond of peace. The threshing instrument is gone forth, which will beat the hills to pieces. Zion is risen to thresh. Out of the holy mountain is the trumpet sounded. Stand not up against the Lord; for all nations are to him as the drop of a bucket. He that measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and weighs the earth in scales, the Lord of hosts is his name, who is now risen and rising, to plead the cause of the innocent, and is exalting his son, and bringing his sheep to him. Now are they seen and known, that feed upon wind, that are lifted up, given up to believe lies; who report, and say, "Report, and we will report it." Now are they seen, who have a form of godliness, but deny the power: so Christ is denied; for Christ is the power of God. And the power being denied by you, that have a form of godliness, and the words of the scriptures; the gospel is denied: for the gospel is the power of God. Thus it is among you that have the knowledge and wisdom that is sensual, earthly, and devilish. Does it not appear so? Let your jails and watches witness your fruits in every town. Your wisdom is earthly, sensual, and devilish. You have a knowledge and wisdom, but not that which is from above; for that is pure and gentle, so is not your knowledge. But to know Christ is life eternal. Your fruits have manifested, that you are not of this; and so out of the power of God, which is the cross of Christ; for you are found in the world, out of the power of God, out of the cross of Christ, persecuting. So that which does persecute, and send forth writings and decrees to stop and take up all, and set watches, and prepare bonds to limit the Lord; to imprison and persecute, and suffer none to go and visit them: this shows you are not christians, but stand against the christian life, which brings to love enemies. Where is your love to your enemies who are thus persecuting your Friends? "He came to his own, and his own received him not." Here is a turning the sword against the just. Do you show here a christian's life, or yourselves christians, who are filling your jails with the christians in the spirit, you that are in the letter, (in shadows), as the Jews in the letter did put the Jews in the spirit into prison? Is not this the fruit in our days of christians in the letter, to put christians in the spirit into prison? Does not this show that your decrees, which you have sent forth, proceed from death, who thus act against the life, and them that are in it; which the scriptures were given forth from? Is it not here, as it was with Saul, when he went to persecute, to hale, to prison, and bind all that he could find calling upon that name, who were christians in the life, the spirit, such as you are persecuting, because they are in the life, though you profess their words? Are not your decrees gone forth from the same spirit of envy, against the same spirit of Christ they were in? Is it not manifest to all that fear God, and to the sober minded and honest hearted people, that see your practices, your decrees, your letters, to stop, to molest, to hinder, to imprison them that are moved of the Lord to do his will, or to go to visit prisoners whom you have imprisoned? Does this show you to have a spirit like Paul, yes, or no? Are you not quite contrary, like them that persecuted Paul? The day has declared it. To that of God in you all I speak, which shall witness it at the last day, in the day of judgment. Persecution was blind in all ages; and madness and folly led it; yet persecution got always a form or pretence of godliness, a talk of religion, as in the days of Moses, of Jeremy, of Christ, and of the apostles. "Come," said the council, "let us crush them while they are young, they have almost overspread the nation in every corner." This is as much as to say, "Let us put this birth to death, as Pharaoh and Herod did the children." But the Lord caused his truth the more to spread. For you may read what numbers came out of Egypt, and what multitudes followed Christ! Therefore with

consideration read these lines, and not with fury. Let not foolishness appear; but consider in humility the paths you go in, what spirit you are of, and what the end of your conversation is; for in love to your souls I write, that in the day of your visitation you may consider it.

From him who loves righteousness, and the establishing of it, and truth, peace, and faith, which is by Christ Jesus. (Mercy and peace be multiplied among such!) But a witness against all hypocrites, and all who have a profession, but live out of the possession; in a hypocritical religion, in the lusts and fashions of the world, having a form of godliness, but standing against the power with might and main, sword and staff. Which things declare your conversation and practices to be out of Christ's life, against the gospel practice, and contrary to the manner and order of the saints.

George Fox



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We were held in prison until the next assize; before which time many Friends, both men and women, were sent to prison, who had been taken by the watches. When the assize arrived, several of these were called before the judge and indicted: and though the jailer brought them into court, yet they indicted them that they came in 'by force of arms, and in a hostile manner;' and the judge fined them, because they would not put off their hats. But we were not called before the judges any more.

We had great work and service for the Lord, both between the assizes and after, among professors and people of all sorts: for many came to see and reason with us. As before mentioned Elizabeth Trelawny of Plymouth (daughter of one called a baronet) has been convinced of the truth; the priests, professors, and some great persons of her kindred were exasperated, and wrote letters to her. Being a wise and tender woman and who feared to give them any advantage, she sent their letters to me; which I answered and returned them to her again for her to send the answers to them, which she did; until growing in the power, spirit, and wisdom of God, she was herself able to answer the wisest priest and professor of them all; and she had dominion over them in the truth, through the power of the Lord, by which she was kept faithful to her death.

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and fifth-monarchy-men prophesied, that this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward; **when he had come inwardly in the hearts of his people to reign and rule; these believers would not receive him in their hearts** . So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and did not have the possession of him. **But Christ has come, and does dwell and reign in the hearts of his people. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts he has been knocking, have opened to him; and he has come in, and does sup with them, and they with him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man.** So many of these Baptists and monarchy-people became the greatest enemies to the followers of Christ, but he reigns in the hearts of his saints over all their envy.

At the assize several justices came to us and were pretty civil as they soberly reasoned about the things of God and expressing a pity to us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis castle, also came and looked me in the face, and never said a word; but went to his company, and told them, 'he never saw a simpler man in his life.' I called after him, and said, 'Stay, man, we will see who is the simpler man.' But he went his way, a light chaffy person.

Thomas Lower also came to visit us, and offered us money, which we refused; nevertheless accepting his love. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the scriptures to be the word of God; concerning the sacraments, and such like; to all which he received satisfaction. I spoke particularly to him, and he afterwards said, my words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him. He said, he never met with such wise men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart; and were as the wise master-builders of the assemblies, that fastened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a Friend to this day. When he went home to his aunt Hambley's, where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us; she, with her sister Grace Billing, hearing the report of truth, came to visit us in prison, and they were convinced also. Both he and his aunt have undergone great sufferings and seizures of property for the truth's sake.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following exhortation to Friends in the ministry:

Friends,

Dwell in the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord God of life, and heaven and earth; that in the wisdom of God you may be preserved over all; and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad, awakening the witness, confounding the deceit, gathering up out of transgression into the life, to the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue, nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God. Go through the work, be valiant for the truth upon earth, and tread and trample upon all that is contrary. You have the power, do not abuse it; and the strength and presence of the Lord; eye it, and the wisdom; that with it you may all be ordered to the glory of the Lord God. Keep in the dominion; keep in the power over all deceit; tread over them in that which lets you see to the world's end, and the utmost parts of the earth. Reign and rule with Christ, whose scepter and throne are now set up, whose dominion is over all to the ends of the earth; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, his throne an everlasting throne, his kingdom an everlasting kingdom, his power above all powers. Therefore this is the word of the Lord to you all, "Keep in the wisdom of God," that spreads over all the earth; the wisdom of the creation that is pure from above, not destructive. For now shall salvation go out of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau; now shall the law go forth from Jerusalem, to answer the principle of God in all; to hew down all inventors and inventions. For all the princes of the earth are but as air to the power of the Lord God, which you are in and have tasted of. Therefore live in it, that is the word of the Lord God to you all. Do not abuse it; keep down and low; and take heed of false joys, that will change. Bring all into the worship of God. Plough up the fallow ground.

Thresh and get out the corn; that the seed, the wheat, may be gathered into the barn; that to the beginning all people may come; to Christ, who was before the world was made. For the chaff has come upon the wheat by transgression. He that treads the wheat out from the chaff is not of the transgression; but he understands the transgression, puts a difference between the precious and the vile, can pick out the wheat from the weeds, and gathers the wheat into the garner. *So he brings the lively hope to the immortal soul and the immortal soul back to God from which it came.* None can worship God but who come to the principle of God, which they have transgressed. None are ploughed up but he who comes to the principle of God in him that he has transgressed. Then he does service to God; then is the planting, watering, and increase from God. So the ministers of the spirit must minister to the spirit that is in prison, which has been in captivity in everyone; that with the spirit of Christ people may be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of spirits, to serve him, and have unity with him, with the scriptures, and one with another. **This is the word of the Lord God to you all, a charge to you all in the presence of the living God; be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your life and conduct may preach among all sorts of people, and to them. Then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in everyone; whereby in them you may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you; then to the Lord God you shall be a sweet savor, and a blessing.**

Spare no deceit. Lay the sword upon it; go over it. Keep yourselves clear of the blood of all men, either by word or writing, and keep yourselves clean, that you may stand in your throne, and every one have his lot and stand in the lot in the ancient of days. The blessing of the Lord be with you, and keep you over all the idolatrous worships and worshippers. Let them know the living God; for teachings, churches, worships must be thrown down with the power of the Lord God, set up by man's earthly understanding, knowledge, and will. All this must be thrown down with that which gave forth the scripture; and who are in that, reign over it all. That is the word of the Lord God to you all. In that is God worshipped, that brings to declare his will, and brings to the church in God, the ground and pillar of truth: for now has the mighty day of the Lord appeared, and the arrows of the Almighty have gone forth; which shall stick in the hearts of the wicked. Now will I arise, said the Lord God Almighty, to trample and thunder down deceit, which has long reigned and stained the earth. Now will I have my glory out of everyone. The Lord God Almighty over all, in his strength and power keep you to his glory, that you may come to answer that of God in everyone in the world. Proclaim the mighty day of the Lord of fire and sword, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth; and keep in the life and power of the Lord God, that the inhabitants of the earth may tremble before you; that God's power and majesty may be admired among hypocrites and heathen, and you in the wisdom, dread, life, terror, and dominion preserved to his glory; that nothing may rule or reign but power and life itself, and in the wisdom of God you may be preserved in it. This is the word of the Lord God to you all. The call is now to come out of transgression, the spirit bids, come. The call is now from all false worships and gods,

from all inventions and dead works, to serve the living God. The call is to repentance, to amendment of life, whereby righteousness may be brought forth, which shall go throughout the earth. Therefore you that be chosen and faithful, who are with the Lamb, go through your work faithfully in the strength and power of the Lord, and be obedient to the power; for that will save you out of the hands of unreasonable men, and preserve you over the world to himself. Hereby you may live in the kingdom that stands in power, which has no end; where glory and life is.

George Fox

After the assize the sheriff and some soldiers came to conduct a woman to execution who was sentenced to die; and we had a great deal of discussion with them. One of them wickedly said, 'Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth.' For which wicked saying we rebuked him. Another time we asked the jailer, what cases were being heard at the sessions? The jailer said "small matters, only about thirty for bastardy." We thought it very strange that they, who professed themselves christians, should treat this so lightly. But this jailer was very evil himself. I often admonished him to sobriety; but he would abuse people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent to him by his wife from Bristol; and the jailer took the cheese from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said; and though they found no treason in the cheese, they kept it from us. This jailer might have been rich, if he had carried himself civilly; but he sought his own ruin, which soon after he experienced; for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness was cast into the jail himself; and there he begged from our friends. And for some unruliness in his carriage he was put into Doomsdale, by the succeeding jailer locked in irons, beaten, and bid to them to 'Remember how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty prison;' and told, 'that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness, and the same measure he had meted to others, he should have meted out to himself.' He became very poor and died in prison. His wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison at Lancelton, a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in Doomsdale in my stead, if he would take him, and set me at liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said, to his great men and council, 'Which of you would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?' And though he did not accept of the Friend's offer, but said, 'he could not do it, for it was contrary to law;' yet the truth thereby came mightily over him. A good while after this he sent down major-general Desborough pretending to set us at liberty. When we met with him, he offered us liberty if we would say, 'we would go home and preach no more;' but we could not promise him that. Then he urged that we should promise 'to go home if the Lord permitted:' whereupon Edward Pyot wrote him this following letter:

To major-general Desborough

Friend, Though much might be said as to the liberty of Englishmen to travel in any part of England, it being as the Englishman's house by the law, and he to be protected in any part of it; and if he transgress the law, the penalty upon the transgressor is to be inflicted. And as to the liberty of conscience, which is a natural right, and a fundamental, and the exercise of it by those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, it is to be protected, as by the instrument of government appears, though they differ in doctrine, worship, and discipline; provided the liberty extend not to Popery, or prelacy, nor to licentiousness. Where these rights are denied us, our liberties are infringed, which are the price of much blood and treasure in the late wars. Yet we are in the power of God over all by which all are to be ruled; and in it we dwell, and by it alone are we guided to do the will of God; whose will is free, and we walk by the power in the freedom of his will, either as it commands or permits us without any condition or enforcement regarding it by men; for we must follow as the power moves us, either by command or permission. And although we cannot promise or make a condition to go anywhere in the area, or to do this or that thing, if the Lord permit, (for that would be doing the will of man by God's permission), yet it is likely that we will pass through these parts of the country in the liberty of the will of God, as we may be severally moved and guided by the pure power, and not because of our necessity. When we were apprehended, we were committed to God as we were traveling in direction of our homes; and, as far as I know, we might leave, if the prison doors were commanded to be opened, and we were freed of our bonds. If we were stay, after the Lord had command us to go; or if we would go after the Lord had commanded us to stay; or having no command to stay, but being permitted to leave here, the pure power moving us to do so, but instead we stay; or if we go, when as before we commanded to stay; indeed, we would then be vagabonds; for vagabonds are those who depart from

the will and power of God and travel anywhere in their own wills and earthly minds. And so, in the fear of the Lord God, weigh and consider well, with the just weight and just balance, that you may provide justice to the just and innocent in prison.

EDWARD PYOT

Some time having passed after the foregoing was delivered to him, and he not having given any order for our discharge, I also wrote to him as follows:

To major-general Desborough

Friend,

We who are in the power of God, the ruler of all, the upholder of all things, and know and dwell in his power, to it we must be obedient; which brings us to stand out of all men's wills without limitation. To say, "We will if the Lord permit," may be done in a case of buying and selling to get gain, if the intent is to do so; but we are standing in the power of God to do his will and are out of man's will. If man propose, "We shall be freed if we will say something, and we will go to our homes, if the Lord permit, or if it be the will of God;" and because we cannot say these words in this case, we shall not have our liberty, because we know that the will of God is different in that we are required to "go to speak at some other place:" here we cannot say these words truly. For to say, "we will go to our homes, if it be according to the will of God," when we know the will of God is otherwise; is impossible for us to do, truly and clearly. Neither can any man say such to him, that requires it of him; who stands in the power and knows the power of God to lead him, according to God's will, and it leads him to another place than his outward home. But the son of God, who came to do and did the will of God, had no place to lay his head; and the apostles, and many of the followers of Christ, had no certain dwelling place. Now if apostles should have been restrained, because they could not say they were going home, if it were the will of God and they knew it was the will of God they should not go home, and they could do the will of God in doing so, and therefore could not speak those words to satisfy man's mind and will, would not such restraint have been evil! Abraham could not do the will of God unless he left his native country; and who are of faith are of Abraham, of whom Christ came according to the flesh. Now, if you allege, "This is to let all loose and at liberty to idleness," I say, no: such as are in the power of God, who do the will of God, come to receive his wisdom, by which all his creatures were created, and by which they are used to his glory. This I shall say, whoever are moved by the Lord God of glory and power to go to their outward habitations, such of us may go to our outward homes; and there be diligent in serving the Lord, that they may be a blessing from God in their generation; diligently serving him in life and doctrine, in manners, in conversation, in all things. And who are moved of the Lord to go to any other place, we standing in his will, and being moved by his power, which comprehends all things, and is not to be limited, we shall do his will which we are commanded to do. So the Lord God open your understandings, that you may see this great power of the Lord, which he is now manifesting among his children in this his day; that you may not withstand it in our friends, who are come into the power of God, and to God, and know him by whom the world was made, by whom all things were created that were created, and there was not any thing made but what was made for him, and to him, and by him; who is the power of God, and does enlighten every man that comes into the world. Now our Friends being come to this light which comes from Christ, and having received power from him by whom all things were created, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, who is the wisdom of God; we have received wisdom and power from him, by which the Lord does give us to know how to use and order the creatures to the glory of him, the creator of all things. So our Friends here are taught of the Lord to be diligent, serving him; and who come into the life, the scriptures were given forth from, are given up to serve the Lord. Of this I have in all your consciences a witness. So, if you open the prison door, we shall not stay there. If you send a liberate, and set us free, we shall not stay in prison; for Israel is to go out free, whose freedom is purchased by the power of God and the blood of Jesus. But who goes out of the power of God loses his freedom.

George Fox And the rest who are sufferers for the truth in Lancaster jail

The 13th of the 6th month, 1656.

After this major Desborough came to the castle-green, and played at bowls with the justices and others. Several Friends were moved to go, and admonish him and them against 'spending time so vainly;' desiring them to consider, 'that though they professed themselves to be christians, yet they

gave themselves up to their pleasures, and meanwhile they kept the servants of God in prison.' Friends also told them, 'the Lord would plead with them, and visit them for such things.' But notwithstanding what was written or said to him, he went away and left us in prison. Yet we understood afterwards that he delegated any decision to colonel Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For some time after Bennet offered to set us at liberty, if we would pay his jailer's fees. But we told him, 'we could not give the jailer fees, for we were innocent sufferers; and how could they expect fees from us when we had wrongfully suffered so long?' After a while colonel Bennet came to town and sent for us to come to an inn, and he again insisted on fees, which we refused. At last the power of the Lord came so over him, that the thirteenth of the Seventh-month, 1656, we were set at liberty. We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called the lent assize, in the spring of the year.

While I was a prisoner here, I observed how much the people, (especially those who were called the gentry), were addicted to pleasures and vain recreations; and I was moved, before I left the place, to issue several papers as a warning to them, and to all that so misspent their time. One of which was thus:

This to go abroad among those, who are given to pleasures and wantonness.

THE sins of Sodom and Gomorrah were pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness. Their filthy conversation vexed the righteous soul of just Lot day by day, and they would not take warning; on whom God therefore sent fire and turned them into ashes. And in spiritual Sodom and Egypt was our Lord Jesus Christ crucified; and it is written, "The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play; with whom God was not well pleased, and there fell three and twenty thousand in one day." These the apostle commanded the saints they should not follow; for these things happened to them for examples, and are written for our admonition. And God spared not the old world; but reserving Noah, a preacher of righteousness, brought the flood upon the world of the ungodly, making them an example to all that after should live ungodly. Mark, you ungodly ones, who are as natural brute beasts, who speak great swelling words of vanity, alluring through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day time, sporting yourselves with your own deceivings; you shall receive the reward of unrighteousness. You are as dogs and swine, turned to the vomit, and wallowing in the mire, speaking evil of things that you know not; and unless you repent, you shall utterly perish in your own corruptions. You have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton. You have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. You have condemned and killed the just, and he does not resist you. Go to, weep and howl for the misery that is coming upon you. She that lives in pleasures, is dead while she lives, God condemned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, making them an example to all those that after should live ungodly, in the wicked, filthy conversation: mark, here is your example. Hear this you that are given to pleasures, and read your examples.

George Fox

Another, upon my taking notice of the bowlers that came to sport in the castle-green, was as follows:

THE word of the Lord to all you vain and idle minded people, who are lovers of sports, pleasures, foolish exercises, and recreations, as you call them; consider of your ways, and what it is you are doing. Was this the end of your creation? Did God make all things for you, and you to serve your lusts and pleasures? Did not the Lord make all things for you, and you for himself, to fear and worship him in spirit and in truth, in righteousness and true holiness? But where is your service of God, so long as your hearts run after lusts and pleasures? You cannot serve God and the foolish pleasures of the world, as bowling, drinking, hunting, hawking, and the like. If these have your hearts, God will not have your lips. Consider, for it is true. Therefore, from the Lord must you all witness woe and misery, tribulation and wrath, who continue in the love and practice of your vain sports, lusts, and pleasures. Now is the day, when all every where are exhorted to repentance. Oh foolish people, wicked and slow of heart to believe the threats of the great Jehovah against the wicked! What will you do in the day of the Lord's fierce wrath that makes haste to come upon the world of ungodly men! What good have your foolish sports and delights done you, now they are past? Or what good will they do you, when the Lord calls for your souls? Therefore, all now awake from sleep, and see where you are; and let the light of Jesus Christ, that shines in everyone of your consciences, search you thoroughly, and it will let you clearly see, for all your profession of God, Christ, and the scriptures, you are ignorant of them, and enemies to them all, and your own souls also; and being found living in pleasures, you are dead while you live. Therefore does the Lord by many messengers forewarn you, and calls you to repentance and

deep humiliation; that you may forsake the evil of your doings, own this day of your visitation, and while you have time prize it; for fear that the things which belong to your peace be hid from your eyes for your disobedience and rebellion against the Holy One. And then it had been good that you never had been born: repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Again I say, repent!

Given forth in Lancelton Jail, in Cornwall
To the bowlers in the green.

Being released, we got horses and rode towards Humphry Lower's where met him on the road. He told us, 'he was very troubled in his mind about us, and could not rest at home; but instead was on his way to colonel Bennet to seek our liberty.' When we told him, 'we had been given liberty and were going to his house,' he was exceedingly glad. We went to his house, and had a fine, precious meeting; many were convinced and turned by the spirit of the Lord to the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

From his house we went to Loveday Hambley's, where also we had a fine large meeting. The Lord's power was over all; many were also convinced there and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher.



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After we had stayed there two or three days, we came to Thomas Mounce's, where we had a general meeting for the whole county; which, being very large, was held in his orchard. Friends from Plymouth were there, and from many other places. The Lord's power was over all, and there was a great convincement in many parts of the county. Their watches were down, and all was unobstructed and open; for the Lord had let me see, before I was at liberty, that he would make all the country unobstructed before us. Thomas and Ann Curtis, with a convinced alderman of Reading, had come to Lancelston to see us while I was prisoner, and when Ann and the other man returned, Thomas Curtis stayed behind in Cornwall, and had good service for the Lord at that time.

From Thomas Mounce's we passed to Lancelston again, and visited the little remnant of Friends that had been raised up there while we were in prison; and the Lord's plants grew finely, and were established on Christ, their rock and foundation. As we were going out of town again, the constable of Lancelston came running to us with the cheese that had been taken from Edward Pyot ; which they had kept from us all this while, and were tormented with it. But being now at liberty, we would not receive it.

From Lancelston we came to Okington, and spent the night at an inn, which the mayor of the town kept. He had stopped and taken up several Friends, but was very civil to us; and was convinced in his judgment.

From there we came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and among them was James Naylor. He was in prison because shortly before we were set at liberty, James ran out into imaginations with a company of other Friends, and they created a huge cloud of darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. From there he was coming to Lancelston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others that were coming to see me, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there; whose blood lies on the heads of his persecutors.

The night that we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Naylor; for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Naylor and some of them could not stay at the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good Friend. The next day I spoke to James Naylor again; and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out of the true spirit; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, 'since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness.' So the Lord moved me to slight him, and to 'set the power of God over him.' So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen up among Friends to war against. **I admonished him and his company.** Coming to London while resisting the power of God in me and the truth that was declared to him by me, he became one of his (and all of Quakers) greatest burdens. But he came to see his error in going out, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.

From *Valiant for the Truth*: When James Naylor was released from Exeter, as he journeyed to Bristol, the frenzy of his admirers (mostly women who had been imprisoned with him, and who greatly feigned over him) reached its height. They formed a procession to attend him, and even strewed their scarves and handkerchiefs in his horseback ridden path, shouting hosannas before him, thus imitating Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. (Some reports were the women appeared bare-beasted casting down their scarves; others discounted those reports as exaggerations of the opposition. One report is of a letter found on Naylor from the husband of one of the women, addressing Naylor and "son of the Most High," which was the core of the blasphemy charges, but which was also disputed as fabricated.) These outrageous proceedings excited much attention, and the actors of this strange drama were arrested. In this day they would have been considered suitable inmates for an insane asylum, but Quakerism was so obnoxious that any pretext for oppression was gladly seized. Parliament took up the matter, and, urged by the Presbyterian and Independent preachers, who wished to destroy the whole sect, condemned him to cruel and ignominious torture. He was to be set in^d the pillory for hours, whipped by the hangman through the streets of London and

Bristol, his tongue was to be bored with a hot iron, and his forehead branded with the letter B. (Quakers throughout England were attacked in meetings and in public as dangerous heretics; Naylor's actions generated a plague of persecutions from individuals and governments on the Quakers.)

After this he was to be imprisoned at Bridewell. He bore his punishment with great patience, and in his solitary imprisonment the scales fell from his eyes. "My heart is broken," he writes to his friends, "for the offense I have occasioned God's truth and people. I beseech you forgive me." He made a full recantation of his conduct, and after his release from prison, in a large meeting at Bristol, spoke so feelingly of his sin, and of God's mercy in restoring him, that there were few dry eyes among his audience. His friends lovingly received the penitent, and the Lord again enabled him to preach the gospel, but his constitution was so weakened by his sufferings that he died in 1660 at the age of forty-three. In the hour of death he said: "There is a spirit I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong. Its ground and spring are the mercy and forgiveness of God, its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love."

Although as a body Friends had disowned James Naylor's conduct, the same Parliament that pronounced this cruel sentence upon him, enacted a bill against vagrants, so worded that it could be used against Friends. By this, every idle person or vagrant who had not a good and sufficient business for travelling such as the justices might approve, could be punished as a rogue. (And many Quakers were severely punished.)

James Naylor was a monument of human frailty. His gift in the ministry was eminent; his experience in divine things truly great. He fell through dropping his watchful guard against deceitful spirits, but was restored through deep sufferings and unfeigned repentance. His own writings are the most clear and lively description of the various dispensations he underwent; some of them deserve to be transmitted to the latest posterity. (Despite Naylor's actions resulting in massive persecutions of Quakers, thus Fox has recorded his Christian forgiveness of Naylor and even recommends his writings *to posterity*; yet in 2006 is still heard the **false** charge from supposed knowledgeable students of the time: "Fox never forgave James Naylor for his error!")

Visiting friends we passed from Exeter through Cullumpton and Taunton and had meetings among them. From there we came to Puddimoor, to William Beaton's; where on a First-day we had a very large meeting. For a great conviction had occurred throughout the whole country; we had many meetings, and the Lord's power was over everyone; many were turned by the power and spirit of God to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them and came to sit under his free teaching.

From there we went to John Dandy's, where we had another precious meeting. The Lord's power was over everyone and many were convinced of God's eternal truth. Some contention was raised in few places by professors and Baptists, but the Lord's power came over them. From there we came to Edward Pyot's, near Bristol. It was the Seventh-day at night that we arrived. It was quickly gossiped all over the town that I had come, for I had never been there before.

On First-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead in Bristol, which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be held in the orchard that afternoon. There was a rude Baptist at Bristol named Paul Gwin, who had previously made great disturbances in our meetings. It was reported that Paul Gwin was encouraged by the mayor, who would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. He would gather such multitudes of rude people with him that you would think there had been ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going into the orchard, the people told me that Paul Gwin, the rude jangling Baptist, was going to the meeting. I told them, 'don't worry, it was nothing to me who went to the meeting.' When I came into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that Friends used to stand on when they spoke; and I was moved of the Lord to take off my hat, and to stand a long while and let the people look at me; for several thousand people were there. While I stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at last said, 'You wise men of Bristol, I am shocked that you would stand here and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good.' Then the Lord opened my mouth, (for as of yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people, 'whether they ever heard me speak, or ever saw me before?' And told them, 'take notice what kind of man this was that should so impudently say among them, that I spoke and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he or they had ever heard me or seen me before. Therefore that it was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spoke in him; and it was of the devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent; and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company. A glorious, peaceable meeting we had; the word of life was divided among them; and they were turned from darkness to light, and to Jesus their savior. The scriptures were largely opened to them; and the traditions, rudiments, ways, and doctrines of men were laid open before the people; and they were turned to the light of Christ, that with it they might see them, and see him to lead them out of them. I opened also to them the types, figures, and shadows of Christ in the time of the law; and showed them, that Christ was come, and had ended the types, shadows, tithes, and oaths, and put down swearing, and had set up yes and no instead of it, and a free ministry; for he was now come to teach people himself, and his heavenly day was springing from

on high.' For many hours did I declare the word of life among them in the eternal power of God; that by him they might come up into the beginning and be reconciled to him. And having turned them to the spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over them all. When I had done, Gwin began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to tell him to repent and fear God. Since his own people and followers were ashamed of him, he passed away and never came again to disturb the meeting. The meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shined over all. It was a blessed day, and the Lord had the praise. After awhile this Paul Gwin went beyond sea; and many years after, I met with him again at Barbados; of which I will relate in its chronological place.

From Bristol we returned to Edward Pyot's, where we had a great meeting. The Lord's power was over all, truth was declared and spread abroad, and many were turned to Christ Jesus, their life, their prophet to teach them, their shepherd to feed them, and their bishop to oversee them. After the meeting I had reasoning with some professors, and the Lord's truth and power came over them.

From Edward Pyot's we passed to Slattenford, where we had a very large meeting, (Edward Pyot and another Friend being still with me), and there was a great turning of people to the Lord Jesus their teacher. People were glad that they were brought to know their way, their free teacher, and their savior Christ Jesus.

The First-day following we went to Nathaniel Crips's house, who had been a justice of peace in Wiltshire; where it was estimated to be between two and three thousand people at the meeting and all was quiet. The mighty power of God was shown, and people were turned to the grace and truth in their hearts, which grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, who would teach them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present world. So that every man and woman might know the grace of God, which had appeared to all men; which was saving, and sufficient to bring their salvation. This teacher, the grace of God, would teach them how to live, what to do, and what to deny; it would season their words, and establish their hearts. This was a free teacher to every one of them; so that they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Christ, by whom it came; who has ended the prophets, and the priests that took tithes, and the Jewish temple. And as for these hireling priests that take tithes now, and their temples, (which priests were made at schools and colleges of man's setting up, and not by Christ), they, with all their inventions, were to be denied. After Christ had put an end to Levitical priesthood and temple, the apostles denied it. So the scriptures and the truths within it, were largely opened, and the people turned to the spirit of God in their hearts; that by it they might be led into all truth, understand the scriptures, know God and Christ, and come to have unity with them, and one with another in the same spirit.' The people went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their teacher and savior.

The next day we went to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting. The sessions being held that day, they were granting a warrant to send for me; but one of the session's justice named Stooks stopped them, telling them there had a meeting at his house yesterday where several thousands had attended. So the warrant was stopped, and our meeting was quiet; and several received Christ Jesus their teacher, and came into the new covenant and lived in it.

From here we went to Newbury, where we had a large blessed meeting; several were convinced. There we passed to Reading, where we had a large, precious meeting in the Lord's power among the plants of God. Many of other professions came in, were reached, and added to the meeting. All was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all. We went from Reading to Kingston upon Thames, where a few came to us that were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ: but since it is become a large meeting.

Leaving Kingston we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park, we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them, we saw the protector coming in his coach. So I rode to his coach side. Some of his life-guards would have driven me away; but he forbid them. So I rode by his coach side with him, 'declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation; showing him how contrary this persecution was to Christ and his apostles, and to Christianity.' When we were come to James's Park Gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day, one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came to me at my lodging, and told me, her master came to her, and said, **he would tell her some good news.** **When she asked him, what it was? He told her, George Fox was come to town.** She replied,

that was good news indeed, (for she had received truth), but she said she could hardly believe him; until he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall; and when we came before him, there was one called Dr. Owen, vice chancellor of Oxford, with him. We were moved to speak to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the sufferings of Friends, and laid them before him: and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that comes into the world. He said, it was a natural light; but we showed him the contrary; and manifested that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ the spiritual and heavenly man; and that which was called the life in Christ the Word, was called the light in us. The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him 'to lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus.' Several times I spoke to him to the same effect. I was standing by the table, and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, saying, He would be as high as I was; and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him, so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, 'I never parted so from them before:' for he was judged in himself.

After he had left us, as we were going out, many of his great persons came about us; one of them began to speak against the light, and against the truth; and I was told to slight him, for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Upon which one of them told me he was the major general of Northamptonshire. 'What!' said I, 'our old persecutor who has persecuted and sent so many of our Friends to prison, and is a shame to christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with you,' said I. So I was moved to speak sharply to him of his unchristian carriages; and he slunk away: for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

After I had visited the meetings of Friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot was with me; and in several places in that county many received the truth. Great meetings we had, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested. I passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire into Lincolnshire. After several meetings in Lincolnshire, I had at last a meeting, where two knights, one called Sir Richard Wrey, the other Sir John Wrey, with their wives, were at the meeting. One of their wives was convinced, received the truth, and died in it. When the meeting was done, we passed away; and it being in the evening, and dark, a company of wild serving men surrounded us, whom I saw intended to do me some mischief. But I spoke aloud to them, and asked, 'What, are you, robbers?' About this time some Friends and friendly people behind came up to us, and knew some of them. So I reprov'd them for their uncivil and rude carriage, exhorted them to fear God, and the Lord's power came over them, and stopped their mischievous design; blessed be his name for ever.

Then I turned into Huntingdonshire. The mayor of Huntingdon came to visit me, and was very loving, and his wife received the truth.

There I passed into Cambridgeshire, and into the Fen country; where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth spread. Robert Craven, (who had been sheriff of Lincoln), Amor Stoddart, and Alexander Parker were with me. We went to Crowland, a very rude place; for the town's people were got together at the inn we went to, and were half drunk, both priest and people. 'I reprov'd them for their drunkenness, and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all the wicked; exhorting them to leave their drunkenness, and turn to the Lord in time.' While I was thus speaking to them, and showing the priest the fruits of his ministry, the priest and the clerk broke out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire shovel at us; so that had not the Lord's power preserved us, we might have been murdered among them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then; and have stood in it ever since.

From there we passed to Boston, where most of the chief of the town came to our inn, and the people seemed to be much satisfied. But there was a raging man in the yard; and Robert Craven was moved to speak to him, and told him he shamed christianity; which, with some few other words, so stopped the man, that he went away quiet. Some were convinced there also.

Thus we had large meetings up and down; for I traveled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting Friends; and then going into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, among Friends. I had a meeting at Edge-hill. There

came to it Ranters, Baptists, and several sorts of rude people; for I had sent word about three weeks before, to have a meeting there; so that hundreds of people were gathered, and many Friends came from far to it. The Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all; rude and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, by his power and spirit, and came to sit under his blessed free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal, heavenly food. All was peaceable; the people passed quietly away, and some of them said, it was a mighty, powerful meeting; for the presence of the Lord was felt, and his power and spirit among them.

From here I passed to Warwick, and to Bagley; having precious meetings. From there into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, and we had great meetings as we traveled around the area. Then I went to colonel Grimes's, where was a very large meeting; and from there to Nathaniel Crips's, where another justice came to the meeting, who was also convinced. At Cirencester also we had a meeting, which since is much increased; so we came to Evesham again, where I met John Camm.

Thus having traveled over most part of the nation, I returned to London, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Lancelton jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over most parts of the nation, (the truth being now spread, and finely planted in most places), that I might answer, and remove out of the minds of people some objections, which envious priests and professors had raised and spread concerning us. For, what Christ said of false prophets and antichrists coming in the last days, that they applied to us; and said, we were they.

Therefore was I moved to open this through the nation, and to show, 'that they, who said we were the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, that should come in the last days, were indeed themselves.' For when Christ told his disciples in *Matthew 7:15-20* and *Mat 24* that false prophets and antichrists should come in the last times, and, if it were possible, should deceive the very elect, he said, "By their fruits you shall know them; for they should be inwardly ravening wolves, having the sheep's clothing." "And," said he, "do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" as much as to say, their nature and spirit should be like a thorn, or like a thistle; and he bid his disciples not go after them. **But before the disciples were deceased, the antichrists, false prophets, and deceivers were come.** For John in his first epistle said, "Little children, it is the last time; and as you have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time." So here, as Christ said to his disciples, they should come; the disciples saw they were come: as may be seen at large in Peter, Jude, John, and other places of scripture; "whereby," says *1 John 2:18*, "we know it is the last time;" and this last time was above sixteen hundred years ago. John said, "They went out from us;" the false prophets, antichrists, seducers, and deceivers, went out from the church; "But you," said he to the church, "have an anointing which abides in you; and you need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teaches you of all things; and as it has taught you, you shall abide in him." Christ said to his disciples, "Go not after them, for they are inwardly ravening wolves;" and John exhorts the saints to the anointing within them; and the rest of the apostles exhort the churches to the grace, the light, the truth, the spirit, the word of faith, and to Christ in their hearts, the hope of glory. Christ told the saints, that the spirit of truth, the holy ghost, should be their leader into all truth; and Jude exhorts the church to "pray in the holy ghost," and "to be built up in their most holy faith which Christ was the author of." Christ, by his servant John, "exhorted the seven churches to hear what the spirit said to the churches;" and this was an inward spiritual hearing. Christ said the inwardly ravening wolves should have the sheep's clothing. Paul speaks of some in his time that had a form of godliness, but denied the power. John said, "They went out from us." Jude said, "They go in Cain's way, and in Balaam's and in Korah's way." By all which it may be clearly seen, that the false prophets and antichrists, which Christ foretold should come, the apostles saw were come; and in their day it was the last time. These went from them into the world, and the world went after them! These were the foremen, the leaders of the world that brought them into a form of godliness, but inwardly ravened from the power and spirit! These have the sheep's clothing, the words of Christ, of the prophets, and of the apostles; but are inwardly ravened from the power and spirit that they were in who gave forth the scriptures. These have made up the beast, and the whore! These have gotten the dragon's power, the murdering, destroying, persecuting power! And these are they that the world wonders after! These have drunk the blood of the martyrs, prophets, and saints, and persecuted the true church into the wilderness! These have set up the false, compelling worships, and have drunk the blood of the saints, that will not drink of their cup! These have made the cage for the unclean birds that have their several unclean notes in their cage; which cage is made up by the power of darkness, and unclean ghost: and the birds of the cage deny the Holy Ghost, and the power of God, which the apostles

were in, to be now manifested in the saints! Thus since Christ said, the false prophets and antichrists should come, and the apostle said, they were come, the beast's and the dragon's worship has been set up; the whore is got up with her false prophets, her cage has been made, all nations have drunk of her cup of fornication, the blood of the martyrs and saints they have drunk, and the true church has fled into the wilderness. All this has occurred since the apostles' days. Yet the blind deceivers of all sorts, the antichrists and false prophets of our age, would make us and people believe that the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers have just come now; though John and other of the apostles tell us, they began to come above sixteen hundred years ago. And you may see what work and confusion they have made in the world; how much blood these Cains have drunk, that went in Cain's way; which blood cries to God for vengeance upon Christendom! And how these Balaams, who have erred from the power and spirit which the apostles were in, have coveted after other men's estates, as the many jails, courts, and spoilings of goods will bear witness. And how these Korahs have denied the life, power, and spirit which the apostles and true church were in, and the free teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and the work of their ministry, which was "to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

Therefore, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus was I sent to preach again the everlasting gospel, which had been preached before unto Abraham, and in the apostles' days; and was to go over all nations, and to be preached to every creature. For as the apostasy has gone over all nations since the apostles' days, so that the nations are become as waters, unstable, being gone from Christ, the foundation; so must the gospel, the power of God, go over all nations again. We find the false prophets, antichrists, deceivers, whore, false church, beast, and his worship in the dragon's power, have gotten up in the times between the apostles and us. For Christ said, "they should come:" and the apostles saw, "they were come," and coming in their days; and that they went forth from them, and the world went after them. And now the Lord has raised us up beyond them, and set us over them in the everlasting gospel, the power of God: that as all have been darkened by the beast, whore, false prophets, and antichrists, so the everlasting gospel may be preached again by us to all nations, and to every creature, which will bring life and immortality to light in them, that they may see over the devil and his false prophets, antichrists, seducers, and deceivers, and over the whore and beast, and to that which was before they were. This message of the glorious, everlasting gospel was I sent forth to declare and publish, and you by it are turned to God, having received it; and are come into subjection to it, and into the holy order of it. And since I have declared this message in this part of the world and in America, and have written books of the same, to spread it universally abroad, the blind prophets, preachers, and deceivers have given over telling us, the false prophets should "come in the last times;" for a great light is sprung up and shines over their heads: so that every child in truth sees the folly of their sayings.

Then they got other objections against us, and invented shifts to save themselves from truth's stroke. For when we blamed them for taking tithes, which came from the tribe of Levi, and were set up here by the Romish church, they would plead, "that Christ told the scribes and Pharisees, they ought to pay tithes of mint, anise, and cumin, though they neglected the weightier matters;" and that Christ said, "the scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat, therefore all that they bid you do, that do and observe." And when we told them they were envious persecuting priests, they would reply, "that some preached Christ of envy, and some of contention, and some of good will." Now these scriptures and others like them, they would use to confuse their listeners, and to persuade them and us, that we ought to do as they say, though they themselves were like the Pharisees; and that we should rejoice when envious men and men of strife preached Christ; and that we should give them the tithes as the Jews did to the tribe of Levi. These sounded good on the surface, but were a great heap of husks with no core! Now this was their blindness; for the Levitical priesthood Christ has ended, and disannulled the commandment that gave them tithes, and the law by which those priests were made. Christ did not come from the Levitical order, neither did he send forth his ministers after that order; for those of that order were to take tithes for their maintenance, but Christ sent out his ministers freely. And as for hearing the Pharisees and the Jews paying tithes of mint, anise, and cumin, that was before Christ was sacrificed and completed the law; the Jews were then to observe the law, and perform their offerings and sacrifices as Jewish priests had taught. But after Christ was offered up, Christ bid his disciples to "Go into all nations and preach the gospel; and Lo," said he, "I will be with you to the end of the world;" and in another place he said, "I will be in you."

So he did not bid them go to hear the Pharisees then, and pay tithes of mint, anise, and cumin then; but "go; preach the gospel, and believe in the Lord Jesus and be saved, and receive the gospel," which would bring people off from the Jews, the tithes, the Levitical law, and the offerings of that, to Christ, the one offering, made once for all. Oh, what work had the apostle both with the Galatians and the

Romans to bring them off the law to the faith in Christ!

And as for the apostle's saying, "Some preached Christ of envy and strife". That was at the first spreading of Christ's name abroad, when they were in danger not only of being cast out of the synagogues, but to be stoned to death – anyone that confessed to the name of Jesus; as may be seen by the uproars that were among the Jews and Diana's worshipper's at the preaching of Christ. So the apostle might well rejoice if the envious, and men of strife and contention did preach Christ at that time; though they thought thereby to add affliction to his bonds. But afterward, when Christ's name was spread abroad, and many had got a form of godliness, but denied the power of that, "Envious, proud, contentious men, men of strife, covetous men, teachers for filthy lucre," the apostle commanded the saints to turn from, and not to have any fellowship with them. And the deacons and ministers were first to 'be proved, to see if they were in the power of godliness, and the holy ghost made them overseers and preachers. So it may be seen how the priests have abused these scriptures for their own ends, and have wrested them to their own destruction, to justify envious, contentious men, and men of strife. Whereas the apostle says, "The man of God must be patient and apt to teach; and they were to follow Christ, as they had them for their examples." The apostle indeed was very tender to people, while he saw them walk in simplicity, as in the case of those that were scrupulous about meats and days; but when the apostle saw, that some drew them into the observation of days, and to settle in such things, he then reproves them sharply, and asks them, "Who had bewitched them?" So in the case of marrying he was flexible, so their minds should not be drawn from the Lord's joining; but when they came to forbid marriage, and to set up rules for meats and drinks, he called it "a doctrine of devils," and an "erring from the true faith." So also he was tender concerning circumcision, and in tenderness suffered some to be circumcised; but when he saw they went to make a sect of it, and to set up circumcision as a standing practice, he told them plainly, "If they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing." In like manner he was tender concerning the baptizing with water; but when he saw they began to make sects about it, some crying up Paul, others Apollo, he judged them, and called them carnal, and thanks God he had baptized no more but such and such; declaring plainly, that he was sent to preach the gospel, and not to baptize; and brought them to the one baptism by the one spirit, into the one body which Christ, the spiritual man, is the head of; and exhorted the church, "all to drink into that one spirit." For he asserted in the church the one faith, which Christ was the author of; and one baptism, which was that of the spirit into the one body; and one Lord Jesus Christ, who was the spiritual baptizer, who John said should come after him. And further the apostle declared that they, who worshipped and served God in the spirit, were of the circumcision of the spirit, which was "not made with hands;" by which the "body of the sins of the flesh was put off:" which circumcision Christ is the minister of.

Another great objection they had, "That the Quakers denied the sacrament," as they called it, "of bread and wine, which" they said, "they were to take, and do in remembrance of Christ to the end of the world." A great deal of work we had with the priests and professors about this, and about the several modes of receiving it in Christendom, so called: for some of them take it kneeling, some sitting; but none of them all, that ever I could find, take it as, the disciples took it. For they took it in a chamber after supper; but these generally take it before dinner; and some say, after the priest has blessed it, it is "Christ's body." But as to the matter, Christ said, "Do this in remembrance of me." He did not tell them how often they should do it, or how long; neither did he tell them to do it always as long as they lived, or that all believers in him should do it to the world's end. The apostle Paul, who was not converted until after Christ's death, tells the Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter, and relates Christ's words concerning the cup thus; "This do you, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me" and himself adds, "For as often as you do eat this bread and drink this cup, you do show forth the Lord's death until he come." So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor he did enjoin people to do this always, but leaves it to their liberty, "as often as you drink it," etc. The Jews did use to take a cup, and to break bread and divide it among them in their feasts; as may be seen in the Jewish Antiquities; so that the breaking of bread and drinking of wine were Jewish rites, which were not to last always. They did also baptize with water, which made it not seem a strange thing to them, when John the Baptist came with his decreasing ministration of water baptism. But as to the bread and wine, after the disciples had taken it, some of them questioned whether Jesus was the Christ? For some of them said, after he was crucified, "We trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel,".. And though the Corinthians had the bread and wine, and were baptized in water, the apostle told them they were "reprobates, if Christ was not in them;" and bid them "examine themselves." And as the apostle said, "As often as you do eat this bread, and drink this cup, you do show forth the Lord's death until he comes;" so Christ had said before that he was the "bread of life," which "came down from heaven;" and that "he would come, and dwell in them;"

which the apostles did witness fulfilled; and exhorted others to seek for that which "comes down from above:" but the outward bread and wine, and water, are not from above, but from below. Now you that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, and have your fellowships in that, will you come no nearer to Christ's death than to take bread and wine in remembrance of it? After you have eaten in remembrance of his death, you must come into his death, and die with him, as the apostles did, if you will live with him. This is a nearer and further advanced state, to be with him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take bread and wine in remembrance of it. You must have fellowship with Christ in his sufferings; if you will reign with him, you must suffer with him; if you will live with him, you must die with him; and if you die with him, you must be buried with him, and being buried with him in the true baptism, you also rise with him. Then having suffered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if you are risen with Christ "seek those things which are above where Christ, sits on the right hand of God." Eat the bread which comes down from above, which is not outward bread; and drink the cup of salvation which he gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine. And then there will not be a looking at the things that are seen (as outward bread and wine and water are), for the apostle says, "The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal." So here are many states and conditions to be gone through before people come to see that, and partake of that which "comes down from above." For, first, there was "a taking of the outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death." This was temporary, and not of necessity; but at their liberty, "As often as you do it...". Secondly, there must be "a coming into his death, a suffering with Christ;" and this is of necessity to salvation; and not temporary, but continual: there must be a "dying daily." Thirdly, a "buried with Christ" Fourthly, "a rising with Christ" Fifthly, after they are risen with Christ, then "a seeking those things which are above, a seeking the bread that comes down from heaven" and a "feeding on that and having fellowship in that." For outward bread, wine, and water are from below, and are visible and temporal; but, said the apostle, "We look not at things that are seen, for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal." So the fellowship that stands in the use of bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and things seen will have an end: but the fellowship which stands in the gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light, by which people may see over the devil that has darkened them, this fellowship is eternal, and will stand. And all that are in it seek that which is heavenly and eternal, which comes down from above, and are settled in the eternal mystery of the fellowship of the gospel, which is hid from all eyes that look only at visible things. The apostle told the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread, and wine, that he "desired to know nothing among them, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

Thus were the objections which the priests and professors had raised against Friends answered, and the stumbling blocks they had laid in the way of the weak removed. And as things were thus opened, people came to see over them and through them, and to have their minds settled upon the Lord Jesus Christ, that their free teacher: which was the service for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my imprisonment in Lancaster jail. In this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for truth's testimony; some for tithes, some for going to the steeple-houses, some for contempts, as they called them, some for not swearing, and others for not putting off their hats, etc.

After I had visited most parts of the nation, and was come to London again, finding that evil spirit at work which had drawn James Naylor and his followers out from truth, to run Friends into heats about him, I wrote a short epistle to Friends, as follows:

To all the elect seed of God called Quakers, where the death is brought into death, and the elder is servant to the younger, and the elect is known, which cannot be deceived, but obtains victory. This is the word of the Lord God to you all: Go not forth to the aggravating part, to strive with it out of the power of God, for fear that you hurt yourselves, and run into the same nature, out of the life. For patience must get the victory, and to answer that of God in everyone; patience must bring everyone to it in order to bring them from the contrary. So let your moderation, temperance, and patience be known unto all men in the seed of God. For a message without life that reaches to the aggravating part in others, only arouses the aggravating part and breeds confusion; it has a life in outward strife, but does not reach to the witness of God in everyone, through which they might come into peace and covenant with God, and fellowship one with another. Therefore, that which reaches this witness of God in yourselves and in others, is the life and light; which will out last all, is over all, and will overcome all. Therefore live in the seed of life which bruises the seed of death.

I wrote another short epistle to Friends, to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power; which here follows:

Dear Friends,

Keep your meetings in the power of the Lord; which power is over all that which lives in the fall and must have an end. Therefore be wise in the wisdom of God, which is from above, by which all things were made and created; that wisdom may be justified among you, and you all kept in the solid life, which was before death was; and in the light which was before darkness was with all its works. In which light and life you all may feel and have heavenly unity and peace, possessing the gospel fellowship that is everlasting; which was before that which does not last for ever, and will remain when that is gone. For the gospel being the power of God, is pure and everlasting. Know it to be your portion; in which is stability, life, and immortality, shining over that which darkens the mortal. So be faithful everyone to God in your measures of his power and life, that you may answer God's love and mercy to you, as obedient children of the Most High; dwelling in love, unity, peace, and innocence of heart towards one another; that God may be glorified in you, and you kept faithful witnesses for him, and valiant for the truth on earth. God Almighty preserve you all to his glory, that you may feel his blessing among you, and that you may be possessors of it.

George Fox

About this time many mouths being opened in our meetings to declare the goodness of the Lord, some that were young and tender in the truth would sometimes utter a few words in thanksgiving and praises to God; that no disorder might arise from there in our meetings, I was moved to write an epistle to Friends by way of advice in that matter:

ALL my dear friends in the noble seed of God, who have known his power, life, and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any; through which you have all unity in the same, feeling, life, and power. And above all things take heed of judging anyone openly in your meetings, except they be openly profane or rebellious, such as are out of the truth; that by the power, life, and wisdom you may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such, whom you bear your testimony against, are none of you: so that therein the truth may stand clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that; that is, the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for peace and order's sake, and that the spirits of the world not be moved against you. But when the meeting is done, then if any be moved to speak to them, between you and them, one or two of you that feel it in the life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle from above, for love is that which edifies, bears all things, suffers long, and fulfils the law. So in this you have order and edification, you have wisdom to preserve you all wise and in patience; which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world to get up; but in the royal seed, the heavy stone, you keep down all that is wrong, and by it answer that of God in all, and keep down the bad. For you will hear, see, and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is wholly in it, (when you do not hear words), to bind, to chain; to limit, to frustrate, that nothing shall rise nor come forth but what is in the power; for with that you will hold back, with that you will let up and open every spring, plant, and spark; in which will be your joy and refreshment in the power of God. You that know the power of God and are come to it, which is the cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state of Adam and Eve in the fall, and so to the world, by this power of God you come to see the state that Adam and Eve were in before they fell: which power of God is the cross, in which stands the everlasting glory, which brings up into righteousness, holiness, and image of God, and crucifies to unrighteousness, unholiness, and image of satan, that Adam and Eve and their sons and daughters are in under the fall. Through this power of God you come to see the state they were in before they fell; yes, and I say, to a higher state, to the seed Christ, the second Adam, by whom all things were made. For man has been driven from God. All Adam and Eve's sons and daughters, being in the state of the fall in the earth, are driven from God. But it is said, "The church is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." so who come to the church, which is in God the Father of Christ, they must come to God again, and so out of the fallen state of Adam and his children in the fall,

out of the image of God, out of righteousness and holiness; and they must come into the righteousness, into the true holiness, the image of God, and so out of the earth where man has been driven, when they come to the church which is in God. The way to this is Christ, the light, the life, the truth, the savior, the redeemer, the sanctification, and the justifier, in and through whose power, light, and life, conversion, regeneration, and translation is known from death to life, from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God again. These are members of the true church, who know the work of regeneration in the operation and feeling of it; and being come to be members of the church of God, they are indeed members one of another in the power of God, which was before the power of darkness was. So they that come to the church that is in God and Christ, must come out of the state that Adam was in after the fall, driven from God, to know the state that he was in before he fell. But they that live in the state that Adam was in after the fall, and cannot believe it possible to come into the state he was in before he fell. Therefore they don't come to the church which is in God; but they are far from that, are not passed from death to life, but instead are enemies to the cross of Christ, which is the power of God. For they mind earthly things, and serve not Christ; nor love the power which should bring them up to the state that Adam was in before he fell, and crucify them to the state that man is in after the fall; that through this power they might see to the beginning, the power that man was in before the heavenly image, holiness and righteousness, was lost: by which power they might come up to know the seed, Christ, which brings out of the old things, and makes all things new; in which life eternal is felt. For all the poorness, emptiness, and barrenness is in the state of man in the fall, out of God's power; by which power he is made rich again, and in which power he has strength again: which power is the cross, in which the mystery of the fellowship stands; and in which is the true glorying, which crucifies to all other gloryings. And Friends, though you may have been convinced, and have tasted of the power, and felt the light, yet afterwards you may feel a winter storm, tempest, and hail, frost, and cold, and temptation in the wilderness. Be patient and still in the power and in the light that does convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet so that you may come to the summer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if you sit still in the patience, which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no fleeing. The husbandman, after he has sown his seed, is patient. And you, *being kept in the patience by the power*, will come by the light to see through and feel over winter storms, and tempests, and all the coldness, barrenness, and emptiness; and the same light and power will go over the tempter's head; which power and light was before he was. So in the light standing still, you will see your salvation, you will see the Lord's strength, you will feel the small rain, you will feel the fresh springs, your minds being kept low in the power and light; for that which is out of the power lifts up. But in the power and light you will feel God, revealing his secrets, inspiring your minds, and his gifts coming in unto you; through which your hearts will be filled with God's love, and praises to him that lives for evermore: for in his light and power his blessing is received. So the eternal power of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and keep you! And live every one in the power of God that you may all come to be heirs of it; and know that to be your portion; even the kingdom that has no end, and the endless life which the seed is heir of. So feel that set over all, which has the promise, and blessing of God for ever.

George Fox

About this time I received some lines from a high-flown professor, concerning the way of Christ; to which I returned the following answer:

Friend,

It is not circumstances we contend about; but the way of Christ and his light, which are but one; though the world has imagined many ways, and all out of the light, by which the light are condemned. He who preached this light, said, "He that knows God, hears us; he that is not of God, hears us not: hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error." It is the same now with them that know the truth; though the whole world lies in wickedness. All dispensations and differences that are not one in the light we deny; and by the light that was before separation, do we see them to be self-separations in the sensual, having not the spirit. Their fruits and end are weighed in the even balance, and found to be in the dark, the Lo here, and Lo there you tell of; and the presence of Christ is not with them, though the blind see it not; who see not with the pure eye, which is single; but with the many eyes, which lead into the many ways. Nor are any the people of God, but who are baptized into this principle of light; which all the faithful servants of the Lord were ever guided by in all ages, since the apostasy and before. For the apostasy was and is from the light; and all that oppose the light are apostates. Who contest against the truth, are enemies to it, and are not actuated by the spirit: but have another way than the light. All such are in the world, its words, fashions, and customs, though of several forms, as to their worship; yet all under the god of this world, opposing the light and appearance of Christ, which

should lead out from under his power, of whatever form they are: yet they are all joined against the light. All these are of the world; and fighting against them who are not of the world; but are gathered and gathering out of the world; so it ever was against the people of God, under whatever name. They are only saints by calling, who are called into the light; and sons of Zion, which vary not from the light, to which the spirit is promised, which is not tied to any forms out of the light; wherein all inherit, who are co-heirs with Christ; which many talk of, who inherit the earthly, instead of the heavenly. And whereas you speak of Christ and his apostles clothing themselves with the sayings and words of the prophets; and of their being your example in so doing; I say, wolves will take the sheep's clothing; but the light and life finds them out, and judges, (not by their stolen words, but) by their works. Nor did Christ cover himself with any words, but what were fulfilled in him: neither do any of Christ's boast in other men's lines made ready without them; to which rule if you be obedient, fewer words and more life will be seen among you. Then you will not count it strangeness to silence the flesh, and hear what he said, who speaks peace, "that his people turn no more to folly." If you once know, that what is stolen must be restored fourfold, the mouth of the false prophet will be stopped, which builds up in deceit, but not in righteousness. And where you say, "The spirit of truth affords nothing but endless varieties;" I say, the spirit of truth you know not: for the spirit of truth said, "There is but one thing needful;" and to speak the same thing again is safe for the hearers; but that spirit which affords nothing but endless varieties, is not the spirit of truth, but is gone out into curious notions; and the number of his names and colors is read nowhere but in the unity or the spirit of truth. All others call truth deceit, and deceit truth, as the blind that opposed the light ever did, who are ever learning endless varieties, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, nor to an end of their labors: but when they are out of one form get into another, so long as they can find a green tree without. Thus you are kept at work all your life, and to the grave in sorrow, as the dumb priests, you tell of, have been before you; only you have got a finer image, but less life. And you, whose teaching has no end, are in the horse mill you speak of. I have read the epistles to Timothy, and to the Hebrews; and there I find, the duty of all believers is to see to the law of the new covenant written in the heart, whereby all may know God, from the least to the greatest. I know the holy scriptures are profitable for the man of God; but what is that to the man of sin, to the first-born, who is out of the light, and being unstable and unlearned, wrest them to their own destruction; but to the life cannot come. And for your two ordinances you speak of, I say, upon the same account you deny the priests of the world therein, we deny you; being both of you not only out of the life, but out of the form too. That command, Matt. 28v19. You never had, nor its power; which was, "to baptize into the name of the Father, son, and holy ghost." And what Paul received of the Lord, that body and that bread, you know as little but what you have read; nor do you, who don't believe in his light, know anything of the coming of Christ. And whereas you speak of preaching Christ of envy, and plead for it; I say, such preachers we have enough of in these days. What else are you doing, who say, Paul was sent to baptize; though Paul says, he was not: so you would prove him a liar, if any would believe you before him. You also say, "For all you know, he might have baptized thousands." You might as easily have said millions, and as soon have proved it. You may say the same of circumcision also, and on the same ground. As for the signs that followed those that believed, which you say are ceased; I say those who cannot receive the light, cannot see the signs. If they could see them, they would not believe them and probably slander them; just like those who opposed the light in former ages could not believe them. Besides, you can say something has ceased if your knowledge of something is based solely on hearing or reading about it. But where in measure Christ is received in the light, I deny that the power, and signs, and presence of God is not the same as ever it was; and declare it to be false, and from a spirit that knows not God, nor his power. And as for the gospel foundation you speak of, I say, it is to be laid again in all the world. You never were on the true foundation, since the man of sin set up his false foundations (forms) without power. Until you can own the light of Christ that the saints preached, and own their life and practice, for shame; stop talking about their foundation, or glorious work, or quakings and tremblings. These are the saints' experiences, which the world does not know or own; nor can you read of anyone without these experiences ever declaring how they knew God, or received his word. In your exhortation you command me, "Love Christ, where ever I see him." But have you told me where one might come to see him, or how one might know him, you have shown more of a christian in that statement than in all the rest you have spoken. But it seems, you are not all of one mind. Some of you say, "He is gone, and will be no more seen until doomsday." But if ever you come to see Christ to your comfort, while you oppose his light, then God has not spoken by me. This you shall remember, when your time you have spent.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

About this time the priests and professors were greatly opposed to the light of Christ Jesus. They denied it to be universally given to all men and denied the pouring out of the spirit on all mankind, by which the sons and daughters prophesied. They tried very hard to darken the minds of people so that they could still keep them dependent on their teaching. For this reason I was moved of the Lord to issue the following lines for the opening of the minds and understandings of people and to manifest the blindness and darkness of their teachers:

To all you believers, priests, and teachers, who are in darkness, and do not know the spirit in prison, or the light that shines in darkness, which the darkness does not comprehend; but are the infidels, whom the god of the world has blinded, and to whom the gospel is hid. For though you have the four books of the New Testament referred to as the "gospels", the true gospel is hidden to you; who are now wondering at the work of God, and do not believe that Christ has enlightened everyone that comes into the world. To you I offer some scriptures to read, which will prove your spirits, and try them, how contrary they are to the apostles' spirit, the spirit of Christ, and of the saints. "Christ went, and preached to the spirits in prison." 1 Pet. 3:19. He that reads, let him understand whether this was a measure of the spirit, yes or no, or the spirit without measure, which he ministered to? "For he whom God has sent, speaks the words of God; for God gives not the spirit by measure unto him." John 3:34. Here Christ had not the spirit given unto him by measure. The apostle said, "We will not boast of things without (or beyond) our measure." 2 Cor10:13. So here was measure, and not by measure. Christ, who received not the spirit by measure, told his disciples he would "send them the comforter, the spirit of truth, that he should guide them into all truth; for he should not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you." John 16:13-14. Mind, read, and learn; the comforter shall receive of mine, said Christ, and shall show it unto you; who has the measure, receives of his who has not by measure. The comforter, when he comes, is to reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, John 16:8. Now mind the great work of God; the spirit of truth, which leads the saints into all truth, which receives of Christ's, and shows it unto the disciples, who are in the measure, he shall reprove the world of sin, because they do not believe... The comforter, whom Christ will send, takes of his, and shows it to the disciples; the same reproves the world. Mind now, whether this is a measure, yes or no, which comes from him who received not His spirit by measure? He that leads the believer into all truth, reproves the unbeliever in the world, of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. He that is led into all truth sees that which is reprov'd, by the spirit of truth that leads him. Christ said, " He shall take of mine, and show it unto you." Is this a measure, yes or no, from him whom God gave the spirit without measure unto?

Again the Lord said, both by his prophet, Joel 2:28 and his apostle in Acts 2:17-18. "It shall come to pass in the last days, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesy." Look, you deceivers; here the Lord said, he will pour of his spirit; mark the word of the Lord's spirit upon all flesh. What! Young men, old men, sons and daughters, and maids, all these to have the spirit of God poured upon them? Here, say they, these deny the means then. No, that is the means. And the great and notable day of the Lord is coming, where it shall come to pass, that who ever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. The God of the spirits of all flesh is known; and, said the apostle, who would not boast of things beyond his measure, "That which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God has showed it unto them." Rom.1:19. By this which was of God manifest in them, they knew covetousness, malice, murder, deceit, and ungodliness; knew that the judgments of God were upon such things; and that they were worthy of death; not only those that committed such acts, but

who had pleasure in them that did them. Therefore, said the apostle, "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," ... Now this of God manifests in them, which God showed unto them, by which they know unrighteousness, and God's judgments thereupon, and that they which commit such things are worthy of death; whether this be a measure, yes or no, which is of God, and which he has showed to them? What was that in them, that "did by nature the things contained in the law, which showed the work of the law written in their hearts." Rom 2:14,15. Mark, "written;" shall not this judge them that have the outward law, but are out of the life of it? The apostle said, "The manifestation of the spirit is given to every man with which to profit" 1 Cor 12:7. There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; the manifestation of it is given to "everyman" with which to profit. Mark, "To one is given by the spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another faith by the same spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues; but all these work that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man individually as he will." Mark that, "to every man variously as he will."

Again, the apostle said, "The grace of God, that brings salvation, has appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Titus 2:11,12. Now you that turn from this grace; which brings salvation, into lust, you deny it, and say, that which teaches the saints, who by grace are saved, has not appeared to all men. Jude said, "Behold, the Lord comes with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him," Jude 1:14-19. Here mark again; him that comes with ten thousands of his saints, to convince all of their ungodly deeds and hard speeches; here it is, ALL of their ungodly deeds; and ALL of their hard speeches; none left out, but ALL to be convinced and judged, the world reprov'd, by him who comes with ten thousands of his saints, and will reign, and be king and judge. And have not you all something in you, that does reprove you for your hard speeches, and your ungodly deeds, the ungodliest of you all, who live in your hard speeches against him, and against his light and spiritual appearance in his people.

Again, the apostle, writing to the Gentiles, said, "But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ." Eph 4:7. Now mark, here is the measure of the gift of Christ, "who lights every man that comes into the world," John 1:9. "that all men through him might believe. He that believes on him is not condemned; but he that believes not is condemned,... And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world," John 3:18-19. Now every man that comes into the world being enlightened, one loves it, and brings his deeds to the light, that with the light he may see whether they be are prompted by God; the other hates the light, "because his deeds are evil;" he will not bring his deeds to the light, because he knows the light will reprove him. So he that hates the light, with which Christ has enlightened him, because he knows the light will reprove him for his evil deeds; and therefore he will not come to the light.

Again, the Lord by his prophet said concerning Christ, "I will give him for a light to the Gentiles that he may be my salvation to the ends of the earth." Isa 49:6. And what are the children disobedient to – that is those disobedient children who walk according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the "spirit that now works in the children of disobedience, what are the disobedient to?" Eph 2:2. Mark and read yourselves, who, being disobedient, walk according to the course of this world, according to the power of the prince of the air; mark, I say, what it is that all such are disobedient to? He that has an ear, let him hear. The apostle Paul said to the Colossians, "The wrath of God comes upon the children of disobedience." Col 3:6. Come, you believers, let us see, is not this something of God that is disobeyed? Is it not that which is of God manifest in them, which God has showed them, which lets them see God's judgments are upon such, when they act unrighteously? Is not this the measure of God, the spirit that is in prison, and the spirit of God that is grieved?

And you professors, come, let us read the parable of the talents, and reckon with you, and see who it is that has hid the Lord's money in the earth? Come, you that have gained, enter you into your master's joy. Go, you that have hidden the Lord's money in the earth, into utter darkness; "take it from him, and give it to him that has;" every man shall have his reward; for the Lord has given to "every man according to his ability." Mat 25:15. Mark that, "To every man according to his ability." Read this, if

you can. Now is the Lord coming to call every man individually to account, to whom he has given individually, according to their ability. Now the wicked and slothful servant, who hid the Lord's money in the earth, will be found out; and the Lord's money will be taken from him, although he has hidden it. To him the Lord's commands have been grievous; but to us they are not, who love God and keep his commandments. "And," said the apostle to the Romans, "I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God has dealt to every man the measure of faith." Rom 12:3. Read and mark, here is a measure of faith.

"And," said another apostle, "as every man has received the gift, even so minister the same to one another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." 1 Pet 4:10. "For the grace of God has appeared to all men." Now the good stewards can give their account with joy; but you bad stewards, who turn from the grace of God into lust, you will be counted with the rest; you shall have your reward. "But," says the world, "must everyone minister as he has received the gift?" Yes, say I, "but let him speak as the oracles of God; and let him do it as of the ability which God gives," verse 11. John in the Revelations said, "They were judged every man according to their works." Rev 20:13. Christ said, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account of that in the day of judgment." Mat 12:36. "You that name the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." 2 Tim 2:19. "The son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works." Mat 16:27. He who is gone into a far country, and has given talents to everyone of you, according to your several abilities, "will render to every man according to his deeds." Rom.2:6. "And further I say unto you, if any man has not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life, because of righteousness." Rom 8:9-10. So let the light, which comes from Christ, examine; for the Lord is appearing. You that have received according to your ability, smite not your fellow servant. And think not that the Lord delays the time of his coming. Be not as they that said, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die."

The apostle tells the Ephesians, that unto him "this grace was given to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world has been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ." Eph.3:9. Read and understand everyone with the light which comes from Christ, the mystery; which will be your condemnation, if you don't believe in it. This is to all who stumble at the work of the spirit of God, the manifestation of the light, "which is given to every man to profit with the rest." Come, you professors, who stumble at it; let us read the parables. "A sower went forth to sow; and some seed fell on the highway ground, and some on stony ground, and some on thorny ground; the seed is the word, the son of man is the seeds man. He that has an ear, let him hear." Mat 13:3-43. Now look, all you professors, what ground are you? And what you have brought forth? And whether the wicked seeds man has not got his seed into your ground? "He that has an ear, let him hear it." And come, read another parable of the householder hiring laborers to go into the vineyard, and agreeing with every man for a penny. Mat 20:1-20. Every man is to have his penny; the last that went in, as well as the first; "and the last shall be the first, and the first shall be last; for many are called, but few are chosen." He that has an ear, let him hear." There is a promise spoken to Cain. "That if he did well, he should be accepted." Gen 4:7. And Esau had a birthright, but despised it. Yet it is not "of him that wills," Rom 9:16, "but by grace you are saved." Eph 2:8. And stand still, and see your salvation. Ex 14:13. And you that are children of light, put on the armor of light, that you may come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the son of God; unto a "perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ; so that you will no longer be children, tossed to and fro." Eph 4:13.

"The Lord said, he would make a new covenant, by "writing his law in people's hearts, and putting his spirit in their inward parts," whereby they should all come to know the Lord, by whom the world was made. Now everyone of you be sure the law is written in your hearts, and this spirit put in your inward parts, that it need not be said to you, "know the Lord:" but that you may witness the promise of God fulfilled in you. But, say the world and professors, "if everyone must come to witness the law of God written in their hearts, and the spirit put in the inward parts, "what must we do with all our teachers?" As we come to witness that, we need not any man to teach us to know the Lord, having his law written in our hearts, and his spirit put in our inward parts. This is the covenant of life, the everlasting covenant, which decays not, nor changes not; and here is the way to the Father, without which no man comes unto the Father. Here is the everlasting priesthood, the end of the old priesthood, whose lips were to preserve knowledge; but now, said Christ, "learn of me;" who is the high priest of the new priesthood. And, said the apostle, -- "that you may grow up in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in whom

is hidden the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." So we are brought off from the old priesthood that did change, to Christ, to the new priesthood that does not change; off from the first covenant that does decay, to the everlasting covenant that does not decay, Christ Jesus, the covenant of light, from whom everyone of you have a light, that you might believe in the covenant of light. If you do not believe, you are condemned; for light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. "I am come as a light into the world," said Christ, "that whoever believes in me should not abide in darkness, but have the light of life." John 12:46. "Believe in the light that you may be children of the light." You who do not believe in the light, but hate it because it manifests your deeds to be evil, you are condemned by the light. Therefore, while you have time, prize it. Seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; to avoid saying, "time is past;" for the rich glutton's time was past. Therefore, while time is not quite past, consider, search yourselves, and see if you be not they that hate the light, and so are builders that stumble at the corner stone; for they that hated the light, and did not believe in the light, did so in ages past. "I am the light of the world," said Christ, "who," the apostle said, "enlightens every man that comes into the world." Christ also said, "Learn of me;" and of him God said, "This is my beloved son, listen to him." Here is your teacher. But you that hate the light do not learn of Christ and will not have him to be your king to reign over you; him, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, who bears his government upon his shoulders, who is now come to reign, who lights every man that comes into the world, and who will give to every man a reward according to his works, whether they be good or evil. So every man, with the light that comes from Christ, will see his deeds, both he that hates it, and he that loves it. And he that will not bring his deeds to the light, because the light will reprove him, that is his condemnation; and he shall have a reward according to his deeds. For the Lord has come to judge with you, and he looks for fruits; and now the axe is laid to your root; and every tree of you, that bears not good fruit, must be hewn down and cast into the fire.'

George Fox

Having stayed some time in London, and visited the meetings of Friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what service the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town and traveled into Kent, Sussex, and Surry, visiting Friends; among whom I had great meetings, and often met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors; but the Lord's power went over them.

We spent one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting. The people were exceedingly rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. After the meeting we went to our inn, and gave notice, 'that any who feared God might come to our inn to us.' Many rude people came along with the magistrates of the town with some professors. I declared the truth to them, and those people who behaved rudely were put out of the room by the magistrates. When they were gone, another rude company of professors came up, and some of the worst of the town. They called for firewood and drink, although we told them not to do it; they were as rude a people as I had ever met. The Lord's power chained them so that they did not have the power to do us any mischief; but when they went away, they left all the firewood and beer, which they had called for into the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We showed the innkeeper how unworthy it was to charge us; but he told us, 'we must pay it;' and pay it we did. Before we left the town, I wrote to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priests, showing them and him how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers that sought their good.

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town, where they had previously been very abusive to Friends. I had a meeting there in the evening, which was quiet; for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat and to pray to the Lord to open their understandings. Based on this event they raised a report, 'That I put off my hat to them, and wished them good night,' which was never in my heart. After the meeting, we went to our inn, and I sent for the innkeeper as I usually did; and he came into the room with us and showed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober and to fear the Lord; but he called for firewood and a pint of wine, and drank it up himself; then called for another and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. At which point I told him to go out of the chamber and that he should not drink in our room; for we had sent for him to speak to him concerning his eternal good. He was exceedingly mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeness and would not leave, I told him, 'The chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it;' and called for the key. Then he went away in a rage. In the morning he even made an appearance, but I told his wife of his unchristian carriage towards us.

After this we went to Bridport, having meetings in the way. We went to an inn, and sent into the town a request to meet with those who feared God; A shopkeeper with a professor, who put off his hat to us, arrived. When he saw we did not remove our hats to him, and we used thee and thou to him, he told us, 'he was not of our religion;' and after some discourse he went away. After awhile he sent a message to us at the inn requesting us 'to come to his house so some people could speak with us.' Thomas Curtis went to his house. When Thomas arrived, he found the man with the priest and magistrates there, and they greatly boasted that they had caught George Fox, mistaking Thomas for me. When they recognized their mistake, they got very angry; yet the Lord's power came over them, so that they let him go again. Meanwhile I had an opportunity of speaking to some sober people that came to the inn. When Thomas had returned, and we were passing out of the town, some of the sober people came to us and said, 'The officers were coming to arrest me;' but the Lord's power was over them, so they had no power to touch me. There were some convinced in the town who were turned to the Lord, and have stood faithful in their testimony to the truth ever since, and a fine meeting is settled there.

Passing from there we visited Portsmouth and Pool, where we had glorious meetings; and many were turned to the Lord. At Ringwood we had a large general meeting, where the Lord's power was over all. At Weymouth we had a meeting; and from there we traveled through Dorchester to Lime, where the inn we went to was occupied by medicine peddlers; so that there was hardly any room for us or our horses. In the evening we drew up some queries concerning the ground of all diseases, and the natures and virtues of natural health remedies, and sent them to these medicinal quacks; letting them know, 'If they would not answer them, we would stick them on the cross in the market the next day.' This brought them down and made them cool, for they could not answer them; but in the morning they reasoned a little with us. We left the questions with some friendly people that were convinced in the town to stick upon the market cross. The Lord's power reached some of the sober people in that place, who were turned by the light and spirit of Christ to his free teaching.

We then traveled to Exeter; and at the Seven Stars, an inn at the foot of the bridge, we had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire; to which came Humphry Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's end, Henry Pollexfen, with Friends from Plymouth, Elizabeth Trelawny, and many other Friends. We had a blessed heavenly meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all; in the meeting I saw and said, 'that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation as with a wall and bulwark, and his seed reached from sea to sea.' Friends were established in the everlasting seed of life, Christ Jesus, their life, rock, teacher, and shepherd.

The next morning, Major Blackmore sent soldiers to apprehend me; but I was gone before they came. As I was riding up the street, I saw the officers going proceeding to my office. So the wolf missed the lamb, and the Lord crossed their design, and Friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some Friends after I was gone, 'what were they doing there?' but when they told them, 'they were in their inn, and had business in the city;' they left without further bothering them.

From Exeter I took meetings as I went, until I came to Bristol; and was at the meeting there. After it was done I did not stay in the town, but passed into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone. There going to Cardiff, a justice of peace sent to me, desiring, 'I would come with half a dozen of my Friends to his house.' So I took a Friend or two and went to him, and he and his wife received us very civilly. The next day we had a meeting in Cardiff in the town hall; to which that justice sent about seventeen of his family. Some disturbers came there, but the Lord's power was over them; and many were turned to the Lord. There were some who had run out with James Naylor that did not come to meetings, to whom I sent word, 'that the day of their visitation was over;' and they never prospered after.

We traveled from Cardiff to Swansea, where we had a blessed meeting; and a meeting was settled there in the name of Jesus. In our way there we crossed the river in a boat with the high sheriff of the county. The next day I went to speak with him, but he refused.

We went to another meeting in the country; where the Lord's presence was much with us. From there we went to a great man's house, who received us very lovingly; but the next morning he would not be seen; after our meeting someone had come to see him and had so estranged him that we could not speak with him again because he was so changed.

We passed through the countries, having meetings and gathering people in the name of Christ, to him

their heavenly teacher, until we came to Brecknock; where we boarded our horses at an inn. Thomas Holmes and John-ap-John traveled there with me, and John-ap-John was moved by the Lord to speak in the streets. I walked out a little ways into the fields, and when I returned, the town was in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn, it was full of people, and they were speaking in Welsh. I desired them to speak in English, which they did; and we had a long discussion. After awhile they went away. But towards night the magistrates assembled in the streets with a multitude of people; and the magistrates told them to shout, which roused up the whole town; so for about two continuous hours the shouting was such a noise that it was beyond what we had ever heard; and when they had tired of shouting, the magistrates told them to keep on shouting. We thought it looked like the uproar referenced in Acts that occurred among Diana's craftsmen. This tumult continued until it was nighttime, and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they would have likely torn the house and us to pieces.

At night the woman of the house wanted us go to have our supper in another room; but discerning her plot, we refused. Then she tried to get us to let a half a dozen men come into the room with us, under pretence of discoursing with us. We told her, 'no person was to come into our room that night; neither were we going to meet with them.' Then she said we should 'dine in another room,' but we told her that unless we ate in our room, we would have no supper. At length, when she saw she gave up trying to get us to leave our room, she finally served us supper in our room. So she and they failed in their plan; for they intended to harm us, but the Lord prevented them. The next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchristian carriage, showing the fruits of their priests and magistrates; and as I passed out of town, I spoke to the people and told them that they were a shame to christianity and religion.

From this place we went to a great meeting in a steeple-house yard; where was a priest, and Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, and another justice. A blessed glorious meeting we had. There being many professors, I was moved of the Lord to open the scriptures to them, and to answer the objections which they stuck at in their profession, (for I knew them very well), and to turn them to Christ, who had enlightened them with which light they might see the sins and trespasses they had been dead in, and their savior who came to redeem them out of them, who was to be their way to God, the truth, and the life to them, and their priest made higher than the heavens; so that they might come to sit under his teaching.' We had a peaceable meeting and many were convinced and settled in the truth that day. After the meeting, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other justice's, who said to me, 'You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds.' For the people had the scriptures, but they were not turned to the spirit, which would let them see that what had spoken them, the spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

From here we passed to Richard Hanborow's at Pontemoil where we had a large meeting. Another justice, and several influential people came to the meeting; their understandings were opened by the Lord's spirit and power and the light of Jesus Christ; and they were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ from where it came. There was a great convincement; a large meeting is gathered in those parts, and settled in the name of Jesus.

After this returning to England, we came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting; and visited Friends all around the country in their meetings, until we came to William Gandy's, in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of between two and three thousand people, as estimated; and the everlasting word of life was held forth and received that day. A blessed meeting it was; for Friends were settled by the power of God upon Christ Jesus, the rock and foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended there, it rained so hard that Friends said they thought we should not travel because the waters would be so high. But I believed the rain had not occurred as far as they had come that day to the meeting. The next day in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the ways were dusty, and no rain had fallen in the area.

When Oliver Cromwell in a very great drought set forth a proclamation for a fast for rain throughout the nation for rain, it was observed, that as far as truth had spread in the north, there were pleasant showers and rain enough; yet the south, in many places, was almost ruined for lack of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the protector's proclamation in which I told him, 'If he had come to own (acknowledge) God's truth, he would have had rain; and that drought was to them a sign of

their barrenness and want of the water of life.'

About the same time I wrote the following paper to distinguish between the true and false fasts.

Concerning the true Fast and the False.

To all you that are keeping fasts, who "smite with the fist of wickedness, and fast for strife and debate;" against you has the voice cried aloud, like a trumpet, that you may come to know the true fast which is accepted, and the fast which is in the strife and the debate, and "smiting with the fist of wickedness;" which fast is not required of the Lord. "Behold, in the day of your fast you find pleasure, and exact all your labor; behold, you fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; you shall not fast, as you do this day, to make your voice known on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen," said the Lord, "a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth under him? Will you call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord?"

Consider all you that fast, see if it be not "hanging down the head for a day like a bulrush," and "fasting for strife and debate," and to "smite with the fists of wickedness, to make your voice to be known on high?" But a fast is not accepted with the Lord; unless it leads you from strife, from debate, and from wickedness; which is not the "bowing down of the head as a bulrush for a day," and yet live in tyranny and pleasure; this is not accepted with the Lord; unless the fast separates you from all these before mentioned. That which separates from "wickedness, debate, strife, pleasure, smiting with the fists of wickedness," brings to know the true fast, which "breaks the bonds of iniquity, and deals bread to the hungry; brings the poor that are cast out to his own house; and when he sees any naked he covers them, and hides not himself from his own flesh." Here is the true fast which separates from them, where the bonds of iniquity are standing, the heavy burdens of the oppressed remaining, and the yoke not broken; who deal not bread to the hungry, and bring not the poor to their own house; and see the naked, but let him go unclothed, and hide themselves from their own flesh. Yet such will make their voice to be heard on high, as Christ speaks of the Pharisees, who "sounded a trumpet before them, and disfigured their faces," to appear to men to fast; but the bonds of iniquity were standing, strife and debate were standing, striking with the fists of wickedness standing; those made their voice heard on high, who had their reward.

But that which brings to the true fast, which appears not to men to fast, but unto the Father, "who sees in secret; the Father that sees in secret shall reward this openly." This fast separates from the Pharisees' fast, and them that "bow the head for a day like a bulrush." This is it which brings "to deal bread to the hungry, and to clothe your own flesh when you see them naked, to bring the poor to your house, and to loose the bonds of wickedness;" mark, this is the fast; and "to undo every heavy burden, (mark, again), and to let the oppressed go free;" this is the fast; and "to break every yoke." When you observe this fast, "then shall your light break forth as the morning, and your health shall spring forth speedily, and your righteousness shall go before you; the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard. Then shall you call, and the Lord shall answer; you shall cry, and he shall say, here I am; if you take away from the midst of you the, the scorn for others, and wicked speech; and if work to the feed hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall your light arise in obscurity, and your darkness be as the noon day." The light brings to know this fast; and walking in it, this fast is kept; and he that believes in the light, abides not in darkness. And again, "The Lord shall guide you continually, and satisfy your soul in drought, and make fat your bones; and you shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not." Isa. 58,v11. These are they that are guided with the light, which comes from Christ where the springs are.

And again; "They that shall be of you, (that keep this fast), shall build the old waste places, and you shall raise up the foundation of many generations; and you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." Isa. 58,v12. Now that which gives to see the foundation of many generations, is the light which separates from all that which is out of the light: and they that go out of the light, though they may pretend a fast, and bowing down the head for a time; yet they are far from this fast, that does raise up the foundation of many generations, and is the repairer of the breach, and restorer of the paths to dwell in. That which does give to see this foundation of many generations, and these breaches that are to be repaired and restored, and paths to dwell in, is the light which brings to

know the true fast; and where this fast is known, which is from wickedness, from debate, from strife, from pleasures, from exacting, from the voice that is heard on high, from the speaking of vanity, from the bonds of iniquity, which breaks every yoke, and lets the oppressed go free; here the health grows, here the morning is known, righteousness goes forth; the glory of the Lord is the rear guard, the light rises, the soul is drawn out to the hungry, and satisfies the afflicted soul; and the springs of living water are known and felt. The waters fail not here; the Lord guides continually, and the foundation of many generations comes to be seen and raised up; the repairer of breaches is here witnessed, the restorer of paths to dwell in.

But all such as are out of the light which the prophets were in, with which they saw Christ, and such to be in fasts where was strife, where was wickedness, where was debate, where was "bowing the head like a bulrush for a day," lifting their voice on high, and the bonds of wickedness yet standing, the burdens unloosed, the oppressed not let go free, the yoke not broken, the nakedness not clothed, the bread not dealt to the hungry, and this foundation of many generations not raised up; until these things before mentioned be broken down, on such the light breaks not forth as the morning, and the Lord hears them not. Such have their reward; their iniquities have separated them from their God, their sins have hid his face from them that he will not hear, their hands are defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity; whose lips have spoken lies, and tongues have muttered perverseness. "None calls for justice, nor any plead for truth; they trust in vanity and speak lies, they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eats of their eggs, dies, and that which is crushed breaks out into a viper; their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works." Mark and take notice: "Their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands; their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths; the way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their doings. They have made them a crooked path; whosoever goes therein shall not know peace;" mark, such go from the light, therefore is judgment far off, neither does justice overtake. Here is obscurity, here is the walking in darkness, here is the groping like blind men, as though they had no eyes, and their stumbling at noon day in desolate places, like blind men. Here is the roaring like bears, and mourning sorely like doves; here judgment is looked for, but there is none, and salvation is put far off; for the light is denied, which gives to see it. But here is the multiplying of transgression, and their sins testifying against them, and the transgression that was within them, and their iniquities which they knew in transgressing and lying against the Lord, speaking the things they should not; when they knew by that of God in them, they should not speak it. So departing from the way of God, speaking oppression, revolting, conceiving and uttering forth from the heart words of falsehood; here judgment is turned away backward, and justice stands afar off; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter. Yes, truth fails; and he that departs from evil, makes himself a prey! The Lord saw it, and it displeased him. These are such as are in the fast which God does not accept; and are not in the true fast, whose "light breaks forth as the morning;" but these are such as are in the false fast, who grope like blind men.

That which gives to know the true and false fast, is the light, which gives the eye to see each fast; where the true judgment is, and the iniquity stand not, nor the transgressor, nor the speaker of lies; but that is judged and condemned with the light, which makes it manifest. And those who are in this fast, when they call upon the Lord, the Lord will answer them, "Here am I." Here truth is pleaded for and falsehood flies away. But they who are out of this fast in the perverseness, their tongues uttering perverse things, are stumbling and groping like blind men, out of the light, in the iniquity which separates from God, who hides his face from them that he will not hear; going from the light, they go from the Lord and his face. So this is it which must be fasted from, for this it is which separates from God; and here comes the reward openly, which condemns all that which is contrary to the light; injustice, iniquity, transgression, vanity, and that which brings forth mischief; which hatches the serpent eggs, and weaves the spider's web; he that eats of these eggs, dies. Mark, "that which is crushed breaks out into a viper." Mark again, "their webs shall not become garments; neither shall they cover themselves with their works of vanity; acts of violence are in their hands. "This is all from the light, in the wickedness." Their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of vanity; wasting and destruction is in their path. "This is all far from the light. Again, "the way of peace they know not, there is no judgment in their goings; they have made them crooked paths, whosoever goes therein shall not know peace." Mark; who goes in their way, that know not the way of peace, shall they know peace! "Whose path is crooked, where there is no judgment in their goings;" take notice, "no judgment in their goings;" this is all from the light, which manifests that which is to be judged; where the covenant of peace is known, where all that which is

contrary to it is kept out. All who live in those things contrary to the light, in the false fast, may mark their path, and behold their reward; who are out of the light, stumbling and groping like blind men. They that be in the true fast are separated from all these; their words, their actions, and fruits, and their fast; but to those whose fast breaks the bonds of iniquity, whom the Lord hears, and to whom righteousness springs forth, and goes before them, the glory of the Lord is their rear guard.'

George Fox

We passed into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting or multitudes so large it was like a siege of a massive army. I walked a little aside while the people were gathering; and John-ap-John, a Welshman came up to me, and I asked him to go to the people; and if he had anything upon him from the Lord to say to them, he might speak in Welsh, thereby gathering more together. Then Morgan Watkins came to me, who had become loving to Friends and said, "The people are as numerous as an army, and the gentry of the country have come in." I asked him to also go up there and leave me; for I had a great travail upon me for the salvation of the people. When they were well gathered, I went into the meeting and stood upon a chair for about three hours. I stood a pretty good while without speaking; after some time I felt the power of the Lord go over the whole assembly; and his everlasting life and truth shined over all. The scriptures were opened to them, and the objections they had in their minds answered. They were directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their savior, their redeemer, their mediator, and come to feed upon him, the bread of life from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teaching that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; so that even though the multitude was so great that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition. A priest sat with his wife on horseback, heard attentively, and made no objection. The people parted peaceably, with great satisfaction; many of them saying, they never heard such a sermon before, nor the scriptures so opened. For the new covenant was opened, and the old, and the nature and terms of each, and the parables were explained. The state of the church in the apostles' days was set forth, the apostasy since laid open, and the free teaching of Christ and the apostles was set atop of all the hireling teachers; and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to him that day.

I went from there to Leominster, where there was a great meeting in a close; many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six Congregational preachers and priests among the people; and Thomas Taylor was with me, who had been a priest but had now become a minister of Christ Jesus. I stood up and declared about three hours; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition; the Lord's power and truth so reached and bound them. At length one priest went off about a bow shot from me; he drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After awhile Thomas Taylor was moved to go and speak to him; this caused him to stop, and he the people he had drawn off came to us again. The Lord's power went over them all. At last a Baptist that was convinced said, "Where is priest Tombs? Why does he does not come?" This Tombs was priest of Leominster. Now some people went and told the priest, who came with the bailiffs and other officers of the town. When he arrived, they set him upon a stool over against me. I was speaking of the heavenly, divine light of Christ with which he 'enlightens everyone that comes into the world; to give them the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus their savior.' When priest Tombs heard this, he cried out, 'That is a natural light, and a made light.' Then I desired the people to take out their bibles, and asked the priest, 'Whether he did affirm that the light of Christ was a created, natural, made light, which John, a man sent from God, bore witness to, when he said, "In him, (to wit, in the word), was life, and that life was the light of men." John 1,v4. Do you affirm and mean, I said, that this light here spoken of was a created, natural, made light?' He said, yes. Then I showed by the scriptures, that the natural, created made light is the outward light in the outward firmament, proceeding from the sun, moon, and stars. 'And do you continue to state,' said I, 'that God sent John to bear witness to the light of the sun, moon, and stars?' 'Then,' said he, 'Did I say so?' I replied, 'Did you not say it was a natural, created, made light, that John bore witness unto? If you do not like your words take them back, and change them.' Then he said, 'That light, which I spoke of, was a natural created light.' I told him, 'He had not at all changed his position; for that light which I spoke of, was the very same that John was sent of God to bear witness to; which was the life in the word, by which all the natural lights, as sun, moon, and stars, were made. "In him, (the word), was life, and that life was the light of men." I directed the people to turn to the place in their bibles, and recited to them the words of John. 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.' (So all natural, created lights were made by Christ the word.) In him was life, and the

life was the light of men; and that was the true light which lights every man that comes into the world.' And Christ said of himself; John 8:12., 'I am the light of the world;' and bids them 'believe in the light.' John 12:36. And God said of him by the prophet Isaiah 49:6. 'I will also give you for a light to the Gentiles, that you may be my salvation to the ends of the earth.' So Christ in his light is saving. And the apostle said, 'The light, which shined in their hearts, was to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ;' which was their treasure in their earthen vessels. 2 Cor4:6-7.

When I had thus opened the matter to the people, the priest cried to the magistrates, 'Take this man away, or else I shall not speak any more.' 'But,' I said, 'priest Tombs, don't deceive yourself, you are not in your pulpit now, nor in your old mass-house; but we are in the fields.' So he was fidgeting to leave; and Thomas Taylor stood up, and undertook to prove our principle by Christ's parable concerning the sower. Mat 13. Then the priest said, 'Let that man speak and not the other.' Tombs then proceeded to spew doctrinal nonsense for awhile; until the Lord's power caught him again, stopped and confounded him. Then a Friend stood up and told him that he had sued him for tithe eggs and other Friends for other tithes; for he was an Anabaptist preacher, yet had a parsonage at Leominster, and had several journeymen under him. He said, 'Tombs had a wife, and he had a concubine; his wife was the baptized people, and his concubine was the world.' But the Lord's power came over all, the everlasting truth was declared that day, and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and way to God. That meeting was of great service in those parts. The next day Thomas Taylor went to this priest, reasoned with him, and overcame him by the power of the word.

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From this place I traveled in Wales, having several meetings until I came to Tenby; where as I rode up the street, a justice of peace came out of his house, desired me to come down off my horse and stay at his house; which I did. On First-day the mayor with his wife and several others of high office in the town came in about the tenth hour and stayed the whole time of the meeting. It was a glorious meeting. John-ap-John, who was accompanying me, left the meeting and went to the steeple-house; for which the governor cast him into prison. On Second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's to arrest me. This grieved the mayor and the justice, both or whom were with me in the justice's house when the officer came. The mayor and the justice went to the governor ahead of me; and awhile later I went with the officer. When I came in I said, 'Peace be unto this house.' And before the governor could examine me, I asked him, 'Why he cast my friend into prison?' He said, 'For standing with his hat on in the church.' I said, 'Did the priest not have two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of my friend's hat, and then my friend would only have one; and the brims of the hat were only to defend him from weather.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor. 'Why then,' I said, 'do you cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?' Then he asked me, 'Whether I owned election and reprobation?' 'Yes,' I said, 'and you are in the reprobation.' That put him in a rage, and said, 'He would send me to prison until I proved it.' I told him, 'I would prove that quickly, if he would confess the truth.' I asked him, 'Whether wrath, fury, rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation? For he that was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born of the spirit; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any.' He fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him. I told him, 'Esau was up in him, the first birth; not Jacob, the second birth.' The Lord's power so reached the man and came over him that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came to me and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him; and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and several other Friends of the town, accompanied us to about half a mile out of town to the water side, where we left their company; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to 'kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them.' So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their savior and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and he had the glory. A meeting continues in that town to this day.

We traveled to Pembrokeshire; and in Pembroke town had some service for the Lord. From there we passed to Haverford-west, where we had a great meeting. All was quiet; the Lord's power came over all, many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon him, their rock and foundation; and to this day they have precious meetings. The next day, being their fair-day, we passed through the fair, and 'sounded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth among them.'

After this we came into another county at noon into a great market-town. We went to several inns before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to one where we got some. Then John-ap-John, who was with me, went and spoke through the town, declaring the truth to the people; and when he came returned to me, he said he thought all the people in the town were asleep. After awhile he was moved to go and declare truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and they cast him into prison. In a little while after, several of the principals of the town came with others to the inn where I was and said, 'we have cast your man into prison.' I asked 'For what?' They said, 'He preached in our streets.' I asked them, 'what did he say? Had he reproved some of the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?' I asked them, 'who cast him into prison?' They said, 'the high sheriff, the justices, and the mayor.' I asked their names, 'and whether they understood themselves? And whether that was their manner to travelers who

passed through their town. Was that their manner, to strangers that admonished them, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reprove sin in their gates?' These people left and told the officers what I said; and after awhile, they brought John-ap-John guarded with weapons, preparing to put him out of the town. I was at the inn door and asked the officers to take their hands off of him. They said, 'the mayor and justices had commanded them to put him out of town.' I told them, 'I would talk with their mayor and justices at noon, concerning their unconvincing and unchristian carriage towards him.' I spoke to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready; and charged the officers not to touch him; and after I had declared the truth to them, and showed the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian-like carriage, they went away and left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bid the innkeeper to give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs, but the oats had been stolen from our horses. After we had refreshed ourselves a little and were ready, we mounted our horses and rode up to the inn where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them and asked them the reason, 'why they had imprisoned John-ap-John and kept him in prison for two to three hours?' But they would not answer me a word; they only looked out of the windows at me. I showed them 'how unconvincing their carriage was to strangers and travelers, and manifested the fruits of their teachers; and declared the truth to them, and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all the evil doers;' and the Lord's power so came over them that they looked ashamed; but I could not get a word from them in answer. So after I had warned them to repent and turn to the Lord, we passed away; and at night we came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision, and our two horses only cost us eight pence; but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the truth to the people of the place and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries.

From there we came to a large town and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market and declared the truth among the people; who followed him to the inn, filled the inn yard, and were exceedingly rude. Yet we had a good service for the Lord among them. For the life of christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and so came over them that some were reached and convinced; the Lord's power came over all; and the magistrates were bound. They had no power to interfere with us.

After this we came to another large town on a market-day: where John-ap-John declared the everlasting truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord. In the evening many gathered around the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would pretend to try to get us into the street again; but seeing their design, I told them, 'If there were any that feared God, and desired to hear truth, they might come into our inn; or else we would have a meeting with them next morning.' We had some service for the Lord among them, both that night and in the morning; and though they were resistant to receive the truth, yet the seed was sown; and in that area the Lord has a people gathered to himself. Also, at that inn, as I had my back to the man who was giving oats to my horse, I looked back, and he was filling his pockets with the oats. What a wicked thievish people these were; to rob the poor dumb creature of his food! I had rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town, and traveling on, a wealthy man caught up to us by horse on the way. As he told us afterwards, he intended to have arrested us at the next town for being thieves who stole from travelers on the road. But before we came to the town, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him. What I spoke reached to the witness of God in the man; who was so affected by what I said that he invited us to his house and entertained us very civilly. He and his wife asked us to give them some scriptures, both for proof of our principles, and to use against the priests. We were glad to be of service and furnished him with scriptures enough; and he wrote them down, and was convinced of the truth, both by the spirit of God in his own heart, and by the scriptures, which were a confirmation to him. Afterwards he set us on in our journey; and as we traveled, we came to a hill, which the people of the country say is two or three miles high; from the side of this hill I could see a long distance away. And I was moved to turn my face several ways and to sound the day of the Lord there; and I told John-ap-John, (a faithful Welsh minister), in what places God would raise up a people to Himself, to sit under His own teaching. Those places John took notice of; and since then, there has a large number of people raised in those places. I have been similarly moved to do the same proclamations in many other parts of the country inhabited by rude people. I have been moved to declare that the Lord had a seed in those places; and afterwards there has been a brave people raised up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jesus, where they have salvation and free teaching.

From this hill we came to Dolegelle, and went to an inn. John-ap-John declared through the streets; and the town's people rose and gathered around him. There were two Independent priests in the town;

they came out together both of them started speaking to John. I went to them; and finding them speaking in Welsh, I asked them, 'What was the subject they spoke upon, and why they were not more moderate by speaking one by one? For the things of God,' I told them, 'were weighty, and they should speak of them with fear and reverence.' Then I desired them to speak in English so that I might converse with them; and they did so. They affirmed, 'That the light, which John came to bear witness of, was a created, natural, made light.' I took the bible, and showed them, (as I had done to others before), 'That the natural lights, which were made and created, were the sun, moon, and stars: but this light which John bore witness to, and which he called the true light that lights every man that comes into the world, is the life in Christ the word, by which all things were made and created. The same that is called the life in Christ, is called the light in man. This is a heavenly, divine light, which lets men see their evil words and deeds and shows them all their sins; and (if they would attend to it), would bring them to Christ, from whom it comes, that they might know him to save them from their sin, and to blot it out. This light, I told them, shined in the darkness in their hearts, and the darkness in them could not comprehend it: but in those hearts, where God had commanded it to shine out of darkness, it gave unto such the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus their savior. 2Cor 4:6 I opened the scriptures largely to them, and turned them to the spirit of God in their hearts; which would reveal the mysteries in the scriptures to them, and would lead them into all truth, as they became subject to it. I directed them to that which would give everyone of them the knowledge of Christ, who died for them; that he might be their way to God, and might make peace between God and them.' The people were attentive, and I asked John-ap-John to stand up and speak it in Welsh to them; which he did; and they generally received it, and with hands lifted up, blessed and praised God. The priests' mouths were stopped, so that they were quiet the entire time; for I had brought them to be sober at the first, by telling them, 'when they spoke of the things of God and of Christ, they should speak with fear and reverence.' Thus the meeting broke up in peace in the street. Many of the people accompanied us to our inn and rejoiced in the truth that had been declared to them, and that they had been turned to the light and spirit in themselves, by which they might see their sin, and know salvation from it. When we went out of the town, the people were so affected, that they lifted up their hands, and blessed the Lord for our coming. A precious seed the Lord has there and in the surrounding ares; and a large number of people in those parts have since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit under his free teaching; and they have suffered much for him.

From this place we passed to Caernarvon, a town like a castle. When we had boarded our horses at an inn and refreshed ourselves, John-ap-John went and spoke through the streets; which were so strait and short, that one might stand in the middle of the town, and see both the gates. I followed John-ap-John, and a multitude or people were soon gathered around him; among whom a very dark priest began to babble; but his mouth was soon stopped. When John had cleared himself, I declared the word of life among the people; directing them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see all their own ways, religions, and teachers, and might depart from them all to Christ, the true and living way, and the free teacher. Some of the people were rude, but the most of them were civil; and told us, 'they had heard how we had been persecuted and abused in many places, but they would not do that to us there.' I commended their moderation and sobriety and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; testifying to them that Christ had now come to teach his people himself, by his spirit and power.'

From here we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John-ap-John had formerly been a preacher to a congregation. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went and spoke through the street; and since there was a garrison of soldiers in the town, they arrested him and put him into prison. The innkeeper's wife came and told me, 'that the governor and magistrates were sending for me, to commit me to prison also. I told her, 'they had done more than they could answer for already; and had acted contrary to christianity in imprisoning him for reproving sin in their streets and gates and for declaring the truth.' Soon after this, other other friendly people came and told me, 'if I went into the street, they would imprison me also; therefore they wanted me to stay inside the inn.' At this point I was moved to go and walk up and down in the street, and I told the people, 'what an uncivil, unchristian thing they had done, in casting my friend into prison.' And they being high professors, I asked them, 'if this was their way of entertaining strangers? And if they were willing to be treated like this themselves? And whether they, who looked upon the scriptures to be their rule, had any example in the scriptures, from Christ or his apostles, for what they had done?' So after awhile they set John-ap-John at liberty.

Next day was market-day, and we were to cross a large river; and not far from the place ferry crossing, many of the market people were drawn to us; among whom we had good service for the Lord, 'declaring the word of life and everlasting truth to them, and proclaiming the day of the Lord among them, which

was coming upon all wickedness; and directing them to the light of Christ, with which he, the heavenly man, had enlightened them all; by which they might see all their sins, and all their false ways, religions, worships, and teachers; and by the same light might see Christ Jesus, who had come to save them and lead them to God.' After the truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free teacher had been set over all the teachers for pay; I told John-ap-John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there was a company of wild gentlemen, so called, who got into the boat. We found them to be very rude and far from gentle; they and others kept John's horse out of the boat. I rode to the boat's side and spoke to them, showing them, 'what an unmanly and unchristian action it was; and told them that they showed an unworthy spirit, below christianity or humanity.' As I spoke, I guided my horse to jump into the boat among them, thinking John's horse would follow when he saw mine go in before him; but the water was pretty deep, and John could not get his horse into the boat. Because of that, while still on horseback, I directed my horse to jump out of the boat into the water, where I stayed with John on that side of the river until the boat returned. We stayed there from the eleven in the morning until two in the afternoon waiting for the boat to return to pick us up. We still had forty-two miles to ride that evening; and by that time we had paid for our passage, we had only four pence of money left between us. We rode about sixteen miles and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, in the night we came to a little alehouse, where we hoped to have stayed and waited. But finding we could get neither oats or hay there, we traveled on all night; and at about five in the morning we arrived at a place within six miles of Wrexham. Here that same day we met with many Friends, and we had a glorious meeting; the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all; and a meeting is continued there to this day. We were very weary from traveling so hard around Wales; and in many places we had found it difficult to get meat either for our horses or ourselves.

The next day we passed from there into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and we arrived in Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but they were very rude, wild, and airy; and they had little sense of truth; yet some were convinced in that town. The next morning a woman called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went to her house, but found both her and her preacher were very light and trifling; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me, 'If she could cut my hair?' I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the spirit of God; so after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away. Afterwards in her frivolous mind she boasted that she 'came behind me, and cut off the curls of my hair;' but she spoke falsely.

From Wrexham we came to Westchester; and since it was the fair time, we stayed there awhile and visited Friends. For I had traveled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and there is a brave people there now, who have received the gospel and sit under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales, I wrote to the magistrates of Beaumaris concerning their imprisoning John-ap-John; letting them see their condition, the fruits of their christianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with some of them near London; and Oh, how ashamed they were of their action!

From Westchester we came to Liverpool, where there was a fair going on; and as I rode through the fair, a Friend stood there upon the cross declaring the truth to the people. When he saw me me ride by, knowing that I had appointed a meeting to be the next day upon a hill not far away, he announced to the people, 'That George Fox, the servant of the Lord, would have a meeting the next day upon that hill; and if any feared the Lord, they might come there and hear him declare the word of life to them.' We went that night to Richard Cobban's, who himself was convinced, though not his wife; but on my visit she was convinced also.

The next day we went to the meeting on the top of the hill, which was very large. Some rude people with a priest's wife came, and made a noise for awhile; but the Lord's power came over them, the meeting became quiet, and the truth of God was declared among them. That day many were settled upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, and under his teaching, who made peace between God and them.

We had a small meeting with a few Friends and people at Malpoth. From there we came to another place, where we had a meeting. A bailiff came there with a sword, and he was rude; but the Lord's power came over him, and Friends were established in the truth.

From there we went to Manchester; and since the sessions were being held there that day, many rude people had come from the surrounding country. In the meeting they threw coals, clods, stones, and water

at me; yet the Lord's power held me up over them, so that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones, and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the sessions; who then sent officers to bring me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people, plucked me down, and drug me into their court. When I came in there, the whole court was in a disorder and noisy. At which point I asked, 'where are the magistrates, who have not kept the people civil?' Some of the justices said that they were magistrates. I asked them, 'why then they did not appease the people, and keep them sober?' For one cried, I will swear, and another cried, I will swear. I declared to the justices, 'how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, clods, dirt, and water; and how I had been drug out of the meeting and brought there, contrary to the instrument of government, which said, 'none should be molested in their meetings that professed God, and owned the Lord Jesus Christ, which I did.' The truth so came over them, that when one of the rude followers cried, 'he would swear,' one of the justices checked him, saying, 'What will you swear, hold your tongue.' At last they ordered the constable, 'take me to my lodging, and there I should be secured until tomorrow morning when they would send for me again.' So the constable took me to my lodging. As we went the people were exceedingly rude; but I let them see the 'fruits of their teachers, how they shamed christianity and dishonored the name of Jesus which they professed.' At night we went to a justice's in the town, who was pretty moderate, and I had a great deal of discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had anything more to say to us? He sent us word, 'he had nothing to say to us, we might go where we would.' The Lord has since raised up a people to stand for his name and truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester, having many precious meetings in several places, until we came to Preston; between which and Lancaster I had a general meeting; from which I went to Lancaster. There at our inn I met with colonel West, who was very glad to see me; who when meeting with judge Fell, had told him that 'I was mightily grown in the truth;' when in fact it was he who had come nearer to the truth, and so could better discern it.

We went from Lancaster to Robert Widders's. On the following First-day I had a general meeting near the Sands-side with Friends of Westmoreland and Lancashire. The Lord's everlasting power was over all; in which the word of eternal life was declared, and Friends were settled upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, under his free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where Friends were glad to see me. I stayed there two First-days, visiting Friends in their meetings there. They rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by his eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in his service; to him be the praise forever!

Having got a little respite from travel, I was moved to write an epistle to Friends, as follows:

ALL Friends of the Lord everywhere, whose minds are turned **in** towards the Lord, take heed to the light within you, which is the light of Christ; which, as you love it, will call your minds inward, that are abroad in the things of this world; so your minds may be renewed by it, and turned to God in this which is pure, to worship the living God, the Lord of hosts, over all the things in the world. That which calls your minds out of the lusts of the world, will call them out of the affections and desires, and turn you to set your affections on heavenly things instead. The same that calls the mind out of the world, will give judgment upon the world's affections and lusts; the same calls out your minds from the world's teachers and the things, to have your minds renewed. There is your obedience known and found; there the image of God is renewed in you, and you come to grow up in it. That which calls your minds out of the earth, turns them towards God, where the pure babe is born of the virgin; and the babe's food is known, the children's bread, which comes from the living God, and nourishes up to eternal life; which babes and children receive their wisdom from above, from the pure living God, and not from the worldly men; for that heavenly wisdom is trampled under foot by such men. All who hate this light, whose minds are abroad in the the things of the world, in the world, and in the image of the devil, get the words of the saints, (that received their wisdom from above), into their old nature and their corrupted minds. Such people are murderers of the just and enemies to the cross of Christ; in these people the prince of the air lodges, sons of perdition, betrayers of the just. Therefore take heed to that light, which is oppressed with the fleshly nature; which light, as it arises, shall condemn all that cursed nature, shall expel it, and shut it out of the house. So you will come to see the candle lit, and the house being swept and swept clean. Then afterward the pure pearl arises, and then the eternal

God is exalted. The same light that calls in your minds out of the world, (that are abroad), the same turns them to God the Father of lights. Here in the pure mind is the pure God waited upon for wisdom from above; and the pure God is seen night and day, and the eternal peace, of which there is no end, enjoyed. People may have openings, and yet their minds go into the lusts of the flesh; but there the affections are not mortified. Therefore listen to that, take heed to that, which calls your minds out of the affections and lusts of the world to have them renewed. The same will turn your minds to God; the same light will set your affections above, and bring you to wait for the pure wisdom of God from on high, that it may be justified in you. **Wait all in that (the Light) which calls your minds inward and turns them to God; here is the true cross.** That mind shall feed upon nothing that is of the world, but be kept in the pure light up to God, to feed upon the living food which comes from the living God. The Lord God Almighty be with you all, dear babes, and keep you all in his strength and power to his glory, over all the world, you whose minds are called out of it, and turned to God, to worship the creator and serve him, and not the creature. The light of God which calls the mind out of the creatures, and turns it to himself, brings into a being of endless joy and peace. Here is always a seeing God present, which is not known to the world, whose hearts are in the creatures, whose knowledge is in the flesh, whose minds are not renewed. Therefore all Friends, the seed of God mind and dwell in, to reign over the unjust; and the power of the Lord dwell in, to keep you clear in your understandings, that the seed of God may reign in you all; the seed of God, which is but one in all, is Christ in the male and in the female, which the promise is to. 'Wait upon the Lord for the just to reign over the unjust, for the seed of God to reign over the seed of the serpent, and be the head; and that all that is mortal may die; for out of that will rise presumption. So fare you well, and God Almighty bless, guide, and keep you in his wisdom.'

George Fox

About this time Friends that were moved by the Lord to go to the steeple-houses and markets, to reprove sin, and warn people of the day of the Lord, suffered much hardship from rude people, and also from the magistrates; being commonly pulled down, buffeted, beaten, and frequently sent to prison. For which reason I was moved to give forth the following declaration to be spread among people, to show them how contrary they acted to the apostles' doctrine and practice, and to bring them to more moderation.

Is it not better for you that have cast into prison the servants and children of the Lord God for speaking, as they were moved, in steeple-houses or markets, is it not better, I say, for you to "try all things, and hold fast that which is good?" Is it not of more honor and credit, to prove all things, and try all things, than to pluck down in the steeple-houses, pull off the hair of their heads, and cast them into prison?" Is this an honor to your truth and gospel you profess? Does it not show that you are out of the truth, and are not ready to instruct those that deny Christ? Has not the Lord said, "He will pour out of his spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and daughters shall prophesy, and old men shall dream dreams, and young men see visions, and on his handmaids he will pour forth of his spirit?" Was not this prophecy in ages past stood against by the wise, learned men in their own wisdom, and by the synagogue teachers? Were not such haled out of the synagogues and temples, who witnessed the spirit poured forth upon them? Does not this show, that you have not received the outpouring of his spirit upon you, who fill the jails with so many sons and daughters, and hold up such teachers as are bred up in learning at Oxford and Cambridge, and are made by the will of man? Does not this show, that you who are bred up there, who are made teachers by the will of man, and who persecute for prophesying, are strangers to the spirit that is "poured out upon sons and daughters;" by which spirit they come to "minister to the spirits that are in prison?" The Lord has a controversy with you who are found imprisoning and persecuting such as the Lord has poured his spirit upon. Do not your fruits show, in all the nation where you come, in towns, cities, villages, and countries, that you are the seedsmen made by the will of man, who sow to the flesh, of which nothing but corruption is reaped in nations, countries, cities, and villages? You are looked upon and your fruits, and that which may be gathered is seen by all that are in the light, as they pass through your countries, towns, cities, and villages, that you are all the seedsmen that have sown to the flesh. Of this take you notice, who are of that birth that is born of the flesh; you sow to your own, persecuting him that is born of the spirit, who sows to the spirit and of the spirit reaps life eternal. You, who sow to the flesh, cast those born of the spirit into prison. Do you not hale out of the synagogues; persecute and beat in the synagogues, and knock down? Are not these the works of the flesh? Have not many been almost murdered and smothered in your synagogues? Have not some been haled out of your synagogues, for only looking at the priest, and after cast into prison? Does not all this make manifest what spirit you are of, and your

fruits to be of the flesh? What pleasures and sports in every town are to be seen among your flocks that sow to the flesh and are born of it! Whereas the ministers of the spirit cried against such as "sported in: the day time," such as "ate and drank, and rose up to play," such as "lived wantonly upon earth in pleasures," such as lived in "fullness of bread and idleness," such as defile the flesh;" such did God overthrow, destroy, and set forth as examples to all them that after should live ungodly. But are not the fruits of this reaped in every town? Cannot you from here see, that here is sowing to the flesh? Again, what scorning, scoffing, mocking, derision, and strife; what oaths, drunkenness, uncleanness, and cursed speaking; what lust and pride is seen in the streets! These fruits we see are reaped of the flesh. So here we see seedsman, him that sows to this flesh, of which nothing but corruption is reaped, as the countries, towns, cities, and villages make manifest. But the ministers of the spirit, who sow to the spirit, come to reap life eternal. These discern the other seedsman, who sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. For the day has manifested each seedsman, and what is reaped from each is seen; glory be to the Lord God forever! The ministers of the spirit, born of the spirit, sons and daughters which have the spirit poured upon them, and witness the promise of God fulfilled in them, by the spirit of God preach and minister to that spirit in prison in everyone, in the sight of God, the Father of spirits. God's hand is turned against you all that have destroyed God's creatures upon your lust. God's hand is turned against you that have wronged by unjust dealing, defrauded, and oppressed the poor, and have respected the persons of the proud, and lent not your ear to the cry of the poor. The Lord's hand and arm is turned against you all, and his righteous judgment and justice upon you all will be accomplished and repaid, who shall have a reward, everyone according to his works. Oh! the abomination and hypocritical profession that is upon the earth, where God and Christ, faith, hope, the holy spirit, and truth is professed, but the fear of God, and the faith that purifies and gives victory over the world, us not lived in! Does it not appear that the wisdom which rules in all those, whom the seedsman that sows to the flesh sows for, and who are born of the flesh, is from below; earthly, sensual, and devilish, their understanding brutish, and their knowledge natural as the brute beasts? For if men and women in that state have not patience to speak one to the other of the scriptures, without much corruption and flesh appearing; yet they have a feigned humility, a will-worship, and righteousness of self; but they own not the light, which "lights every man that comes into the world, Christ Jesus, the righteousness of God:" which light being owned, self, and the righteousness of self, come to be denied. Here is the humility that is contrary to the light, and that is below and feigned. Here is the wisdom that is from below, earthly, sensual and devilish: for people can scarcely differ from one another without destroying one another, imprisoning and persecuting one another, when they speak of the scriptures. This is the devilish wisdom murdering and destroying. This is not the wisdom that is from above, which is pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits. Here all may read each seedsman, each has its own wisdom. He that sows to the flesh, and is born of that, has the wisdom that is earthly, sensual, and devilish; he that sows to the spirit, a minister of the spirit, has the wisdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; the wisdom by which all things were made and created. Now is each wisdom discovered, and each seedsman; the day, which is the the light, has discovered them.

George Fox

I was moved also to give forth the following epistle to Friends, to stir them up to be bold and valiant for the truth, and to encourage them in their sufferings for it.

All Friends and brethren everywhere, now is the day of your trial, now is the time for you to be valiant, and to see that the testimony of the Lord does not fall. Now is the day for the exercise of your gifts, of your patience, and of your faith. Now is the time to be armed with patience, with the light, with righteousness, and with the helmet of salvation. Now is the trial of the slothful servant, who hides his talent, and will be hard judged by Christ. Now, happy are they that can say, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness of that, and he gives the increase;" therefore who takes it from you? Is it not the Lord still that suffers it? For the Lord can try you as he did Job, whom he made rich, whom he made poor, and whom he made rich again; who still kept his integrity in all conditions. Learn Paul's lesson, in all states to be content; and have his faith, "that nothing is able to separate us from the love of God, which we have in Christ Jesus." Therefore be rich in life, and in grace, which will endure, you who are heirs of life, and born of the womb of eternity, that noble birth that cannot stoop to that which is born in sin, and conceived in iniquity; who are better bred and born, whose religion is from God, above all the religions that are from below; and who walk by faith, by that which God has given you, and not by that which men make, who walk by sight, from the mass-book to the directory. Such are subject to

stumble and fall, who walk by sight and not by faith. Therefore mind him that destroys the original of sin, the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of satan, viz. sin; who would have by entail an inheritance of sin in men and women from generation to generation, and pleads for it by all his lawyers and counselors. For though the law, which made nothing perfect, did not cut it off; yet Christ being come, destroys the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of sin. This angers all the devil's lawyers and counselors, that satan shall not hold sin by entail in your garden, in your field, in your temple, your tabernacle. So keep your tabernacles, that there you may see the glory of the Lord appear at the doors of that. Be faithful; for you see what the worthies and valiants of the Lord did attain unto by faith. Enoch by faith was translated. Noah by faith was preserved over the waters in his ark. Abraham by faith forsook his father's house and religion, and all the religions of the world. Isaac and Jacob by faith followed his steps. See how Samuel and other of the Lord's prophets, with David, by faith were presented to God over his enemies. Daniel and the three children by faith escaped the lions and the fire, and preserved their worship clean, and by it were kept over the worships of the world. The apostles by faith traveled up and down the world, were preserved from all the religions of the world, and held forth the pure religion to the dark world, which they had received from God; and likewise their fellowship was received from above, which is in the gospel that is everlasting. In this, neither powers, principalities, nor thrones, dominions nor angels, things present nor things to come, heights nor depths, nor death, mockings, nor spoiling of goods, prisons nor fetters were able to separate them from the love of God, which they had in Christ Jesus. And Friends, "quench not the spirit, nor despise prophesying," where it moves; neither hinder the babes and the sucklings from crying Hosanna; for out of their mouths will God ordain strength. There were some in Christ's day that were against such, whom he reprov'd; and there were some in Moses's day, who would have stopped the prophets in the camp; whom Moses reprov'd, and said by way of encouragement to them, "Would God, that all the Lord's people were prophets!" So I say now to you. Therefore you that stop it in yourselves do not quench it in others, neither in babe nor suckling; for the Lord hears the cries of the needy, and the sighs and groans of the poor. Judge not that or the sighs and groans of the spirit, which cannot be uttered, for fear that you judge prayer; for prayer as well lies in sighs and groans to the Lord as otherwise. So let not the sons and daughters, nor the handmaids, be stopped in their prophesyings, nor the young men in their visions, nor the old men in their dreams; but let the Lord be glorified in and through all, who is over all, God blessed for ever! So everyone may improve their talents, everyone exercise their gifts, and everyone speak as the spirit gives them utterance. Thus every one may minister, as he has received the grace, as a good steward to him that has given it him; so that all plants may bud, and "bring forth fruit" to the glory of God: "for the manifestation of the spirit is given to everyone with which to profit." See that every one has profited in heavenly things; male and female, look into your own vineyards, see what fruit you bear to God; look into your own houses, see how they are decked and trimmed; see what odors, myrrh, and frankincense you have therein, and what a smell and savor you have to ascend to God that he may be glorified. Bring your deeds all to the light, which you are taught to believe in by Christ, your head, the heavenly man; and see how they are wrought in God. Every male and female, let Christ dwell in your hearts by faith, (Christ in the male and in the female); and let your mouths be opened to the glory of God the Father, that he may rule and reign in you. We must not have Christ Jesus, the Lord of life, put any more in a stable among the horses and asses; but he must now have the best chamber, the heart; and the rude, debauched spirit must be turned out. Therefore let him reign whose right it is, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost; by which Holy Ghost you call him Lord, in which Holy Ghost you pray, and have comfort and fellowship with the Father and with the son. Therefore know the triumph in it, and in God and his power, (which the devil is out of), and in the seed which is first and last, the beginning and ending, the top and corner-stone; in which is my love to you, and in which I rest.

Your friend,

George Fox

POSTSCRIPT-- 'And Friends, be careful how you set your feet among the tender plants that are springing up out of God's earth, for fear that you tread upon them, hurt them, bruise them, or crush them in God's vineyard.

After I had tarried two First-days at Swarthmore, and visited meetings thereabouts, I passed into Westmoreland in the same work, until I came to John Audland's, where general meeting existed. The night before I had a vision of a, 'desperate creature that was coming to destroy me, but I got victory over it.' The next day in the meeting time came one Otway, with some rude fellows. He rode round about

the meeting with his sword or rapier, and tried to part the Friends to get to me; but the meeting being huge, the Friends stood thick, so that he could not easily get through to me. When he had ridden around several times raging and saw he could not get in, being also limited by the Lord's power, he finally went away. It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all. But this wild man went home, became distracted, and not long after died. I sent a paper to John Blaykling to read to him while he lay ill, showing him his wickedness; and he did acknowledge something of it.

From here I went through Kendal, where an old warrant had to apprehend me; and the constables seeing me ran to get their warrant as I was riding through the town; but before they could approach with it, I was past and so escaped them. I traveled northwards, visiting meetings, until I came to Stricklandhead, where I had a great meeting. Most of the gentry of that country being gathered to a horse race, not far from the meeting. I was moved to go and declare the truth to them; and a chief constable that was there did also admonish them. Our meeting was quiet, the Lord was with us, and by his word and power Friends were settled in the eternal truth.

From here we passed into Cumberland, where we had many precious, living meetings. After we had traveled to Gilsland, and had a meeting there, we came to Carlisle, where they used to put Friends out of the town; but there came a great flood while we were there, that they could not put us out of the town; so we had a meeting there on the First-day. After which we passed to Abbey-holm, and had a little meeting there. This is a place where I told Friends long before there would a great people come forth to the Lord; which has since come to pass, and a large meeting there is gathered to the Lord in those parts.

I passed from here to a general meeting at Langlands in Cumberland, which was very large; for most of the people had so forsaken the priests, that the steeple-houses in some places stood empty. And John Wilkinson, a preacher, that I have often named before, who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left, that, giving over preaching in the steeple-houses, he first set up a meeting in his house, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he set up a silent meeting (like Friends) to which a few came: for most of his hearers had become Friends. Thus he held on, until he had only half a dozen left; the rest still forsaking him, and had become Friends. At last, when he had so very few left, he would come to Pardsey-Crag, (where Friends had a meeting of several hundreds of people, who were all come to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching), and he would walk about the meeting on the First-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. During this time, I came to this Pardsey-Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers that were still with him, came to the meeting that day; and were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting, Wilkinson asked me two or three questions, which I answered to his satisfaction; from that time he came among Friends, became an able minister, preached the gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free ministry of Christ Jesus, he died in the truth in the year 1675.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland: and had sent to colonel William Osborn of Scotland, desiring him to meet me; and he, with some others, were come out of Scotland to this meeting. After it was over, (which, he said, was the most glorious meeting that ever he saw in his life), I passed with him and his company into Scotland; having Rohert Widders with me; a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests.

The first night we came into Scotland, we lodged at an inn. The innkeeper told us, an earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had a desire to see me; and had left word at his house, that if ever I came into Scotland, he should send him word. He told us, there were three drawbridges to his house; and that it would be nine o'clock before the third bridge was drawn. Finding we had time in the evening, we walked to his house. He received us very lovingly; and said, he would have gone with us on our journey, but that he was before engaged to go to a funeral. After we had spent some time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we traveled on and passing through Dumfries, came to Douglas, where we met with some Friends; from there we passed to the Heads, where we had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt him in the midst.

Leaving Heads, we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there: to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced: among who was one called a lady. From there we passed towards the Highlands to William Osborn's, where we gathered up the sufferings of Friends and the principles of the Scotch priests, which may be seen in a book called, The Scotch Priests' Principles.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore, where the said lady Margaret Hambleton was convinced; who afterwards went to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood that the day of the Lord was coming upon them.

On First-day we had a great meeting, and several professors came to it. Now the priests had frightened the people with the doctrine of election and reprobation, telling them, 'that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell. And if they were ordained for hell, whatever prayer, preaching, singing and good works, they had, it was all to no purpose. That God had a certain number, which were elected for heaven; and whatever they did, they were still going to heaven,' i.e. David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor; yet both were elected for heaven. So the fault was not at all in the person, more or less; but God's who had ordained it so. I was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their priests' doctrines, and to show them that the priests had abused those scriptures, which they had brought and quoted to them! (As in Jude, and other places) For whereas they said, "there was no fault at all in the person;" I showed them that the fault was in Cain, Korah, and Balaam whom Jude says were ordained of old to condemnation. For did not God warn Cain and Balaam, and put the question to Cain, "If you do well, shall you not be accepted?" And did not the Lord bring Korah out of Egypt, and his company? Yet did not he disagree with both God and his law, and his prophet Moses? So there was fault in Cain, Korah, and Balaam, as there is fault in all that depart from the way of God and go their own ways. For if they, who are called Christians: resist the gospel as Korah resisted the law, err from the spirit of God as Balaam did, and do evil as Cain did; is there not fault that has occurred? The fault is in themselves, and is the cause of their reprobation, and it is not God's fault. Does not Christ say, "Go, preach the gospel of salvation to all nations?" He would not have sent them into all nations, to preach the doctrine of salvation, if the greatest part of men had been ordained for hell. Was not Christ a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, for those that became reprobates, as well as for the saints? He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as the apostle states in scripture. 2 Cor 5:15 and Rom 5:6. And "he enlightens every man that comes into the world," that through him they might all believe. And Christ bids them believe in the light; but all they that hate the light, which Christ tells all believe in, are reprobated. Again, "The manifestation of the spirit of God is given to every man with which to profit;" but they that vex, quench, and grieve the Spirit, are in the reprobation; and the fault is in them, as it is also in them that hate his light. The apostle said, "The grace of God, which brings salvation, has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." Titus 2:11-12. Now all those that live ungodly, and in the lusts of the world, that turn this grace of God into negligence of restraint, and walk despitefully against it, and so deny God, and the Lord Jesus Christ that bought them, the fault is in all such that turn the grace of God into negligence of restraint, and walk despitefully against that which would bring their salvation, and save them out of the reprobation. But it seems the priests can see no fault in such as deny God and the Lord Jesus Christ that bought them, nor fault in such as deny his light; the light which they should believe in, and his grace, which should teach them to live godly, and which should bring them their salvation. Now all that believe in the light of Christ, as he commands, are in the election; and sit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their salvation. But such as turn from this grace in rejection of authority are rejected by God (the reprobation); and such as hate the light are in the condemnation. Therefore I exhorted all to believe in the light, as Christ commands, and own the grace of God their free teacher; and it would assuredly bring them their salvation: for it is sufficient. Many other scriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the eyes of the people were opened; and a spring of life rose up among them.

These things soon came to the priests' ears; for the people that sat under their dark teachings began to see light and to come into the covenant of light. So the noise was spread over Scotland, among the

priests, that I had come to their country; and a great cry was heard among them, that all would be spoiled; for they said, 'I had spoiled all the honest men and women in England already;' (so according to their own account, the worst were left to them). Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a number of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, and that all the people should say Amen to them. Some few I will here set down; the rest may be read in the book before mentioned of 'The Scotch Priests' Principles.'

The first was, 'Cursed is he that said, Every man has a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation: and let all the people say, Amen.'

The second, 'Cursed is he that said, faith is without sin: and let all the people say, Amen.'

The third, 'Cursed is he that denies the Sabbath day: and let all the people say, Amen.'

In this last they make the people curse themselves; for on the biblical Sabbath day, (which is the Seventh-day of the week, which the Jews kept by the command of God to them), these peoples markets and fairs were open; and so the curse returned upon their own heads.

As to the first, concerning the light, Christ said, 'Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light:' and 'he that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth shall have everlasting life: he that believeth passes from death to life, and is grafted into Christ.' 'And you do well,' said the apostle, 'that you take heed unto the light that shines in the dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts.' So the light is sufficient to lead unto the day star.

As concerning faith, it is the gift of God: and every gift of God is pure. The faith, which Christ is the author of, is precious, divine, and without sin. This is the faith which gives victory over sin, and access to God; in which faith they please God. But those are reprobates themselves concerning this faith, and are in their dead faith, who charge sin upon this faith under pain of a curse; which faith gives victory over their curse, and returns it into their own bowels.

There were a company of Scots near Badcow, who challenged a dispute with some of our Scotch Friends, for with me they would not dispute. So some of the Scotch Friends met them at the market-place. The dispute was to be concerning the sabbath day, and some other of their principles before mentioned; and I having got their principles and assertions, showed the Friends where they might easily be overthrown; and a Scotch Friend, a smith, overthrew them clearly.

There were two Independent churches in Scotland, in one of which many were convinced; but the pastor of the other was in a great rage against truth and Friends. They had their elders, who sometimes would exercise their gifts among the church members, and were sometimes pretty tender; but their pastor speaking so much against the light, and us, the friends of Christ, he darkened his hearers; so that they grew blind and dry, and lost their tenderness. He continued preaching against Friends, and against the light of Christ Jesus, calling it natural; at last one day in his preaching he cursed the light, and fell down as dead in his pulpit. The people carried him out, laid him upon a grave stone, and poured strong waters into him, which fetched him to life again; and they carried him home, but he was, spiritless. After awhile he stripped off his clothes, put on a Scotch plaid, and went into the country among the dairy-women. When he had stayed there about two weeks he came home, and went into the pulpit again. Upon which the people expected some great manifestation or revelation from him; but, instead of that, he began to tell them what entertainment he had met with; how one woman gave him skimmed milk, another buttermilk, and another good milk: so the people were obliged to take him out of the pulpit again, and carry him home. He that gave me this report, was Andrew Robinson, one of his chief hearers, who came afterwards to be convinced, and received the truth. He said he never heard that he recovered his senses again. By this people may see what came upon him that cursed the light, which light is the life in Christ, the word; and it may be a warning to all others that speak evil against the light of Christ.

Now were the priests in such a rage, that they posted to O. Cromwell's council in Edinburgh with petitions against me. The message was, 'that all was lost;' for several Friends had come out of England, and spread over Scotland, sounding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation,

and turning people to Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching. After I had gathered the principles of the Scotch priests, and the sufferings of Friends, and had seen Friends in that part of Scotland settled by the Lord's power upon Christ their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and on the way came to Linlithgow; where lodging at an inn, the blind innkeeper's wife received the word of life and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus her savior. That night a large number of soldiers and some officers came, and we had long discussions with the officers; some of them were rude. One of the officers said, 'he would obey the Turk's or Pilate's command, if they should command him to guard Christ to crucify him.' He was so far from all tenderness of heart, or a sense of the spirit of Christ, that he would rather crucify the just, than suffer for or with the just; when in fact many officers and magistrates had lost their positions before they would turn against the Lord and his just one.

When I had stayed awhile at Edinburgh, I went to Leith, where many officers of the army joined in a meeting with their wives; and many were convinced. Edward Billing's wife was one. She brought a great deal of coral in her hand and threw it on the table before me to see whether I would speak against it or not. I took no notice of it, but declared the truth to her, and she was reached. Many Baptists were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded. Then there came in another sort; one of whom said, 'He would dispute with me; and, for argument's sake, would deny there was a God.' I told him, 'He might be one of those fools that said in his heart, there is no God; but he should know him in the day of his judgment.' So he went his way, and a fine precious time we had afterwards with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. William Osborn was with me. Colonel Lidcot's wife, William Welsh's wife, and several of the officers themselves were convinced. Edward Billing and his wife were at that time separated, and lived apart; and she was reached by truth and become loving to Friends. We sent for her husband, who came, and the Lord's power reached to them both; and they joined together in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity as man and wife.

After this we returned to Edinburgh, where many thousands were gathered together, with many priests among them, discussing the burning of a witch; and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord among them. When I was finished, I went from there to our meeting, where many rude people and Baptists came. The Baptists began to vaunt with their logic and syllogisms; but, 'I was moved in the Lord's power, to thresh their chaffy light minds; and showed the people, that, after that fallacious reasoning, they might make white seem black, and black seem white: or, because a chicken has two legs, and because the people each had two legs; therefore they were all chickens. Thus they might turn anything into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ, or his apostles to teach, speak, or reason after that manner.' At which point the Baptists went their way; and after they were gone, we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.

I mentioned before, that many of the Scotch priests, having been greatly disturbed at the spreading of truth and the resulting loss of their members, had gone to Edinburgh to petition the council against me. When I came from the meeting to the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the council brought me the following order:

Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness's council in Scotland:

'ORDERED,

'That George Fox do appear before the council on Tuesday the

18th of October next, in the morning. E. DOWNING,

Clerk of the Council

When he had delivered me the order, he asked me, 'whether I would appear or not?' I did not tell him whether I would or not; but asked him, 'If he had not forged the order?' He said, 'No; it was a real order from the council, and he was sent as their messenger with it.' When the time came I appeared, and was taken into a great room, where many people came and looked at me. After awhile the doorkeeper took me into the council chamber; and as I was going in, he took off my hat. I asked him, 'Why he did so, and who was in there that I might not go in with my hat on?' I told him, 'I had been before the protector with my hat on.' But he hung up my hat and took me in before them. When I had stood awhile, and they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, 'Peace be among you. Wait in the fear of God, that you may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it you may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands to God's glory.' They asked me, 'What was the occasion of my coming into that nation?' I told them, I came to visit the

seed of God, which had long lain in bondage under corruption; that all in the nation, who professed the scriptures, the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, spirit, and power, which they were in who originally spoke them; that in and by the spirit they might understand the scriptures, know Christ and God correctly, have fellowship with them, and one with each other.' They asked me, 'Whether I had any outward business there?' I said, 'No.' Then they asked me: 'How long I intended to stay in that country?' I told them, 'I could say little to that; my time was not to be long; yet in my freedom in the Lord I stood, in the will of him that sent me.' Then they told me to leave; and the doorkeeper took me by the hand, and led me out. In a little time they sent for me in again, and told me, 'I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day seven night.' I asked them, 'Why? What had I done? What was my transgression that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation?' They told me, 'They would not dispute with me.' I desired them to hear what I had to say to them.' They said, 'They would not hear me.' I told them, 'Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, yet he was a heathen; and Herod heard John Baptist; and they should not be worse than these.' But they cried, 'Get out, get out.' So the doorkeeper took me again by the hand and led me out. I returned to my inn, and stayed in Edinburgh; visiting Friends there and in the area, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time I wrote a letter to the council, to lay before them their unchristian dealings, in banishing me, an innocent man that sought their salvation and eternal good.

To the council of Edinburgh.

You that sit in council, and bring before your judgment seat the innocent, the just, without showing what evil I have done, or convicting me of any breach of law; and afterwards you banish me out of your nation, without telling me for what; though I told you, when you asked me 'how long I would stay in the nation' that my time was not long, (I spoke it innocently;) yet you banish me. Don't you realize that all who fear God will see this as wickedness on your parts? Consider, did not they sit in council about Stephen, when they stoned him to death? Did they not sit in council about Peter and John, when they forced them out of the temple, put them out of their council for a little while, and took counsel together; and then brought them in again, threatened, and charged them to speak no more in that name? Was not this to stop the truth from spreading in that time? Had not the priests a hand in these things, with the magistrates and in examining Stephen, when he was stoned to death? Was not the council gathered together against Jesus Christ, to put him to death, and had not the chief priests a hand in it? When they persecute the just, and crucify the just, do they not then neglect judgment, mercy, and justice, and the weighty matters of the law, which is just? Was not the apostle Paul tossed up and down and imprisoned by the priests and the rulers? Was not John Baptist cast into prison? Are not you doing the same work, showing what spirit controls you? Now, do not you show the end of your profession, the end of your prayers, the end of your religion, and the end of your teaching, who have now banished the truth, and him who came to declare it to you? Does not this show all you have are words, out of the life of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles? They never banished anyone. How do you receive strangers; which is a command of God among the prophets, Christ, and the apostles? Some by receiving strangers have entertained angels unknowingly; but you banish one that comes to visit the seed of God, and is not an expense to any of you. Will not all that fear God look upon this to be spite and wickedness against the truth? How are you able to say you obey the command to love enemies, and banish someone who is friendly? How can you obey the command to do good to them that hate you, when you do evil to them that love you? How can comply with the command to heap coals of fire on their heads that hate you, and to overcome evil with good, when you have banished us this way? Do you not show to all who are in the truth that you do not have the Christian spirit? How did you treat me justly, when without any conviction of evil, you still banish me? This shows that truth is banished out of your hearts, and you have joined against the truth with evil doers; with the wicked, envious priests, stoners, strikers, and mockers in the streets; with these, you that banish have joined; when you should have been a terror to these evil doers, and a praise to them that do well, and nurturer of those in the truth; then you might have been a blessing to the nation, and not have banished him that was moved of the Lord to visit the seed of God, and thereby have brought your names upon record, and made them to stink in ages to come, among them that fear God. Were not the magistrates stirred up in former ages to persecute or banish, by the corrupt priests; and did not the corrupt priests stir up the rude multitude against the just in other ages? Therefore your streets are like Sodom and Gomorrah. Did not the Jews and the priests make the Gentiles' minds envious against the apostles? And who were they that would not have the prophet Amos to prophesy at the king's chapel; but told him to go away? Did not the priests join with the princes in putting Jeremiah in prison, in the dungeon, and in the stocks? Now see all, that were in this work of banishing, imprisoning, persecuting, whether they were not all out of the life of

Christ, the prophets, and apostles? To the witness of God in you all I speak. Consider, whether or not, it was always the blind magistrates who turned their sword always backward, who did not know their friends from their enemies, and so hit their friends? Such magistrates were deceived by flattery.

George Fox

When this was delivered, and read among them, some of them, I heard, were troubled at what they had done; being made sensible that what they had done would not be to their benefit. But it was not long after they had banished me, that they were banished themselves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor allow others that would.

After I had spent some time among Friends at Edinburgh, and area, I passed from there to Heads again, where Friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given orders, that none should buy or sell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities, nor buy what they wanted; which made it go very hard with some of them; for if they have bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbors, the priests threatened them so with curses, that they would run and take it back from them. But colonel Ashfield, being a justice of peace in that country, put a stop to the priests' proceedings. This colonel Ashfield was afterwards convinced himself, had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

After I had visited Friends at and about Heads, and encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was announced; but not one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates took me before the governor, who was a moderate man. I had a great deal of discussion with him; but he was too light to receive the truth; yet he set me at liberty, so I passed to the meeting. Since none of the town's people came to the meeting, we declared truth through the town; then passed away, visiting Friends' meetings in the area, and returned towards Badcow. Several Friends declared truth in their steeple-houses, and the Lord's power was with them. One time as I was going with William Osborn to his house, a company of rude fellows were found on the roadside, where they had hidden themselves under the hedges and in the bushes. Seeing them, I asked William, 'Who are these people?' 'Oh' he said, 'they are thieves.' Having been moved to go to speak to a priest, Robert Widders was left behind intending to come to us afterwards; so I said to William Osborn, 'I will stay here in this valley, and you go find Robert Widders.' But he was unwilling to go because he was afraid to leave me there alone with those fellows; until I told him, 'I did not fear them.' Then I called to them, asking them, 'Why they were hiding there?' I bid them to come out and to me; but they were reluctant to come. I warned them to come out, or else it might be worse with them. Then they came trembling to me; for the dread of the Lord had struck them. I admonished them to be honest, and directed them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see how evil it was to commit theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. I stayed there until William Osborn and Robert Widders came back, and then we went on together. If we both had gone on when we first discovered these thieves, and if Robert Widders had returned to meet us alone, he probably would have robbed because there were three or four thieves.

We went to William Osborn's, where we had a good opportunity to declare the truth to several people that came in. Then we went among the Highlanders, who were so devilish that they almost severely injured us and our horses by running at us with pitchforks; but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power.

From there we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers arrested us and took us to the main-guard. After a few words with their officers, and the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty; but the town was so closed up in darkness that we could not get a meeting among them in the town. The next morning a man arrived with a horse to run a race, and most of the town's people and the officers went to see it. As they returned from the race, I had a magnificent opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and his word of life among them. Some confessed to it, and some opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over all of them.

Leaving Stirling we came to Burnt-Island, where I had two meetings at captain Pool's; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. While they went to dinner I walked to the seaside, not having

the freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good Friends afterward; and several officers of the army came to the meeting and received the truth.

We passed from there through several other places in that country, until we came to Johnston's; where there were several Baptists, who were very bitter, and came in a rage to dispute with us. Vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. When they could not prevail by disputing, they went and informed the governor against us, and the next morning they raised a whole company of foot, and banished me, Alexander Parker, James Lancaster, and Robert Widders, out of the town. As they guarded us through the town, James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God, and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the everlasting gospel to the people. For the people generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them; and the soldiers were so ashamed, that they said, 'they would have rather gone to Jamaica than have guarded us so.' But we were put into a boat with our horses, carried over the water, and there left. The Baptists, who were the cause of our being thus put out of this town, were themselves, not long after, turned out of the army; and he who was then governor was discarded also when the king came in.

Being thus thrust out of Johnston's we went to another market town, where Edward Billing and many soldiers quartered. We went to an inn, and desired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlasting gospel among them. The officers and soldiers said, 'we should have the meeting in the town hall;' but the Scotch magistrates in spite appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town. When the officer of the soldiery understood and perceived that this meeting was appointed in malice, they wanted us to go into the town hall anyway. But we told them, 'no, by no means;' for then the magistrates might inform the governor against them, and say, 'they took the town hall from them by force, when they were to do their town business within it.' We told them, 'we would go to the marketplace.' They said, 'it was market-day.' We replied, 'it was so much the better; for we would have all people to hear the truth and know our principles.' So Alexander Parker went and stood upon the market cross with a bible in his hand and declared the truth among the soldiers and market people: but the Scots being a dark and carnal people, gave little heed or hardly took notice of what was said. Soon after, I was moved of the Lord God to stand up at the cross and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and that the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. At that point the people came running out of the town hall in such numbers together that at last we had a large meeting; for they only sat in the court as a means to keep us from meeting in the town hall. When the people come out of the town hall, the magistrates followed them. Some walked by, but some stayed and heard; and the Lord's power came over all and kept all quiet. 'The people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ, and own him, it was told them, that this light which came from him would be their condemnation.'

Several of them were very loving to us, especially the English, and some came afterwards to be convinced. But there was a soldier that was very envious against us; he hated both us and the truth, spoke evil of the truth, and very spitefully against the light of Christ Jesus, which we bore testimony to. He was a zealous supporter of the priests and their hearers. As this man was holding his hat before his face, while the priest prayed, one of the priest's hearers stabbed him to death. So he, who had rejected the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and cried down the servants of the Lord, was murdered among them whom he had so cried up, and by one of them.

We traveled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting people as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me, the counsel had granted warrants to apprehend me, 'because I had not left the nation after the seven days had expired in which they had ordered me to depart the nation.' Several friendly people also came and told me the same. To whom I said; 'Why do you tell me of their warrants against me? If there were a cart load of them, I would not regard them; for the Lord's power is over them all.'

I again went from Leith to Edinburgh where they said the warrants from the counsel were out against me. I went to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man interfered with me. After I had visited Friends in the city in the morning, I told those who traveled with me to get their horses ready, and we rode out of town together. With me were Thomas Rawlinson, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders. When we had gone out of the town, they asked me, 'Where was I going?' I told them, 'It was upon me from the Lord

to go back again to Johnston, (the town out of which we had been lately expelled), and to set the power of God and his truth over them also.' Alexander Parker said, 'He would go along with me;' and I wished the other two to stay at a town about three miles from Edinburgh until we returned. Then Alexander Parker and I crossed over the river, which was about three miles away, and rode through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse was weak and not able to keep up with mine. So, I went on and went into Johnston's just as they were drawing up the bridges. The officers and soldiers never questioned me, and I rode up the street to captain Davenport's, from where we had been banished. There were many officers with him; and when I came among them they lifted up their hands, admiring that I should come again; but I told them, 'The Lord God had sent me among them again.' So they went about their business; and the Baptists sent me a letter as a challenge, 'That they would debate with me the next day.' I sent them word, 'I would meet them at an appointed house, about half a mile out of the town, at an appointed hour. For I considered, if I should stay in town to debate with them, they might, under the pretence of debating with me, have raised men to put me out of town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place with captain Davenport and his son accompanying me; where I stayed and waited several hours, but not one of them came. While I stayed waiting for them, I saw Alexander Parker coming. The night before he had not been able to reach the town and had lodged outside the town. I was exceedingly glad that we had met up again.

This Captain Davenport was then loving to Friends; but afterwards, as he came into more obedience to truth, he lost his position for not putting off his hat and for saying thee and thou to them.

When we had waited beyond reasonable time to expect any of their coming, we departed; and Alexander Parker was moved to go again to the town where we had the meeting at the market-cross. I passed alone to Lieutenant Foster's quarters, where I found several officers who were convinced. From there I went to the town where I had left the other two Friends, and they and I went back to Edinburgh together.

When had arrived at the city, I told Robert Widders to follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord, we came up to the two first sentries; the Lord's power so overcame them that we passed by without any examination. Then we rode up the street to the marketplace and past the main-guard out at the gate by the third sentry, and so clear out to the suburbs; and there we came to an inn and put up our horses, it being Seventh-day. Now I saw and felt that we had ridden, as it were, against the cannon's mouth or the sword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all. The next day I went to the meeting in the city, Friends having been advised that I would attend it. Many officers and soldiers came to it, and it was a glorious meeting; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his son reigned in his glorious power. All was quiet, and no man tried to interfere with me. When the meeting was over, and after I had visited Friends, I went out of the city back to my inn. The next day, being Second-day, we set forward towards the borders of England.

As we traveled along the country I saw a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked what steeple-house it was? And was answered, it was Dunbar. When I came there and had lodged at an inn, I walked to the steeple-house, having a Friend or two with me. When we came to the steeple-house yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I asked one of the Friends that was with me, 'to go to him, and tell him, that at nine the next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called Quakers; of which we desired he would give notice to the people of the town.' He sent me word, 'that they were to have a lecture there at nine; but that we might have our meeting there at eight in the morning if we wished.' We agreed and asked him to give notice of it. Accordingly, in the morning both rich and poor came; and since there was a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his troopers also came, so that we had a large assembly of people; and a glorious meeting it was, the Lord's power being set over all. After some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but since we were in the yard, most of the people stayed with us. Friends were so full, and their voices so high in the power of God that the priest could accomplish little in the steeple-house; so he came quickly out again, stood awhile, and then went his way. I opened to the people, 'where they might find Christ Jesus, turned them to the light, with which he had enlightened them; and that in the light they might see Christ who died for them, turn to him, and know him to be their savior and teacher. I let them see that the teachers, which they had thus far followed, were hirelings, who made the gospel chargeable. I showed them the wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apostasy; and directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God. I explained to them how they had lost the religion and worship, which Christ had set up in spirit and truth, and how since that time, people had been in the religions and worships invented and established by men only. And after I had turned the people to the spirit of God, which had led the holy

men of God to issue the scriptures; I showed them that they must also come to receive and be led by the same spirit in themselves, (a measure of which was given unto every one of them), if they were ever to know God, and Christ, and the scriptures correctly. Perceiving the other Friends that were with me were full of power and the word of the Lord, I stepped down, deferring to them to declare what they had from the Lord to the people. Towards the latter end of the meeting, some professors began to argue on doctrinal points. At which time I stood up again and answered their questions, so that they seemed to be satisfied; and our meeting ended in the Lord's power, quiet and peaceful. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland. The truth and power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their savior and teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and afterwards there was a great increase in their number, and even greater numbers will there be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet upon the Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. This was not to deny the abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness atop the ground; and a briery, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, where we were questioned a little by the officers; but the governor was loving towards us, and in the evening we had a little meeting, in which the power of the Lord was manifested over all.

Leaving Berwick we came to Morpeth, and through the country, visiting Friends, to Newcastle, where I had been once before. The Newcastle priests had written many books against us, and one named Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious against truth and Friends. He and the priests had said, 'The Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fields, like butterflies.' I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to this man named Ledger, who was with several other aldermen. I told them 'we had arrived in their great town, and seeing that they had written so many books against us, we wished to have a meeting with the people of the town and them.' But they would not allow a meeting; neither would they listen to us, except Ledger and one other alderman. I asked, 'Had they not called Friends butterflies, and said we would not come into any great towns? And now that we were in their town, they would not meet with us, though they printed books against us: who are the butterflies now?' Then Ledger began to plead for the sabbath day. I told him that they kept markets and fairs on the real sabbath day, for the real sabbath day was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day which the professed christians now meet on, and call their sabbath, is the first day of the week.' Since we could not have a public meeting among them, we had a little meeting among Friends and friendly people at the Gate-side; where a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jesus. As I was passing by the market-place, the power of the Lord rose in me to warn them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. And not long after, all those priests of Newcastle and their profession were expelled when the king came in.



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From Newcastle we traveled, having meetings and visiting Friends, in Northumberland and Bishoppick. We had a very good meeting at lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After which I went to visit a justice of peace, a very sober, loving man, who confessed to the truth.

From there we came to Durham, where a man had come from London to set up a college to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went with some others to reason with the man and to let him see 'that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the seven arts, which were all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. For the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks, that spoke Greek as their mother tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews, that spoke Hebrew as their mother tongue, Christ was a stumbling block. The Romans, who had the Latin, persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set a sign written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin atop of Christ when he crucified him. We wanted this man to see that the many languages began at Babel, and they set them atop of Christ, the word, when they crucified him. John the divine, who preached the word which was in the beginning said, "that the beast and the whore have power over tongues and languages, and they are as waters." Thus, I told him, he might see the whore and the beast have power over the tongues and the many languages, which are in mystery Babylon; for they began at Babel, and the persecutors of Christ Jesus set them over him, when he was crucified by them; but he is risen over them all, who was before them all. 'Now, (said I to this man), do you think to make ministers of Christ by these natural, confused languages which sprung from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set atop of Christ, the life, by a persecutor? Oh, no! The man confessed to many of these things. Then we showed him further, "that Christ made his ministers himself, gave gifts unto them, and told them" Pray to the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers."

And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant as to school learning, preached Christ Jesus the Word, which was in the beginning, before Babel was. Paul also was made an apostle, not of man, nor by man, neither received he the gospel from man, but from Jesus Christ; who is the same now, and so is the gospel, as it was at that day. When he had thus discoursed with him, he became very loving and tender: and after he had considered further of it, declined to set up his college.

From Durham we went to Anthony Pearson's, from there into Cleveland, and passed through Yorkshire to the further end of Holderness, and had mighty meetings, the Lord's power accompanying us.

After we passed from Anthony Pearson's, we went by Hull and Pomfret to George Watkinson's, and visited most of the meetings in these parts, until we came to Scalehouse, and so to Swarthmore; the everlasting power and arm of God carrying us through and preserving us. After I had visited Friends there, I passed into Yorkshire and Cheshire, and so through other countries into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; and glorious meetings we had, the Lord's presence being with us.

At Nottingham I sent to Rice Jones, asking him 'to inform his people that I had something to say to them from the Lord. ' He came and told me, 'Many of them lived in the country, and he did not know how to contact them.' I told him, 'he might inform those around the town of it and send word to as many in the country as he could.' The next day we met at the castle, there being about fourscore people, to whom I declared the truth for about the space of two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, so that they had no power to open their mouths in opposition. When I had done, one of them asked me a question, which I was loath to have answered; for I saw it might lead into jangling (doctrinal arguing), and was unwilling to go into arguing, for some of the people there were tender; yet I could not well tell how to escape it. So I answered the question, and I was moved to speak to Rice Jones, and say to him, 'that he had been the man who had scattered such as had been tender; and some that had been

convinced and had been led out of the vanities of the world, which he had formerly judged; but now he judged the power of God in them, and they being simple turned to him; so he and they were turned to be vainer than the world; for many of his followers had become the greatest football players and wrestlers in the whole country. I told them it was the serpent in him that had scattered and done hurt to such as were tender towards the Lord. Nevertheless, if he waited in the fear of God for the seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, to bruise the serpent's head in him, that had scattered and done the hurt; he might come to gather them again by this heavenly seed; though it would be a hard work for him, to gather them again out of those vanities he had led them into.' At this Rice Jones said, 'You lie, it is not the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head.' 'No!' I said, 'what is it then?' 'I say, it is the law,' said he. 'But,' I said, 'the scripture, speaking of the seed of the woman, said, "It shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel;" now, does the law have a heel,' I said, 'to be bruised?' Then Rice Jones and all his company were stopped; and I was moved in the power of the Lord to say, "This seed, Christ Jesus, the seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, shall bruise your head, and break you all in pieces." Thus I left on the heads of them the seed, Christ; and not long after he and his company scattered to pieces; several of whom came to be Friends, and stand to this day. Many of them had been convinced about eight years before, but had been led aside by this Rice Jones; for they denied the inward cross, the power of God, and so went into vanity. It was about eight years, since I had been formerly among them; in which time I was to pass over them, and by them, seeing they had slighted the Lord's truth and power, and the visitation of his love unto them. But now was the time that I was moved to go to them again, and it was of great service; for many of them were brought to the Lord Jesus Christ, and were settled upon him, sitting down under his teaching and feeding, where they were kept fresh and green; and the others that would not be gathered to him soon after withered. This was that Rice Jones, who had some years before said, 'I was then at the highest, and should fall;' but, the poor man gave the little thought how near his own fall was.

We left Nottingham, and went into Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire, visiting Friends, and having meetings as we traveled. We came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's, where a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many Friends from most parts of the nation came to it; so that the inns and towns around the area were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there was some disturbance by some rude people that had run out from truth; yet the Lord's power came over all, and it was a glorious meeting. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, (for many sorts of professors came to the meeting), which gospel brought life and immortality to light in them, and shined over all.

I was moved by the power and spirit of the Lord to open unto them the 'promise of God, that it was made to the seed, not to seeds, as many, but to one; which seed was Christ: and that all people, both male and female, should feel this seed in them, which was heir of the promise; that so they might all witness *Christ in them, the hope of glory*, the mystery which had been hid from ages and generations, which was revealed to the apostles, and is revealed again now, after the long night of apostasy. So that all might come up into this seed, Christ Jesus, walk in it, and sit down together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles, the rock of ages, and is our foundation now. All sitting down in him, sit down in the substance, the first and the last, that changes not, the seed that bruises the serpent's head, which was before he was, who ends all the types, figures, and shadows, and is the substance of them all; in whom there is no shadow.' Now, these things were upon me to open unto all, that they might mind and see what it is they sit down in.

First, they that sit down in Adam in the fall, sit down in misery, in death, in darkness and corruption.

Secondly, they that sit down in the types, figures, and shadows, and under the first priesthood, law, and covenant, sit down in that which must have an end, and which made nothing perfect.

Thirdly, they that sit down in the apostasy, that has got up since the apostles' days, sit down in spiritual Sodom and Egypt; and are drinking of the whore's cup, under the beast and dragon's power.

Fourthly, they that sit down in the state in which Adam was before he fell, sit down in that which may be fallen from; for he fell from that state, though it was perfect.

Fifthly, they that sit down in the prophets, sit down in that which must be fulfilled; and they that sit down

in the fellowship of water, bread, and wine, these being temporal things, they sit down in that which is short of Christ, and of his baptism.

Sixthly, to sit down in a profession of all the scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations, and not be in the power and spirit which those were in that gave them forth; that was to be turned away from, by them that came into the power and spirit which those were in that gave forth the scriptures.

Seventhly, they that sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, sit down in him that never fell, nor ever changed. Here is the safe sitting for all his elect, his church, his spiritual members, of which he is the living head, his living stones, the household of faith; of which house he is the cornerstone that stands and abides all weathers. "For," as the apostle said, "he has quickened us, who were dead in sins and trespasses, etc. and made us sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus; that in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us, through Jesus Christ." Now the ages are come, that his kindness and exceeding riches towards us through Jesus Christ is truly manifested in us, as it was in the apostles' days; even in us, who have been dead in sins and trespasses, as they were; but now are quickened, and made to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the first and the last, by whom all things were created; who is ascended above all, and is over all, and whose glorious presence is now known. All that sit down here, in Christ Jesus, see where all other people sit, and in what. The promise of God being to the seed, which is one, Christ Jesus, every man and woman must come to witness this seed, Christ in them, that they may be heirs of the promise; and inheriting that, they will inherit substance. These things were largely declared of; the state of the church, and the state of the false church since the apostles' days, opened; and how the true church fled into the wilderness: and the state of the false prophets, which Christ said should come, and John saw were come, and how all the world wandered after them; and how they had filled the world with false doctrines, ways, worships, and religions: and how the everlasting gospel is now preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people; for all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people had drunk the whore's cup, and she was over them, and sat upon them. In this night of apostasy the pure religion and worship in spirit, which was in the apostles' days, the way of life and living faith, and the power and holy ghost were lost; but now they came to be set up again by Christ Jesus, his messengers and ministers of the gospel, as in the apostles' days. For as Christ sent his disciples to go and preach the gospel into all the world, and after that, the false prophets and antichrists went over the world, and preached their false doctrines and traditions, and heathenish and Jewish rudiments, so now again the everlasting gospel must be preached to all nations, and to every creature, that they may come into the pure religion, to worship God in the spirit and truth, and may know Christ Jesus, their way to God, and him to be the author of their faith, and may receive the gospel from heaven, and not from men; in which gospel, received from heaven, is the heavenly fellowship, which is a mystery to all the fellowships in the world.

After these things had been largely opened, with many others concerning Christ Jesus and his kingdom, and the people were turned to the divine light of Christ and his spirit, by which they might come to know God and Christ, and the scriptures, and to have fellowship with them, and one with another in the same spirit, I was moved to declare and open several other things to those Friends who had received a part of the ministry, concerning the exercise of their spiritual gifts in the church; which, being taken in writing by one present, was after this manner.

Friends,

Take heed of destroying that which you have begotten: for that which destroys, goes out, and is the castaway. And though that be true, yes, and may be the pure truth which such a one speaks, yet if he does not remain in that, and live in that in his own particular, but goes out, the same which he is gone out from comes over him. So that which calms and cools the spirits, goes over the world, and brings to the Father, to inherit the life eternal; and reaches to the spirits in prison in all. Therefore in the living, immoveable word of the Lord God dwell, and in the renown of that; and remain on the foundation that is pure, and that is sure; for whoever goes out from the pure, and ministers not in and from that, he comes to an end, and does not remain; though he may have had a time, and may have been serviceable for a time, while he lived in the thing.

And take heed of many words; what reaches to the life settles in the life. That which comes from the life, and is received from God, reaches to the life, and settles others in the life; the work is not now as it was at first; the work is now to settle and stay in the life. For as Friends have been led to minister in

the power, and the power is gone through, so that there has grown an understanding among both people of the world and Friends, so Friends must be kept in the life which is pure, that with that they may answer the pure life of God in others. For if Friends do not live in the pure life which they speak of, to answer the life in those they speak to, the other part steps in; and so there comes up an outward acquaintance, and he lets that come over him. But as everyone is kept living in the life of God, over all that which is contrary, they are in their places; then they do not lay hands on any suddenly, which is the danger now; for if anyone does, he may lose his discerning, may lay hands on the wrong part, so let the deceit come too near him; and the deceit will steal over, so that it will be a hard thing for him to get it down. There is no one who strikes his fellow servants, but first he is gone from the pure in his own particular; for when he goes from the light he is enlightened with, then he strikes; and then he has his reward; the light, which he is gone from, Christ, comes and gives him his reward. This is the state of the evil servants. The boisterous, the hasty and rash, beget nothing to God; but the life, which does reach the life, is that which begets to God. When all are settled in the life they are in that which remains for ever; and what is received there, is received from the Lord; and what one receives from the Lord, he keeps; so he sits still, cool, and quiet in his own spirit, and gives it forth as he is moved; but to the harlots, there is judgment.

So Friends, This is the word of the Lord to you all, be watchful and careful in all meetings you come into; for where Friends are sitting together in silence, they are many times gathered into their own measures. Now when a man is come newly out of the world, from ministering to the world's people, he comes out of the dirt; and then had need take heed that he be not rash. For when he comes into a silent meeting, that is another state; then he must come, and feel his own spirit, how it is when he comes to them that sit silent. If he is rash, they will judge him; that having been in the world, and among the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come in the heat of his spirit out of the world; whereas the others are still and cool; and his condition in that, not being agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt, by taking them out of the cool state into the heated state; if he is not in that which commands his own spirit, and gives him to know it.

There is great danger too in traveling abroad in the world. The same power, that moves any to go forth, is that which must keep them. For it is the greatest danger to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go in the power of the Lord; for then, he keeping in the power, is kept by it in his journey, and in his work; and it will enable him to answer the transgressed, and keep above the transgressor. Every one feeling the danger to his own particular in traveling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord will be placed and kept in. Though they that travel may have openings when they are abroad, to minister to others; yet, for their own particular growth, they must dwell in the life which does open; and that will keep down that which would boast. For the minister comes into the death, to that which is in the death and in prison: and so returns up again into the life, into the power, and into the wisdom, to preserve him clean.

This is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel that you stand in the presence of the Lord; for every man's word shall be his burden; but the word of the Lord is pure, and answers the pure in everyone. The word of the Lord is that which was in the beginning, and brings to the beginning. It is a hammer to beat down the transgressor, (not the transgressed), and as a fire to burn up that which is contrary to it. So Friends, come into that which is over all the spirits of the world, fathoms all the spirits of the world, and stands in the patience; with that you may see where others stand, and reach that which is of God in every one. Here is no strife, no contention, out of transgression: for he that goes into the strife, and into the contention, he is from the pure spirit. For where any goes into contention, if anything has been planted by him before, the contentious nature gets over it, spoiling that which was planted, and quenching his own prophesying. So if the nature in man which tends to strife is not subjected by the power of God to begin with, strife will arise resulting in a dangerous condition.

If anyone has a moving of the spirit to go any place, having spoken what they were moved of the Lord to say, let them return to their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the Lord; so will you be kept in the life, in the solid and seasoned spirit, and preach as well in life as with words, for none must be light or wild. For the seed of God is weighty, brings to be solid, and leads into the wisdom of God, by which the wisdom of the creation is known. But if that part is up which runs into the imaginations, and that part is standing in which the imaginations come up, and the pure spirit is not thoroughly come up to rule and reign, then that will run out that will glory, boast, and expire; and so will such a one spoil that which opened to him; and this is for condemnation. Let

everyone mind that which feels through and commands his spirit, whereby everyone may know what spirit he is of; for he should first try his own spirit, and then he may try others; he should first know his own spirit, and then he may know others. Therefore that which does command all these spirits, where the heats and burnings come in and get up, in that wait which chains them down and cools: that is the elect, the heir of the promise of God. For no hasty, rash, brittle spirits, (though they have prophecies), have held out, and gone through, they not being subjected in the prophecy. The earthly will not abide, for it is brittle; and in that state the ministry was another's, not the son's; for the son has life in himself, and the son has the power, which man being obedient to, he may be serviceable; but if he go from the pure power, he falls and abuses it. Therefore let your faith stand in the pure power of the Lord God, and do not abuse it; but let that search through, and work through; and let every one stand in the power of the Lord God, which reaches the seed of God; which is the heir of the promise of life without end. And let none be hasty to speak; for you have time enough, and with an eye you may reach the witness; neither let any be backward when you are moved; for that brings destruction. Truth has an honor in the hearts of people who are not Friends; so that all Friends being kept in the truth, they are kept in the honor, they are honorable, for that will honor them; but if any lose the power, lose the life, they lose their crown, they lose their honor, they lose the cross which should crucify them, and they crucify the just; and by losing the power, the lamb comes to be slain. And as it is here, so will it be in other nations; for all Friends, here and there, are as one family: the seed, the plants, they are as a family. All being kept in that which subjects all, and keeps all under, to wit, the seed itself, the life itself, that is the heir of the promise; and that is the bond of peace: for there is the unity in the spirit with God and with one another. He that is kept in the life hears God, and sees man's condition; and with that he answers the life in others that hear God also; thus one Friend that comes into that comprehends the world. But that which Friends speak, they must live in; so may they expect that others may come into that which they speak, to live in the same.

For the power of the Lord God has been abused by some, and the worth of truth has not been minded. There has been a trampling on, and marring with the feet, and that abuses the power. But now every Friend is to keep in the power, and to take heed to it; for that must be kept down which would trample and mar with the feet, and the pure life and power of God is to be lived in over that; that none with the feet might foul or mar, but everyone may be kept in the pure power and life of the Lord. Then the water of life comes in; then he that ministers drinks himself, and gives others to drink.

Now when any shall be moved to go to speak in a steeple house or market, turn in to that which moves, and be obedient to it; that that which would not go may be kept down; for that which does not want go will plead to get control. And take heed on the other hand, that the embellishing part does not get up, for it is a bad savor; therefore that must be kept down and kept subject. So wait in the light of the Lord that you may be all kept in the wisdom of God. For when the seed is up in every particular, there is no danger; but when there is an opening and prophecy, and the power stirs before the seed comes up, there is something that will be apt to run out rashly; there is the danger, and there you must be patient in the fear. For it is a weighty thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that. It is not as a customary preaching; it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when you have declared the truth to the people and they have received it, and are come into that which you spoke of; the uttering of many words and long declarations out of the life, may beget them into a form. And if any should run on rashly into words again, without the savor of life, those that are come into the thing he spoke of will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raised up before. So Friends, you must all come into the thing that is spoken in the openings of the heavenly life among you, and walk in the love of God that you may answer the thing spoken to.

And take heed all of running into inordinate affections; for when people come to own you, then there is a danger of the wrong part getting up. There was strife among the disciples of Christ, who should be the greatest? Christ told them, "The heathen exercise lordship, and have dominion over one another; but it shall not be so among you." For Christ the seed was to come up in everyone of them; so then where is the greatest? That part in the disciples, which wanted to be the greatest, was the same that was in the Gentiles. But who comes to live in the word that sanctified him, (having the heart sanctified, the tongue and lips sanctified), living in the word of wisdom, that makes clean the heart, and reconciles to God, all things being upheld by the word and power; as there is an abiding in the word of God that upholds times and seasons, and gives all things increase, here dwelling in the word of wisdom, if there be but two or three agreed in this on earth, it shall be done for them in heaven. So, in this must all things be ordered by the word of wisdom and power, that upholds all things, the times,

and the seasons, that are in the Father's hands, to the glory of God, whereby his blessing may be felt among you; and this brings to the beginning. This is the word of the Lord God to you all: keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule or reign in you, but life itself.

Now the power being lived in, the cross is lived in; and wherever Friends come in this, they draw the power and the life over; they leave a witness behind them, answering the witness of God in others. And where this is lived in, there is no want of wisdom, no want of power, no want of knowledge; but he that ministers in this, sees, with the eye which the Lord opens in him, what is for the fire, and what is for the sword, what must be fed with judgment, and what must be nourished. This brings all down, and to be low, everyone keeping to the power; for if a man gets up ever so high, he must come down again to the power where he left; what he went from, he must come down again to that. So now before all these wicked spirits can be put down, which are rambling abroad, Friends must have patience, and must wait in the patience, in the cool life; and he who is in patience doing the work of the Lord, is he who has the tasting and the feeling of the Lamb's power and authority. Therefore all Friends, keep cool and quiet in the power of the Lord God; and all that is contrary will be subjected; so that the Lamb has the victory, in the seed, through the patience.

If any have been moved to speak, and have quenched that which moved them, let none such go forth afterwards into words until they feel the power to arise and move them to go there again; for after the first motion is quenched, the other part will be apt to get up; and if any go forth in that, he goes forth in his own, and the betrayer will come into that. And all Friends, be careful not to meddle with the powers of the earth; but keep out of all such things; and as you keep in the Lamb's authority, you will answer that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which is the end of the law. Keep out of all arguing; for all that are in the transgression are out from the law of love; but all that are in the law of love come to the Lamb's power, in the Lamb's authority, who is the end of the law outward. For the law being added because of transgression, Christ, who was glorified with the Father before the world began, is the end of the law; bringing them that live in the law of life, to live over all transgression; which every particular must feel in himself.

More was then spoken to many of these particulars; which was not taken at large as delivered.

After this meeting was over and most of the Friends were gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, a party of horse, with a constable, came to seize me. I heard them ask, 'Who was in the house?' Somebody made answer, 'I was there.' They said, 'I was the man they looked for;' and went into the house, where they had many words with John Crook, and some few Friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them that they did not come into the garden to look for me; but went their way in a rage. When I came into the house, Friends were very glad to see them so confounded and that I had escaped them. Then next day I left there; and after I had visited Friends in several places, came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me and bearing me up in his service.

I had not been long in London, before I heard that a Jesuit, who came over with an ambassador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers to dispute with them at the earl of Newport's house; whereupon some Friends let him know some would meet him. Then he sent us word, 'he would meet with twelve of the wisest, learned men we had.' Awhile after he sent us word, 'he would meet with but six:' after that he sent us word again, 'he would have but three to come.' We hastened what we could; for fear that, for all his great boast, he should cancel it at last. When we had come to the house, I asked Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough go up and enter the discussion with him; and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I advised them to state this question to him, 'Whether or not the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that they were in?' They stated the question accordingly; and the Jesuit affirmed, 'That the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church.' By this time I had joined them. Then we asked him, 'Whether they had the holy ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had?' He said, 'No.' Then, I said, 'if you have not the same holy ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit that the apostles had, you are degenerated from the power and spirit which the primitive church was in.' There needed little more to be said to that. Then I asked him, 'What scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men; for all their several orders; for their praying by beads and to images; for making crosses; for forbidding of meats and marriages; and for putting people to death for religion? If, (I said), you are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see

by scriptures wherever they practiced any such things?' (For it had been agreed by both parties, that we should make good by scriptures what we said.) Then he told us of a written word, and an unwritten word? I asked him what he called his unwritten word? He said, 'The written word is the scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spoke by word of mouth; which, (he said), are all those traditions that we practice.' I bid him prove that by scripture. Then he brought that scripture where the apostle says, *2 Thes 2:5*. 'When I was with you, I told you these things. That is,' said he, 'I told you of nunneries and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the church of Rome; which,' he said, 'was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and have since been continued down by tradition until these times.' Then I desired him to read that scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words; 'for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians," he had told them before," is not an unwritten word, but is there written down; namely, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed before the great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come: so this was not telling them any of those things that the church of Rome practices. In like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, "he heard were among them; busy-bodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work, neither should he eat: which now he commands them again in his written word in this epistle.' *2 Thes 3:10*. So this scripture afforded no proof for their invented traditions, and he had no other scripture proof to offer. Therefore I told him, 'This was another degeneration of their church into such inventions and traditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practiced.'

After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, beginning at the paschal lamb, and the show bread, and came to the words of Christ, 'This is my body;' and to what the apostle wrote of it to the Corinthians; concluding, 'that after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and he that received it, received the whole Christ.' I followed him through the scriptures he brought, until I came to Christ's words and the apostle's. I showed him, 'that the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, that they were reprobates, "if Christ was not in them;" but if the bread they ate was Christ, he must of necessity be in them after they had eaten it. Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, then how has Christ a body in heaven?' I observed to him also, 'that both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine in "remembrance of Christ," and to "show forth his death until he comes;" which plainly proves the bread and wine, which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had already come, and was then there present, and it had been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then present with them, as he must have been, if that bread and wine which they ate and drank had been his real body.' As to those words of Christ, 'This is my body,' I told him, Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in scripture a rock. Is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?' 'Oh,' said the Jesuit, 'those words are to be interpreted;' 'So,' I said, 'are those words of Christ, "This is my body."' Having stopped his mouth as to argument, I made the Jesuit a proposal thus: 'that seeing he said, "the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ; and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ;" let a meeting be appointed between some whom the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of us; let a bottle of wine and loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. Then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it; and let trial be thus made, whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and moldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated. By this means, said I, the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savor and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church: if they change, decay, and lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much blood has been shed about these things; as in queen Mary's days. To this the Jesuit made this reply, 'Take,' said he, 'a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this your answer,' said I, 'Yes,' said he. 'Then,' said I, 'by this the company may all be satisfied that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Have you told people so long, that the consecrated bread and wine was immortal and divine, and that it was the very and real body and blood of Christ, and do you now say it will wear away or decay as well as the other! I must tell you, "Christ remains the same today as yesterday," and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life.' He replied no more to this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it. Then I asked him, 'why the church did persecute, and put

people to death for religion?' He replied, 'it was not the church that did it, but the magistrates.' I asked him, 'whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and christians?' He said, 'yes;', why, then,' I said, 'are they not members of your church?' 'Yes,' he said. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own concessions, whether the church of Rome does not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted, and his subtlety was confuted by simplicity.

During the time I was in London, I had many services required of me; for it was a time of much suffering. I was moved to write to Oliver Cromwell, and lay before him the sufferings of Friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also talk about this time of making Cromwell king; whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warn him against accepting it, and of several dangers; which if he did not avoid, I told him, 'he would bring shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity.' He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me; yet afterwards I was moved to write to him more fully concerning that matter.

About this time the lady Claypool, (so called), was sick, and much troubled in mind, and could receive no comfort from any that came to her; which when I heard of, I was moved to write her the following letter:

Friend,

Be still and cool in your own mind and spirit from your own thoughts, and then you will feel the principle of God to turn your mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes; whereby you may receive his strength and power to allay all blusterings, storms, and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into soberness, into stillness, into staidness, into quietness, up to God, with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord to you, that the authority of God you may feel, and your faith in it, to work down that which troubles you. For that is it which keeps peace and brings up the witness in you, which has been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When you are in the transgression of the life of God in your own particular, the mind flies up in the air, the creature is led into the night, nature goes out of its course, an old garment goes on, and an uppermost clothing; and your nature being led out of its course, it comes to be all on fire in the transgression, and that defaces the glory of the first body. Therefore be still awhile from your own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires, and imaginations, and be stayed in the principle of God in you, that it may raise your mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and you will find strength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble and of need. And you being come to the principle of God, which has been transgressed, it will keep you humble; and the humble God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he does exalt. Now as the principle of God in you has been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep your mind down low to the Lord God; to deny yourself, and from your own will, that is the earthly, from which you must be kept. Then you will feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and let you see the glory of the first body. There the wisdom of God will be received, (which is Christ, by which all things were made and created), and you thereby preserved and ordered to God's glory. There you will come to receive and feel the physician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God and do his will. For all distractions, unruliness, and confusion are in the transgression; which transgression must be brought down, before the principle of God, which has been transgressed against, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be seasoned and stilled, and a right understanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his blessings enter, and are felt over all that is contrary in the power of the Lord God, which raises up the principle of God within, gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord to you. For all these things happen to you for your good, and for the good of those concerned for you, to make you know yourselves and your own weakness, and that you may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Let the time past be sufficient to everyone, who in any thing has been lifted up in transgression out of the power of the Lord; for he can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore, all keep low in his fear, that thereby you may receive the secrets of God and his wisdom, may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it in all tempests, storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. This is the word of the Lord God to you all; what the light does make manifest and discover, as temptations, distractions, confusions; do not look at the temptations, confusions, corruptions; but at the light which discovers them and makes them manifest; and with the same light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. The same light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, corruption, and

distraction, you are swallowed up in it; but looking at the light, which discovers them, you will see over them. That will give victory, and you will find grace and strength; there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation; and by it you may see to the beginning, and the "Glory that was with the Father before the world began;" and come to know the seed of God; which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which has no end; and which bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from coming to God. That you may feel the power of an endless life, the power of God which is immortal, which brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in whom it does rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen you.

George Fox

When the foregoing paper was read to her, she said, 'it stayed her mind for the present.' Afterwards many Friends got copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it to people that were troubled in mind; and it was made useful for the settling of the minds of several.

About this time came forth a declaration from O. Cromwell, the protector, for a 'collection towards the relief of various Protestant churches, driven out of Poland, and of twenty Protestant families, driven out of the confines of Bohemia.' And there having been a like declaration published some time before to invite the nation to a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, in order for a contribution to be made for the suffering Protestants of the valleys of Lucern, Angrona, &c. who were persecuted by the duke of Savoy; I was moved to write to the protector and chief magistrates on this occasion, both to show them the nature of a true fast, (such as God requires and accepts), and to make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation in blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad, while they, calling themselves Protestants, were at the same time persecuting their Protestant neighbors and Friends at home. That which I wrote to them was after this manner:

To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth a declaration for keeping a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, for the persecution (as you say) of various people beyond the seas professing the reformed religion, which, you say, has been transmitted unto them from their ancestors.

A profession of the reformed religion may be transmitted to generations, and so believed by tradition; and in that where profession and tradition is held, a day of fasting and humiliation is only in the will of man. This is not the fast that the Lord requires, "to bow down the head like a bulrush for a day," and the day following be in the same condition as they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifies for God every day, and witnesses against all sin and persecution; which measure of God, if you be guided by it, does not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast the Lord requires; which is "to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free." Isa 58:6-7. This is the fast that the Lord requires, and this stands not in the transmission of times, nor in the traditions of men. But this stands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and shall be when time shall be no more. These that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the life and power, when it came. And whereas you mention a decree or edict that was made against the said persecuted Protestants, all such decrees or edicts proceeded from the ground of the pope's religion and supremacy. Therein stands his tyranny and his cruelty, acted in that will which is in that nature which exercises lordship over one another, as you may read, Mark 10:42, and Luke 22:25 as all the heathen do, and ever did. And in the heathenish nature is all the tyranny and persecution exercised by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, which is the guide and leader of all, who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But who are not led by this, know not what it is to suffer for conscience sake. Now, whereas you take into your consideration the sad persecution, tyranny, and cruelty exercised upon them whom you call your Protestant brethren, and contribute and administer to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we own it; and see it good to administer to the necessities of others, and to do good to all; and we, who are sufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join and to contribute with you to their outward necessities. For "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness of that;" who is good to all, gracious to all, and willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the mean time, while you are doing this, and taking notice of others' cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what you are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your consciences I speak which cannot lie, nor err, nor bear false witness; but does bear witness for God, and cries for equality, justice, and righteousness to be executed. See what you are doing who profess the scriptures,

which were given forth by the saints in the light, who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For these who now witness the same light, the same life, and the same power which gave forth the scriptures, which you in words profess, them you persecute, them you hale out of your synagogues and markets; them you beat, stock and imprison. Let that of God in your consciences, which is just, righteous, and equal, examine and try whether you have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which many now in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though you account the way of truth they walk in heresy, yet therein do they exercise themselves, to have always a "conscience void of offence towards God and man;" as you may read the saints of old did, *Acts 24:14-16* not wronging any man, neither giving any just cause of offence, only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare as they are moved by the holy ghost: and standing for the testimony of a good conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences bearing them witness that they lie not: for this do they suffer under you, who in words profess the same thing for which they suffer. Now see if any age or generation did ever persecute as you do? For you profess Christ Jesus who reveals the Father, and persecute those who witness the revelation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. You profess Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, "that enlightens every one that comes into the world;" yet persecute them that bear witness and give testimony to this light. You profess that the word is become flesh, yet persecute them that witness it so. You profess that whosoever confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist, yet persecute them that do confess him come in the flesh, and call them antichrists and deceivers. You profess that the kingdom of Christ is come, yet persecute them that witness it come. You profess Christ Jesus the resurrection and the life, yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If you say, "how shall we know that these people, who say they witness these things, do so or not?" I answer, turn your minds to the light which Christ Jesus has enlightened you with, which is one in all; and if you walk in the light, you shall have the light of life; then you will know and see what you have done, who have persecuted the Lord of glory, (in his people), in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, but into your own consciences; and there shall you find the truth of what we have declared unto you, according to the holy scriptures. When the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall you witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true. Though now you may stop your ears, and harden your hearts, while it is called today, then you shall know what you have done, and whom you have transgressed against; then you will see that no persecutors, in any age or generation before you, ever transgressed against that light and measure of God made manifest in such manner as you have done. For though Christ and the apostles were persecuted in their time, the Jews for the most part did not know that he was the Christ when he came, notwithstanding they had the scriptures which prophesied of him; neither did they believe that he was risen again when the apostles preached his resurrection. But you say, "You believe he is come, you believe his resurrection;" yet you persecute those that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried with him in baptism, those that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his resurrection: those you persecute, hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; those you cause to be whipped and stocked, shamefully treated, cast into prison, and kept there, as many jails in this nation at this day testify to your faces. Therefore honestly consider what you are doing while you are taking notice of others' cruelties, for fear that you overlook your own. There is some difference in many things between the Popish religion and that which you call the Protestant, but in this persecution of yours there is no difference; for you will confess that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon the scriptures, yet you persecute them that are in the same life which they were in who gave forth the scriptures, yourselves being the meanwhile under a profession of the words they spoke: this you shall one day witness. So you have a profession and form, and persecute them that are in the possession, life, and power. Know assuredly that you must come to judgment; for he is made manifest to whom all judgment is committed. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences, which searches and tries you, turn your minds; stand still, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according to that of God in the conscience, which is now rising and bearing witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; and they whom you persecute are manifest to God, and that of God in all consciences shall bear witness for us that we are of God; this you shall one day witness, whether you will hear or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, (not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God), we have had our conversation in the world, not handling the word of God deceitfully, but in the manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God; and if our gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost. For witnessing the holding of the mystery of faith in a pure conscience do we suffer, and are subject for conscience sake. This is thankworthy, if a man, for conscience sake, endure griefs and sufferings wrongfully. In this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conscience, that whereas we are evil spoken of as evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely

accuse our good conversation in Christ; which is not only the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. This we witness made manifest, (eternal praises to the living God!) and bear testimony to that which spoke it in the apostle in life and power. Therefore do we bear witness and testify against those, who, being got into a form and profession of it, do persecute the life and power. To the eternal light of Christ Jesus, the searcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and see what you are doing; for fear that you overturn your foundation, whereon you pretend to stand, while you are professing the scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power, which those were in who gave them forth. For the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now striking at the feet of the image, the profession which is set up, and stands in the will of man. Now is that made manifest, to which all must answer, and appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that everyone may receive the things done in his body, according to what he has done, whether it is good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifest in all your consciences, which you shall witness.

George Fox

Various times, both in the time of the long parliament, and of the protector, (so called), and of the committee of safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them, their fasts were like unto Jezebel's: for commonly, when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New England professors soon after did; who, before they put our Friends to death, proclaimed a fast also.

Now it was a time of great suffering; and many Friends being in prisons, many other Friends were moved to go to the parliament, to offer themselves up to lie in the same prisons where their friends lay, that those in prison might go forth, and not perish in the stinking jails. This we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads; which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favor could we find from those professing parliaments; instead, they would rage, and sometimes threaten Friends that attended them, to whip, and send them home. Then soon after the Lord would turn them out, and send them home; who had not a heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned: for I was moved to write to them, in their several turns, as I did to the long parliament, to whom I declared, before they were broken up, 'that thick darkness was coming over them all, even a day of darkness that should be felt.'

And because the parliament that now sat was made up mostly of high professors, who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed greater persecutors of those that were truly religious, I was moved to send them the following lines, as reproof of their hypocrisy:

Oh Friends, do not cloak and cover yourselves: there is a God that knows your hearts, and that will uncover you. He sees your way. "Woe be to him that covers, but not with my spirit, said the Lord." You act contrary to the law, and then put it from you! Mercy and true judgment you neglect. Look, what was spoken against such. My savior spoke against such; "I was sick, and you visited me not: I was hungry, and you fed me not: I was a stranger, and you took me not in: I was in prison, and you visited me not." But they said, "When saw we you in prison, and did not come to you?" "Inasmuch as you did it not unto one of these little ones, you did it not unto me!." Friends, you imprison them that are in the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ; but if Christ had sent you, you would bring out of prison, out of bondage and receive strangers. You have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; you have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter; you have condemned and killed the just, and he does not resist you.

George Fox

After this, as I was going out of town, having two Friends with me, we were little more than a mile out of the city, when two troopers belonging to colonel Hacker's regiment met us, who took me, and the Friends with me, and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us prisoners a little while; but the Lord's power was so over them, that they did not bring us before any officer; but after awhile set us

at liberty. The same day, taking boat, I went to Kingston and from there to Hampton Court, to speak with the protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life guard, I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and the next day went to Hampton Court, to have spoken further with him. But when I came, he was sick, and -- Harvy, who waited on him, told me, the doctors were not willing I should come in to speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting; and the Lord's truth and power were preciously manifested among us. After I had visited Friends in those parts, I returned to London; and soon after went into Essex; where I had not been long, before I heard the protector was dead, and his son Richard made protector in his place. Upon which I came to London again.

Before this time the church faith, (so called) was given forth, which was said to be made at the Savoy in eleven days. I got a copy of it before it was published, and wrote an answer to it: and when their book of church faith was sold up and down the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This displeased some of the parliament men; so that one of them told me, 'They must have me to Smithfield.' I told him, I was over their fires, and feared them not. Reasoning with him, I wished him to consider, had all people been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? Did not the apostle say that Jesus was the author and finisher of their faith? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles' faith, of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs' faith, should not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher of their faith, and not to the priests? A great deal of work we had about the priests' made faith; for they called us house creepers, leading silly women captive, because we met in houses, and would not hold up their priests and temples which they had made and set up. I told them, it was they that led silly women captive, and crept into houses, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had got a form of godliness, but denied the power and spirit, which the apostles were in. Such began to creep in the apostles' days; but now they had got the magistrates on their side, who upheld those houses for them, which they had crept into, their temples, with their tithes: whereas the apostles brought people off from even that temple, and those tithes and offerings, which God had for a time commanded. And the apostles met in several private houses, being led to preach the gospel in all nations; which they did freely, as Christ commanded them. Thus do we, who bring people off from these priests, temples, and tithes, (which God never commanded), to meet in houses, or on mountains, as the saints of old did, who were gathered in the name of Jesus; and Christ was their prophet, priest, and shepherd.



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Major Wiggan, a very envious man, was present, yet he restrained himself before the member of parliament, and some others that were there in company. He took upon himself to assert, 'Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin remaining in us.' I told him that was strange doctrine; for Christ came to destroy the devil and his works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin. So major Wiggan's mouth was stopped at that time. But next day he desired to speak with me again, so I took a Friend or two with me and went to him. Then he vented a great deal of passion and rage, beyond the bounds of a christian, or moral man; at which point I was told to reprove him; and having brought the Lord's power over him, and let him see what condition he was in, left him.

After some time I passed out of London, and had a meeting at sergeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came; some of considerable quality in the world. A glorious meeting it was, in which the scriptures were largely and clearly opened, and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the attendees.

But there was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London, the rude people usually came out of several parishes in the area to abuse Friends and often beat and bruised them exceedingly. One day they abused about eighty Friends, who went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, throwing them into ditches and ponds; and when they had smeared them with dirt, they said they looked like witches. The next First-day I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there, I told Friends to bring a table and place it in the meeting room so that I could stand on it. As expected the rude people came; and with the bible in my hand I showed them theirs' and their teachers' fruits; this shamed the people and they were quiet. I opened the scriptures to them and how our principles agreed with the scriptures; and turned them from darkness to the light of Christ and his spirit, by which they might understand the scriptures, see themselves and their sins, and know Christ Jesus to be their savior. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all, to his glory. But it was a time of great sufferings; for besides imprisonments, (through which many died), our meetings were greatly disturbed. They had thrown rotten eggs and flaming tar into our meetings; and beat drums and kettles to make such a noise that the truth might not be heard; and among these, the priests were as rude as any: as may be seen in the book of the fighting priests, which contains a list of some priests that had actually beaten and abused Friends.

Many Friends were taken as prisoners to London to be tried before the committee; where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not allow Friends to come in, unless they took off their hats; but at last the Lord's power came over him, and through the mediation of others, Friends were admitted. Many of us having been imprisoned upon contempts, (as they called them), for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that Friends, who had suffered so long for it from others, should put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over them all, and was so effective, that several were set at liberty by them. Inasmuch as sufferings grew very sharp, I was moved of the Lord to write a few lines, and send them among Friends, to encourage them to go on faithfully and boldly through the exercises of the day; of which a copy here follows:

My dear Friends everywhere, in prison or out of prison;

Fear not, because of the reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and Anakims are in the land; for at the blowing of the rams' horns did the walls of Jericho fall, and they that brought the evil report perished in the wilderness. Dwell in

faith, patience, and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; in that stand and you will see all things work together for good to them that love God. In that triumph, when sufferings come, whatever they be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armor you have on. You are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall, or a hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they are as heaps upon heaps. The evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb, which signifies a heart, and Joshua, a savior, triumph over all.

George Fox

After awhile I went to Reading, where I remained under great sufferings and exercises, and in great travail of spirit for about ten weeks. For I saw there was great confusion and distraction among the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. And I saw how many were destroying the simplicity, and betraying the truth. A great deal of hypocrisy, deceit, and strife, was uppermost in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their swords in one another's bowels. There had been tenderness in many of them formerly, when they were low; but when they became puffed up, had killed, and taken possession, and they came to be as bad as others: so that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying thee and thou to them. They turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness; many of them were like distracted men for this hat-honor. For they had hardened themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the seed, Christ, both in themselves and others; until at last they fell a biting and devouring one another, until they were consumed one of another; who had turned against and judged that which God had wrought in them, and showed to them. So shortly after God overthrew them, turned them upside down, and brought the king over them, who were often surmising that the Quakers met together to bring in king Charles, whereas Friends did not concern themselves with the outward powers or government. But at last the Lord brought him in, and many of them, when they saw he would be brought in, voted for the bringing him in. So with heart and voice praise the name of the Lord, to whom it does belong; who over all has the supremacy, and who will rock the nations, for he is over them. I had a sight and sense of the king's returns a good while before, and so had some others. I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know, that while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When some forward spirits, that came among us, would have bought Somerset-house, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so; for I then foresaw the king's coming in again. Besides, there came a woman to me in the Strand, who had a prophecy concerning king Charles's coming in, three years before he came; and she told me, she must go to him to declare it. I advised her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herself; for if it should be known that she went on such a message, they would look upon it to be treason; but she said, she must go and tell him, that he should be brought into England again. I saw her prophecy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon those in power: for they that had then got possession were so exceeding high and such great persecution was acted by them who called themselves saints that they would take from Friends their lands, because they could not swear in their courts. Sometimes, when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwell, he would not believe it. For which reason **Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the jails in England, and to get copies of Friends' commitments under the jailers' hands, that they might lay the weight of their sufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he refused to give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was moved to take his cap off his head, and rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, "So shall your government be rent from you and your house."** Another Friend also, a woman, was moved to go to the parliament, (that was envious against Friends), with a pitcher in her hand, which she broke into pieces before them, and told them, '**So should they be broken to pieces:**' which came to pass shortly after. And in my great suffering, and travail of spirit for the nation, being grievously burdened with their hypocrisy, treachery, and falsehood, I saw God would bring that atop of them which they had been atop of; and that all must be brought down to that which convinced them, before they could get over that bad spirit within and without; for it is the pure, invisible spirit, that does and only can work down all deceit in people.

While I was under that sore travail at Reading, by reason of grief and sorrow of mind, and the great exercise that was upon my spirit, my countenance being altered, and my body become poor and thin; there came a company of unclean spirits to me, and told me, 'the plagues of God were upon me.' I told them, it was the same spirit spoke in them that said so of Christ, when he was stricken and smitten; they hid their face from him. But when I had travailed with the witness of God, which they had quenched,

and had got past the quenching, over all that hypocrisy which the outside professors were run into, and saw how that would be brought down, and turned under, and that life would rise over it; I came to have ease, and the light, power, and spirit, shined over all. And then, having recovered, my body and face swelled, when I came abroad into the air; then the bad spirits said, 'I was grown fat;' and they envied at that also. So I saw that no condition nor state would please that spirit of theirs: but the Lord preserved me by his power and spirit through and over all; and in the Lord's power I came to London again.

Now was there a great bustle about the effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended. Then did I write the following lines, and sent among them, to reprove their wickedness, and warn them to repent.

Oh Friends, what are you doing! What do you mean sounding trumpets before an image! Will not all sober people think you are like mad people? "Oh, how I am I grieved with your abominations! Oh, how am I wearied! My soul is wearied with you, said the Lord; do you think I will not be avenged on you, for your abominations?" Oh! How have you plucked down and set up! Oh! How are your hearts made whole, and not rent! How are you turned to fooleries, which in times past you stood over. How have you lost my dread, said the Lord! Oh! Therefore fear and repent, for fear that the snare and the pit take you all! The great day of the Lord is come upon your abominations: the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them all. The sober people in these nations stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if you would bring in Popery.'

George Fox

About this time great stirs were in the nation, the minds of people being unsettled. Much plotting and contriving there was by the several factions, to carry on their several interests. And a great care being upon me, for fear that any young or inexperienced people, that might sometimes come among us, should be drawn into that snare, I was moved to give forth the following epistle, as a warning to such:

All Friends,

everywhere, keep out of plots and bustling and the arm of flesh; for all these are among Adam's sons in the fall, where they are destroying men's lives like dogs, beasts, and swine; goring, rending, and biting one another, destroying one another, and wrestling with flesh and blood. From where arise wars and killing, but from the lusts? Now all this is in Adam in the fall, out of Adam that never fell, in whom there is peace and life. You are called to peace, therefore follow it. That peace is in Christ, not in Adam in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's kingdom; for his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness, but fighters are in the lust, and all that would destroy men's lives are not of Christ's mind, who came to save men's lives. Christ's kingdom is not of this world; it is peaceable, and all that are in strife are not of his kingdom. All that pretend to fight for the gospel, are deceived; for the gospel is the power of God, which was before the devil, or fall of man was. And the gospel of peace was before fighting was. Therefore they that pretend to fight for Christ, and talk of fighting so, are ignorant of the gospel. All that talk of fighting for heaven are in darkness, heaven needs no such helpers. All such as profess themselves ministers of Christ, or christians, and go about to beat down the whore with outward, carnal weapons; the flesh and the whore are got up in themselves, and they are in a blind zeal, for the whore got up by the inward ravening from the spirit of God; and the beating down of the whore must be by the inward stroke of the sword of the spirit within. All such as pretend to possess Christ Jesus and confess him, yet run into the use of carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual weapons. They that would be wrestlers with flesh and blood throw away Christ's doctrine; the flesh is got upon them, and they are weary of their sufferings. Such as would revenge themselves, are out of Christ's doctrine. Such who being stricken on one cheek, would not turn the other, are out of Christ's doctrine. Such as do not love one another, nor love enemies, are out of Christ's doctrine. Therefore you that are heirs of the blessings of God, which were before the curse and the fall was, come to inherit your portions. And you that are heirs of the gospel of peace, which was before the devil was, live in the gospel of peace, seeking the peace and good of all men: and live in Christ, who came to save men's lives, out of Adam in the fall, where they destroy men's lives, and live not in Christ. The Jews' sword outwardly, by which they cut down the heathen, was a type of the spirit of God within, which cuts down the heathenish nature within. So live in the peaceable kingdom of Christ Jesus. Live in the peace of God, and not in the lusts, from where wars

arise. Live in Christ, the prince of peace, the way of God, the second Adam that never fell. Live not in Adam in the fall, in the destruction, where they destroy one another. Come out of Adam in the fall, into the second Adam that never fell. **Live in love and peace with all men; keep out of all the agitations of the world. Meddle not with the powers of the earth; but mind the kingdom, the way of peace;** you that are heirs of grace, heirs of the kingdom, heirs of the gospel, heirs of salvation, saints of the Most High, and children of God, whose conversation is in heaven, that is above the disturbances of the earth; let your conversation preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that those who speak evil of you, beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. Friends everywhere, this I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, "**Live in peace, in Christ the way of peace;**" therefore seek the peace of all men and no man's hurt. In Adam in the fall is no peace; but in Adam out of the fall is the peace. So you being in Adam, which never fell, it is love that overcomes, not hatred with hatred, nor strife with strife. Therefore live all in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and seeking the good and welfare of all men.

George Fox

Not long after this, George Booth rose in arms in Cheshire, and Lambert went against him. **At which time some foolish rash spirits that came sometimes among us were ready to have taken up arms; but I was moved of the Lord to warn and forbid them, and they were quiet. In the time of the committee of safety, (so called), we were invited by them to take up arms, and great places and commands were offered to some of us; but we denied them all, and declared against taking up arms both by word and writing; testifying, that our weapons and armor were not carnal, but spiritual.** And in case any that came among us, should be drawn into that snare, it came upon me from the Lord to write a few lines on that occasion, and send them forth, as a caution to all among us. Of which this is a copy:

All Friends everywhere,

take heed to keep out of the powers of the earth, that run into wars and fights, which make not for peace, but go from that; such will not have the kingdom. And Friends, take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters; but mind the Lord, his power, and his service. Let Friends keep out of other men's matters, and keep in that which answers the witness in them all, out of the man's matters part, where they must expect wars, and the dishonor. Friends everywhere, dwell in your own, in the power of the Lord, to keep your minds up to God, from falling down to the strength of Egypt, or going there for strength, after you are come out of it, like the children of Israel, after they were come out of outward Egypt. But dwell in the power of the Lord God, that you may keep over all the powers of the earth, among whom the just hand of God is come; for they have turned against the just, and disobeyed the just in their own particulars, and gone on in one against the just; therefore the just sets them one against another. Now he that goes to help among them, is away from the just in himself, in the mad and un-stayed state, and does not know by the all-seeing eye, (that beholds him that recompenses and rewards), and lives not in the hand or in the power (that mangles and overturns), which vexes the transgressors, who come to be blind and zealous for they do not know what. Therefore keep in peace, and in the love and power of God, and in unity and love one to another, for fear that any go out, and fall with the uncircumcised: that is, they that are from the spirit in themselves. And they that go from it, go into the pit together. Therefore stand in that, (it is the word of the Lord God to you all), in the fear and dread of the Lord God, his power, life, light, seed, and wisdom, by which you may take away the occasion of wars, and so know a kingdom which has no end, and fight for that with spiritual weapons, which takes away the occasion of the carnal; and there (in the Kingdom) gather men to war, as many as you can, and set up as many as you can with these (spiritual) weapons.

George Fox

After I had stayed some time in London, and had visited Friends' meetings there and in the area, and the Lord's power was set over all, I traveled into the counties again, passing through Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk, visiting Friends, until I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Christmas. The mayor of Norwich, having gotten notice beforehand of the meeting I intended to have there, granted a warrant to apprehend me. Therefore when I arrived there and heard of the warrant, I sent some Friends to the mayor to reason with him about it. His answer was, since the soldiers should not meet, why would we think to meet? He wanted us to meet outside the city; for he said the townspeople were so rude that he could hardly control them, and he feared that our meeting would

make great disturbances in the town. But our Friends told him that we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace; for we had to meet to worship God, as our manner was. So he became pretty moderate, and did not send his officers to the meeting. It was a large meeting, and many of rude people came with intent to have done mischief; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they were chained by it, though several priests were there, and professors, and Ranters. Among the priests, one whose name was Townsend stood up and cried, 'Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting!' I told him not to burden himself with that which he could not prove; and I asked him, what was our error and blasphemy? For I told him, he should prove his words, before I had done with him, or be ashamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I said, I believed there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchristian and uncivil in him, to charge civil, godly people with an ungodly meeting. He said, my error and blasphemy was, in that I said, people must wait on God by his power and spirit, and feel his presence, when they did not speak words. I asked him then, whether the apostles and holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spoke forth the scripture, and before it was written? He replied, yes; David and the prophets did hear God, before they penned the scriptures, and felt his presence in silence, before they spoke them forth. Then said I, all people take notice, he said this was error and blasphemy in me to say these words; and now he has confessed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witnessed. So I showed the people, that as the holy men of God, who gave forth the scriptures, were moved by the holy ghost, did hear and learn of God, before they spoke them forth, so must they all hearken and hear what the spirit said, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the scriptures. Oh, said the priest, this is not the George Fox I would speak with; this is a subtle man, he said. So the Lord's power came over all, the rude people were moderate, and were reached by it; and some professors called to the priests, saying, 'Prove the blasphemy and errors, which you have charged them with; you have spoken much against them behind their backs, but nothing you can prove now to their faces.' But the priest began to get away: whereupon I told him, we had many things to charge him with, therefore let him set a time and place to answer them; which he did and, went his way. A glorious day this was: for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and spirit, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, their free teacher, who was exalted over all. And as we passed away, generally people's hearts were filled with love towards us; yes, even the ruder sort of them desired another meeting; for the evil intentions they had against us were thrown out of their hearts. At night I passed out of town to a Friend's house, and from there to colonel Dennis's, where we had a great meeting; and afterwards traveled on, visiting Friends up and down in Norfolk, Huntingonshire, and Cambridgeshire. But George Whitehead, and Richard Hubberthorn stayed about Norwich, to meet the priest who was soon confounded and down, the Lord's power came so over him.

After I had traveled through many counties in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding that in some places the people were very rude, I returned to London again, when general Monk had come there, and the gates and posts of the city were pulled down. 'Long before this I had a vision, wherein I saw the city lie in heaps, and the gates down; and it was then represented to me, just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps when it was burned.

Several times I had, both by word and writing, forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompense that was coming upon them; but they rejecting counsel, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was, moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them, thus:

Friends,

now are the prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you, which have been spoken to you by the people of God in your courts, in your steeple-houses, in your towns, cities, markets, highways, and at your feasts, when you were in your pleasures, and puffed up, that you would neither hear God nor man; when you were in your highness and height of authority. Though raised up from a mean state, none might come near you without bowing, or by showing respect of persons, for you were in the world's way, compliments, and fashions, which for conscience sake towards God, Friends could not go into, being redeemed from the same. Therefore they were hated by you for that cause, but now are you brought low, who exalted yourselves above your brethren, and threw the just and harmless from among you, until at last God has thrown you out. And when you cast the innocent from among you, then you began fighting with one another, until you were consumed one of another. And so the day is come upon you, of which you were warned before, though you would not believe it. And are not your hearts so hardened that you still hardly believe it, even though you are about to go into captivity? Was it not told

you, (when you spilled the blood of the innocent in your steeple-houses, in your markets, in your highways and cities, yes, and even in your courts also, because they said the word 'thou' to you, and could not put off their hats to you, "that if something did not rise up among yourselves, to avenge the blood of the innocent, there would something come from beyond the seas, which lay reserved there; which when brought by the arm of God, the arm of flesh and strongest mountain could not withstand?" Yet you did not consider, nor regard, nor hear; but cried, peace, peace, and feasted yourselves, and sat down in the seized property of your enemies, being treacherous both to God and man; and who will trust you now? Have you not taken covenants and oaths? And have you not broken covenants and oaths between God and man, and made the nations breakers of both covenants and oaths; so that nothing was among you but hypocrisy, and rottenness, and falsehood under fair pretence? When you pretended to set up the old cause, it was only for yourselves; for which you were long detestable to sober people, who saw that you would do no good. But it was a joy for any of you to get up into authority, that you might have praise, and honor, and respect; and they that were in the self-denial were a derision to you; from among whom seeking the honor of man was banished. Thus you became the nation's masters, and not servants; whereas the greatest of all should be the servants of all. But there you lost your authority, not considering your estates, from where you were, and to what end God had raised you up; but you forgot the Lord, and quenched that which was good in yourselves, and persecuted them that lived in the good; and so have grown so gross and perverse, that at last you are neither fit for God or man. Did you not used to call Quakers the fanatic people, and people with the silly head? But where are you now tottering? Into Cain's city Nod, which signifies fugitive, or wandering? Have not you persecuted and imprisoned to death, such as those whom God had respected, and is now reproving you for their sakes, by them whom you have hated? Were not many among you cut off for your persecution, and yet the rest of you would not take warning? Was not there a book of examples set out unto you, of what sudden and strange deaths happened upon the persecutors of the innocent? And yet you would not take warning, until the overflowing scourge is now coming upon you. Are you not like those that killed like Cain, who have killed about your sacrifice, and mingled the blood of the innocent with it? Has not God now vagabonded you, that you should become a curse upon the earth, who have persecuted Friends to death? Did not the blood of the righteous cry out of the ground for vengeance? And will not the blood of the righteous be required? Could you think that the Lord would let you sit always with bloody hands, and fists of wickedness! Ah! What is become of all your feasts and your fasts, the prayers and blessings of your priests!

George Fox

Being now clear of the city, and finding my spirit drawn to visit Friends in the western parts of England, I went out of town; and passing first into Surry and Sussex, came to a great town, where there was a large meeting, to which several Friends from Reading came; and a blessed meeting it was. The priest of the town was in a great rage, but did not come out of his house. Therefore, hearing him make a great noise in his house, as we were passing from the meeting, we asked him to come out into the street so we could debate with him; but he would not. So the Lord's power was over all and Friends were refreshed within it. From there I went to another market town, where in the evening we had a precious meeting; and the fresh sense of the presence of the Lord God was sweetly felt among us. Then turning into Hampshire and Dorsetshire, I went to Ringwood and Pool, visiting Friends in the Lord's power, and had great meetings among them.

At Dorchester we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, to which many soldiers came, who were pretty civil. But the constables and officers of the town came, under pretence to look for a Jesuit, whose head (they said), was shaved: and they told us all to take off their hats, or else they would take them off, to look for the Jesuit's shaven head. So they took off my hat, (for I was the man they aimed at), and they looked very closely; but since they could not find any bald or shaven place on my head, they went away with shame; the soldiers and other sober people were greatly offended with them. But it was of good service for the Lord, and all things worked together for good; for it affected the people: and after the officers were gone, we had a fine meeting; and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God.

From there we passed into Somersetshire, where the Presbyterians and other professors were very wicked, and often disturbed Friends' meetings. One time especially, (as we were then informed), a very wicked man put a bear's skin on his back, and undertook with that to play pranks in the meeting. Accordingly, he positioned himself opposite to the Friend that was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and made sport to his wicked followers, causing great disturbance in the

meeting. But an eminent judgment overtook him, and his punishment slumbered not; for as he went from the meeting, there was a bull baiting in the way, which he stayed to see; and coming within the bull's reach, the bull struck his horn under the man's chin into his throat, and thrust his tongue out of his mouth, so that it hung lolling out, as he had used it before in derision in the meeting. And with the bull's horn running up into the man's head, the bull swung him about upon his horn in a most remarkable and fearful manner. Thus he that came to injure God's people was injured himself; and it would be well if such apparent examples of divine vengeance would teach others to beware of opposing God's truth.

We traveled through Somersetshire and Devonshire, until we came to Plymouth, and so into Cornwall, visiting the meetings of Friends, to the Land's End. Many precious and blessed meetings we had all along as we went, in which the convinced were established, and many others were added to them. At the Land's End an honest fisherman was convinced, who became a faithful minister of Christ. I took notice of him to Friends, telling them, 'he was like Peter.'

While I was in Cornwall, there was a great shipwreck at Land's End. In this country at this time it was customary for both rich and poor to go out to salvage as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives; and in some parts of the country they called shipwrecks God's grace. It grieved my spirit to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul, made him a fire, and were courteous towards him and those that suffered their shipwreck with him. Based on this I was moved to write a paper, and send it to all the parishes, priests, and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that, if they could assist to save people's lives and preserve their ships and goods, they should exert their best efforts; and consider, if they were the victims of a shipwreck, they would be very resentful of anyone who came upon a wreck, and the people should strive to get what they could from them, and not regard their lives.

Friends and people,

Take heed of greediness and covetousness, for that is idolatry; and the idolater must not enter into the kingdom of God. Take heed of drunkenness, oaths, and cursing, for such are destroyers of the creation, and make it to groan. Lay aside all fighting, quarrelling, brawling, and evil speaking, which are the works of the flesh and not of the spirit, for who follow such things are not like to inherit the kingdom of God. Put away all corrupt words, which are unsavory, and calling people names, for you must give an account for every idle word. Lay aside all profession and religion that is vain, and come to the possession, the pure religion, which is to visit the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger, and receive them, for some by this may entertain angels or the servants of the Lord unawares, as Paul was entertained after the shipwreck at Melita. Do not take people's goods from them by force out of their ships, seamen's or others, neither covet after them; but rather endeavor to preserve their lives and goods for them, for that shows a spirit of compassion, and the spirit of a christian. But if you are greedy and covetous after other men's goods, not caring what becomes of the men, would you want others to do that to yourselves? If you should have a ship cast away in other places, and the people should come to tear the goods and ship in pieces, not regarding to save your lives, but be ready to fight one with another for your goods, do not you believe such goods would become a curse to them? May you not as surely believe such kind of actions will become a curse to you? When the spoil of one ship's goods is idly spent and consumed upon the lusts in alehouses, taverns, and otherwise, then you look for another. Is this to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you?" Which is the law and the prophets. Priest Hull, are these your fruits? Why do you take people's labor and goods? Have you taught the people no better manners and conversation, who are so brutish and heathenish? All such things we judge in whoever does them. But if any Friend or others try to preserve men's lives, and try to save their goods and estates; and restore what they can save of a wreck to the owners, if the owners pay them for their labor, doing in that case unto them what they would have done to themselves, that we approve. And if they buy or sell, and do not make a prey that is allowed, in the way of "doing as we would be done by" keeping to the law and to the prophets. If you should be wrecked in another country, you would hope that other people would save your lives and goods, and have your goods restored to you again; and you ought to pay them for doing so. All that do otherwise, who wait for a wreck and take the goods for yourselves, not regarding the lives of the men; and if any escape drowning, causes them to beg up and down the country; and if any escape with a little, rob them of it. All that do so are not for preserving the creation, but destroying it; and those goods which are so obtained will be a curse, a plague, and

a judgment to them, and the judgments of God will follow them for acting such things; the witness in your consciences shall answer it. Therefore, all you who have done such things "do so no more," otherwise a worse thing will happen to you. But do that which is good: preserve men's lives and estates, and labor to restore the loss and breach; that the Lord requires. Do not be like a company of greedy dogs, and worse than heathens, as if you had never heard of God, nor Christ, nor the scriptures, nor pure religion. And priest Hull, have you spent their money upon you for that which is no bread? For a thing worth nothing when you have such fruits? All such teachers, that make a trade of the scriptures, (which are given forth from the spirit of God, to be believed, read, and practiced, and Christ, whom they testify of, enjoyed), we utterly deny; who own Christ, and are come off from your steeple-houses, which were the old mass-houses; for there are these bad fruits harbored, those are the cages of them. But come to the church which is in God, (1 Thess 1:1) and come all to the light which Christ Jesus has enlightened you with, which shows you all your ungodly words, ungodly thoughts, and ungodly actions. This will be your teacher if you love it, your condemner if you hate it. For the mighty day of the Lord is coming upon all wickedness and ungodliness; therefore lay aside your whoredoms and fornications. And you magistrates, who are to do justice, do you not think that the hand of the Lord God is against you, and that his judgments will come upon you who do not look after these things, and stop them with the law, which is, "To do unto all men as they would have done unto them," whereby you might be a good savor in your country? Is not the law to preserve men's lives and estates, "doing unto all men as they would men should do unto them?" For all men would have their lives and estates preserved; therefore, should not you preserve others, and not allow them to be devoured and destroyed? The evil of these things will lie upon you, both priests and magistrates.

George Fox

Postscript- All dear Friends who fear the Lord God, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit, which leads to devour and destroy, and is out of the wisdom of God. When ships are wrecked, do not run to destroy and make havoc of ship and goods with the world; but run to save the men, and the goods for them; and so deny yourselves, and do unto them as you would they should do unto you.

George Fox

This paper had good service among people: and Friends have endeavored much to save the lives of men in time of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some, who suffered shipwreck, have been almost dead, and starved, Friends have taken them to their houses to assist and recover them, which is an act to be practiced by all true Christians.

I had many precious, blessed, living meetings in Cornwall; several eminent people were convinced in that county, whom neither priests nor magistrates, by spoiling goods or imprisonments, could bring to forsake their shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, who bought them; and Friends who were turned to Christ, their teacher and savior, being settled in peace and quietness upon him, their foundation, we left them to the Lord's teaching and ordering, fresh and green. Thomas Lower, who had accompanied me through that county, brought me over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again: and after several meetings in Devonshire we came to Somersetshire, where we had several large and peaceable meetings, and visited Friends until we came to Bristol.

I entered Bristol on a Seventh day. The day before the soldiers came into the meeting, and were exceedingly rude, beating and striking Friends with their muskets, and driving them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if they came there again. For it seems the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had combined together to make a disturbance among us. When Friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly they had been the day before; I sent for George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen; and seeing they had broken up our meetings, request them to let us have the town-hall to meet in. I proposed that for the use of the town-hall we would give them twenty pounds a year, to be distributed among the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, Friends would not meet in it, but only on the First days. Those Friends were astonished at this, and said, the mayor and aldermen would think they were mad. I said, no, for they should offer them a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to tell them go. At last they consented, and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor, it came so over him, that he said, 'for his part he could consent to it, but he was but one.' He told them of another great hall they might have, but they did not accept that because

it was inconvenient. So they came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I told them to go to the colonel and lay before him the rude carriage of his soldiers, how they came armed among naked innocent people, who were waiting upon and worshipping the Lord; but they were reluctant to go to him. Next morning, being First day, we went to the meeting in the orchard, where the soldiers had so lately been so rude. After I had declared the truth a pretty long time in the meeting, many rude soldiers and people came, some with drawn swords. The innkeepers had made some of them drunk; and one of them had bound himself with an oath, 'to cut down and kill the man that spoke.' He came pressing in through the crowd to within two yards of me, and stopped at those four Friends before mentioned, (who should have gone to the colonel as I would have had them), and started arguing with them. Suddenly I saw his sword was put up and gone; for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him and the rest. We had a blessed meeting, for the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt among us. The day following, those four Friends went and spoke with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers; he then proceeded to cut and slash some of them right in front of the Friends' faces. When I heard of this, I blamed them for letting him do it and also for not going on the Seventh day as I told them to do, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. Thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting was held in peace for a good while after.

I also had a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was estimated were several thousands of people; for besides Friends from many parts in the area, some of the Baptists and Independents with their teachers came to it, along with many of the sober people of Bristol. So many people came to the meeting that the people who stayed behind said, 'the city looked naked.' It was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who is the end of all figures and shadows of the law and the first covenant. It was declared to the people that all figures and shadows were given to man after man fell, and that all the rudiments and inventions of men which have been set up in christendom, many of which were Jewish and heathenish, were not set up by the command of Christ; and all images and likenesses man has made to himself or for himself, whether of things in heaven or things in earth, have been since he lost the image and likeness of God, in which God made him. But now Christ has come to redeem, translate, convert, and regenerate man out of all these things that he has set up in the fall, out of the true types, figures, and shadows; and also, out of death and darkness, up into the light, life, and image of God again, which man and woman were in before they fell. Therefore all now should come, and all may come to receive Christ Jesus, the substance; by his light, spirit, grace and faith; and should live and walk in him, the redeemer and savior.

And as we had a great deal of work with priests and professors, who pleaded for imperfection, I was opened to declare and manifest to them that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God had made, he saw was good, and he blessed it; but the imperfection came in by the fall, through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil who was out of truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works, which made man and woman imperfect. Christ said to his disciples, 'Be you perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect;' and he, who himself was perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the state which God made them in. So he is the maker up of the breach, and the peace between God and man. That this might the better be understood by the simple people, I used a comparison of two old people who had their house broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. And some came to them who pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up the old people's house again, if they would give them so much a year; but when they had gotten their money, they left their house as they found it. After this manner came a second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, each with his several pretence to build up the old house, and each got the people's money, and then cried, 'They could not tear up the house, the breach could not be made up; for there is no perfection here.' They tell them, the house can never be perfectly built up again in this life, though they have taken the people's money for doing it. For all the sect masters in christendom (so called) have pretended to build up Adam and Eve's fallen house, and when they have got people's money, they tell them the work cannot be done perfectly here; so their house lies as it did. But I told the people, Christ had come to do it freely, who by one offering has perfected forever all them who are sanctified; and he renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and makes man's and woman's house as perfect again as God made them at the first; and this Christ, the heavenly man, does all of this without charge, freely. 'Therefore all are to look to him, and all that have received him are to walk in him, the life, the substance, the first and the last, 'The rock of ages, the foundation of many generations.' Largely were

these and many other things opened to people, the word of life was preached, which lives and abides, and all were exhorted to hear and obey it, that by it all might be born again of the immortal seed, and feed of the milk of the word. A glorious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's everlasting seed, Christ Jesus, was set over all, and Friends parted in the power and spirit of the Lord, in peace, and in his truth, that is over all.

About this time the soldiers under general Monk's command were rude and troublesome at Friends' meetings in many places; for which reason a complaint was made to him, and he gave forth the following order, which somewhat restrained them:

St. James's, the 9th of March, 1659.

'I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers; because they do nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.'
George Monk

After this meeting, I passed to Oldeston, to Nailsworth, and to Nathaniel Crips's; where there was a large meeting and several soldiers were there, but it was quiet. From there we passed to Gloucester, visiting meetings. In Gloucester we had one meeting that was peaceable, though the town was very rude and divided; for one part of the soldiers were for the king, and another for the parliament. As I passed out of the town over the bridge, Edward Pyot being with me, the soldiers there said, 'they were for the king.' After we were past them, and they understood it was I, they were in a great rage that I had escaped them, and said, 'Had they known it was me, they would have shot me with hail shot rather than let me escape.' But the Lord prevented their devilish design and brought me safe to colonel Grimes's, where we had a large general meeting, and the Lord's truth and power were set over all; Friends were established upon the rock and settled under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

We passed from there to Tewksbury, and so to Worcester, visiting meetings as we went. And in all my time in these towns, I had never seen such drunkenness; for they had been electing members of parliament. At Worcester the Lord's truth was set over all, people were finely settled there, and Friends praised the Lord; no, I saw the 'Very earth rejoiced.' Yet many had great fears and were very troubled, looking for the king's coming in, and expecting everything to be changed. They would ask me what I thought of times and things? I told them the Lord's power was over all, his light shined over all, and that fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not been faithful to God, and on our persecutors. For in my travail and sufferings at Reading, when people were at a stand, and could not tell who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all, (for I had traveled through in it), and his day shined on whomever should come in; and whether the king came in or not, all would be well to those that loved the Lord and were faithful to him. Therefore I told all Friends to fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power that was over all.

From Valiant for the Truth: The contending factions in England were now in a state of great tumult, and the loyalists were eager to embrace the opportunity to restore Charles Stuart to his father's throne. General Monk, a man whose principles were of that convenient kind which could be easily changed, had command of the army in Scotland, and was feared and courted by all parties. He had been a Royalist before he was a Parliamentarian, and found no difficulty now in using his power in effecting the restoration of the King.

He sent letters to Charles, who was at Cologne, watching for an opportunity to assert his claim to the throne, and the result of their correspondence was the famous declaration of Breda, which Charles sent to the House of Lords, with a duplicate to the House of Commons. This document, dated April 14th, 1660, was full of fair promises, and one paragraph particularly interested Friends, of whom one hundred and forty-four were now lying in prison for conscience' sake:

"And because the passion and lack of charity of the times has produced different opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in freedom of conversation will be better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence."

The Royalist party predominating in the House of Lords, it was soon decided to invite Charles to ascend the throne of his father. The young man accordingly sailed from the Hague, and landed at Dover, Fifth Month, 25th, 1660, with his two brothers, James, Duke of York, and Henry, Duke of Gloucester. From there he went to London, greeted on every side by the joyous acclamations of his subjects. Sober men and women knelt down and asked for blessings upon him, holding up their little ones to look at him, that they might tell their children and grandchildren of that glorious day. The city of London was stirred to its very depths at his coming. The bells poured out their joyous greeting, bonfires were lighted, and crowds of people clad in holiday garb thronged the streets. The old Puritan plainness was

studiously avoided, the Cavalier wardrobes were brought out, the French gentlemen and ladies of the court appeared in bright colors, and all seemed like a gala day when "the king came to his gain again."

In the midst of all this excitement, Friends pursued the even tenor of their way, though they rejoiced that the restoration had been peaceably accomplished, and felt a hope of some respite from persecution.

Richard Hubberthorne, writing to his friends at Swarthmore, Fifth Month, 29th, 16130, says: "This day King Charles and his two brothers, James and Henry, came into the city. Charles is of a pretty sober countenance, but the great pride and vanity of those who brought him in is inexpressible. He is in danger to be led into those things to which he himself is not inclined."

From Worcester I visited Friends' meetings until I came to Badgely; from there I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relatives. While I was there, a justice named Burton, hearing I had a good horse, sent a warrant to search for me and my horse; but I was gone before they came, so he missed of his wicked end. I passed to Twycross, Swanington, and Derby, where I visited Friends, and found my old jailer among them, who had formerly kept me in the house of correction there, who was now convinced of the truth for which I suffered under him then. Passing into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Synderhill green, visiting Friends' meetings; and so to Balby in Yorkshire, where our Yearly Meeting at that time was held in a large orchard of John Killam's, where it was estimated that thousands of people and Friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard a troop of horse had been sent from York, about thirty miles away, to break up our meeting; and that the newly raised militia were to join them. I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool; and after I had spoken some time, two trumpeters came, sounding their trumpets pretty near me, and the captain of the troop cried, 'Divide to the right and left, and make way.' Then they rode up to me. I was declaring the everlasting truth and word of Life, in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain told me to 'Come down, for he was come to disperse our meeting.' After some time I told him, they all knew we were a peaceable people, and that we used to have such great meetings; but if he thought we met in a hostile way, I asked him to make a search among us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer. He told me, 'He must see us dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse us.' I asked him what honor it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols among so many unarmed men and women as they were? But if he would be still and quiet, our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours, and when it was done, as we came peaceably together, so we should part; for he might perceive the meeting was so large all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He said, 'He could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went.' I desired him then, if he himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay, and see the order and peace of our meeting. He said, 'He would permit us an hour's time,' and left half a dozen soldiers with us. Then he went away with his troop, and Friends of the house gave the soldiers that stayed some meat for them and their horses. When the captain was gone, the soldiers that were left told us, 'We could stay until night if we wanted.' But we only stayed about three more hours, and we had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the presence of the living God was manifest among us, and the seed, Christ, was over all. Friends were built upon him the foundation, and settled under his glorious, heavenly teaching. After the meeting Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. Many of the militia soldiers stayed also, much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting; and they cursed the captain and his troopers. It was reported they intended evil against us that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant to us, in not joining them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed. Yet this captain was a desperate man; for this was the same captain that had said to me in Scotland, 'He would obey his superior's commands; if it was to crucify Christ he would do it, or execute the great Turk's command against the christians if he was under him.' So that it was an eminent power of the Lord, which chained down both him and his troopers, and those envious militia soldiers also, who went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

Next day we had a heavenly meeting at Warmsworth, of Friends in the ministry and with several others, and then Friends parted. As they passed through the country several were arrested; for the day that our first meeting was held, Lambert was routed, and it created great confusion in the country; but Friends were not kept long in prison at that time. As I went to this meeting, several came to me at Skegby in Nottinghamshire; they were going to be soldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horse from me; and because I would not sell him, they were in a great rage against me, using many threatening words; but I told them, 'God would confound and scatter them;' and within two or three days after that, they were indeed scattered.

From Warmsworth I passed in the Lord's power to Barton-abbey, where I had a large meeting; from there

I went to Thomas Taylor's, and on to Skipton, where was a general meeting of men Friends out of many counties concerning the affairs of the church. A Friend went naked through the town declaring truth, and he was very beaten. Some other Friends also came to me all bloody. As I walked in the street, a desperate fellow had an intent to have done me mischief; but he was prevented, and our meeting was quiet. To this meeting came many Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation, and beyond the seas. Several years before when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in various parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they didn't understand how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates and others who understood something of the law, came there, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and many justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw Friends' books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we **took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond sea, and provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc; the justices and officers confessed that we did their work,** and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practice. **Sometimes there would be two hundred of the poor of other people to come and wait until the meeting was done, (for all the country knew we met about the poor); and after the meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give everyone of those poor people a loaf, however many there were of them; for we were taught 'to do good to all, though especially to the household of faith.'**



<1> <2> <3> <4>

After this meeting, I visited Friends' meetings until I came to Lancaster; from there I went to Robert Withers's, and so to Arnside, where I had a general meeting for all the Friends in the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. This meeting was quiet and peaceable, and the living presence of the Lord was among us. I went back with Robert Withers, and Friends left, fresh in the life and power of Christ, in which they had dominion, being settled upon him the heavenly rock and foundation. Several rude fellows, servants of a nearby justice named Sir George Middleton came to have made some disturbance, as it was thought; but the meeting was ended, and they did nothing there: but they did intercept three women Friends going homeward, impudently scoffing them, and one of them behaved very abusively and immodestly towards them. The same man had also abused other Friends, and was so outrageous that he tried to cut some with an axe, but he was restrained by some of his companions. At another time the same man set upon six Friends that were going to a meeting at Yelland, and beat and abused them so that he 'bruised their faces and shed much of their blood,' wounding them very sorely, one of them in several parts of his body; yet they lifted not a hand against him, but gave him their backs and cheeks to beat.

From Robert Withers's the next day I went to Swarthmore with Francis Howgil and Thomas Curtis accompanying me. I had not been there long before Henry Porter, a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me. I had a sense of the thing beforehand; and being in the parlor with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, some of her servants came and told her that some men had come to search the house for arms, and they went up into some of the chambers under that pretense. It came upon me to go out to them, and as I was going by some of them, I spoke to them; at which point they asked me my name. I readily told them my name, and they laid hold on me, saying that I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverstone. There they kept me all night at the constable's, and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me; some of whom sat in the chimney, for fear I should go up the chimney, possessing such dark imaginations. They were very rude and uncivil to me, and would neither allow me to speak to Friends or allow Friends to bring me necessities; but they thrust them out violently and kept a strong guard upon me. They were very wicked and rude, and they boasted greatly about me. One of the constables named Ashburnbam said, 'he did not think a thousand men could have taken me.' Another of the constables was a very wicked man named Mount; he said, 'he would have served judge Fell himself so, if he had been alive, and he had a warrant for him.' At about six the next morning, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off my spurs, took my knife out of my pocket, and hastened me away to the town, with a party of horse and a crowd of people, not allowing me to stay until my own horse arrived. When I had gone about a quarter of a mile with them, some Friends with Margaret Fell and her children came towards me, and then a great party of horse gathered around me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, 'will they rescue him! will they rescue him!' At which point I said, 'here is my hair, here is my back, here are my cheeks, strike on!' This cooled them down a little. Then they brought a little horse, and two of them took up one of my legs and put my foot in the stirrup; and two or three lifting over my other leg, set me upon the little horse, behind the saddle, and so led the horse by the halter, but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come a pretty way out of the town, they beat the little horse, and made him kick and gallop; whereupon I slipped off him, and told them, 'they should not abuse the creature.' They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet, and set me upon the same horse behind the saddle again, and led the horse about two miles; until we came to a great water called Carter-ford. By this time my own horse had caught up with us; and since the water was so deep that their little horse scarce able to carry me through, they let me get upon my own horse, being persuaded by some of their own company; and they led my horse through the water. One wicked fellow 'kneeled down, and lifting up his hands, blessed God that I had been taken.' When I had come over the sands, I told them I had heard that I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before; but the constables cried, 'no, I should not.' They led me to Lancaster, about fourteen miles. They expected

to have had a great triumph; but as they led me, I was moved to 'sing praises to the Lord, in his triumphing power over all.' When I arrived in Lancaster, the spirits of the people were mightily up; I stood and looked earnestly upon them, and they cried, 'look at his eyes!' After awhile I spoke to them, and they were pretty sober. Then came a young man took me to his house, and after a little while the officers took me to major Porter's, the justice who had sent the warrant against me; he had several others with him. When I came in, I said, 'Peace be among you.' Porter asked me, 'why I came into the country in that troublesome time?' I told him, 'to visit my brethren.' But said he, 'You have great meetings up and down.' I told him though we had, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people. He said, 'we saw the devil in people's faces.' I told him, 'if I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish heady man, I could not say I saw the spirit of God in him.' And I asked him, 'if he could see the spirit of God?' He said, 'we cried against their ministers.' I told him, while we were as Saul, sitting under the priests, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called pestilent fellows nor makers of sects; but when we were decided to exercise our consciences towards God and man, we were called pestilent fellows, as Paul was. He said, we could express ourselves well enough, and he would not dispute with me; but he would restrain me. I desired to know, 'for what, and by whose order he sent his warrant for me;' and complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers after they had taken me, and in their bringing me there. He would not take notice of that, but told me, 'he had an order, but would not let me see it; for he would not reveal the king's secrets;' and besides, 'a prisoner,' he said, 'was not to see why he was committed.' I told him that was not reasonable; for how could any defend themselves then? I said I ought to have a copy of it. But he said, there was a judge once, 'that fined one for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; and,' he said, 'I have an old clerk, though I am a young justice.' Then he called to his clerk, saying, 'Is it not ready yet? Bring it;' meaning the mittimus. But since it was not, he told me I was a disturber of the nation. I told him, I had been a blessing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the spirit of God in all consciences would answer it. Then he charged me as an 'enemy to the king, that I endeavored to raise a new war, and imbrue the nation in blood again.' I told him, I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things; and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the jailer was sent for and commanded to take me, put me into the Dark-house, and let none come to see me, but kept me there close prisoner until I should be delivered by the king or parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was? 'For I hear,' said he, 'he has a good horse; have you brought his horse?' I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him. As they had me to the jail the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it him: I told him, no; he had not been so civil to me. So they put me into the jail, and the under jailer was a very wicked man named Hardy, who was exceedingly rude and cruel; and many times he would not let me have meat brought in except what I could pass under the door. Many came to look at me, some in a rage, and very uncivil and rude. One time two young priests came, and they were very abusive. The meanest people could not be worse. Among those who came in this manner was old Preston's wife of Howke. She used many abusive words to me, telling me that my 'tongue should be cut out,' and that 'I should be hanged;' showing me the gallows. But the Lord cut her off, and she died in a miserable condition.

Being now close prisoner in the common jail at Lancaster, I desired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the jailer, who asked for a copy of my mittimus so that I might know for what I stood committed. They went, and the jailer answered, 'He could not give a copy of it, for once someone else had been fined for doing so;' but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the best of their remembrance, the matters there charged against me were, 'That I was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that I, together with many of my fanatic opinion, had of late tried to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and embroil the whole country in blood. For which reason the jailer was commanded to keep me in safe custody, until I should be released by order from the king or parliament.'

When I had gotten the main points of the charge contained in the mittimus, I wrote a plain, straightforward answer, in vindication of my innocence to each particular point, as follows:

I am a prisoner at Lancaster, committed by justice Porter. I cannot get a copy of the mittimus; but I am told that such expressions in it are very untrue. As that I am "generally suspected to be a common disturber of the nation's peace, an enemy to the king, and that I, with others, should endeavor to raise insurrections, to embroil the nation in blood." All which is utterly false; and in every part of that, I do deny it. For I am not a person generally suspected to be a disturber of the nation's peace, nor have I given any cause for such suspicion; for formerly throughout the nation I have been tried for these

things. In the days of Oliver I was taken up on pretense of raising arms against him, which was also false; for I had nothing to do with raising arms. Yet I was then taken prisoner to London, and brought before him; where I cleared myself and denied the drawing of any carnal weapon against him, or any man upon the earth; for my weapons are spiritual, which take away the occasion of war, and lead into peace. Upon my declaring this to Oliver, I was set at liberty by him. After this I was taken, and sent to prison by major Ceely, in Cornwall; when I was brought before the judge, Ceely informed against me, "That I took him aside, and told him, that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time to involve the nation in blood, and bring in king Charles." This also was utterly false, a lie of his own invention, as was then proved upon him; for I never spoke any such word to him. I never was in any plot. I never took any engagement or oath, nor ever learned war-postures. As those were false charges against me then, so are these now which come from major Porter, who is lately appointed to be justice, but wanted power formerly to exercise his cruelty against us; which is but the wickedness of the old enemy. For I am not a disturber of the peace of the nation, nor ever was; but seek the peace of the nation, and of all men, and stand for all nations' peace, and men's peace upon the earth, and wish that all nations and men knew my innocence in these things.

And whereas Major Porter said, I am an "enemy to the king," this is false; for my love is to "him and to all men," even though they be enemies to God, to themselves, and me. And I can say, it is of the Lord that he has been brought in, to bring down many who had been unrighteously placed in positions of power; of which I prophesied three years before he came in. It is a large error that he should say I am an enemy to the king; for I have no reason so to be, he having done nothing against me. But I have been often imprisoned and persecuted these eleven or twelve years by those that have been against both the king and his father, even the party that Porter was made a major by and bore arms for; but not by them that were for the king. I was never an enemy to the king, nor to any man's person upon the earth. I am in the love that fulfils the law, which thinks no evil, but loves even enemies; and would have the king saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and be brought into the fear of the Lord, to receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that with that wisdom he may order all things to the glory of God.

Where he calls me, "A chief upholder of the Quakers' sect," I answer: the Quakers are not a sect, but are in the power of God, which was before sects were, and witness the election before the world began, and are come to live in the life which the prophets and apostles lived in who gave forth the scriptures; therefore are we hated by envious, wrathful, wicked, and persecuting men. But God is the upholder of us all by his mighty power, and preserves us from the wrath of the wicked that would swallow us up.

And whereas he said, "That I, together with others of my fanatic opinion," as he calls it, "have of late endeavored to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood." This is altogether false; to these things I am as a child, and know nothing of them. The postures of war I never learned; my weapons are spiritual, and not carnal, for with carnal weapons I do not fight. I am a follower of him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world." And though these lies and slanders are raised upon me, I deny drawing of any carnal weapon against the king or parliament, or any man upon the earth; for I am come to the end of the law, "to love enemies, and wrestle not with flesh and blood;" but am in that which saves men's lives. I am a witness against all murderers, plotters, and any who would do such things to "imbrue the nation in blood;" for it is not in my heart to have any man's life destroyed. And as for the word fanatic, which signifies furious, foolish, mad, etc. he might have considered himself before he had used that word, and have learned the humility which goes before honor. We are not furious, foolish, or mad; but through patience and meekness have borne lies, slanders, and persecutions many years, and have undergone great sufferings. The spiritual man, that wrestles not with flesh and blood, and the spirit that reproves sin in the gate, which is the spirit of truth, wisdom, and sound judgment, is not mad, foolish, furious, which fanatic signifies; but all are of a mad, furious, foolish spirit, that wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons, in their furiousness, foolishness, and rage. This is not the spirit of God, but of error, that persecutes in a mad, blind zeal, like Nebuchadnezzar and Saul.

Since I am ordered to be kept prisoner until I am delivered by order from the king or parliament, therefore I have written these things to be laid before you, the king and parliament, that you may consider them before you act anything therein. That you may weigh, in the wisdom of God, the intent and end of men's spirits, for fear that you act the thing that will bring the hand of the Lord upon you and against you, as many have done before you who have been in authority, whom God has

overthrown. In him we trust whom we fear and cry to day and night, who has heard us, does hear us, and will hear us, and avenge our cause. Much innocent blood has been shed. Many have been persecuted to death by such as were in authority before you, whom God has vomited out because they turned against the just. Therefore consider your standing now that you have the day, and receive this as a warning of love to you.

From an innocent sufferer in bonds, and close prisoner in Lancaster castle, called

George Fox

Upon my being taken, and forcibly carried away from Margaret Fell's, and charged with things of so high a nature, she was concerned, looking upon it to be an injury offered to her. Upon which she wrote the following lines, and sent them abroad, directed thus:

To all magistrates concerning the wrong taking up and imprisoning of George Fox at Lancaster.

I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, sent a warrant with four constables to my house, for which he had no authority nor order. They searched my house, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of any offence against any in the nation. After they had taken him and brought him before the said Henry Porter, we offered to pay bail as he would demand for his appearance, to answer what could be laid to his charge; but the official (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept any bail, and clapped him up in close prison. After he was in prison a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, that he may see what is laid to his charge; but it was denied him; a copy he could not have, only they were suffered to read it over. And everything there charged against him was utterly false; he was not guilty of any charge in it, as will be proved and manifested to the nation. Let the governors consider it. I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was apprehended in my house, and if he be guilty, I am so too. I desire to have this searched out.

Margaret Fell

After this Margaret Fell determined to go to London to speak with the king about my being taken, to show him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received. Which when justice Porter heard of, he boasted that he would go and intercept her. But when he came before the king, he having been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several courtiers spoke to him concerning his plundering their houses; so he quickly had enough of the court, and returned into the country. Meanwhile the jailer seemed very fearful, and said, he was afraid major Porter would hang him because he had not put me in the dark-house. But when the jailer went to wait on him, after he was come from London, he was very blank and down, and asked 'how I did?' pretending he would find a way to set me at liberty. But having overshot himself in his mittimus, by ordering me 'to be kept prisoner until I should be delivered by the king or parliament,' he had put it out of his power to release me if he would. He was the more dejected also upon reading a letter which I sent him; for when he was in the height of his rage and threats against me, and thought to ingratiate himself into the king's favor by imprisoning me, I was moved to write to him, and put him in mind, 'How fierce he had been against the king and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the king.' Among other passages in my letter, I called to his remembrance, that when he held Lancaster castle for the parliament against the king, he was so rough and fierce against those that favored the king, that he said, 'He would leave them neither dog nor cat if they did not bring him provision to his castle.' I asked him also, 'Whose great buck's horns those were that were in his house? And where he had obtained both them and the wainscot that he built into his house? Had he not taken them from Hornby castle?'

About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me; and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the king about it. Her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door for trying to bring the king in; upon consideration of which she had some hopes the king might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the king together; who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. And her request to him being, 'to send for me and hear the cause himself,' he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send an order for bringing me up. But when they came to the secretary for the order, he said, 'It was not in his power; he must go according to law; and I must be brought up by

a habeas corpus before the judges.' So he wrote to the judge of the King's Bench, signifying it was the king's pleasure I should be sent up by a habeas corpus. Accordingly a writ was sent, and delivered to the sheriff; but because it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaster, the sheriff put it off to him; on the other hand the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but said the sheriff must do that. At length both chancellor and sheriff got together; but being both enemies to truth they sought occasion for delay, and found they said, an error in the writ, which was, that being directed to the chancellor, it said, 'George Fox in prison under YOUR custody,' meaning, the prison I was in was not in the chancellor's custody, but the sheriff's; so the word YOUR should have been HIS. Upon this they returned the writ to London again, only to have that one word altered. When it was altered and brought down again, the sheriff refused to carry me up, unless I would seal a writing to him, and become bound to pay for the sealing and the charge of carrying me up; which I denied, telling them, I would not seal anything to them, nor be bound. So the matter rested awhile, and I continued in prison. Meanwhile the assize came on; but as there was a writ for removing me up, I was not brought before the judge. At the assize many came to see me. I was moved to speak out of the jail window to them, and show them, 'how uncertain their religion was, and that every sort, when uppermost, had persecuted the rest. When Popery was uppermost, people had been persecuted for not following the mass. And those who held it up cried, "It was the higher power, and people must be subject to the higher power." Afterwards they that held up the Common Prayer persecuted others for not following that; saying, "It was the higher power, and we must be subject to that." Since that, the Presbyterians and Independents cried each of them, "We must be subject to the higher power, and submit to the directory of the one and the church faith of the other." Thus all, like the apostate Jews, have cried, "Help, men of Israel," against the true Christians. So people might see how uncertain they are of their religions. But I directed them: to Christ Jesus that they might be built upon him the rock and foundation, that changes not.' Much on this wise I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a little paper concerning true religion, as follows;

True religion is the true rule and right way of serving God. And religion is a pure stream of righteousness flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law of life. This brings the soul, mind, spirit, and body to be conformable to God, the Father of spirits, and to Christ; so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the son, and with all his holy angels and saints. This religion is pure from above, undefiled before God, leads to visit the fatherless, widows, and strangers, and keeps from the spots of the world. This religion is above all the defiled, spotted religions in the world, that keep not from defilements and spots, but leave their professors impure, below, and spotted; whose fatherless, widows, and strangers, beg up and down the streets.

George Fox

Soon after this I gave forth paper another against persecution, as follow:

The Papists, Common-prayer-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists persecute one another about their own inventions, their mass, their common prayer, their directory, their church faith, which they have made and framed, and not for the truth; for they know not what spirit they are of, who persecute, and would have men's lives destroyed about church worship and religion, as Christ said, who also said, "He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." They that know not what spirit they are of, but will persecute and destroy men's lives, and not save them, we cannot trust our bodies, souls, nor spirits in their hands; they know not what spirit they are of themselves, therefore they are not fit to be trusted with others. They would destroy by a law, as the disciples once would have done by prayer, who would have commanded "fire to come down from heaven," to destroy them that would not receive Christ. But Christ rebuked them, and told them, "They knew not what spirit they are of." If they did not know what spirit they were of; do these now know, (who have persecuted about religion since the apostles' days), who would compel men's bodies, goods, lives, souls, and estates into their hands by law, or make them suffer? Those that destroy men's lives are not the ministers of Christ, the savior; and seeing they know not what spirit they are of, the lives, bodies, and souls of men are not to be trusted in their hands. And you that persecute shall have no resurrection to life with God, except you repent. But they that know what spirit they are of themselves are in the unrebukeable zeal, and by the spirit of God they offer up their spirits, souls, and bodies to the Lord, which are his, to keep them.

George Fox

While I was kept in Lancaster jail, I was moved to give forth the following paper, 'For staying the minds of any such as might be hurried or troubled about the change of government.'

All Friends,

Let the dread and majesty of God fill you! Concerning the changing of times and governments, let not that trouble any of you; for God has a mighty work and hand there. He will change yet again, until that come up which must reign, and in vain shall powers and armies withstand the Lord; for his determined work shall come to pass. But what is now come up, it is just with the Lord that it should be so, and he will be served by it. Therefore let none murmur, nor distrust God; for he will provoke many to zeal against unrighteousness, and for righteousness, through things which are suffered now to work for a season. Yes, many, whose zeal has been dead, shall revive again, and they shall see their backslidings and bewail them bitterly. For "God shall thunder from heaven, and break forth in a mighty noise, his enemies shall be astonished, the workers of iniquity confounded, and all that have not on the garment of righteousness shall be amazed at the mighty and strange work of the Lord, which shall be certainly brought to pass." But my babes, look you not out, but be still in the light of the Lamb, and he shall fight for you. The Almighty hand, which must break and divide your enemies, and take away peace from them, preserve and keep you whole, in unity and peace with himself, and one with another. Amen.

George Fox

I was moved also to write to the king, both to exhort him to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and to warn him to restrain the profaneness and looseness that was up in the nation upon his return.

To the king

King Charles,

You did not come into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now if you do not live in it, you will not prosper. If the Lord has showed you mercy and forgiven you, and you do not show mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear your prayers, nor them that pray for you. If you do not stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if you persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make you as blind as those that have gone before you; for persecution has always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, does his valiant acts upon, and brings salvation to his oppressed ones. If you bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, May-games, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged or go unpunished, as setting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown atop of them, etc. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord until he overthrew them; and so he will you, if these things be not suppressed. Hardly ever was there so much wickedness at liberty as there is in this day; as though there is no terror of, or power of government; which does not grace a government, nor is it praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear and consider, and do good in your time, while you have power; be merciful and forgive; that is the way to overcome and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

George Fox

It was a long time before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London, unless I would seal a bond to him, and bear their charges; which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me up, and first concluded to send up a party of horse with me. I told them, 'if I were such a man as they had represented me to be, they had need send a troop or two of horse to guard me.' When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the jailer and some bailiffs. But upon further consideration they found that would be a great charge to them also, and therefore sent for me to the jailer's house, and told me, if I would put in bail that I would be in London such a day of the term, I should have leave to go up with some of my own friends. I told them I would neither put in bail, nor

give one piece of silver to the jailer; for I was an innocent man, and they had imprisoned me wrongfully, and laid a false charge upon me. Nevertheless I said, if they would let me go up with one or two of my Friends to bear me company, I might go up and be in London such a day, if the Lord should permit; and if they desired it, I or any of my Friends that went with me would carry up their charge against myself. When they saw they could do nothing else with me, the sheriff consented that I should come up with some of my Friends, without any other engagement than my word, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord should permit. Therefore I was let out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I stayed two or three days; and from there went to Lancaster, and so to Preston, having meetings among Friends until I came into Cheshire, to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting out of doors, the house not being large enough to contain it. That day the Lord's everlasting seed was set over all, and Friends were turned to it, who is the heir of the promise. From there I came into Staffordshire and Warwickshire, to Anthony Bickliff's, and at Non-eaton, at a priest's widows house, we had a blessed meeting, where the everlasting word of life was powerfully declared, and many settled in it. Then traveling on, visiting Friends' meetings, in about three weeks time from my coming out of prison, I reached London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

When we came to Charing-cross, multitudes of people were gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of the old king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered.

We went next morning to judge Mallet's chamber, who was putting on his red gown to go sit upon some more of the king's judgments. He was then very peevish and willful, and said, I might come another time. I went another time to his chamber when judge Foster was with him, who was called the Lord Chief Justice of England. With me was one called Squire Marsh, one of the bed chamber to the king. When we had delivered to the judges the charge against me, and they had read to those words, 'That I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood,' etc. they struck their hands on the table. Upon which I told them, 'I was the man whom that charge was against, but I was as innocent of any such thing as a new born child, and had brought it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard.' As yet they had not minded my hat; but now, seeing my hat on, they said, 'What, did I stand with my hat on?' I told them I did not stand so in any contempt of them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and when they had called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, you must take this man and secure him, but you must let him have a chamber, and not put him among the prisoners. My lord, said the marshal, I have no chamber to put him into; my house is so full that I cannot tell where to provide for him but among the prisoners. No, said the judges, you must not put him among the prisoners. But when he still answered, he had no other place to put me in, judge Foster said to me, 'Will you appear tomorrow, about ten of the clock, at the king's bench bar in Westminster hall?' I said, 'Yes, if the Lord give me strength.' Then said judge Foster to the other judge, 'If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word.' So I was dismissed. The next day I appeared at the King's Bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Withers, Richard Hubberthorn, and Squire Marsh going with me. I was brought into the middle of the court, and as soon as I came in I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, said, 'Peace be among you;' and the power of the Lord sprang over the court. 'The charge against me was read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part of it which said, 'That I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the king,' etc. they lifted up their hands. Then, stretching out my arms, I said, 'I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures.' And, said I, 'do you think, that if I and my friends were such men as the charge declares, that I should have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should be suffered to come up with one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I would have been guarded with a troop or two of horse soldiers. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which you may be sure they would not have done if they had looked upon me to be such a man.' The judge asked me, whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it? I answered, you are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what you will; for I am the man these charges are against, and here you see I have brought them up myself. Do what you will with them, I leave it to you. Then judge Twisden beginning to speak some angry words, I appealed to judge Foster and judge Mallet, who had heard me overnight. Upon which they said, 'They did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me.' Then Squire Marsh stood up and told the judges, 'it was the king's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me.' They asked me whether I would put it to the king and council?' I said, 'Yes, with a good will.' Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he made to the writ of habeas corpus, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus, to the king, that he might see

for what I was committed. The return of the sheriff of Lancaster was thus:

By virtue of his majesty's writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the said writ, George Fox, in the said writ mentioned, was committed to his majesty's jail at the castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, Esquire, one of his majesty's justices of peace within the county palatine before said, bearing date the fifth of June now last past: for he, the said George Fox, was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our sovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that he, together with orders of his fanatic opinion, have of late endeavored to make insurrections in those parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless, the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majesty's justices, assigned to hold pleas before his majesty, at his chamber in Sergeant's inn, in Fleet-street, to do and receive those things which his majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the before said writ is required.

George Chetham, Esq. sheriff.

Upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, the king, being satisfied of my innocence, commanded his secretary to send an order to judge Mallet for my release; which the secretary did, thus:

'Tt is his majesty's pleasure, that you give order for the releasing and setting at full liberty the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded there by a habeas corpus. And this signification of his majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

Edward Nicholas

'For Sir Thomas Mallet, knight,
one of the justices of the king's bench.'

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he sent his warrant to the marshal of the king's bench for my release; which warrant was thus worded:

By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honorable sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and from there brought here by habeas corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release and set the said prisoner George Fox at liberty: for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660.

Thomas Mallet

'To Sir John Lenthal, knight, marshal of the
King's bench, or his deputy.'

Thus, after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the king's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocence, and Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me. But after it was known that I had been discharged, a company of envious, wicked spirits were troubled, and terror took hold of justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife, and children. And indeed I was pressed by some in authority to have made him and the rest examples; but I said, I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them I should not trouble myself with them.

Now did I see the end of the travail which I had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and his blessed truth, life, and light shined over the nation, and great and

glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked unto the truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, who said, 'None should molest us so long as we lived peaceably,' and promised this upon the word of a king; telling him, we might make use of his promise. Some Friends were also admitted in the house of lords, to declare their reasons, why they could not pay tithes, swear, nor go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship; and they heard them moderately. There were about seven hundred Friends in prison, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government upon contempts, (so called); when the king came in, he set them all at liberty. There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to have granted Friends liberty, because they were sensible we had suffered as they had suffered under the former powers. But when things were going forward in that direction, some dirty spirits or other, (that would seem to be for us), threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confining our liberty, which only wanted signing; when that wicked attempt of the fifth-monarchy people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a First day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's truth shined over all, and his power was exalted above all; but about midnight the drums beat, and the cry was, 'Arm, arm.' I got out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and landing at Whitehall stairs, walked through Whitehall. They looked strangely at me there; but I passed through, and went to Pall mall, where various Friends came to me, though it was now grown dangerous passing the streets. For by this time the city and suburbs were up in arms, and the people and soldiers were exceedingly rude; so much that Henry Fell, going to a Friend's house, was knocked down by the soldiers, and he would have been killed if the duke of York had not come by. Great mischief was done in the city that week; and when First day came, when Friends went to their meetings, many were taken prisoner. I stayed at Pall mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on the Seventh day night a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The maid letting them in, they immediately laid hold of me; and there being among them one who had served under the parliament, he clapped his hand to my pocket, and asked, 'Whether I had any pistols?' I told him he knew I did not use or carry pistols; why did he ask such a question of me, who he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of the soldiers ran up into the chambers, and there found Squire Marsh in bed, who, though he was one of the king's bed chamber, out of his love to me had come and lodged where I did. When they came down again, they said, 'Why should we take this man away with us? We will let him alone. Oh! said the parliament soldier, he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader. Upon this the soldiers were taking me away; but, Marsh hearing of it, sent for the commander of the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see that I came in the morning. In the morning, before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot to the house, and one of them, drawing out his sword, held it over my head. I asked him, 'Why he drew his sword at a naked man?' At which his fellows being ashamed, bid him put up his sword. These soldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me. As I was going out several Friends were coming in to the meeting, whose boldness and cheerfulness I commended, and encouraged them to persevere therein. When I was brought to Whitehall, the soldiers and people were exceeding rude, yet I declared truth to them; but some great persons coming by, who were very full of envy, said, "What, do you let him preach? Put him into such a place where he may not stir.' So into that place they put me, and the soldiers watched over me. I told them, though they could confine my body, and shut that up; they could not stop up the word of life. Some thereupon came, and asked me, 'What I was?' I told them, I was a preacher of righteousness. After I had been kept there two or three hours, Marsh spoke to lord Gerrard, who came and told them to set me at liberty. The marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him, I could not give him any, neither was it our practice. I asked him, how he could demand fees of me who was innocent? Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and after I had declared truth to the soldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall to an inn, where many Friends were prisoners under a guard. I asked those colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends who were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I stepped to the sentry, and desired him to let me go up; which he did. While I was there the soldiers went to Pall mall again to search for me; but not finding me they turned towards the inn, and told everyone to come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the soldiers within, whether I might not stay awhile with my friends? They said, yes. I stayed and escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall mall, to see how it was with Friends there, and afterwards I went into the city. There was at that time a large number of riflings of houses to search for people. I went to a private Friend's house and Richard Hubberthorn with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the king and council; but when we had finished it, and sent it to the press where it was printed.

On the night of the 6th of First Month, 1661, a wine cooper by the name of Venner, whose reason was unbalanced, inflamed some fifty or sixty visionaries by vehement preaching, and these men rushed from his conventicle in London, proclaiming King Jesus. The quiet city was hushed in sleep, but in a few moments there was a great uproar. The train bands were called out, and the instigators of the tumult fled into the country for two days, concealing themselves in the woods. On the 9th they returned in the open day, in the fanatical belief that neither bullets nor sharp steel could hurt them, broke through the city gates, routed all the train bands they met, and put even the King's guard to the run. They were finally overcome and most of them taken prisoners; the rest fell with arms in their hands, shouting that Christ was coming presently to reign upon the earth. Notwithstanding the insignificant character of this outbreak, a feeling of uncertainty fell over the nation. Many high in rank were known to belong to the Fifth Monarchy men, and the Earl of Clarendon, desirous of establishing a standing army, increased the fears of people by announcing the danger of a great insurrection.

All dissenters were looked upon with suspicion, and Friends, though innocent of participation in any plots, had to bear the brunt of the persecution which followed. Armed men broke up their meetings.

Upon this insurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men, great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad several weeks after; men and women could hardly go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houses and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. The soldiers dragged one who was in a fever out of his bed to prison; and when he was brought there, he died. His name was Thomas Patching.

Margaret Fell went to the king, and told him what sad work there was in the city and nation, and showed him we were an innocent, peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as we were accustomed to do no matter what we suffered; but that it was his concern to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed.

Now the prisons were filled everywhere with Friends and others in the city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters, that none could pass without being searched. Yet we heard of several thousands of our Friends that had been cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousand more that had been cast into prison, and she went and laid them also before the king and council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it that we had an account even with all their blocks and searches. In the deep sense I had of the grievous sufferings Friends underwent, and of their innocence towards God and man, I was moved to send the following epistle to them, as a word of consolation, and to urge them to send up an account of their sufferings.

My Dear Friends,

In the immortal seed of God, which will plead its own innocence, who are inheritors of an everlasting kingdom, which is incorruptible, and of a world and riches that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied among you in all your sufferings. You, whose backs were not unready, but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared sufferings, as knowing it is your portion in the world, from the foundation of which the Lamb was slain, who reigns in his glory, which he had with his Father before the world began. He is your rock in all floods and waves upon which you can stand safe, with a cheerful countenance, beholding the Lord God of the whole earth on your side. So in the seed of God, which was before the unrighteous world in which the sufferings are, live and feed, wherein the bread of life is felt, and no cause of complaint of hunger or cold. Friends, I would have you send up an account of your sufferings, and how things are among you, that are or have been of late in prison; so that it may be delivered to the king and his council; for things are pretty well here after the storm.

George Fox

London, the 28th of the Eleventh-mo. 1660.

Having lost our former declaration in the press, we made haste and drew up another against plots and fighting, got it printed, and sent some copies to the King and council; others were sold up and down the streets, and at the Exchange. Which declaration was printed again some years later, and is as follows:

A declaration from the harmless innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world; for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom concerning wars and fightings.

Presented to the king the 21st day of the Eleventh month, 1660.

Our principle is, and our practices have always been to seek peace and ensue it;

to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God;

seeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all.

We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, (as James Chapter 4:1-3),

out of which lusts the Lord has redeemed us,

and so out of the occasion of war.

The occasion of war and war itself, arises from the lust,

(wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, lust, kill, and desire to have men's lives or estates).

All bloody principles and practices we, as to our own basics, do utterly deny, with all outward wars, strife, and fighting with outward weapons for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever: this is our testimony to the whole world.

And whereas if someone should object and say:

"But although you now say, that you cannot fight nor take up arms at all;

yet if the spirit move you, then you will change your principle,

you will sell your coat and buy a sword, and fight for the kingdom of Christ."

To this we answer,

Christ said to Peter, "Put up your sword in its place;"

though he had said before, he that had no sword might sell his coat and buy one,

(to the fulfilling of the law and the scripture), yet after,

when he had bid him put it up, he said,

"He that takes the sword shall perish with the sword."

And Christ said to Pilate, "do you not know that I can now pray to my Father,

and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?"

And this might satisfy Peter, after he had put up his sword,

when he said to him, "He that took it, should perish by it;"

which satisfies us. Matthew 26:52-53.

In the Revelations it is said, "He that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword;

and here is the faith and patience of the saints."

So Christ's kingdom is not of this world,

therefore his servants do not fight as he told Pilate, the magistrate who crucified him.

And did they not look upon Christ as a raiser of sedition?

And did not he pray, "Forgive them?"

But thus it is that we are numbered among transgressors,

and among fighters, that the scriptures might be fulfilled.

That the spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable,

so as once to command us from a thing, as evil, and again to move unto it.

We certainly know and testify to the world,

that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth,

will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons,

neither for the kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdoms of this world.

First, because the kingdom of Christ, God will exalt, according to his promise,

and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness,

"Not by might, nor by power, (of outward sword), but by my spirit, said the Lord" Zechariah 4:6.

So those that use any weapon to fight for Christ,

or for the establishing of his kingdom or government,

their spirit, principle, and practice in that we deny.

Secondly,

We earnestly desire and wait,

that (by the word of God's power, and its effectual operation in the hearts of men),

the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord,

and of his Christ;

and that he may rule and reign in men by his spirit and truth;

that thereby all people, out of all different judgments and professions,

may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another;

and that all may come to witness the prophet's words fulfilled,

who said, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah

2:4. Mich 4:3.

So we, whom the Lord has called into the obedience of his truth,
have denied wars and fightings, and cannot any more learn them.
This is a certain testimony unto all the world of the truth of our hearts in this particular,
that as God persuades every man's heart to believe, so they may receive it.
For we have not, as some others, gone about cunningly with devised fables,
nor have we ever denied in practice what we have professed in principle;
but in sincerity and truth, and by the word of God,
we have labored to be made manifest unto all men,
that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all.
And whereas all manner of evil has been falsely spoken of us,
we hereby speak the plain truth of our hearts,
to take away the occasion of that offence,
that so we, being innocent, may not suffer for other men's offences,
nor be made a prey of by the wills of men for that of which we were never guilty;
but in the uprightness of our hearts we may,
under the power ordained of God for the punishment of evil doers,
and for the praise of them that do well,
live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.
For although we have always suffered, and do now more abundantly suffer,
yet we know it is for righteousness' sake:
"For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our consciences,
that in simplicity and godly sincerity,
not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God,
we have had our conversation in the world." 2 Corinthians 1:2.
which for us is a witness for the convincing of our enemies.
For this we can say to all the world, we have wronged no man,
we have used no force nor violence against any man,
we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition.
When we have been wronged we have not sought to revenge ourselves;
we have not made resistance against authority;
but wherein we could not obey for conscience sake,
we have suffered the most of any people in the nation.
We have been counted as sheep for the slaughter,
persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded,
stocked, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of the synagogues,
cast into dungeons and noisy prisons,
where many have died in bonds, shut up from our friends,
denied needful sustenance for many days,
together with other the like cruelties.
And the cause of all these our sufferings is not for any evil,
but for things relating to the worship of our God, and in obedience to his requirements.
For which cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice,
rather than disobey the Lord;
knowing, as the Lord has kept us innocent,
he will plead our cause when there is none in the earth to plead it.
So we, in obedience to his truth, do not love our lives unto death,
that we may do his will, and wrong no man in our generation,
but seek the good and peace of all men.
He who has commanded us, "that we shall not swear at all," Matthew 5:34.
has also commanded us, "that we shall not kill." Matthew 5:21.
So that we can neither kill men, nor swear for or against them.
This is both our principle and our practice, and has been from the beginning:
so that if we suffer, as suspected to take up arms or make war against any,
it is without any ground from us;
for it neither is, nor ever was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God;
neither shall we ever do it,
because it is contrary to the spirit of Christ, his doctrine, and the practice of his apostles;
even contrary to him for whom we suffer all things and endure all things.
And although men come against us with clubs, staves,
drawn swords, pistols cocked, and beat, cut, and abuse us;

we never resisted them, but offered them our hair, backs, and cheeks.
It is not an honor to manhood or nobility to run upon harmless people,
who lift not a hand against them, with arms and weapons.
Therefore consider these things, you men of understanding;
for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters,
running with swords, clubs, staves, and pistols, one against another;
we say, these are of the world, and have their foundation from this unrighteous world,
from the foundation of which the Lamb has been slain;
which lamb has redeemed us from this unrighteous world;
we are not of it, but are heirs of a world of which there is no end,
a kingdom where no corruptible thing enters.
Our weapons are spiritual, not carnal,
yet mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan,
who is the author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots.
Our swords are broken into plough shares,
and spears into pruning hooks, as prophesied of in Micah 4:3.
Therefore we cannot learn war any more,
neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons,
though you have numbered us among the transgressors and plotters.
The Lord knows our innocency in this,
and will plead our cause with all people upon earth at the day of their judgment,
when all men shall have a reward according to their works.
Therefore in love we warn you for your souls' good,
not to wrong the innocent, nor the babes of Christ,
which he has in his hand, and tenders as the apple of his eye;
neither seek to destroy the heritage of God,
nor turn your swords backward upon such as the law was not made for, i.e. the righteous;
but for the sinners and transgressors, to keep them down.
For those are not peacemakers nor lovers of enemies,
neither can they overcome evil with good,
who wrong them that are friends to you and all men,
and wish your good and the good of all people upon earth.
If you oppress us as they did the children of Israel in Egypt,
if you oppress us as they did when Christ was born,
and as they did the christians in the primitive times,
we can say, "The Lord forgive you;"
and leave the Lord to deal with you, and not revenge ourselves.
If you say as the council said to Peter and John,
"You must speak no more in that name,"
and if you serve us as they served the three children spoken of in Daniel,
God is the same as he ever was, that lives for ever and ever,
who has the innocent in his arms.
Oh friends! Offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people;
but consider and be moderate.
Run not hastily into things, but mind and consider mercy, justice, and judgment;
that is the way for you to prosper and get the favor of the Lord.
Our meetings were stopped and broken up in the days of Oliver,
under pretence of plotting against him;
in the days of the Committee of Safety,
we were looked upon as plotters to bring in king Charles;
and now our peaceable meetings are termed seditious.
Oh! that men should lose their reason, and go contrary to their own consciences;
knowing that we have suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters all along,
though we have always declared against them both by word of mouth and printing,
and are clear from any such thing!
Though we have suffered all along,
because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight against any,
and are thus made a prey upon because we are the innocent lambs of Christ,
and cannot avenge ourselves!
These things are left upon your hearts to consider;

for we are out of all those things in the patience of the saints,
and we know as Christ said, "He that takes the sword shall perish with the sword."
Matthew 26:52 and Revelations 13:10.

This is given forth from the people called Quakers,
to satisfy the king and his council,
and all that have any jealousy concerning us,
that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocence cleared.

Postscript-Though we are numbered among transgressors,
and have been given up to rude, merciless men,
by whom our meetings are broken up,
in which we edified one another in our holy faith,
and prayed together to the Lord that lives forever,
yet he is our pleader in this day.
The Lord said, "They that feared his name spoke often together,"
as in Malachi; which were as his jewels.

For this cause, and no evil doing, are we cast into holes, dungeons,
houses of correction, prisons, (sparing neither old nor young, men nor women),
and made a prey of in the sight of all nations, under pretence of being seditious,
so that all rude people run upon us to take possession;
for which we say, the Lord forgive them that have done thus to us;
who does and will enable us to suffer;
and never shall we lift up hand against any man that does thus use us;
but that the Lord may have mercy upon them, that they may consider what they have done.

For how is it possible for them to requite us for the wrong they have done to us?

Who to all nations have sounded us abroad as seditious or plotters,
who were never plotters against any power or man upon the earth,
since we knew the life and power of Jesus Christ manifested in us,
who has redeemed us from the world and all works of darkness, and plotters therein,
by which we know the election before the world began.

So we say, the Lord have mercy upon our enemies,
and forgive them for what they have done unto us.

Oh! do as you would be done by; do unto all men as you would have them do unto you;
for this is but the law and the prophets.

All plots, insurrections, and riotous meetings, we deny,
knowing them to be of the devil, the murderer;
which we in Christ, who was before they were, triumph over.

And all wars and fightings with carnal weapons we deny, who have the sword of the spirit;
and all that wrong us, we leave to the Lord.

This is to clear our innocence from that aspersion cast upon us, "that we are seditious or plotters."

Added in the reprinting.

Courteous reader, this was our testimony above twenty years ago, and since then we have not been found acting contrary to it, nor ever shall; for the truth that is our guide is unchangeable. This is now reprinted to the men of this age, many of whom were then children, and does stand as our certain testimony against all plotting and fighting with carnal weapons. And if any, by departing from the truth, should do so, this is our testimony in the truth against them, and will stand over them, and the truth will be clear of them.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

This declaration did somewhat clear the dark air that was over the city and country; and soon after the king gave forth a proclamation, 'that no soldiers should search any house without a constable.' But the jails were still full, many thousands of Friends being in prison; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of those fifth-monarchy-men. But when those of them that were taken came to be executed, they did us the justice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. After that the king, being continually pleaded with regarding this, issued a declaration, 'that Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees.' But great labor, travail, and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.

Much blood was shed that year, many of the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. Among those that suffered was Colonel Hacker, the one who sent me to prison from Leicester to London in Oliver's time. A sad day it was and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of Oliver Cromwell, when several were hung, drawn, and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would not be ignored, but would be required, and I said as much then to several. And now upon the king's return, it was a time when several that had been against the king were put to death, just as the others that were for the king had been put to death before by Oliver; this was sad work, destroying people contrary to the nature of christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of believers, who having gotten into power; grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity. Therefore when Friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the commonwealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write unto them, to draw up their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions. And if they would not do them justice, then to lay them before the judges at the assize. And if they refused them justice, to lay it before the parliament, and before the protector and his council, that they might all see what was done under their government. And if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, the widows, and fatherless, whom they had made so. For that which we suffered for, and which our goods were spoiled for, was our obedience to the Lord in his power and in his spirit, who is able to help and succor, and we had no helper in the earth but him. And he heard the cries of his people, and brought an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a quaking, a dread, and a fear among and on them all; so that those who had nicknamed us, (who are the children of light), and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made to quake, and many of them would have been glad to have hid themselves among us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length confess to the truth. Oh! The daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent among them, even in the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying, thou and thee to them! Oh! The havoc and spoil the priests made of our goods, because we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes! Besides casting into prisons, and besides the great fines laid upon us because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet some of them were so hardened in their wickedness, that when they were turned out of their places and offices, they said, 'If they had power they would do the same again.' And when this day of overturning was come upon them, they said, 'It was all our fault.' For which reason I was moved to write to them, and to ask, 'Did we ever resist them when they took away our ploughs and plough gears, our carts and horses, our corn and cattle, our kettles and platters from us, and whipped us, and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison, and all this only for serving and worshipping God in spirit and truth, and because we could not conform to their religions, manners, customs, and fashions? Did we ever resist them? Did we not give them our backs to beat, our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to spit on? Had not their priests, that prompted them on to such work, plucked them with themselves into the ditch? Why then would they say, "It was all our fault?" When it was owing to themselves and their priests, their blind prophets, that followed their own spirits, and could foresee nothing of these times and things that were come upon them, which we had long forewarned them of; as Jeremiah and Christ had

forewarned Jerusalem. They thought to have wearied us out and undone us; but they undid themselves. Whereas we could praise God, notwithstanding all their plundering of us, that we had a kettle, a platter, a horse, and a plough still.'

Many ways were these professors warned, by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none, until it was too late. William Sympson was moved of the Lord to go at several times for three years naked and barefooted before them as a sign to them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses; telling them, 'So should they be stripped naked as he was stripped naked!' And sometimes he was moved to put on hair sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, 'So would the Lord God besmear all their religion as he was besmeared.' Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, sore whippings with horse whips and coach whips on his bare body, grievous stoning and imprisonments in three years time, (before the king came in), that they might have taken warning; but they would not, but rewarded his love with cruel usage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him, and took him into his house.

Another Friend, Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house, with a white sheet about him, among the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to show them that the white robe (priests of the King's church) was coming again; and he put a halter about his neck to show them that a halter was coming upon them; which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors not long after.

Another, Richard Sale, living near Westchester, being constable of the place where he lived, had a Friend sent to him with a pass, (whom those wicked professors had taken up for a vagabond, because he traveled up and down in the work of the ministry), and this constable, being convinced by the Friend brought to him, gave him his pass and liberty, and was afterwards himself cast into prison. After this, on a lecture day, Richard Sale was moved to go to the steeple-house in the time of their worship, and to carry those persecuting priests and people a lantern and candle, as a figure of their darkness; but they cruelly abused him, and like the dark professors that they were put him into their prison called Little Ease, and so squeezed his body therein that not long after he died. Many warnings of various sorts were Friends moved in the power of the Lord to give to that generation; which they not only rejected, but abused Friends, calling us giddy-headed Quakers; but God brought his judgments upon those persecuting priests and magistrates. For when the king came in, most of them were turned out of their places and benefices (church offices), and the spoilers were spoiled; and then we could ask them, who were the giddy-heads now? Then many confessed we had been true prophets to the nation, and said, had we cried against some priests only, they should have liked us then: but we crying against all that made them dislike us. But now they say, 'that those priests, then looked upon to be the best, were as bad as the rest. For indeed some of those that were counted the most eminent priests were the bitterest and greatest stirrers up of the magistrates to persecution. And it was a judgment upon them to be denied the free liberty of their consciences when the king came in, because when they were uppermost they would not have had liberty of conscience granted to others. One Hewes, of Plymouth, a priest of great note in Oliver's days, when some liberty was granted, prayed, 'That God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation to remove this cursed toleration.' Others of them prayed against it by the name of intolerable toleration. But awhile after, when the king was come in, and priest Hewes turned out of his great benefice for not conforming to the common-prayer, a Friend of Plymouth meeting with him, asked him, 'Whether he would account toleration accursed now? And whether he would not now be glad of toleration?' To which the priest returned no answer, save by the shaking of his head. But as stiff as this sort of men were then against toleration, it is well known many of them petitioned the king for toleration and for meeting-places, and paid for licenses too. But to return to the present time, the latter end of the year 1660 and the beginning of 1661.

Although those Friends, who had been imprisoned upon the rising of those monarchy-men, were set at liberty, meetings were still much disturbed, and great sufferings Friends underwent; for besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in. Once when I was at Pall Mall, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen and rude fellows came to us; the meeting was over before they came, and I had gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them say, he would 'kill all the Quakers.' I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him, the law said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' but you threaten to 'kill all the Quakers, though they have done you no harm.' But, I said, here is gospel for you: 'Here is my hair, here is my cheek, here is my shoulder,' turning it to him. This came so over him so that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and they said, if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they had never

seen anything like it in words, I told them that what I was in them, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador, who had stayed outside came in; for he said that the Irish colonel was such a desperate man that he dared not come in with him for fear he would have done us some mischief; but truth came over him, and he carried himself lovingly towards us, as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-end Friends were kept out of their meeting place by soldiers; but Friends stood nobly in the truth, valiant for the Lord's name, and at last the truth gave them dominion.

About this time we had an account that John Love, a Friend who had been moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the Papists, was dead in prison in Rome; and it was suspected he was privately put to death. John Perrot was also prisoner there, and being released came over again; but after his arrival here, he with Charles Baily and some others turned aside from the unity of Friends and truth. At which point I was moved to issue a paper, declaring how the Lord would blast him and his followers, if they did not repent and return, and that they should wither like the grass on the house-top; which many of them did, but others repented and returned.

Also before this time we received account from New England, 'that the government (Puritans) there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death in case they returned.' Several of our Friends, having been so banished and returning, were taken and actually hanged, and many more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence being executed upon them.' When those were put to death, I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings as though it had been myself, **and as though the halter had been put about my own neck**, though we had not at that time heard of it. But as soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the king, and told him, 'there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped would overrun all.' To which the king replied, '*But I will stop that vein.*' Edward Burrough said, 'Then do it speedily, for we know not how many may soon be put to death.' The king answered, 'As speedily as you will. Call, (said he to some present), the secretary, and I will do it presently.' The secretary being called, a mandamus was granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the king to desire the matter might be expedited, the king said, he had no occasion at present to send a ship there, but if we would send a ship we could do it as soon as we would. Edward then asked the king, if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New England?' He said, 'Yes, to whom you will.' Upon which E. B. named Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New England was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again, and to him the deputation was granted. Then we sent for Ralph Goldsmith an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds, (goods, or no goods), to sail in ten days. He prepared to set sail, and with a favorable gale, in about six week's time, arrived at the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning. With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go and bear testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions. The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colors, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told him, he was the commander. They asked him, if he had any letters? He said, yes. They asked, if he would deliver them? He said, 'No, not today.' So they went ashore and reported, there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law to be put to death for coming again after banishment; but they knew neither his errand nor his authority. So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore; next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the governor's, John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the king of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. **At which point they were admitted in, and the governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then going out, he bid the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, 'We shall obey his majesty's commands.'** After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were meeting, a poor Friend came in, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution. This added to

their joy and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praises to God, who is worthy forever to have the praise, the glory, and the honor; for he only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in him. Here follows a copy of the mandamus.

Charles R.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed, that several of our subjects among you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others, (as has been represented to us), are in danger to undergo the like. We have thought fit to signify our pleasure on that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there are any of those people called Quakers among you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned and objecting to the like condemnation, you are not to proceed any further there with this; but that you promptly send these persons, (whether condemned or imprisoned), over to our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the thirteenth year of our reign.'

'Subscribed: To our trusty and well beloved John Endicott, Esq. and to all and every other governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies there, that now are or hereafter shall be. And to all ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies within the continent of New England.

'By his majesty's command, *William Morris*'

Some time after this several New England magistrates came over, with one of their priests. We had several discourses with them concerning their murdering our friends, the servants of the Lord; but they were, ashamed to stand to their bloody actions. At one of those meetings I asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New England magistrates, whether he had a hand in putting to death those four servants of God, whom they hanged for being Quakers only, as they had nicknamed them? He confessed he had, and I then asked him, and the rest of his associates then present, whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subjects to the laws of England? And if they did, by what law they had put our friends to death? They said, they were subjects to the laws of England, and they had put our friends to death by the same law as the Jesuits were put to death here in England. I asked them then, whether they did believe those friends of ours, whom they had put to death, were Jesuits, or affected by the Jesuits? They said, no. Then, said I, you have murdered them, if you have put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were not Jesuits. By this it plainly appears you have put them to death in your own wills, without any law. Then Simon Broadstreet, finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, asked, did we come to trap them? I told them, they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson, (who was one of those that were put to death), was in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. Here they began to excuse themselves, saying, 'There was no persecution now among them; but next morning we had letters from New England, giving us account that our friends were persecuted there afresh. Therefore we went to them again, and showed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame. In great fear they seemed to be, in case someone should call them to account and, prosecute them for their lives, (especially Simon Broadstreet); for he had confessed before so many witnesses that, 'he had a hand in putting our friends to death,' that he could not deny it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. After this he and the rest soon left the city, and got back to New England again. I went also to Governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him about these matters; but he assured me, 'He had no hand in putting our friends to death, or in any way persecuting of them, but was one of them that protested against it.' These stingy persecutors of New England were a people that fled out of old England from the persecution of the bishops here; but when they got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that where the bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday, (so called), for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day upon such who would not conform to their will worship there, and seized the property of Friends that could not pay it. Besides, many that were imprisoned, they whipped many most cruelly; they cut the ears off some, and some they hanged; as the books of Friends' sufferings in New England largely show, particularly one written by George Bishop of Bristol, entitled, 'New England Judged.' (in two parts.) Some of the old Royalists were earnest with Friends to have

prosecuted them; but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. And the judgments of God have since fallen heavy on them: for the Indians have been raised up against them, and have cut off many of them.

Note from *Valiant for the Truth*: In the seventh month of the year 1656, two women Friends arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, from England. They were cruelly treated, and shut up in prison for five weeks. Nicholas Upsal, an old resident of Boston, and an earnest christian, was much distressed at the condition of these poor friendless women. No food being provided for them, he induced the jailer to supply them, by paying him five shillings a week. They were only released from jail to be sent back to England.

A month after, a ship-load of Friends arrived in Boston, and although no law then existed against the Quakers, they were considered too dangerous to be allowed their liberty, and after a short imprisonment, were sent back to England. Governor Endicott now made a law, prohibiting masters of vessels from bringing Quakers to the colony, and threatening imprisonment to any who should come. Honest Nicholas Upsal was sorely troubled at this unrighteous law, as it seemed to him, and remonstrated with the rulers against such edicts, warning them to take heed, lest they be found fighting against God. The rulers resented such interference, and the old man was fined twenty pounds, and banished from the colony. The neighboring colony of Rhode Island offered an asylum for all who suffered on account of their religion. Roger Williams, its founder, had been banished from Massachusetts for his liberal views, and in arranging the government of his new home, declared that "the doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrines of Jesus Christ." There in the depth of winter Nicholas Upsal bent his steps, and was kindly sheltered on his journey by an Indian chief, through whose encampment he passed.

The Indian could not understand why this feeble, aged person should undertake this journey at such an inclement season. But when he understood the cause, he offered to share his wigwam with the stranger, saying, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God."

The dreaded heresy grew and increased notwithstanding all the efforts of the rulers of the Massachusetts colony to check it, and more stringent laws were enacted. A fine was imposed on all who should absent themselves from public worship. No one could offer any refreshment to one of the hated Quakers without being fined, and all who held their views were sentenced to be whipped, lose their ears, have their tongues bored with hot iron, and if these measures did not induce them to recant, they were to be banished from the colony. Even children did not escape. In some cases they were condemned to be sold as slaves at the Bermudas, in payment of the fines imposed on their parents. But no ship captain could be found, who was willing to carry out this unjust sentence, and it was not put in execution. One of our own poets has drawn a graphic picture of this cruel imposition, in the ballad of Cassandra Southwick!

But it was in the New England Colonies that the extreme penalty of death was inflicted upon those whose greatest crime in the eyes of their judges was that they were Quakers. Mention has already been made of the persecutions to which some of this hated sect were subjected, and in 1655 the General Court of Plymouth issued a proclamation denouncing them as "publishing dangerous and horrid tracts," and declaring that any convicted of holding their views should be banished from the colony under pain of death. In obedience to this law four persons were ordered to leave the jurisdiction. They were William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, who had 'come to Boston to labor for their Lord.' In obedience to this mandate they left the town, but William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson could not feel satisfied to go further than Salem. Here they spent the night with some of their friends, and in the morning, after an affecting parting, they started again for Boston with a few who resolved to bear them company. It seemed almost like a funeral procession, as they calmly but solemnly went to their doom, following what seemed to them the direction of their Lord. On reaching the town they were soon arrested and committed to prison. The next month Mary Dyer returned and was also taken into custody. The prisoners were then brought before the court and sentence of death pronounced upon them.

On the day appointed for their execution a band of two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen, were called out to escort these harmless, unarmed Quakers to the gallows. The prisoners were placed in the centre with a drummer next to them, who was ordered to make noise enough to drown their voices, if they attempted to speak to the crowds which followed them. There were mingled feelings in the hearts of the spectators, for all could not unite with the unjust judges, but the prisoners themselves were at peace. We are told "they went with great cheerfulness, as to an everlasting wedding feast." The men suffered first, and Mary Dyer ascended the scaffold, but as the rope was placed about her neck a cry was heard, "She is relieved." Her son had made such earnest intercession that her life was granted him on condition she should leave the Colony at once.

The following letter will show that these sufferers acted in single-hearted obedience to their impressions of duty in thus, as it were, defying the rulers of Boston Colony.

LETTER OF WILLIAM ROBINSON TO GEORGE FOX.

"O beloved of the Lord, and highly esteemed and honored among the children of the Lord, who hath made thee a father unto thousands and hath given thee the spirit of wisdom and understanding, I was refreshed when I was constrained to write to give thee an account of our travels and labors in these countries."

After giving an account of the persecution and banishment of the Friends, he goes on to speak of himself:

"Oh, God knows how near this went to me, when I did hear they had departed, and soon the Lord did lay it upon me to try their law; yes, on the same day that I heard of their departure was I constrained, and soon made willing, to give up my life Boston's bloody laws to try, and was given up frequently in my spirit to the Lord's will, even to finish my testimony for the Lord against the town of Boston. I not knowing of any Friends to pass with me at that time, but the Lord had compassion on me, seeing how willingly I was given up to do His will, not counting my life dear to me, so that I might finish my course with joy; and on the day following, the Lord constrained my

brother Marmaduke Stephenson to pass along with me to Lord, who is freely given up to suffer with me for the seed's sake, who doth dearly salute thee.

"O my dearly beloved, you who art endued with power from on high, who art of quick discerning in the fear of our God; oh remember us, -let thy prayers be put up unto the Lord God for us, that His power and strength may rest with us and upon us; that faithful we may be preserved to the end. Amen.

WM. ROBINSON.

"From the Common Gaol in Boston, the 12th of the Fifth Month, 1659."

In the spring of 1660 Mary Dyer felt she must return to Boston, and was soon in her old prison again. Being brought before the court, the governor, John Endicott, asked her if this was the same Mary Dyer, to which she replied, "I am." She then gave the reason for her return, that she believed the Lord had sent her to beseech them to repeal their wicked law, and to warn them that He would assuredly punish those who opposed His will. Her expostulations were unavailing, Governor Endicott was immovable, and she was condemned to be hung at nine o'clock the next day.

Morning came; Boston Common presented an unwonted spectacle. Groups of awe-stricken women were talking in whispers of the sad fate awaiting one who was like themselves a wife and a mother. Children were gazing with wonder and terror at the gloomy gallows tree erected before them, and wondered what wicked thing this woman could have done that she must be hanged; while strong men, who denounced the mistaken zeal of the Quakers, could but acknowledge they were an honest sect, and many would fain have let them alone. Soon came the sound of drum and fife, and a company of soldiers marched by; then came men beating their drums loudly, and by their side walked calmly and serenely the heroine of the day, the hated, despised Quaker. She ascended the scaffold, and when her life was again proffered, on condition she should leave Boston forever, she replied, "Nay, I cannot promise. In obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in His will I abide, faithful unto death." The signal was given, the drop fell, and this faithful witness for Jesus went home to be with Him forever.

About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands: it was a useful teaching book, containing the signification and explanation of names, parables, types, and figures in the scriptures. Those who took it were so affected that they were afraid to destroy it; but thinking to have made a great advantage of it, they would have let us have it again, if we would have given them a great sum of money for it; which we were not free to do.

Sometime before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, the book called the 'Battledore' came forth, which was written to show that in all languages thou and thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person, and you to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken out of the scriptures, and out of books of instruction in about thirty languages. John Stubbs and Benjamin Furdy took great pains in compiling it, which I asked them to do; and some things I added to it. When it was finished, some of them were presented to the king and his council, to the bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one apiece; and many of them were bought. The king said, 'it was the proper language of all nations.' The bishop of Canterbury, being asked what he thought of it, was so at a stand that he did not know what to say about it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterwards were so rugged towards us for saying thou and thee to a single person, for which before they were exceedingly fierce against us. For thou and thee was a sore cut to proud flesh and to those who sought self-honor; who, though they would say it to God and Christ, would not endure to have it said to them. So that we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives for using those words to some proud men, who would say, 'What! you ill-bred clown, do you thou me!' as though there lay christian breeding in saying you to one, which is contrary to their grammars and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth.

Now since the Roman bishops and priests were busy and eager to set up their form of worship, and compel all to come to it, I was moved to give forth the following paper, to open the nature of the true worship which Christ set up, and which God accepts; thus:

'Christ's worship is free in the spirit to all men; and such as worship in the spirit and in the truth are those that God seeks to worship him; for he is the God of truth, and is a spirit, and the God of the spirits of all flesh. He has given to all nations of men and women breath and life, to live, move, and have their being in him, and has put into them an immortal soul. So all nations of men and women are to be temples for him to dwell in; and they that defile his temple he will destroy. Now as the outward Jews, while they had their outward temple at Jerusalem, were to go there to worship, (that temple God has long since thrown down, and destroyed that Jerusalem, - the vision of peace, and cast off the Jews

and their worship, and in their place has set up his gospel-worship in the spirit and in the truth), so now all are to worship in the spirit and in the truth. This is a free worship; for where the spirit of the Lord is and rules, there is liberty; the fruits of the spirit are seen, and will manifest themselves. The spirit is not to be limited, but to be lived and walked in, that the fruits of it may appear. The tares are such as hang upon the wheat, and thereby draw it down to the earth; yet the tares and the wheat must grow together until the harvest, for fear that in plucking up the tares they should pluck up the wheat with the tares. The tares are such as worship not God in the spirit and in the truth, but grieve the spirit, vex and quench it in themselves, and walk not in the truth; yet will hang about the wheat, the true worshippers in the spirit and in the truth. Christ's church was never established by blood, nor held up by prisons; neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal weaponed men, nor is it preserved by such. When men went from the spirit and truth, they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, yet they cannot preserve them with their carnal weapons; for one plucks down another's form with his outward weapons. And this work has been among the christians in name since they lost the spirit, and spiritual weapons, and the true worship which Christ set up, that is in the spirit and in the truth; which spirit and truth they that worship in are over all the tares. All who would try plucking up the tares are forbidden by Christ, who has all power in heaven and earth given to him; for the tares and the wheat must grow together until the harvest, as Christ has commanded. The stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth: now if the stone fills the whole earth, all nations must be temples for the stone. All that say they travail for the seed, and yet bring forth nothing but a birth of strife, contention, and confusion, their fruit shows their travail to be wrong; for by the fruit the end of everyone's work is seen for what it is.'

George Fox

About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and talked up and down where they came, that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people; and said, 'It was a great pity that they did not return to the holy mother church.' Thus they made a buzz among the people, and said, 'they would willingly discourse with Friends.' But Friends were reluctant to meddle with them, because they were Jesuits, looking upon it to be both dangerous and scandalous. But when I understood it, I said to Friends, 'Let us discuss with them, however they are.' So a time was appointed at Gerard Roberts's, there came two of them like courtiers. They asked our names, which we told them; but we did not ask their names, for we understood they were called Papists, and they knew we were called Quakers. I asked them the same question that I had formerly asked a Jesuit, namely, **'Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times, from the spirit, power, and practice that the apostles were in? He to whom I put this question, being subtle, said, 'He would not answer it.'** I asked him, why? But he would show no reason. His companion said, he would answer me; and said, 'they were not degenerated from the church in the primitive times.' I asked the other, 'whether he was of the same mind?' He said, 'yes.' Then I replied, for the better understanding one another, and that there might be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after this manner: 'Whether the church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power, and spirit, that the church in the apostles' time was in?' When they saw we would be exact with them they grew agitated, and denied that, saying, **'It was presumption in any to say they had the same power and spirit which the apostles had.'** I told them, it was **presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the apostles, yet be forced to confess, 'they were not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in; 'This, said I, is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the apostles' spirit.** I showed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apostles. Then one of them got up, and said, 'You are a company of dreamers.' No, I said, you are the filthy dreamers, who dream you are the apostles' successors, and yet confess, 'you have not the same power and spirit which the apostles were in.' And are not they defilers of the flesh, who say, 'It is presumption for any to say, they have the same power and spirit which the apostles had!' 'Now', I said, 'if you have not the same power and spirit which the apostles had, then it is manifest that you are led by another power and spirit than the apostles and church in the primitive times were led by.' **Then I began to tell them how that evil spirit, which they were led by, had led them to pray by beads and by images, and to set up nunneries, friaries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for religion; which practice I showed them was below the law, and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty.** They were soon weary of this discourse, and went their way; as we heard, they gave an order to the Papists 'that they should not dispute with us, or read any of our books.' So we were rid of them; but **we had reasonings with all the other sects: Presbyterians, Independents,**

Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal-men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy-men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm they had the same power and spirit that the apostles had and were in. So in that power and spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.

As for the Fifth-monarchy-men I was moved to give forth a paper, to manifest their error to them; for they looked for Christ's personal coming in an outward form and manner, and fixed the time to the year 1666; at which time some of them prepared themselves when it thundered and rained, thinking Christ had then come to set up his kingdom, and they imagined they were to kill the whore without them. But I told them the whore was alive in them, and was not burned with God's fire, nor judged in them with the same power and spirit the apostles were in. And their looking for Christ's coming outwardly to set up his kingdom was like the Pharisees', 'Lo here,' and 'Lo there.' But Christ was come and had set up his kingdom above sixteen hundred years ago, (according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy), and he had dashed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet part of iron, part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer threshing floor. And when Christ was on earth, he said, his kingdom was not of this world: if it had been, his servants would have fought; but it was not, therefore his servants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-monarchy-men, that are fighters with carnal weapons, are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the whore's. Christ said, 'All power in heaven and in earth is given to me;' so then his kingdom was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, and he reigns. And we see Jesus Christ reign, said the apostle, 'and he shall reign until all things be put under his feet;' though all things are not yet put under his feet, nor subdued.

END OF VOLUME I

While this was happening in England, several self-denying women, left their comfortable homes and went forth at their Master's bidding, to carry the knowledge of the glorious gospel of Christ to the ignorant and blinded followers of false gods.

Mary Fisher was another woman who came to faith in Jesus Christ through the ministry of George Fox. When Mary Fisher began preaching (a scandalous thing for a woman to do) she too was imprisoned. Her stated crime was that she had spoken to a priest. (She had: her parish minister.) The next 16 months found her in a fetid jail, but at the same time being schooled in the way of discipleship by other imprisoned Quakers. When she was released the mayor of a near-by city had her and other Quaker women stripped to the waist as a public humiliation, and then flogged.

In 1655 Mary, accompanied by another Quaker (a woman with five children) embarked for America. Upon landing in New England they found the Puritan authorities hostile. A hundred of their books were burned. The two women were stripped, searched for signs of witchcraft, and imprisoned. They would have starved had not the jailer been bribed. Authorities eventually released them and immediately deported them to England.

Two years later Mary Fisher believed herself called of God to commend the gospel to the Sultan of Turkey. Upon arriving in Smyrna she asked at the British Consul how she could contact the Sultan. The British Consul told her that her mission was foolhardy, and put her on a ship for England. She managed to persuade the ship's captain that she was neither deranged nor silly. He put her ashore at the next port. Mary travelled 600 miles overland to find Sultan Mohammed IV, together with his army of 20,000. A message from her informed him that an Englishwoman had come with something to declare to him from the great God. An audience was granted, and the next morning she was ushered into the presence of the Sultan, arrayed in his robes of state, and surrounded by his officers, also splendidly attired. Into this scene of pomp and splendor came the simple Quaker, like David of old before Goliath, with no weapon of her own, but in the name of the Lord of Hosts. The Sultan, through his interpreters, courteously asked her to declare her message, and listened attentively while she spoke. She told him she had a message from "The Great God". He received her with all the graciousness and protocol accorded an ambassador. She laid before him what God had laid on her heart, and it was translated into Arabic. Whereupon she set sail for England. Sultan Mohammed, though seemingly at the acme of power and glory in the early part of his reign, found only trouble and perplexity at its close, and, being deposed by his subjects, died in seclusion.

Eventually Mary Fisher married and returned to America, settling down not in New England this time but in Charleston, South Carolina, where her remains are buried.

Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers, who started for Alexandria, did not meet with as favorable a reception, for on landing at Malta they were soon arrested by order of the Roman Catholic Inquisition, and imprisoned in a small room where there were only two holes for light and air. They were so oppressed by the heat that they frequently lay down on the floor by their door, hoping some air would come in at the threshold. Their skin was parched, the hair fell from their heads, and they often fainted. At last they were allowed to have the door open some part of the time each day. The inquisitors often visited them, endeavoring to persuade them to renounce their religion, and threatening them with death if they did not. But they were steadfast, and boldly expressed their views, confounding their opponents by the power and truth with which they vindicated their principles.

Notwithstanding all their trials, the peace of God so filled their hearts that they could write thus: "We do greatly rejoice and glorify the name of our Heavenly Father, though we be the least of the flock, yet we are of the true fold, whereof Christ Jesus is the Shepherd, and He hath a tender care over us, and hath carried us through and over our great afflictions. We are witnesses He can provide a table in the wilderness, both temporal and spiritual. Oh the endless love of our God, who is as an everlasting fountain, whose crystal streams never

cease running to every thirsty soul."

The rigor of their confinement was at last somewhat abated, and they preached Jesus zealously to all who came near them. After many fruitless attempts had been made for their release by their friends in England, George Fox went to the Earl of D'Aubeny, and represented the case in such strong terms that he promised to write to the authorities at Malta, requiring their release. This was accordingly effected, after three years of privation and suffering, during which these two frail, delicate women were enabled to exemplify the truth of the declaration, "My God shall supply all your need."

(Source: *Valiant for the Truth*, and *Life of Mary Fisher*.)



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VOL. I I

And they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars forever and ever.-Daniel 12:3

This year several Friends were moved to go beyond the sea, to publish truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop were moved to go towards China and Prester John's country (India) ; but no masters of ships would take them. With a huge effort, they got a warrant from the king; but the East India Company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships refused to take them. Then they went into Holland, hoping to get passage there; but could not get passage there either. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took a ship headed for Alexandria in Egypt, intending to continue by the caravans from there. Meanwhile Daniel Baker was set to go to Smyrna (Greece) persuaded Richard Costrop to accompany him, contrary to his own freedom; and in the passage when Richard fell sick, D. Baker left him sick in the ship, where he died. But Baker, that hard-hearted man, afterwards lost his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell successfully traveled to Alexandria; but they had not been there long, before the English consul banished them from there. Yet before they left, they had dispersed many books and papers there, which opened the principles and way of truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, 'The Pope's strength broken,' to an old friar, for him to give or send to the pope; when the friar had read this book, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and confessed, 'What was written there was truth; but, (said he), if I should confess it openly, they would burn me.' John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being allowed to go farther, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a vision that the English and Dutch, who had joined together refusing to provide them passage on their ships, 'would become enemies with one another.' And so it came to pass.

Having stayed in London some time, I felt drawings to visit Friends in Essex. I went to Colchester, where I had very large meetings, and from there to Coggeshall; not far from which there was a priest convinced, and I had a meeting at his house. So after traveling a little in those parts while visiting Friends in their meetings, I returned pretty quickly to London. There I found great service for the Lord; for a large door was opened, many flocked into our meetings, and the Lord's truth spread mightily that year. Yet Friends had great travail and intense labor, because the rude people had become so oppressive due to the monarchy-men's uprising a little before. But the Lord's power was over all, and in it Friends had dominion; though we had not only those sufferings without, but also sufferings within from John Perrot and his company listening to a spirit of delusion and trying to introduce among Friends that evil and uncomely practice of 'keeping on the hat in the time of public prayers.' Friends had spoken to him and many of his followers about it, and I had written to them concerning it; but instead, he and some others strengthened themselves in opposition to Friends in this matter. "Therefore, feeling the judgment of truth rise against it, I gave forth the following lines as a warning to all that were concerned.

Whoever is tainted with this spirit of John Perrot, it will perish. Watch their and his end, who are turned into those outward things and arguing about them, and that which is not agreeable; all which is for perpetual judgment, and is to be swept and cleansed out of the camp of God's elect. This is

written to that spirit that is gone into arguing about that which is below, (the rotten principle of the old Ranters), gone from the invisible power of God, in which is the everlasting fellowship; so many have become like the corn on the house-top, and like the untimely figs, and now clamor and speak against those who are in the power of God. Oh! Consider! The light and power of God goes over you all, and leaves you in the fretting nature, out of the unity which is in the everlasting light, life, and power of God. Consider this before the day is gone from you, and take heed that your memorial is not rooted out from among the righteous.

George Fox

Among the exercises and troubles that Friends had from outside, one was concerning Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called into question. In this year there happened to be a case tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning a Friend's marriage. The case was thus: some years before, two Friends had been joined together in marriage among Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife pregnant, and leaving an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman had given birth to their child, the jury ruled that the child was heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was acknowledged; afterwards another Friend married the widow. And after that, a man who was near of kin to her former husband, brought his action against the Friend who had last married her, endeavoring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to take possession of the land himself, as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this, he endeavored to prove the child illegitimate, alleging, 'the marriage was not according to law.' In opening the cause, the plaintiff's counsel used unseemly words concerning Friends, saying, 'they went together like brute beasts,' with other evil expressions. After the counsels on both sides had pleaded, the judge, (Judge Archer), took the matter in hand, and explained it to them, telling them, 'there was a marriage in paradise when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam, and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. And for the Quakers, (he said), he did not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore, he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child was the lawful heir.' And to better satisfy the jury, he brought them a case to this purpose: 'A man, who was weak in body and stayed in his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and declared before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question, and (as the judge said), all the bishops concluded it to be a lawful marriage.' At this point the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child, and against the man that would have deprived the child of its inheritance.

About this time the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to Friends as a snare, because it was known we could not swear, and therefore many were imprisoned and many indicted. Upon that occasion Friends published in print, 'The grounds and reasons why they refused to swear;' besides which, I was moved to give forth these few lines following, to be given to the magistrates:

The world says, 'kiss the book;' but the book said, 'kiss the Son, for fear that he be angry;' and the Son said, 'swear not at all;' but keep to yes and no in all your communications; for anything more than this comes from evil. Again, the world said, 'place your hand on the book;' but the book says, 'handle the word;' and the word says, 'handle not the traditions,' nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the World. And God said, 'this is my beloved Son, hear him;' who is the life, the truth, the light, and the way to God.

George Fox

Since there were many Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them; and had it delivered to the king, so that he might understand how his officers dealt with us. It was stated thus:

For the King.

Friend, who are the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, who have suffered under the changeable powers before you, by whom they have been imprisoned, and under whom they have suffered for good conscience sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus. Three thousand one hundred and seventy-three

people were imprisoned in the name of the commonwealth; seventy-three people that we know of have are still imprisoned. Thirty two people died in the time of the commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons. There have also been three thousand sixty eight people imprisoned in your name, since your arrival, by those who thought to ingratiate themselves with you by doing this. Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, (though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times), and our friends are thrown into waters, and trod upon until the blood gushes out of them; the number of these abuses can hardly be counted. Now this we would have of you, to set them at liberty who lie in prison in the names of the commonwealth and of the two protectors; and those that lie in your own name, for speaking the truth, and for a good conscience sake, who have not lifted up any hand against you or any man; and that the meetings of our friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, swords, and staves. One of the greatest things for which we have suffered formerly was because we could not swear to the protectors and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if yes is not yes, and no no, to you, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking of our word as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments because we would not swear, in order to obey Christ's doctrine, who commands 'we should not swear at all,' Mat 5:34-36, and James 5:12 and this we seal with our lives and estates, and with our yes and no, according to the doctrine of Christ. Listen to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of your God, that by it such actions may be stopped; for you have the government, and may do it. We desire that all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for truth's sake, And if you question the innocence of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought before you, and we shall produce a more detailed and full account of their sufferings, if required.

George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn

I mentioned before, that in the year 1650, I was kept prisoner six months in the house of correction at Derby, and that the keeper of the prison was a cruel man, and one who had dealt very wickedly by me; he was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him because of his behavior; this man, being afterwards convinced of truth, wrote me the following letter.

Dear Friend,

Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give you an account of my present condition; remembering, that in the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of you as an instrument. So that sometimes I am filled with admiration that it should have come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order you to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. Many times it has made me think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. Oh, happy George Fox! Who first breathed the breath of life within the walls of my habitation! My outward losses since that time are such that I have become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting for the time when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from you, and of your condition, which would be a cause for very much rejoicing. Not having anything else at present, but my kind love to you, and all Christian friends with you, in haste, I rest yours in Christ Jesus.

Thomas Sharman

Derby, the 22d of the 4th month, 1662.

There were two of our friends in prison in the inquisition at Malta, both women: Catharine Evans and Sarah Chevers. I was told that one called the Lord D' Aubeny could obtain their liberty; therefore I went to him; and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, I asked him to write to the magistrates there for their release. He readily promised me that he would and said, 'if I would come again within a month he would tell me of their discharge.' I went again about that time, and he said,

'he thought his letters had miscarried, because he had received no answer.' But he promised he would write again, and did so; and they were set at liberty.

With this great man I had a great deal of reasoning about religion, and he confessed that 'Christ has enlightened every man that comes into the world with his spiritual light; that he had tasted death for every man: that the grace of God, which brings salvation, has appeared to all men; and that it would teach them, and bring their salvation, if they obeyed it.' Then I asked him, what would they (the papists), do with all their relics and images, if they should own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them and bring their salvation? He said, 'those things were but policies to keep people in subjection.' He was very free in his discourse. I never heard a papist confess as much as he did. Now, though several about the court began to grow loving to Friends, the persecution was very intense, and several Friends died in prison. I wrote a little paper concerning the grounds and rise of persecution, which was thus:

All the sufferings of the people of God in all ages were because they could not join to the national religions and worships which men had made and set up, and because they would not forsake God's religion and his worship which he had set up. And you may see through all chronicles and histories that the priests joined with the powers of the nations; the magistrates, and soothsayers, and fortunetellers, all these joined against the people of God, and did imagine vain things against them in their councils. When the Jews acted wickedly, they turned against Moses. When the Jewish kings transgressed the law of God, they persecuted the prophets; as may be seen in the prophets' writings. And when Christ the substance came, then the Jews persecuted Christ, his apostles, and disciples. And when the Jews did not have enough power themselves to persecute according to their wills, then they got the heathen Gentiles to help them against Christ, and against his apostles and his disciples, who were in the spirit and power of Christ.

George Fox

After I had stayed some time in London, and had cleared myself of what lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs, who had lately come back from Alexandria, Egypt, as was mentioned before. We traveled through the country, visiting Friends' meetings until we came to Bristol. There we understood that the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting. However, on first-day we went to the meeting at Broad-mead as we had planned. Alexander Parker stood up first, and while he was speaking, the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I stood up in the eternal power of God, and declared the everlasting truth of the Lord God; and the heavenly power came over all, and the meeting was quiet the rest of the time and broke up peaceably. I stayed until first-day following, visiting Friends and being visited by Friends. On first-day morning, several Friends came to Edward Pyot's (where I had stayed the night before) and tried to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day; for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised checkpoints on the roads. I wished them to go their way to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go, and he sent his son to show me the way from his house by the fields. As I went, I met several Friends, who did what they could to stop me. 'What,' said one, 'will you go into the mouth of the beast?' 'Will you go into the mouth of the dragon?' said another. But I put them aside and went on. When I came to the meeting, Margaret Thomas was speaking. When she had done, I stood up. I saw a concern and fear upon Friends for me; but the power of the Lord, in which I declared, soon struck the fear out of them. Life sprang, and a heavenly glorious meeting we had. After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray, and after prayer to stand up again, and tell Friends, 'now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver.' This was a very large, full meeting, and very hot; but truth was over all, and the life was up which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in peace. The officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time; so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards that they were in a great rage, because they had missed me; for they were heard to have said to one another before, 'I'll warrant we shall have him;' but the Lord prevented them. I went to Joan Hily's, where many Friends came to see me; rejoicing and blessing God for our deliverance. In the evening I had a fine fresh meeting at a Friend's house over the water, where we were much refreshed in the Lord. After this I stayed most part of that week in Bristol, and at Edward Pyot's. Edward was brought so low and weak with an illness, that when I first arrived, he was thought to be a dying man; but it pleased the Lord to raise him up again, so that, before I went away, his illness left him, and he was very well.

Having been two first-days at the meeting at Broad-mead, and feeling my spirit clear of Bristol, I went

next first-day to a meeting in the country not far distant. And after the meeting, (some Friends from Bristol told me), the soldiers had surrounded the meeting-house at Bristol, (and then went in saying, 'they would be sure to have me now;' but when they did not find me there, they were in a great rage, and kept Friends in the meeting-house most of the day before they would let them go home; and asked them, 'Which way I had gone, and how they might proceed after me? For the mayor, (they said), would have liked to have spoken with me.' I had a vision of a great mastiff dog that would have bitten me; but I put one hand above his jaws, and the other hand below, and tore his jaws in pieces. So the Lord by his power tore their power to pieces and made way for me to escape them. Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends in Wiltshire and Berkshire, until I came to London, having great meetings among Friends as I went. The Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth. It was indeed the immediate power of the Lord that preserved me out of their hands at Bristol and over the heads of all our persecutors; and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve me for his name and truth's sake.

I did not stay in London long, being drawn in spirit to visit Friends northward as far as Leicestershire. John Stubbs was with me. We traveled to there, having meetings among Friends as we went; and at Skegby we had a great meeting. We came to Barnet-hills where a captain Brown lived, who was a Baptist, but whose wife was convinced of truth. After the act for 'breaking up meetings' passed Parliament, captain Brown was afraid his wife would go to meetings and be cast into prison; so he left his house at Barrow, and took a place in these hills to hide, saying "His wife would not go to prison." And since this was a free place, many others fled there as well as him, including priests. Even though this man was in a safe place, because he would neither stand to the truth nor allow his convinced wife to stand, the Lord knowing, His hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulness; so that he was sorely plagued, and grievously judged in himself for fleeing and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to see his wife, and coming into the house, I asked him how he was? 'How am I? (he said), the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me. I am an outcast, a Cain. God may look for a witness from me, and such as me; for if all were no more faithful than I, God would have no witness left in the earth.' In this condition he lived there on bread and water, and thought it was too good for him. At length he went home again with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where afterwards he was convinced of God's eternal truth, in which he died. A little before his death he said, 'though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death, and would be buried in his orchard;' and so he was. He was an example to all the fleeing Baptists in the time of persecution, who could not bear persecution themselves, yet persecuted us when they had power.

From Barnet-hills we came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where William Smith and some other Friends came to me; but went away towards night, leaving me at a Friend's house in Swanington. At night as I was sitting in the hall speaking to a widow-woman and her daughter, lord Beaumont came with a company of soldiers, who slapped their swords on the door and rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands crying, 'Put out the candles, and close the doors.' Then they seized the Friends in the house and asked, 'If there were any others in the house?' The Friends told them that there was one man more in the hall.' One of the Friends there for Derbyshire was named Thomas Fauks. After this so called lord Beaumont had asked all their names, he told one of his men write down that man's name as Thomas Fox. The Friend said, no, his name was not Fox, but Fauks. In the meantime some of the soldiers came and brought me out of the hall to Beaumont. He asked my name. I told him my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. 'Yes, (he said) you are known all over the entire world.' I said, I was not known for evil, but for good. Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and plucked out my comb case; and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters, as he pretended. I told him that I was no letter carrier and asked him why he came among a peaceable people with swords and pistols, without a constable, contrary to the king's proclamation and to the late act? For he could not say, there was a meeting, since I was only talking with a poor widow woman and her daughter. By reasoning thus with him, he calmed down somewhat; yet sending for the constables, he gave them charge of us that night, and told him to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the town's people upon us that night, and brought us next morning to his house about a mile from Swanington. When we came before him, he told us, 'we met contrary to the act.' I desired him to show us the act. 'Why, (says he), you have it in your pocket.' I told him, he did not find us in a meeting. Then he asked, 'Whether we would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?' I told him that I never took any oath in my life, or engagement, or the covenant. Yet he still tried to force the oath upon us. Then I asked him to show us the oath so that we might see whether we were the persons it was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the discovery of popish dissidents. At length he brought a little book, but we called for the

statute book. He would not show us that, but caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned, 'that we were to have had a meeting.' With this mittimus he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester jail. But when the constables had brought us back to Swanington, being harvest time, it was hard to get anybody to go with us. The people were hesitant to take their neighbors to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus to have carried ourselves to the jail; for it had been usual for constables to give Friends their own mittimuses, and they taken them with themselves to the jailer. But we told them that though our friends had sometimes done so in the past, we would not take this mittimus; but we would be escorted to the jail. At last they hired a poor laboring man, who despite being hired to do so, did not want to go. So the five of us rode through the country to Leicester; some carried their bibles open in their hands, declaring truth to the people as we rode in the fields and through the towns, and telling them, 'We were prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for his name and truth's sake.' One woman Friend carried her spinning wheel on her lap to spin on in prison, and the people were greatly affected. At Leicester we went to an inn. The master of the inn seemed to be troubled that we were going to prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise him. He wanted to take up the mittimus and keep us in his inn, and not have let us gone into the jail. But I told Friends that it would cost a large sum to stay at the inn. And since many Friends and people would come to visit us, it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house. I said besides that, we had many Friends in the prison already, and we would rather be with them. So we let the man know we were appreciative of his kindness, and we continued to prison; the poor man that brought us there delivering both the mittimus and us to the jailer. This jailer had been a very wicked, cruel man. On one past occasion he had quarreled with six or seven Friends, who had been in prison before us, and had thrust them into the dungeon among the felons, where they were so crowded that there was hardly room for them to lie down. We stayed all that day in the prison yard, and asked the jailer to let us have some straw. He was surly and answered, 'you do not look like men that would lie on straw.' After awhile William Smith came to me, and since he was acquainted in the prison house, I asked him what rooms there were in the house, and what room Friends had been usually put in before they were put into the dungeon? I asked him also whether the jailer or his wife was the master in the house? He said the wife was master; and although she was lame and unable to walk without crutches, she sat mostly in her chair where she would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he had not done as she wanted. I considered that many Friends would probably come to visit us, and if we had a room to ourselves, it would be better for them to speak to me and for me to speak to them, as there should be occasion. Therefore, I asked William Smith to speak with the woman, and advise her that if she would let us have a room and allow our Friends to come out of the dungeon, leaving it to us to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went, and after some reasoning with her, she consented; and we were taken into a room. Then we were told that the jailer would not allow us to have any drink brought out of the town into the prison, but the beer we drank we must procure from him. I told them that I would remedy that if they agreed; for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that would be sufficient for us; so we would have none of his beer, and he could not deny us the water.

Before we came those few Friends that were prisoners met together on first-days; and if any of them were moved to pray to the Lord, the jailer would come up with his great quarter staff in his hand with his mastiff dog at his heels, and pull them down by the hair of the head, and strike them with his staff; but when he struck Friends, the mastiff dog, instead of falling upon them, would take the staff out of his hand. After we arrived when the next first-day came, I asked one of my fellow prisoners to carry down a stool, set it in the yard, give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and say that anyone who wanted to hear the word of the Lord declared was welcome to come there. So the prisoners gathered in the yard, and we went down and had a very precious meeting in which the jailer did not interfere. Thus every first-day we had a meeting as long as we stayed in prison, and several people from the town and country also attended. Many were convinced, and some received the Lord's truth there, who have stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the sessions came, we were brought up before the justices along with other Friends that had been sent to prison while we were there, numbering about twenty. Being brought into the court, the jailer put us into the place where the thieves were, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to us. I told them that I never took any oath in my life; and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and his apostle James had forbidden swearing; therefore, they put it to us only as a snare. We told them, if they could prove that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, had they ever commanded Christians to swear, we would take these oaths; otherwise

we were resolved to obey Christ's command and the apostle's exhortation. They said, 'We must take the oath, that we might exhibit our allegiance to the king.' I told them that I had been formerly sent prisoner by Colonel Hacker from that town to London under pretense that I held meetings to plot to bring in King Charles. I also asked them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our pending commitment to prison; specifically that 'we were to have a meeting.' I said that he, who was called lord Beaumont, by that act could not send us to jail, unless we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be such persons as the act speaks of; therefore, we asked that they read the mittimus, and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus; but called a jury, and indicted us 'for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.' When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one who had been an alderman of the city told them, 'have a good conscience;' and one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices that this alderman had affronted the jury; so they called him up, and tendered him the oath also, which he took.

While we were standing where the thieves usually stood, a pick pocket thief had his hand in several Friends' pockets. Friends declared it to the justices and showed them the man. The justices called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they set him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned and brought in a guilty verdict; and after some words, the justices whispered together and told the jailer take us to prison again; but the Lord's power was over them, as was his everlasting truth, which we declared boldly among them. There was a great group of people outside the court, and most of them supported us so that the crier and bailiffs were reluctant to call the people back again to the court. We declared the truth as we went along the streets until we came to the jail, because the streets were full of people. 'Some time after we had gone back into our chamber in the prison again, the jailer came to us and wanted all who were not prisoners to leave. When they were gone, he said, 'Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that you should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for not paying tithes; and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will.'

Thus, suddenly we were all set at liberty, and we passed everyone into our services. Leonard Fell had come there to see us, so he went with me to Swanington again. I received a letter from him that was addressed to the justices at the sessions; Friends had called upon lord Hastings, who upon hearing of my imprisonment, had written from London to the justices at the sessions instructing them to set me at liberty. I had not yet delivered this letter to the justices; but whether they had any knowledge of his mind from any other hand, which made them discharge us so suddenly, I do not know. But this letter I carried to the man called the lord Beaumont, (he who sent us to prison); and when he had broken it open and read it, he seemed very troubled and at last became a little more humble. But he still threatened us, that if we had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up and send us to prison again. Despite his threats we went to Swanington, and had a meeting with Friends there, and he neither came or sent men to break it up.

From Swanington we came to Twy-cross, where that great man lived whom the Lord God had raised up from his sickness in the year 1649, (whose servant-man came at me with a drawn sword to have done me a mischief). He and his wife came to see me. From there we traveled through Warwickshire, where we had magnificent meetings; and then we went into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, visiting Friends until we came to London.

I did not stay long in London, but went into Essex and on to Norfolk, having great meetings. When I came to captain Lawrence's at Norwich, there was a great threat of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. Passing from there to Sutton and on into Cambridgeshire, I heard of Edward Burrough's death. And being aware of how great a grief and distress it would be to Friends to part with him, I wrote the following lines for the staying and settling of their minds.

Friends,

Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God, that does not change; that in that you may feel dear Edward Burrough among you in the seed, in which and by which he fathered you to God, with whom he is. And that in the seed you may all see and feel him in which is the unity with him in the life; and so enjoy him in the life that does not change, which is invisible.

George Fox

From there I passed to Little-port and the Isle of Ely; where a former mayor and his wife along with the wife of the present mayor of Cambridge, came to the meeting. Traveling into Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, I came to Thomas Parnel's, where the mayor of Huntingdon came to see me; he was very loving. From there I came into the Fen-country, where we had large and quiet meetings. While I was in that country, such a great flood occurred there that it was dangerous to go out; yet we did get out and went to Lynn, where we had a blessed meeting. Next morning I went to visit some prisoners there; then back to the inn, and left on my horse. As I was riding out of the yard, it seems the officers came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only that I felt a great burden come upon me as I rode out of the town until I was outside the gates. Some Friends came after me, and when they overtook me, they told me that as soon as I was out of the yard of the inn, the officers came and had been searched the inn for me. So by the good hand of the Lord I escaped their cruel hands. After this, we passed through the countryside, visiting Friends in their meetings. The Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established in it, praises, and glory to his name forever!

Having passed through Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, we came to London again; where I stayed a while, visiting Friends in their meetings, which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all. After some time I left the city again, and traveled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me. We went to Ashfold, where we had a quiet and a very blessed meeting. On first-day we had a very good and peaceable meeting at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden, and had a meeting there, to which Friends came from several parts; and many other people came in and were reached by the truth. When the meeting was over, I walked with Thomas Briggs into a narrow street, while our horses were getting ready; and turning my head, I saw a captain coming with and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of the soldiers came to Thomas and me and said, 'We must go to their captain.' When they had brought us before him, he asked, 'Where was George Fox? Which one was he?' I said, 'I am the man.' Then he came to me, and was somewhat struck, and said, 'I will secure you among the soldiers.' So he called for the soldiers to take me. Then he took Thomas Briggs and the man of the house with many more; but the power of the Lord was mightily over them all. Then he came to me again, and said, 'I must go along with him to the town;' and he carried himself pretty civilly, bidding the soldiers bring the others after us. As we walked, I asked him, 'Why they did this? For I had not seen so much excitement in a great while;' and I asked him to be civil to his peaceable neighbors. When we had come to the town, they took us to an inn that was the jailer's house. After awhile the mayor of the town, this captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came together and asked me, 'Why I came there to make a disturbance?' I told them, I did not come to make a disturbance, and had not made any disturbance since I came. They said, 'There was a law against the Quakers' meetings, which had been legislated only against them.' I told them that I knew no such law. Then they brought the act against Quakers and others. I told them, that was against such as 'were a terror to the king's subjects, who were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government;' and therefore, it was not against us. For we held the truth, and our principles were not dangerous to the government, and our meetings were peaceable, as they knew, who knew their neighbors were a peaceable people. They told me 'I was an enemy to the king.' I answered, we loved all people, were enemies to none, and that I for my own part had been cast into Derby dungeon about the time of the Worcester fight, because I would not take up arms against him. Afterwards I was brought by Colonel Hacker to London, as a plotter to bring in King Charles, and was kept prisoner at London until I was set at liberty by Oliver. They asked me, 'Whether I was imprisoned in the time of the insurrection?' I said, yes; I had been imprisoned then and since, and had been set at liberty by the king's own command. I opened the act to them, showed them the king's late declaration, gave them the examples of other justices, and told them also what the House of Lords had said of it. I spoke also to them concerning their own conditions, exhorting them in the fear of God, to be tender towards their neighbors that feared God, and to mind God's wisdom by which all things were made and created, that they might come to receive it, be ordered by it, and by it order all things to God's glory. They demanded bond of us for our appearance at the sessions; but we pleading our innocence, refused to give bond. Then they would have us promise to come no more there; but we kept clear of that also. When they saw they could not bring us to their terms, they told us, 'We should see they were civil to us, for it was the mayor's pleasure we should all be set at liberty.' I told them, their civility was noble! And so we parted.



Leaving Tenterden, we went to Newick in Sussex where we visited some Friends. From there we passed through the country, visiting Friends and having large meetings; all were quiet and free from disturbance (except by some arguing Baptists), until we came into Hampshire. Here, after having a good meeting at Southampton, we went to Pulner in the parish of Ringwood where there was to be a monthly meeting the next day. Many Friends came from Southampton, Pool, and other places; and since the weather was very hot, some came pretty early in the morning. I took a Friend and walked with him out into the orchard, inquiring of him how the affairs of truth stood among them? (for many of them had been convinced by me before I was prisoner in Cornwall). While we were conversing a young man came and told us that trained bands were rising, and he heard they were to come and break up the meeting. It was about three hours until meeting time, and since there were other Friends walking in the orchard, the before mentioned Friend with whom I was conversion with before asked me to walk into a cornfield adjoining it, which we did. After awhile the young man that spoke of the trained bands left us, and when he was gone a little way, he stood and waved his hat. I spoke to the other young man that was with me and asked him to go see what waving the hat meant. He went, but he did not come back again, for the soldiers had come into the orchard. As I kept walking, I could see the soldiers; and as I heard afterwards, some of them saw me, but had no mind to interfere. So the soldiers came long before meeting-time; and they did not delay in arresting the Friends they found at the house or those they met in the lane; they took them all away. After they were gone, around 11 am, Friends began to arrive; we had a large and glorious meeting! The everlasting seed of God was set over all, and the people were settled in the new covenant of life, upon the foundation Christ Jesus. Towards the latter end of the meeting, a man in gay apparel came and looked in while I was declaring; and presently he went away again. This man came with an evil intent; for he went to Ringwood and told the magistrates 'that they had taken two or three men at Pulner, and had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred.' Upon hearing this the magistrates sent the officers and soldiers to the meeting again; but since the meeting was near to ending when the man looked in, and he had about a mile and a half to travel with his information to fetch the soldiers, and the soldiers had as far to come after they had received their orders, our meeting was over before they came; ending at about three in the afternoon, peaceably and orderly. After the meeting, I spoke to the Friends of the house where this meeting was held, (the woman of the house then lying dead in the house), and then some Friends led me to another Friend's at a little distance; where, after we had refreshed ourselves, I left on my horse, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one-Frye's in Wiltshire, where a meeting was appointed to be held the next day.

After we had gone, the officers and soldiers came in a great heat, and finding they had missed their prey, were much enraged. The officers were angry with the soldiers because they had not seized my horse in the stable the first time they came. But the Lord, by his good providence, delivered me and prevented their mischievous design. For the officers were envious men, and had an evil mind against Friends. But the Lord brought his judgments upon them, so that it was taken notice of by their neighbors. For, where before they were wealthy men, after this their estates wasted away. And John Line, the constable, who was not only very forceful in ordering the soldiers to take Friends, but also took those that had been arrested to prison; and he took a false oath against them at the assize, upon which they were fined and continued prisoners. John Line was a sad spectacle to see because his flesh was rotting away while he lived, and he died in a very miserable condition, wishing he had never interfered with the Quakers, and confessing he had never prospered since he had a hand in persecuting them; and that he thought the hand of the Lord was against him for it.'

At Frye's in Wiltshire we had a very blessed, quiet meeting, though the officers planned to break it up

and were on their way in order to do so. But before they got to the meeting, word was brought to them that 'there was a house newly broken up by thieves, and they were required to go back again with speed to search after and pursue them;' by which means our meeting escaped disturbance, and we were preserved out of their hands.

We passed through Wiltshire into Dorsetshire and had large and good meetings. The Lord's everlasting power was with us and carried us over all; in which we sounded forth his saving truth and word of life, which many gladly received. Thus we visited Friends until we came to Topsham, in Devonshire, traveling some weeks one hundred eighty to one hundred ninety miles a week; and we had meetings every day. At Topsham we met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, Sarah and Mary, and with Leonard Fell and Thomas Salthouse. From there we passed to Totness, where we visited some Friends, and then to Kingsbridge, and to Henry Pollexfen's, who had been an ancient justice of peace. There we had a large meeting. This old justice accompanied us to Plymouth, and into Cornwall, to Justice Porter's, and from there to Thomas Mount's, where we had a large meeting. After which we went to Humphrey Lower's where also we had a large meeting; and from there to Loveday Hambley's, where we had a general meeting for the whole country; and all was quiet.

A little before this Joseph Hellen and G. Bewley had been at Loo to visit Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, under pretence to convince and convert her; but before they left her, she had so darkened them with her principles that they seemed to be like her disciples, especially Joseph Hellen. For she had asked them, 'who made the devil, did not God?' This idle question so puzzled them, they could not answer her. They afterwards asked me the question. I told them no; for all that God made was good and was blessed, so he did not make the devil. He was called a serpent before he was called a devil and an adversary, and then he had the title of devil given to him. And afterwards he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The devil abode not in the truth; by departing from the truth he became a devil. So the Jews, when they went out of the truth, were said to be of the devil, and were called serpents. There is no promise of God to the devil that he shall ever return into truth again; but the promise was to man and woman, who had been deceived by him. The promise of God is, that 'the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head;' and shall break his power and strength to pieces. When these things were opened more at large to the satisfaction of Friends, those two, who had let up the spirit of that ranting woman, were judged by the truth; and one of them, Joseph Hellen, ran quite out from the truth, and was denied by Friends; but George Bewley was recovered, and afterwards became serviceable to truth.

We passed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges', near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting. From there we went to Helstone that night, where some Friends came to visit us, and next day passed to Thomas Teage's, where we had a large meeting, at which many were convinced. I was led to 'open the state of the church in the primitive times, the state of the church in the wilderness, the state of the false church that had gotten up since; and to show that now the everlasting gospel was preached again over the head of the whore, beast, false prophets, and antichrists, which had risen up since the apostles' days; and now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light, that they might see over the devil who had darkened them.' The people received the gospel and the word of life gladly, and we had glorious blessed meeting for the exalting the Lord's everlasting truth and his name. After it was done, I walked out; and coming in again, I heard a noise in the court. Approaching nearer, I found the man of the house speaking to the tin miners and others, and telling them that the 'everlasting truth that had been declared there that day;' and the people generally confessed to it.

From there we passed to the Land's-end to John Ellis', where we had a precious meeting. Here was a fisherman, Nicholas Jose, was convinced. He spoke in meetings, and declared the truth among the people; and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad the Lord raised up his standard in those dark parts of the nation, where since there is a fine meeting of honest hearted Friends; and many there have come to sit under Christ's teaching, and the Lord will have a great people in that country.

From there we returned to Redruth, and the next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning, some of the chief men of the town desired to speak with me, among who was colonel Rouse. I went, and had a great deal of discourse with them concerning the things of God. In their reasoning they said, 'the

gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke., and John;' and they called it natural. But I told them, the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John were written; and it was preached to every creature. (of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books), so that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Christ the spiritual man, would judge the world according to the gospel, that is according to his invisible power. When they heard this, they could not dispute; for the truth came over them. So I directed them to their teacher, the grace of God, and showed them the sufficiency of it, which would teach them how to live, and what to deny; and being obeyed would bring them salvation. So to that grace I recommended them, and left them.

Then we returned through the country, visiting Friends, and had meetings at Humphrey Lower's again, and at Thomas Mount's. Afterwards at George Hawkins' at Stoke we had a large meeting, to which Friends came from Lancelton and several other places. A living, precious meeting it was, in which the Lord's presence and power were richly manifested among us, and I left Friends there under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

In Cornwall I was informed there was one colonel Robinson, a very wicked man, who after the king came in was made a justice of peace and became a cruel persecutor of Friends; of whom he had sent many to prison. When he heard that Friends had a little liberty through the favor of the jailer to sometimes go home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made a great complaint to the judge at the assize against the jailer. Because of this the jailer was fined a hundred marks, and Friends were kept very strictly held for awhile. After colonel Robinson came home from the assize, he sent to a neighboring justice to desire him to go fanatic hunting with him. So on the day that he intended and was prepared to go a fanatic-hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself on foot from his dwelling house to a tenement where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. When he came there, he asked for his bull. The servant-maids said, they had shut him into the field because he was unruly and hindered their milking. Then he went into the field to the bull; and formerly being accustomed to playing with him he began to fence at him with his staff as he used to do. But the bull snuffed at him, and passed a little back; then turned upon him again, ran fiercely at him, and struck his horn into his thigh, and heaving him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly. 'When he came to the ground again he gored him with his horns, ran them into the ground in his rage and violence, and roared, and licked up his master's blood. The maidservant, hearing her master cry out, ran into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off from her master. The bull, without hurting her, put her gently by with his horns, but still fell to goring him, and licking up his blood. Then she ran and got some men that were at work not far off to come and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, until they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then he fled in great rage and fury. Upon notice of it his sister came and said to him, "Alack! Brother, what a heavy judgment is this that is befallen you!" He answered, "Ah! Sister, it is a heavy judgment indeed. Pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh given to the poor." They carried him home, but he died soon after. The bull had grown so fierce that they were forced to shoot him with guns; for no man dared come near to kill him. Thus does the Lord sometimes make examples of his just judgment upon the persecutors of his people, so that others may fear, and learn to beware.'

After I had cleared myself of Cornwall, we parted company with Thomas Lower, who had ridden with us from meeting to meeting through that country and had brought us over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again. Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders, and I came to Tiverton. It was their fair time, and many Friends there. We had a meeting among them, and the magistrates gathered in the street, but the Lord's power stopped them. I saw them over against the door, but they did not have the power to come in to meddle with us; though they were eager to have done it.

After the meeting we passed to Collumpton and Wellington. We had appointed a meeting five miles from there, where we had a large one at a butcher's house; and it was a blessed meeting. The people were directed to their teacher, the grace of God, which would bring them salvation; and many were settled under its teaching. The Lord's presence was among us, and we were refreshed in him, in whom we labored and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. Shortly before there had been very great persecutions in that country and in that town, so much so that some Friends questioned the peacefulness of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory shined over all. Friends told

us how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required 'to carry' Friends before the justices. The Friends told them 'to carry' them then. The officers told them that they must go; but they said, no, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to 'be carried.' Thus they were forced to hire carts, wagons, and horses, and to lift them into their wagons and carts to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be away from home, or if he was a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another; so that they were many days carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterwards the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves, which broke the neck of their persecution there for that time. Similar things were done in several other places, until the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and were ready to stop.

At one place they warned Friends to come to the steeple-house. Friends met to consider it, and finding freedom to go, they met together there. Accordingly, when they came there they sat down together to wait upon the Lord in his power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Savior; but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the Friends told them, it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. Awhile after, when the priest had done his stuff, they approached the Friends again and asked them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them that they did not choose to go to dinner because they were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sat, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and presence, until they found freedom in themselves to depart. Thus the priest's people were offended because they could not get them to the steeple-house, and when they were there, they were offended because they could not get them out again.

From the meeting near Collumpton we went to Taunton, where we had a large meeting. The next day we came to a general meeting in Somersetshire, which was very large; and the Lord's everlasting word of life and truth was largely declared. The people were refreshed, and settled upon Christ, their rock and foundation, and brought to sit under his teaching; and the meeting was peaceable. At about 2 AM that night a company of men, knocked at the door and told them open it or they would break it open; for they wanted a man that they came to search the house for. I heard the noise, and got up, and at the window saw a man at the door with his sword by his side. When they had let him in, he came into the chamber where I was, and looked on me, and said, 'You are not the man I looked for;' and went his way.

We went from there to Street and to William Beaton's at Puddi-more, where we had a very large general meeting; where the Lord's everlasting truth was declared, the people refreshed, and all was quiet. From there we went to John Dandy's, where we had another large and very precious meeting; and then passed to Bristol, where we had good service for the Lord, and all was quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters again. After some time we went to Slattenford in Wiltshire, where there was a very large meeting in a great barn. Good service we had there; for the truth, as it is in Jesus, was published among them, and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord.

After this I passed into Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, having large meetings in each. In Hereford I had a meeting in the inn; and after I was gone, the magistrates hearing of it, came to search the inn for me and were vexed they had missed me. But the Lord so ordered it, that I escaped their hands, and Friends were established upon Christ, their foundation, the rock of ages.

Then I went into Radnorshire, in Wales, where I had several precious meetings. The Lord's name and standard was set up, many were gathered to it, and settled under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Savior, who had bought them.

After I was clear of Wales, I came to a market-town between England and Wales, where there was a great fair that day; and since several Friends were at the fair, we went to an inn where they came to us. After a fine opportunity with Friends, we parted and went our way. It seems the officers of the town took notice of our being there and of Friends gathering to us. Although it was fair time, they began to get together to consult how to ensnare us; but before they could do anything, we were gone and so escaped them.

From there we came into Shropshire, where we had a large and precious meeting. After many meetings

in those parts, we came into Warwickshire, visited Friends there, and so into Derbyshire and Staffordshire, visiting meetings as we went. At White-haugh we had a large blessed meeting, and it was quiet; after which we took horse, and rode about twenty miles that night to a captain Lingard's. We heard afterwards, that when we had gone, the officers came to seize us, and they were very upset that they missed us; but the Lord disappointed them, and Friends were joyful in the Lord that we had escaped them.

At captain Lingard's we had a blessed meeting, the Lord's presence being wonderfully among us. After which we passed through the Peak country in Derbyshire, and went to Synderhill-green, where we had a large meeting. Here John Whitehead and several Friends came to me. Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends until I came to the farther end of Holderness, and by Scarborough, Whitby, and Malton, to York, having many meetings on the way, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all.

We went from York to Boroughbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. From there we passed into the Bishoprick to one Richmond's, where was a general meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were exceedingly rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's where we stayed all night. The next morning as I was leaving a Friend came and told me, 'If the priests and justices (for many priests were made justices in that country at that time) could find me, they would destroy me.'

Being clear of the Bishoprick, I went over Stainmore into Yorkshire, and to Sedberg; where having visited Friends, I went into Westmoreland, visiting Friends there also. From there I passed into Lancashire, and came to Swarthmore, where I stayed but a little while before I went over the Sands to Arnside; where I had a general meeting. After it had ended some men came hoping to have broken it up, but before they got there, they realized that the meeting was over, and so they turned back. I went to Robert Widders' and from there to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting; and the Lord's power was set over all. From there I passed to Grayrigg, visited Friends, and then to Ann Audland's where they wanted me to stay for their meeting the next day; but I felt a stop in my spirit. It was upon me to go to John Blaykling's in Sedberg to be at the meeting there; which meeting is large, and a precious people are there. We had a very good meeting the next day; but the constables went to Ann Audland's meeting to look for me. Thus, by the good hand and disposing providence of the Lord, I escaped their snare.

I went from John Blaylding's with Leonard Fell to Strickland-head, where on first-day we had a very precious meeting on the common. That night we stayed among our Friends there, and the next day passed into Northumberland. After the justices heard of this meeting, they searched for me; but by the good hand of the Lord I escaped them; though there were some very wicked justices. We went to Northumberland at Hugh Hutchinson's, a Friend in the ministry, and here we visited Friends in the area; and then to Derwent-water, where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman came to us there, and told me that her husband remembered his love to me; she said I might call him to mind by the token that I used to call him, 'the tall white old man.' She said that he was one hundred twenty two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but that his horses were all employed upon some urgent occasion. I heard he lived some years after.

When I had visited Friends in those parts, and they were settled upon Christ, their foundation, their rock, and their teacher, I passed through Northumberland, and came to old Thomas Bewley's, in Cumberland. Friends came and asked, 'Did I come there to go to prison?' For there was great persecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewleys', which was large and precious; and the Lord's power was over all.

At that time deputy-governor of Carlisle was named Musgrave, and as was I passing along that country, I came to a man's house that had been convinced, whose name was Fletcher; and he told me, 'If Musgrave knew I was there, he would be sure to send me to prison, he was such a severe man.' But I did not stay, having been only called on the way to see this man; so then I went on to William Pearson's near Wigton, where the meeting was very large and precious. Some Friends were then prisoners at Carlisle, whom I visited by a letter, which Leonard Fell carried. From William Pearson's I visited Friends until I came to Pardsey-crag, where we had a general meeting, which was large, quiet, and peaceable; and the

glorious, powerful presence of the everlasting God was with us.

About this time the magistrates were so eager to stir up persecution in those parts, that some offered five shillings, some a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the speakers among Quakers. But it being the time of the quarter-sessions in that county, the men who had been hired to apprehend us were gone to the sessions to get their wages, so all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardsey-crag we went into Westmoreland, calling in the way upon Hugh Tickell, near Keswick, and upon Thomas Laythes, where Friends came to visit us; and we had a fine opportunity to be refreshed together. We went that night to Francis Benson's, in Westmoreland, near Justice Fleming's. This justice was at that time in a great rage against Friends, and me in particular; so much that in the open sessions at Kendal, just before, he had offered five pounds to any man that should take me,' as Francis Benson told me. And it seems, as I went to this Friend's house, I met one man coming from the sessions that had this five pounds offered him to take me, and he knew me; for as I passed by him, he said to his companion, 'that is George Fox:' yet he had not power to touch me; for the Lord's power preserved me over them all. Since the justices were so eager to have me, and even though I was so often near them, yet they kept missing me, and this tormented them even the more.

I went from there to James Taylor's at Cartmel in Lancashire, where I stayed first-day, and had a precious meeting. After which I came over the Sands to Swarthmore. There they told me colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant, who had searched trunks and chests for me. That night as I was in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby-hall, which was colonel Kirby's house about five miles off, to speak with him. When I came there, I found the Flemings and several others of the so called gentry of the country, who were there to send off colonel Kirby, was preparing to go up to London to the parliament. I was brought into the parlor among them; but colonel Kirby was not there, being gone out a little way. They said little to me, nor I much to them. But after a little while colonel Kirby came in, and then I told him, 'understanding he was desirous to see me, I had come to visit him to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had anything against me?' Before all the company He said, 'as he was a gentleman, he had nothing against me.' But,' he said, 'mistress Fell must not keep large meetings at her house, for they met contrary to the act.' I told him, 'that act was not meant for us, but for those who met to plot and contrive, and raise insurrections against the king; whereas we were not such a people: for he knew those who met at Margaret Fell's were his neighbors, and a peaceable people.' After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand, and said again, 'he had nothing against me;' and others of them said, 'I was a deserving man.' So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when colonel Kirby had gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houliker-hall, where justice Preston lived; where they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard overnight about their meeting and of the warrant, and I could have gotten out of their reach if I had wanted; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myself of the north, and the Lord's power was over all. But I considered, (there being a rumor of a plot in the north), that if I went away they might fall upon Friends; but if I gave myself up to be taken, it might prevent them, and Friends should escape; so I gave myself up to be taken, and prepared for when they came. Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take me. I told him, 'I knew his errand before, and had given up myself to be taken; for if I wanted to have escaped their imprisonment, I could have been forty miles away before he came; but since I was an innocent man, it did not matter what they did to me.' He asked me, 'how I heard of it, since the order was made privately in a parlor?' I said it did not matter, it was sufficient that I heard of it. I asked him to let me see his order; at which time he laid his hand on his sword, and said 'I must go with him before the lieutenants, to answer such questions as they should propose to me.' I told him that it was only civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then I said, I am ready. So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell accompanied us to Houliker-hall. When we came there, there was a justice Rawlinson and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know, besides old justice Preston, who lived there. They brought Thomas Atkinson, a Friend, of Cartnell, as a witness against me; for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed them; which words were, 'that I had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down.' These words they could not make much of; for I told them I had

heard of a plot and had written against it. Then old Preston asked me, 'whether I had a hand in that script?' I asked him what he meant. He said, in the Battledore. I answered, yes. Then he asked me, 'if I understood languages?' I said, sufficient for myself; and that I knew no law that was transgressed by it. I told them also, 'that to understand those outward languages, was no matter of salvation; for the many tongues began at the confusion of Babel: and if I did understand anything of them, I judged and knocked them down again for any matter of salvation that was in them.' therefore he turned away, and said, 'George Fox knocks down all the languages. Come,' said he, 'we will examine you of higher matters.'

Then George Middleton said, 'you deny God, and the church, and the faith.' I replied, 'no: I own (to acknowledge) God, and the true church, and the true faith. But what church do you own?' said I, (for I understood he was a Papist). Then he turned again, and said, 'you are a rebel and a traitor.' I asked him, whom he spoke to? or whom did he call a rebel? He was so full of envy that for awhile he could not speak; but at last he said, 'he spoke it to me.' With that I struck my hand on the table, and told him that I had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that were there; 'for I had been cast into Derby prison for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king before the Worcester fight. I had been sent up as a prisoner out of my own country, by colonel Hacker, to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, in the year 1654; and I had nothing but love and good will to the king, and desired the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects.' 'Did you ever hear the like?' said Middleton. 'No,' said I, 'you may hear it again, if you will. For you talk of the king, a company of you; but where were you in Oliver's days? and what did you do then for him? But I have more love to the king for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have.'

Then they asked me, 'whether I had heard of the plot?' I said, 'yes, I had heard of it.' They asked me, 'how I had heard of it? And whom I knew in it?' I told them, I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson "there was a plot in the north;" that was the way I heard of it; but I never heard of any such thing in the south, until I came into the north. And as for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that, for I knew none of them. Then they said, 'why would you write against it, if you had not known some that were in it?' I said, 'my reason was, because you are so forward to place the innocent and guilty together; therefore I wrote against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward foolish spirits from running into such things.' I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, Yorkshire, and to you here. I sent another copy of it to the king and his council, and it is likely it may be in print by this time.' One of them said, 'Oh! this man has great power!' I said, yes, I had power to write against plotters. Then said one of them, 'you are against the laws of the land.' I answered, 'no; for I and my friends direct all people to the spirit of God in them to put to death the deeds of the flesh, this brings them into well-doing, and from that which the magistrates' sword is against, which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of evil doers. So people being turned to the spirit of God, which brings them to mortify the deeds of the flesh, this brings them from under the occasion of the magistrates' sword. This must be one with the magistracy, and one with the law, which was added because of transgression, and is for the praise of them that do well. In this we establish the law, are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for all good government.'

Then George Middleton cried, 'bring the book, and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him.' Since he was a Papist and therefore able to swear, I asked him, 'whether he had taken the oath of supremacy?' But as for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbidden it.' Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have set me at liberty. The rest would not agree to it; for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison, as all other things had been cleared to them. This was like the Papists' sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tried to require me to take the oath, which I could not take: whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster jail; but considering of it, they only engaged me to appear at the sessions, and for that time dismissed me. I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, and soon after colonel West came to see me, who was at that time a justice of the peace. He told us, 'he told some of the rest of the justices, that he would come and see Margaret Fell and me; but it may be,' he said, 'some of you will take offence at it.' I asked him, what he thought they would do with me at the sessions? He said they would present the oath to me again.'

While I was at Swarthmore, William Kirby came into the Swarthmore meeting and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with Friends in the meeting, and he said to me, 'How now, Mr. Fox! You have a fine company here.' 'Yes,' I said, 'we meet to wait upon the Lord.' So he began to take the names of Friends, and those that did not readily tell him their names, he committed to the constables' hands, and sent some to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, at which time he threatened to arrest them; but the constable told him, 'he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.'

The sessions coming on, I went to Lancaster, and appeared according to my engagement. Upon the bench was justice Fleming, who had bid five pounds in Westmoreland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a justice both in Westmoreland and Lancashire. There were also justice Spencer, colonel West, and old justice Rawlinson, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against truth and Friends; but the Lord's power stopped them. The session was large with a great many people, and the way being made for me, I came up to the bar and stood with my hat on; there they were looking earnestly upon me and I upon them for a pretty good time. Then proclamation was made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment; and all being quiet, I said twice, 'Peace be among you.' The chairman asked, 'if I knew where I was?' I said, 'Yes, I do; but it may be,' I said, 'my hat offends you. That is not the honor that I give to magistrates, for the true honor is from above;' which I said, 'I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which you look upon to be the honor.' The chairman said, 'They looked for the hat too,' and asked, 'how I showed my respect to magistrates, if I did not take off my hat?' I replied, 'in coming when they called me.' Then they asked someone to, 'take off my hat.' After which it was some time before they spoke to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause, old justice Rawlinson (the chairman), asked me, 'If I knew of the plot?' I told him, 'I heard of it in Yorkshire by a Friend, who had it from the high-sheriff.' They asked me, 'Whether I had declared it to the magistrates?' I said, 'I had sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends; for it is our principle to declare against such things.' They asked me then, 'If I did not know of an act against meetings?' I said, 'I knew there was an act that forbids people who met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the king's subjects, neither were we enemies to him or any man.' Then they presented me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them, 'I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbidden it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers, who swore first one way, and then another; but I had never taken any oath in my life.' Rawlinson asked me, 'Whether I held it was unlawful to swear?' This question he put on purpose to ensnare me; for by an act that was made, a person was liable to banishment or a great fine, who should say, it was unlawful to swear.' But I, seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him, 'That in the time of the law among the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who fulfils the law in his gospel time, commands, "not to swear at all;" and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to those who were Jews, and who had the law of God.' After much discourse they called for the jailer, and committed me to prison. I had the paper with me which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or allow to be read in open court; but they would not. So being committed for refusing to swear, I bid them and all the people to take notice that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ and for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards I understood the justices had said that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute me, regardless of his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them, 'that he had nothing against me.' Several other Friends were committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing; so that the prison was very full. Many of them were poor men, without any way to support their families but by their labor, which was now taken from them. Several of their wives went to the justices who committed their husbands, and told them, 'if they kept their husbands in jail for nothing but the truth of Christ and for good conscience sake, they would bring their children to them to be maintained.' A mighty power of the Lord rose in Friends, and gave them great boldness, so that they spoke much to the justices. Friends who were prisoners also wrote to the justices, laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and showing them both their injustice and their want of compassion towards their poor neighbors; 'they knew them to be honest, conscientious, and peaceable people, that in tenderness of conscience could not take any oath; yet they sent them to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Several of those imprisoned on that account were known to be men who had served

the king in his wars, had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, had suffered great hardships, with the loss of much blood for him, and always stood faithful to him from first to last, yet never received any pay for their service; and to be thus requited for all their faithful services and sufferings by those that pretended to be the king's friends, was hard, unkind, and ungrateful dealing.' At length the justices, being continually assaulted with complaints of grievances, released some of the Friends, but still kept many in prison.

There were four Friends in prison for not paying tithes, (sent to prison by a lawsuit of the countess of Derby), who had been there nearly two and a half years. One of these was Oliver Atherton, who had a weak constitution because of long and hard imprisonment in a cold, raw, unwholesome place. He was brought so low and weak in his body, that there appeared no hope he would live unless he was released. Therefore, a letter was written on his behalf to the countess, and sent by his son Godfrey Atherton, where he told her the reasons why he and the rest could not pay tithes: 'because if they did, they should deny Christ come in the flesh, who by his coming had put an end to tithes, and to the priesthood to which they had been given, and to the commandment by which they had been paid under the law. He also told her of his weak condition, and the apparent likelihood of his death, if she continued to hold him there; hoping that she might be moved to pity and compassion. He also warned her not to draw the guilt of innocent blood upon herself.' But when his son went to her with his father's letter, one of her servants abused him, plucked off his cap and threw it away, and put him out of the gate. Nevertheless, the letter was delivered into her own hand, but she shut out all pity and tenderness, and kept him in prison until death. When his son returned to his father in prison, and told him as he lay on his dying bed, that the countess denied his liberty, he only said, 'She has been the cause of shedding much blood, but this will be the heaviest blood that ever she spilt,' and soon after he died. Friends having his body delivered to them to bury, as they carried it from the prison to Ormskirk, the parish where he had lived. They stuck up papers upon the market crosses, (a place for public notices), at Garstang, Preston, and other towns through which they passed, with this inscription:

'This is Oliver Atherton, of Ormskirk parish, persecuted to death by the countess of Derby for good conscience sake towards God and Christ, because he could not give her tithes.'

These papers explained the reasons he could not pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he underwent, her hard heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death.

After his death, Richard Cubban, another of her prisoners for tithes, wrote a long letter to her, on behalf of himself and his fellow prisoners, laying their innocence before her. 'That it was not out of willfulness, stubbornness, or covetousness, that they refused to pay her tithes, but purely in good conscience towards God and Christ; letting her know, if she should be suffered to keep them there until they everyone died, as she had done their fellow-sufferer, Oliver Atherton, they could still not yield to pay her. And therefore asked her to consider their case in a christian spirit, and not bring their blood upon herself also.' Yet she would not show any pity or compassion to them, who had now suffered hard imprisonment about two years and a half under her. Instead she sent to the town of Garstang, and threatened to complain to the king and council, and bring them into trouble, for allowing the paper concerning Oliver Atherton's death to be stuck upon the town's market cross. The rage she expressed made the people take even more notice of it, and some of them said, 'the Quakers had given her a bone to pick.' But she, who regarded not the life of an innocent sufferer for Christ, lived not long after herself. Three weeks to the day after Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormskirk to be buried, she died; and her body was carried through the same town to her burying place. Thus the Lord pursued the hard hearted persecutor.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

I was kept until the assize, and judge Turner and judge Twisden were assigned that circuit. I was brought before judge Twisden, on the 14th of the month called March, the latter end of the year 1663. When I was brought to the bar, I said, 'peace be among you all.' The judge looked upon me and said, 'what! Do you come into the court with your hat on! Upon which words, the jailer took it off, and I said, 'the hat is not the honor that comes from God.' Then said the judge to me, 'will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?' I said, 'I never took any oath in my life, or any covenant or engagement.' 'Well,' he said, 'will you swear or not?' I answered, 'I am a Christian, and Christ commands me "not to swear;" and so does the apostle James; and whether I should obey God or man, you judge.' 'I ask you again,' he said, 'whether you will swear, or not?' I answered again, 'I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian, and I should show forth Christianity. And I asked him, if he did not know that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it? I also told him that they had seen how many people had first sworn for the king and then sworn against him. But as for me, I had never taken an oath in my life. My allegiance did not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honor all men, and I much more honor the king. But Christ, who is the great prophet, the King of kings, the Savior and judge of the whole world, said I must not swear. Now, must I obey Christ or you? For it is tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear; and we have the word of a king for tender consciences. Then I asked the judge, if he did own the king?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I do own the king.' Why then, I said, do you not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, "that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably?" If you own the king,' I said, 'why do you call me in question and ask me to take an oath, which is a matter of religion; since neither you or anyone else can charge me with un-peaceable living?' Upon this he was moved, and looking angrily at me, said, 'Sirrah, will you swear?' I told him, 'I was none of his sirrah, I was a Christian; and for him, an old man, and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to prisoners, it did not become either his gray hairs or his office.' 'Well,' he said, 'I am a christian too.' 'Then do Christian works,' I said. 'Sirrah!' he said, 'do you think to frighten me with your words.' Then catching himself and looking aside, he said, 'hark! I am using the word (sirrah) again;' so he checked himself. I said, 'I spoke to you in love; for that language did not become you, as a judge. You should instruct a prisoner in the law, if he is ignorant and does not understand.' 'And I speak in love to you too,' he said. 'But,' I said, 'love gives no nicknames.' Then he roused himself up, and said, 'I will not be afraid of you, George Fox. You speak so loud, your voice drowns mine and the court's; I must call for three or four criers to drown your voice: you have good lungs.' 'I am a prisoner here,' I said, 'for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for his sake do I suffer, and for him do I stand this day, and if my voice were five times louder I should lift it up, and sound it out for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment seat, in obedience to him who commands "'not to swear;" before whose judgment seat you must all be brought, and must give an account.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'George Fox, say whether you will take the oath, yes or no?' I replied, 'I say as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, you judge? If I could take any oath at all, I should take this; for I do not deny some oaths only or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who has commanded his, "not to swear at all." Now if you or any of you or any of your ministers or priests here will prove that Christ or his apostle, after they had forbidden all swearing, ever commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear.' I saw several priests there; but not one of them offered to speak. Then said the judge, 'I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution; therefore present him the oath of allegiance.' 'If you love the king,' I said, 'why do you break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, where he promised liberty to tender consciences? I am a man of a tender conscience, and in obedience to Christ's command I cannot swear.' 'Then you will not swear,' said the judge; 'take him away, jailer.' I said, 'it is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to his command I suffer; and so the Lord forgive you all.' So the jailer took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

On the sixteenth of the same month I was brought before judge Twisden again, who was somewhat offended at my hat; but since it was the last morning of the assize, before he was to go out of town, and not many people were there, he made the less of it. He asked me, 'whether I would deny the charge to be true, stand mute, or submit.' But he spoke so fast, it was hard to know what he said. However I told him, 'I desired I might have liberty to deny the truth of the indictment, and have it tried in court.' Then said he, 'Take him away, I will have nothing to do with him, take him away.' I said, 'well, live in the fear of God, and do justice.' 'Why, (he said), have I not done you justice?' I replied, 'What you have done has been against the command of Christ.' So I was taken to the jail again and kept prisoner until the next assizes.

Some time before this assize, Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster jail by justices Fleming, Kirby, and Preston; and at the assize the oath was also tendered to her, and she was again committed to prison to stay until the next assize.

From Valiant for the Truth: While George Fox was thus suffering for conscience' sake his kind hostess, the widow of Judge Fell, was in her turn subjected to trial and imprisonment. One day as the Friends were quietly sitting in their meeting in Swarthmore Hall, Colonel Kirby made his appearance and took down the names of all the men present. A few days after an officer came to bring Margaret Fell before a special meeting of the magistracy, assembled at Ulverstone. She was questioned in regard to the meetings held at her house, and told if she would not promise to discontinue them, they would tender her the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. She replied, so long as the Lord let her have a house, she would in spirit and in truth endeavor to worship God in it. The oath was then tendered, and as she could not conscientiously take any oaths, she, too, was sent to prison till the next assizes. Here the same plan was pursued with the same result. She could neither take the oath, nor accept her liberty on condition of giving up the meetings at her house, and so was remanded for three months more. At the expiration of this period Judge Turner passed sentence of preunire against her, by which she was outlawed, condemned to imprisonment for life, and her property confiscated to the Crown. But neither faith nor courage forsook her, and she returned this answer to her cruel sentence: "Although I am out of the king's protection, I am not out of the protection of the Almighty God." The Lord did indeed sustain her, as she parted from her children, and returned to her gloomy prison, not knowing whether she should ever see them or her beloved home again. She proved, of a truth, that "Stone walls do not a prison make, Nor iron bars a cage," for the light of the Lord shone in her heart, and His peace filled her soul.

Shut up in Lancaster Castle, Margaret Fell, though debarred from active cooperation with her friends, was able to use her pen in the service of her Master. She sent letters of advice and counsel to the different meetings of Friends, and tracts on various subjects came from her dungeon walls, flying like seed vessels of truth, in many cases to spring up and bear fruit to God's glory. After three years' imprisonment she wrote a forcible appeal to the king, reminding him of the declaration of Breda, and his promise to her that if the Friends were peaceable they should be protected. She also referred to her interview with the king, and her advice to him to beware of taking counsel of those who would oppress them whose only crime was that they obeyed and worshipped the Lord Jesus. She then describes her prison as "a place where storm, wind, and rain found easy access, and which sometimes was filled with smoke."

This remonstrance had no effect, and she remained in her gloomy prison-house nearly two years longer, when the efforts of her friends on her behalf were successful. In 1668 she was released from her confinement, and allowed to return to her home and children after an imprisonment of nearly five years.

Justice Fleming was one of the fiercest and most violent justices in persecuting Friends and sending his honest neighbors to prison for religion's sake; and since many Friends were at this time in Lancaster jail, committed by him, and some having died in prison, we that were then prisoners had it upon us to write to him as follows:

Oh Justice Fleming!-

Mercy, compassion, love, and kindness adorn and grace men and magistrates. Oh! do you not hear the cry of the widows, and the cry of the fatherless, who were made so through persecution! Were they not driven like sheep, from constable to constable, as though they had been the greatest transgressors or felons in the land? Which grieved the hearts of many sober people, to see how their innocent neighbors and countrymen, who were of a peaceable carriage, and honest in their lives and conversations among men, were used and served! One more is dead, whom you sent to prison, having left five children both fatherless and motherless. How can you do otherwise than take care of those fatherless infants, and also of the other's wife and family? Is it not your place? Consider Job Ch. 29 how he was a father to the poor, he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless that had none to help. He broke the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth. But oh! Measure your life and his, and take heed of the day of God's eternal judgment, which will come, and the sentence and decree from Christ, when every man must give an account and receive a reward according to his deeds. Then it will be said, "Oh! Where are the months that are past?" Again Justice Fleming, consider, when John Stubbs was brought before you. He had a wife and four small children, and had little to live on but what they honestly earned by their own diligence. As soon as he appeared, you

cried out, "Put the oath to that man." And when he confessed he was but a poor man, you did not care, but cast away pity, not hearing what he would say. And now he is kept in prison, because he could not swear, and break the command of Christ and the apostle James. It is to be hoped that you will take care of his family, so that his children do not starve; and see that they do not want bread. Can this be allegiance to the king, to do that which Christ and his apostle say is evil, and brings into condemnation? If Christ and the apostle James, who commanded not to swear, had lived in your days, would you not have cast them into prison? Consider also your poor neighbor, William Wilson, who was known to the entire parish and neighbors to be an industrious man, careful to maintain his wife and children; yet had little but what he got with his hands in diligence and travels to supply himself. How should his wife maintain her children, when you have cast her husband into prison, and thereby made him incapable of working for them? Therefore it may be expected you will have a care of his wife and children, and see they do not want; for how should they live, having no other way to be sustained but by the little that he earned? Surely the noise of this is in the very markets, and the death of your two neighbors, and the cry of the widows and fatherless is heard. All those fatherless and widows having been made so for righteousness sake. For might not John Stubbs and William Wilson still have their liberty if they would have sworn, even if they had been those who are patrons of charlatans and actors, or those who go hunting for trouble? Oh! Consider! For the Lord's mind is not like this. For "He is tender," and the king has declared his mind to be, that there should be no cruelty inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. Besides, several poor honest people were fined who needed to have something given to them; and it had been more honorable to have given them something, than to fine them and send them to prison, some of whom live upon the charity of others. What honor or grace can it be to you to cast your poor neighbors into prison, who are peaceable? You know these people cannot do what you require of them, if it were to save their lives or all that they have. Because in tenderness they cannot take any oath, you make that a snare to them. What do you think the people say concerning this? "We know, (they say), the Quakers' principle that keep to yes and no; but we see others swear and forswear." For many of you have sworn first one way and then another. So we leave it to the spirit of God in your conscience, Justice Fleming, who was so eager to take George Fox, and so offended with them that had not taken him, and now have fallen upon your poor neighbors. But oh! Where is your pity for their poor fatherless children, and motherless infants? Oh! Take heed of Herod's hard-heartedness and casting away all pity! Esau did so, not Jacob. Here also consider Thomas Walters, of Bolton, cast into prison, and the oath imposed on him through you; and for denying to swear at all, in obedience to Christ's command, he has continued in prison, who has five small children and his wife near childbirth. Surely, you should take care for them also, and see that his wife and small children do not want, who are as fatherless and she as a widow through you. Do you not hear in your ears the cry of the fatherless, the cry of the widows and the blood of the innocent speak, who through you have been persecuted to prison, and are now dead? Oh! Heavy sentence at the Day of judgment! How will you answer, when you and your works come to be judged, when you shall be brought before the judgment-seat of the Almighty, who in your prosperity have made widows and fatherless for righteousness sake, and for tenderness of conscience towards God? The Lord knows and sees it! Oh man! Consider in your lifetime how you have stained yourself with the blood of the innocent! When you had power and might have done good among your peaceable neighbors, you would not; but used your power not to a good intent, but contrary to the Lord's mind and to the king's. The king's favor, mercy, and clemency to sober people and tender consciences has been manifested by declarations and proclamations, which you have abused and slighted by persecuting his peaceable subjects. At London and in other palaces the Quakers' meetings are peaceable; and if you look only as far as Yorkshire, where the plot has been, Friends' innocence has cleared itself in the hearts of sober justices. For you here to fall upon your peaceable neighbors and people, it is not honor to you to be rigorous and violent against them that are tender, godly, and righteous. How many drunkards, swearers, fighters, and such as are subject to vice have you caused to be brought before you to your courts? It is as though it is more honorable for you to look after such; as though the law was not made for the righteous, but for sinners and transgressors. Therefore consider and be humbled for these things; for the Lord may do to you as you have done to others; and you do not know how soon there may be a cry in your own family, as the cry is among your neighbors, of the fatherless and widows that are made so through you. But the Quakers can and do say, "The Lord forgive you, and lay not these things to your charge, if it be his will"

Beside this, which went in the name of many, I sent him also a line or two, subscribed by myself only, and directed

To Daniel Fleming.

FRIEND, -You have imprisoned the servants of the Lord, who have not broken any law, therefore take heed what you do for fear that the hand of the Lord will be turned against you. For in the light of the Lord God, you are seen by him.

George Fox

It was not long after this, that Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children.

When I was prisoner at Lancaster, there was a prisoner there also named major Wiggan, a Baptist preacher. He boasted much before hand what he would say at the assize, if the oath should be put to him; and that he would refuse to swear. But when the assize came, and the oath was presented to him, he desired time to consider it; and that being granted him until the next assize, he got leave to go to London before the assize came again, and stayed at London until the plague broke out, and there both he and his wife died. He was a very wicked man, and the judgments of God came upon him; for he had published a very wicked book against Friends, full of lies and blasphemies; the essence of which was this. While he was in Lancaster castle, he challenged Friends to a dispute, at which time I got permission from the jailer to go up to them. Entering into discourse with him, he affirmed, 'That some men never had the spirit of God, and that the true light, which enlightens everyone who comes into the world, is natural.' For proof of his first assertion, he instanced Balaam, affirming, 'that Balaam had not the spirit of God,' I declared and proved that Balaam had the spirit of God, and that wicked men have the spirit of God, otherwise how could they quench it, vex it, grieve it, and resist the Holy Ghost, like the stiff necked Jews?' To his second assertion, I answered: 'That the "true light", which enlightens every man who comes into the world, was the "life" in the world, and that was divine and eternal, and not natural. And he might as well say that the *word* was natural, as to say that the *life* in the *word* was natural. Wicked men were enlightened by this *light*, otherwise how could they hate it? It is expressly said, they did hate it; and the reason given why, was: because their deeds were evil; and they would not come to it, because it reproved them; and it must be in them if it reproved them. Besides, that *light* could not be the scriptures of the New Testament; for it was testified of **before** any part of the New Testament was written; so it must be the *divine light*, which is the *light* in Christ, the *word*, before the scriptures were. And the grace of God, which brought salvation, had appeared to all men, and taught the saints; but they that turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against the spirit of grace, were the wicked. Again, the spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which leads the disciples of Christ into all truth, the same should reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, of judgment, and of their unbelief. So the wicked world had it to reprove them. And the true disciples and learners of Christ, that believed in the light as Christ commands had it to lead them. But the world that did not believe in the light, though they were lighted by it, but hated the light which they should have believed in, and loved the darkness rather than it, this world had a righteousness and a judgment, which the Holy Ghost reproved them for, as well as for their unbelief.' Having proved, that the good and the bad were enlightened, that the grace of God had appeared to all, and that all had the spirit of God, else they could not vex and grieve it, I told major Wiggan, the least babe there might perceive him; and presently Richard Cubham stood up and proved him an antichrist and a deceiver by scripture. Then the jailer took me away to my prison again. Afterwards Wiggan wrote a book of this dispute, and put in abundance of abominable lies; but his book was soon answered in print, and he was cut off not long after, as before mentioned.

This Wiggan was poor and while he was prisoner at Lancaster, he sent into the country and solicited money to be gathered for relief of the poor people of God in prison; and many people gave freely, thinking it had been for us, when indeed it was for himself. But when we heard of it, we laid it upon him and wrote into the country that Friends might let the people know the truth of the matter; that it was not our manner to have collections made for us, and that those collections were only for Wiggan and another, a drunken preacher of his society, who would get so drunk that once he lost his pants.

After this it came upon me to write to the judges and other magistrates concerning their 'giving evil words and nicknames to such as were brought before them.' Which was after this manner:

To all judges or other officers whatsoever in the whole world, who profess to be Christians.

Friends, -In this letter and by reading the scriptures, you may see both your own words and behavior, and the words and practice of both Jews and Heathens, and of the King of kings, the great lawgiver and judge of the whole world. First, concerning the words and carriage of the Jews, when such as were worthy of death were brought before the rulers among them. When Achan had taken the Babylonish garment, the two hundred shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, and Joshua, who was then judge of Israel, had by the lot discovered him, he did not call him, "sirrah," nor "you rascal," "knave," "rogue," as some, called christian magistrates, are too apt to do. But Joshua said unto Achan, "My son." Mark his clean language, agreeable expression, and gracious words. "My son," said he, "give, I pray you, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession to him, and tell me now what you have done, hide it not from me." Then Achan confessed that he had sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus he had done.' Then Joshua, the judge, said, "Why have you troubled Israel? The Lord shall trouble you this day!" and they "stoned him and his with stones, and burned his goods with fire." But there was no unsavory word given him that we read of, though he was worthy of death. [Joshua 7:20-26](#).

So when the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day, was taken and brought before Moses, the judge of Israel, and put in custody until the mind of the Lord was known concerning him, we read not of any reviling language given him; but the Lord said to Moses, and Moses to the people, "the man shall surely be put to death." [Num 15:35](#).

Likewise in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, when Moses called them to trial, he did not "sirrah" them nor misname them; but said to Korah and the rest, "hear, I pray you, you sons of Levi." [Num 16:8](#). And when he gave the sentence against them, he said, "If these men die the common death of all men." He did not say, if these rascals or knaves, as many that profess themselves christians now do.

When Elihu spoke to Job, who was a judge, and to his friends, and said, "let me not, I pray you, be influenced by respect for any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles to man, for I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." [Job 32:21](#). Job did not say, "sirrah, hold your tongue;" nor did he give him any unsavory expression. Then for the words of David, Solomon, and other kings and officers, see in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, the agreeable language they gave to them who were brought before them. Although Shimei cursed David the king, yet neither David then or afterward, nor Solomon, when he caused him to be put to death, give him any reproachful language, or so much as call him "sirrah." [2 Sam 16:10-13](#), and [1 Kings 2](#).

Read the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the rest of the prophets, who prophesied to different people, and against rulers, kings, and magistrates; yet where can it be found, that they had any bad language given them, as "sirrah," or the like, by any ruler either of the Jews or Heathens? No, though Jeremiah was cast into prison, and into the dungeon, yet there was no such word as "sirrah," or "knave," given him. [Jer 37:13-21](#).

Concerning the words and behavior of the Heathen. When Abraham came before Abimelech, (who was a king), he used no unsavory expressions to Abraham. [Gen 22](#) When Isaac came before Abimelech, he gave him no taunting language. [Gen 26](#). When Joseph was cast into prison and that in Egypt, we do not read he had any railing language given him. [Gen 39](#). Neither did Pharaoh, when Moses and Aaron appeared before him, give them bad language, as "sirrah," "knave," or the like.

When Nebuchadnezzar sentenced the three children to the fiery furnace, there was no such language given them as "sirrah," "knave," "rascal;" but they were called by the names they were known by. [Dan 3](#). And when Daniel was brought before king Darius, and sentenced to be cast into the lion's den, he had no such ill names given him, as many give now, who call those rulers Heathen, but call themselves christians.

If you look into the New Testament, in the parable of the wedding supper, the king that came to view his guests, did not say to him who was found without a wedding-garment, "sirrah, how came you here?" but, "friend, how came you in here?" even though he was one that was to be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness." [Mat 22:11-13](#). No, even when Judas had betrayed his master, Jesus Christ, the Lord of life, and sold him to the priests, Christ did not call him "sirrah," when he came to

apprehend him, but "friend." Mat 26:50. Stephen in his examination, and death, had no such reproachful word given him, as "sirrah," or "knave." Acts 6 and Acts 7. When the apostles Peter and John were brought before the high priest and rulers of the Jews, and commanded not to preach in the name of Jesus, Acts 4, they were not called "sirrahs," or "knaves," nor had any such ill names given them. When Paul and Silas were cast into prison by the magistrates, Acts 16, they called them "men," not, rogues," "sirrahs," nor "knaves." And when the magistrates had done something contrary to the law they were afraid. So you may see how short of this example many fall (who call themselves christian rulers), who are not afraid to cast innocent people into prison, and give them ill names besides, below both Jews and Heathens.

When there was the uproar at Ephesus about Diana's shrine, Demetrius, who bore great respect among the craftsmen, did not call Paul "sirrah," but Paul. Acts 19. And when Paul was brought prisoner before the high priest Ananias and council of the Jews, and told them, "he had lived in all good conscience towards God until that day;" though they, who professed the scriptures but lived out of the life of them, could not abide to hear of living in a good conscience, as professors of the scriptures now, that live not in the life, cannot abide to hear of living in a good conscience nowadays; but Ananias caused Paul to be "smitten on the mouth;" yet he did not call him "knave," nor "sirrah." Acts 23. The apostate Jews indeed, (who, though they professed scripture, were out of the life of that, and had rejected Christ), in accusing Paul before the Roman magistrates, did not once call him "a pestilent fellow," Acts 24, as the accusing professors, who live out of the life, will sometimes call us now. But neither Felix, Festus, nor king Agrippa, in all their examinations, gave Paul any such words as "sirrah," "rascal," "knave," or the like, but heard him patiently. So christians may see through all the scriptures, when persons were brought before rulers, kings, or magistrates, whether Jews or Heathens, they did not call them evil names, as "sirrah," "rascal," "knave," and the like. They had no such foul mouthed language in their courts. Nor did they say to them, "sirrah, put off your hat." Now, you that profess christianity, and say the "scripture is your rule," may see that more corrupt words proceed out of your mouths than either out of the Jews' or Heathens', if you will try your practice by the scriptures; and does not the apostle tell you, that no corrupt communication should proceed out of your mouths; and that your words should be gracious. Now, I ask, where you that call yourselves christians have gotten all these bad words and names, seeing neither God nor Christ, the prophets, judges, kings, nor rulers ever gave any such names, so far as appears by scripture, either among heathens, Jews, or christians?

George Fox

Before the next assizes there was a quarter-sessions held at Lancaster by the justices. Though we were not to be brought before this court, I asked Friends to draw up an account of their sufferings, and lay them before the justices in their open sessions. For Friends had suffered deeply by fines and distresses; the bailiffs and officers had been making great havoc and seizing their property; but no redress was available.

And because some evil-minded magistrates would be telling us sometimes of the late plot in the north, we gave forth the following paper to stop their mouths and to clear truth and Friends, which was as follows:

A Testimony from us the people of God, whom the world calls Quakers, to all the magistrates and officers of what sort so ever, from the highest to the lowest.

We are peaceable, and seek the peace, good, and welfare of all, as in our lives and our peaceable behavior reveals; and we desire the eternal good and welfare of all and their souls' everlasting peace. We have become heirs of the blessing before the curse was, and of the power of God before the devil was, and before the fall of man. We are heirs of the gospel of peace, which is the power of God; and we are heirs of Christ, having inherited him and his everlasting kingdom and possessing the power of an endless life. You knowing our portion and inheritance; this paper's purpose is to remove all jealousies out of your minds and out of the minds of all people concerning us. We have always and do now utterly deny any and all plots and conspiracies, plotters and conspirators against the king, and all aid or assistance to such; any such is not of us, or to be of the fellowship of the gospel, of Christ's kingdom, or his servants. For Christ said, "His kingdom was not of this world; if it were, his servants would fight." Therefore he told Peter, "put up his sword; for," he said, "he that takes the sword shall perish by the sword." Here is the faith and patience of the saints, to bear and suffer all things,

knowing as we know that vengeance is the Lord's. And he will repay it to them that hurt his people and wrong the innocent; therefore we cannot avenge but must suffer for his name's sake. We know that the Lord will judge the world in righteousness according to their deeds, and everyone shall give an account to him of the "deeds done in the body." Then the Lord will give every man according to his works, whether they be good or evil. Christ said, he came not to "destroy men's lives;" and when his disciples would have had "fire come down from heaven," to have consumed those that did not receive him, he told them, "they knew not what spirit they were of," that would have men's lives destroyed; therefore he rebuked them, and told them, "that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Now we are of Christ's mind, who is the great prophet, whom all ought to hear in all things, who commands his, "if they strike you on one cheek turn the other, and render to no man evil for evil." This doctrine of his we have learned, and not only confess him in words, but follow his doctrine; and therefore we have suffered, and do suffer all manner of reproaches, scandals, slanders, spoiling of goods, buffetings, whippings, stripes, and imprisonments for these many years, and can say, "the Lord forgive them that have thus served us, and lay not these things to their charge!" ***We know the Jews' outward sword, by which they cut down the Heathen outwardly, was a type of the inward sword of the spirit, which cuts down the inward Heathen, the raging nature in people.*** And the blood of bulls, lambs, rams, and other offerings, and that priesthood which offered them, together with other things in the law, were types of Christ, the one offering, and of his blood. He is the everlasting priest and covenant, our life, and way to God, the great prophet, and shepherd, the head of his church, and the great bishop of our souls, whom we witness come; and he does oversee and keep his flock. For in Adam, in the fall, we know the striving, quarrelling, unpeaceable spirits are in the enmity one with another, and not in peace; but in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, that never fell, is peace, rest, and life. The doctrine of Christ, who never sinned, is to "love one another;" and those who are in this doctrine hurt no man, in which we are in Christ, who is our life. Therefore it is well for you to distinguish between the 'precious and the vile; between those who fear God and serve him, and them that do not, and to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, and between him that is holy and pure and the ungodly and profane; for they who do not, bring troubles, burdens, and sorrows upon themselves. This we write in love to your souls, that you may consider these things; for those that hate enemies, and one another, we cannot say they are of God, nor in Christ's doctrine, but are opposers of it. And such as wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons, are gone into the flesh out of the spirit. They are not in our fellowship in the spirit, in which is the bond of peace, neither are they of us, nor have we unity with them in their fleshly state, and with their carnal weapons. For our unity and fellowship stand in the gospel, this is the power of God, before the devil was, the liar, the murderer, the man-slayer, and the envious. Now Christ's mind and his doctrine being to save men's lives, we who are of Christ's mind are out of and above these things. Our desire is, that in the fear of the Lord you may all live, and may receive God's wisdom, by which all things were created, that by it all may be ordered to his glory.

This is from them that love all your souls, and seek your eternal good.

Being now a prisoner in Lancaster castle, a deep sense came upon me of a day of great trial and exercise that was come and coming upon all who had been high in profession of religion; and I was moved to give forth the following paper as a warning to such:

Now is the day when everyone's faith and love to God and Christ will be tried; those who are redeemed out of the earth, and those who are in the earth will be manifested; and who is the master they serve, and whether they will run to the mountains to cover them. Now it will appear who are the stony ground, who are the thorny ground, and who are highway ground, in whom the fowls of the air take away the seed, the thorns and cares of the world choke, and the heat of persecution scorches and burns up your green blade; for the day tries all things. Therefore, let not those who forsake truth so they can save the earthly life, say that only the priests, "serve not the Lord Jesus Christ but their own belly, and mind earthly things;" for they also do the same, and hug and embrace self and not the Lord. Now it will be made manifest who is everyone's God, and Christ, and Savior, and their love will be manifest, whether it is of the world or the love of God. For if it is the love of the world, it is enmity, and the enmity will manifest itself what it is; and the day will try every spirit and his fruits. Therefore, all my dear friends, in the everlasting seed of God live, that is over all the house of Adam and his works in the fall; dwelling in the seed, Christ, that never fell, in him you all have virtue, life, and peace, and through him you will overcome all that is in the fall.

George Fox

I wrote also another short epistle to Friends, to warn them to keep out of that spirit that worked in John Perrot and his company against the truth.

Dear Friends,

Dwell in the love of God, and in his righteousness, that will preserve you above all unclean and changeable spirits, which do not dwell in the truth but dwell in quarrels. Avoid such spirits and keep your habitations in the truth. Dwell in the truth, and in the word of God, by which you are reconciled to him. Keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, who never fell; then you will see over all the gatherings of Adam's sons and daughters. You dwell in the life over them all, in which is your unity, peace, and fellowship with God, and one with another, in the life, where you may enjoy God's presence among you. So remember me to all Friends in the everlasting seed of God. All those who are in fellowship in outward things, their fellowship will corrupt, and rot, and wither away. Therefore, live in the gospel, the power of God, which power of God the gospel, was before the devil was. And this fellowship in the gospel, the power of God, is a mystery to all the fellowships in the world. So look over all outward sufferings, and look at the Lord and the Lamb, who is the First and Last, the Amen; in whom farewell.

George Fox

In the sixth month the assizes were held again at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came to that circuit again; but Judge Turner then sat on the crown bench, so I was brought before him. Before I was called to the bar, I was put among murderers and felons for about two hours. The people, the justices, and the judge also were gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar and empanelled a jury. Then the judge asked the justices, 'Whether they had presented the oath to me at the sessions?' they said, 'They had.' Then he said, 'Give them the book, that they might swear they had presented me the oath according to the indictment.' Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the judge said, he wanted it done to take away all occasion of exception (denial of the charge). When the jury was sworn, and the justices had sworn 'that they had tendered the oath according to the indictment,' the judge asked me, 'If I had not refused the oath at the last assizes?' I said, 'I never took an oath in my life, and Christ, the Savior and Judge of the world, said, "Swear not at all" The judge seemed not to take notice of my answer; but asked me, 'Whether or not I had not refused to take the oath at the last assize?' I said, 'The words that I had spoken to them were: that if they could prove, (either judge, justices, priest, or teacher), that after Christ and the apostle James had forbidden swearing, that they later had commanded Christians to swear, I would swear.' The judge said, 'He was not at that time going to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to enquire whether I had refused to take the oath or not.' I told him, 'Those things mentioned in the oath, such as plotting against the king, and acknowledging the pope's or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well, (he said), you say well in that; but did you decline to take the oath? What do you say?' 'What would you have me say? (I said), for I have told you before what I said.' Then he asked me, 'If I wished these men swear that I had taken the oath?' I asked him, 'If he wished those men swear that I had refused the oath?' at which the court burst out into laughter. I was grieved to see so much lightness in a court, where such solemn matters are handled, and therefore asked them, 'If this court were a play-house? Where is gravity and sobriety, (I said); for this behavior does not become you.' Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge, 'I had something to say about it; for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it.' He told me, 'he would hear me afterward concerning any reasons that I could allege why he should not give judgment.' Then I spoke to the jury, and told them, 'they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment; for the indictment was wrong, and had many gross errors in it.' The judge said, 'I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them;' and he told them, 'I had denied to take the oath at the last assizes, and (he said) I can tender the oath to any man now, and preminure him for not taking it; and, (he said), they must find me guilty because I refused to take the oath.' Then, (I said), what do you do with the form of court procedure? You may as well throw away your form of court procedure then.' And I told the jury, 'It lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before his judgment seat.' Then the judge spoke again to the jury, and I charged him to 'do me justice.' The jury brought me in guilty. Upon which I told them, 'That both the justices and they too, had forsworn themselves, and therefore, they had small cause to laugh as they did a little before.' Oh!

The envy, rage, and malice that appeared against me, and the lightness; but the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had a great deal of good service among them, and then the court broke up near the second hour.

In the afternoon we were brought again to have sentence passed upon us. Margaret Fell, desired sentence might be deferred until the next morning. 'I desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for the thieves had mercy; only I requested the judge to send some to see my prison, which was so bad they would put no creature they had in it. And I told him, that colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, had said, "I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come to me." The judge shook his head, and said, 'when the sentence was given, he would leave me to the mercy of the jailer.' Most of the gentry of the country were gathered together expecting to hear the sentence; and the opinion among the people was, 'That I should be transported.' But they were all crossed at that time; for the sentence being deferred until the next morning, I was sent to prison again. Upon my complaining of the condition of my prison, some of the justices with colonel Kirby went up to see it; but when they came, they hardly dared go in because the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain. Some that came up said, 'Surely it was an outhouse.' When colonel Kirby saw it and heard what others said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could, saying, 'I should be removed before long to some more convenient place.'

Next day towards the eleventh hour, we were called again to hear the sentence. Margaret Fell was called first to the bar, and she had counsel to plead for her; he pointed out many errors in her indictment. After the judge had acknowledged them, she was set free. Then the judge asked, 'What they could say to mine?' I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak for myself; and indeed, though Margaret had counsel that pleaded for her, yet she spoke as much herself as she would. But before I came to the bar, I was moved in my spirit to pray, 'That God would confound their wickedness and envy, set his truth over all, and exalt his seed.' And the Lord heard and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me. And though they had most envy against me, yet the grossest errors were found in my indictment.

Since I had no others pleading for me, the judge asked me, 'what I had to say; why he should not pass sentence upon me?' I told him, 'I was no lawyer; but if he would but have the patience to hear, I had much to say.' At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and the judge said, 'Come what have you to say? He can say nothing.' 'Yes, (I said), I have much to say; but have the patience to hear me!'

Then I asked him, 'whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' he said, 'To the subjects of this realm.' Then said I, 'look into the indictment, and you may see that you have left out the word subject; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, you cannot preunire me for not taking the oath.' Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw it was as I said; and the judge confessed it was an error. I told him, 'I had something else to stop his judgment,' and desired him to look at 'that that the indictment said the oath was presented to me at the sessions there. They looked, and said, 'it was the eleventh day of January.' 'What day of the week was the session held on?' said I. 'On a Tuesday,' said they. 'Then,' said I, 'look at your almanacs, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January, so called?' so they looked, and found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the sessions was on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month. 'Now you look, (I said), you have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter-sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of last January, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day and the jury, based upon their oaths, has found me guilty; and yet you see there was no session held in Lancaster that day.' Then the judge, to cover the matter, asked, 'Whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh day?' But some in the court answered, 'No; the session held but one day, and that was the twelfth.' Then the judge said, 'This was a great mistake and an error.' Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, stamped their feet, and said, 'Who has done this? Somebody has done this on purpose;' and there was great anger among them. 'Then, (I said), are not the justices here, that have sworn to this indictment, perjured men in the face of the country? But this is not all, (I said), I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me.' Then I asked, 'In what year of the king the last assize here was held, which was in the month called March last?' The judge said, 'It was in the sixteenth year of the king.' 'But, (I said), the indictment says, it was in the fifteenth year.' They looked, and found it so. This also was acknowledged to be another error. Then they were all in a fret again and could not tell what to say; for the judge had sworn the officers of the court that the oath

was tendered to me at the assize mentioned in the indictment. 'Now, (I said), is not the court here perjured also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize held here in the fifteenth year of the king, when it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a year false?' The judge told them look at whether Margaret Fell's indictment was the same with errors or not. They looked and found it was not so. I told the judge, 'I had more yet to offer to stop sentence;' and asked him, 'Whether all the oath ought to be put into the indictment or not?' 'Yes, (he said), it ought to be all put in.' Then (I said), compare the indictment with the oath, and there you may see these words;" or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see," left out of the indictment, which is a principal part of the oath; and in another place the words "heirs and successors," are left out.' The judge acknowledged these also to be great errors. 'But,' I said, 'I have not finished yet, I have something further to allege.' 'No,' said the judge, 'I have enough, you need say no more.' 'If,' I said, 'you have enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at your hands; for I do not look for mercy.' 'You must have justice,' he said, 'and you shall have law.' Then I asked, 'am I at liberty, and free from all that ever has been done against me in this matter?' 'Yes,' said the judge, 'you are free from all that has been done against you.' But then, starting up in a rage, he said, 'I can put the oath to any man here, and I will put the oath to you again.' I told him, 'he had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false-swearing, both in the justices and in the jury; for I saw before my eyes that both justices and jury had perjured themselves.' The judge asked me, 'if I would take the oath?' I answered, 'Do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what have I been imprisoned so long for?' I told him, 'I ought to be set at liberty.' 'You are at liberty,' he said, 'but I will put the oath to you again.' Then I turned about, and said, 'all people take notice this is a snare, for I ought to be set free from the jailer and from this court.' But the judge cried, 'give him the book,' and the sheriff and the justices cried, 'give him the book.' Then the power of darkness rose up in them, like a mountain, and a clerk lifted up a book to me. I stood still, and said, 'if it be a bible, give it into my hand.' 'Yes, yes,' said the judge and justices, 'give it into his hand.' So I took it, and looked into it, and said, 'I see it is a bible, I am glad of it.' He had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by; for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not dismiss them though they desired it; but told them, 'he could not dismiss them yet, he should have business for them; therefore they must attend, and be ready when they were called.' When he said so, I felt his intent, that if I was freed, he would attack again. So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again; for he saw that I discovered him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by. When it was read, he asked me, 'whether I would take the oath or not?' Then I said, 'you have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on; and this book which you have given me to kiss, says, "kiss the Son"; and the Son says in this book, "swear not at all;" and so says the apostle James. I say as the book says, yet you imprison me. How is it you do not imprison the book for saying so? How is it that the book is at liberty among you, which bids me not to swear, and yet you imprison me for doing as the book bids me?' Now, as I was speaking this to them, and held up the bible open in my hand, to show them the place where Christ forbade swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand, and the judge said, 'no, but we will imprison George Fox.' Yet this spread abroad over all the country as a by-word, 'that they gave me a book to swear on that commanded me "not to swear at all;" and that the bible was at liberty, and I was in prison for doing as the bible said.' When the judge still urged me to swear, I told him, 'I never took oath, covenant, nor engagement in my life; but my yes or no was more binding to me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath? And how they had sworn one way and then another? And how the justices and court had perjured themselves now?' I told him I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. 'But,' I said, 'if any of you can convince me, that, after Christ and the apostle James had people commanded not to swear, that they had altered that command and commanded christians to swear, you shall see I will swear.' There being many priests by, I said, 'if you cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it.' But not one of the priests answered. 'Oh!' said the judge, 'The entire world cannot convince you.' 'No,' I said, 'Why should I be convinced by the world? The whole world lies in wickedness.' But bring out your spiritual men, as you call them, to convince me.' Then both the sheriff and the judge said, 'the angels swore in the Revelations.' I replied, 'when God brought his first-begotten Son into the world, he said, "Let all the angels of God worship him;" and he said, "Swear not at all."' 'No,' said the judge, 'I will not dispute.' Then I spoke to the jury, telling them, 'it was for Christ's sake that I could not swear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences; for they must all come before his judgment seat.' And I told them, 'as for plots, and persecution for religion and popery, I deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity among you this day. It is for Christ's doctrine I stand.' I had more words both with the judge and jury before the jailer took me away.



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In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves, where I stood with my hat on until the jailer took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment against me, 'for not taking the oath,' I was called to the bar, and the judge asked me, 'what I would say for myself?' I asked them to read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I had not heard. The clerk read it, and as he read, the judge said, 'take heed it be not false again;' but he read it in such a manner, that I could hardly understand what he read. When he had done, the judge asked me, 'what I said to the indictment?' I told him, 'hearing so large a document read, and that at such a distance, I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it. But if he would let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider it, I should answer it.' This put them to a little standstill; but after awhile the judge asked me, 'how much time I would have?' I said, 'until the next assize.' 'But,' said he, 'what plea will you now make? Are you guilty, or not guilty?' I said, 'I am not guilty at all of denying to swear obstinately and willfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as Jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart. If I could take any oath I would take that; but I never took any oath in my life.' The judge answered, 'I said well; but, 'he said, 'the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, and the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths.' I told him, 'they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and he had seen how the justices and jury had sworn wrong the other day; and if he had read in the book of martyrs how many of them had refused to swear, both in the time of the ten persecutions and in Bishop Bonner's days, he might see, that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command was no new thing.' He said, 'he wished the laws were otherwise.' I said, 'our yes is yes, and our no is no; and if we transgress our yes or our no, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely. This, I told him, we had offered to the king, and the king had said 'it was reasonable.'

After some further discourse, they committed me to prison again, there to stay until the next assize; and colonel Kirby gave orders to the jailer, to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come to me; for I was not fit,' he said, 'to be in conversation with men.' **I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned. I was locked under three locks; and when the smoke was great, the under-jailer could hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors because he feared the smoke; so that I was almost smothered. Besides it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to try and keep out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt would be as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me while I was laboring to keep it out. And since the place was high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped the hole, the wind would blow it out again. In this manner I lay all that long cold winter until the next assize; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much benumbed.**

The assize began on the sixteenth of the month called March, 1664-5. The same judges, Twisden and Turner, being on that circuit again, judge Twisden sat this time on the crown-bench, and I was brought before him. I had informed myself of the errors in this indictment also. For though at the assize before, judge Turner said to the officers in court, 'pray, see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word subject be in, and that the day of the month and year of the king be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country,' yet many errors, and those great ones, were in this indictment as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them to the errors. So that although, after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word subject was left out of this indictment also, the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently against me, thinking

all was safe and well. When I was brought to the bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me, first, 'whether I had any objection to make about any on the jury?' I told him, 'I knew none of them.' Then, having sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the court, to prove, 'that the oath was tendered to me at the last assizes, according to the indictment.' 'Come, come,' said the judge, 'it was not done in a corner.' Then he asked me, 'what I had to say to it; or whether I had taken the oath at the last assize?' I told him what I had formerly said to them, as it now came to my remembrance. Upon which the judge said, 'I will not dispute with you but in point of law.' 'Then,' said I, 'I have something to say to the jury concerning the indictment.' He told me, 'I must not speak to the jury; but if I had anything to say, I must speak to him.' Then I asked him, 'whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' He replied, 'to the subjects of this realm; for I will speak nothing to you,' he said, 'but in point of law.' 'Then,' I said, 'look in the indictment and you may see the word subject is left out of this indictment also. Therefore, seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm and you have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment.' I had no sooner spoken thus, but the judge cried, 'take him away, jailer, take him away.' So I was presently hurried away. The jailer and people asked when I would be called for again; but I was never brought to the court again, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment. After I was gone, the judge asked the jury, 'if they were agreed?' They said, 'yes;' and found for the king against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any given against me of which I could hear. I understand, when they looked narrowly into the indictment, they saw it was not good. The judge had sworn the officers of the court to say that the oath was tendered me at the original assize on a certain day, as was set in the indictment and that was the wrong day. If the judge had allowed me to go on to plead to the indictment, I could have proved the officers of the court perjured men again, which was thought to be the reason why he hurried me away so soon. The judge had passed sentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell before I was brought in; and it seems, when I was hurried away, the court ordered me as a premunired person again, though I was never brought to hear the sentence, nor knew of it; which was very illegal. They should not only have had me present to hear the sentence given, but also to have asked me first, 'if I could say why sentence should not be passed against me?' But they knew I had so much to say they could not pass sentence if they heard me.

While I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, there was great noise and talk of the **Turk's overspreading Christendom**, and great fears entered many. But one day, as I was walking in my prison chamber, **I saw the Lord's Power turn against him**, and that he was turning back again. I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his overrunning Christendom; and **within a month** after this the news came down, where it was reported, **'that they had defeated him.'**

WHILE George Fox was shut up in prison the sufferings of Friends were greatly increased by the passage of the Act, justly called the "Infamous Conventicle Act." This declared that "any person of the age of sixteen and upwards, who should be found at any meeting or conventicle, under color or pretense of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the Church of England; at which meetings should be five persons or more assembled over and above those of the same household, should be fined £5 on the first offense, or be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months; " for a second offense £10 and an imprisonment of not more than six months, while the punishment of the third was to be transportation for seven years. This law went into effect on the 1st of Seventh Month, 1064, and excited the just animadversion of the more thoughtful people of England. Its interference with the privacy of domestic life; its encouragement of eaves-droppers and informers; and the probable result of sending out of the country citizens of good moral repute, industrious, and contributing to the public wealth, were set forth, and those in power warned that such wickedness would sooner or later bring the judgments of God upon the people. It was intended, apparently, for all non-conformists, but was rarely enforced against any but Friends, who were soon crowded into the prisons because they would not relinquish their liberty of conscience.

One of my number, George Whitehead, proclaimed in a pamphlet issued at this time: "Since then our meetings are kept in obedience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom He hath given us, we may not leave off our testimony for God in that case, but we must be faithful to Him, whatsoever we suffer on that account." Taking advantage of their faithfulness in the performance of this duty, the magistrates hastened their proceedings in order that the nation might be delivered from the supposed dangerous people, whose presence was so obnoxious. After breaking up a meeting, those in attendance would be sent to prison for a few days, and when set at liberty, being found at their meetings again, the same course was pursued, and before the 12th of Eighth Month, only six weeks after the passage of the Act, eight persons were arraigned for the third offense. Their indictment was brought before the grand jury, who could not agree on a verdict and ignored the bill. The judge, however, insisting on a reconsideration of their opinion, they brought in a verdict against the prisoners. The judge then told the Friends that if they would promise to go to no more meetings they might be released. This, of course, they could not do, and were accordingly sentenced as slaves to be transported beyond the seas, - some to the island of Barbados, and others to Jamaica.

A fresh difficulty now arose, for the captains of vessels sailing to these ports were unwilling to take any such passengers. One was at last compelled to take them on board his ship, which was tossed about by contrary winds, and could make no progress. After cruising about for two months, the captain and the sailors became so uneasy that they landed the unoffending Quakers at Deal, giving them a certificate declaring that they had not run away, but were freely set on shore by the captain, who added, "I dared not go off with these prisoners, because I found them to be honest men, who did not deserve banishment."

The Friends returned to their homes, and by letter acquainted the King and Council with the whole proceeding. This letter was read at the council board, and they were remanded to prison till some one could be found to take them away. After an imprisonment of seven years the King ordered their release.

Two hundred were sentenced to banishment in this and the succeeding year, but the same difficulty continued, and only seventeen were really sent away. The remainder were kept in the already crowded prisons, where many laid down their lives for the sake of their religion. Yet the supporting power of their God was with them, as will be seen by an extract of a letter from one who was sentenced to Jamaica. "There is no God like unto our God, who is come near unto us in a needful time, and is present with us, to refresh and warm our hearts." Their constancy is shown in the answer of a woman, when asked what she had to say to the evidence given against her. "If I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of the living God."

As the year 1664 drew to a close persecution continued to increase, and the new year opened gloomily. The King declared he neither wished to see the Quakers, or to hear from them, as he could do nothing more for them; and so the Friends went on First-day morning to attend their place of worship, none of them knew whether he would ever again see his home and his loved ones. Yet while these severe measures were exacted for forcing uniformity in religious matters, true religion was never more neglected. The manners and habits of the age were corrupt and immoral. The profligacy of the court was repeated among the common people, and "drunkenness, profane swearing, and debauchery abounded in the nation."

Many remonstrances and prophetic warnings were sent to the King and Parliament, by earnest Friends who felt constrained of the Lord to warn them of His judgments.

One was written by George Fox "the Younger," as he was called, to distinguish him from the veteran now lying in Scarborough Castle. As early as 1661 he mourns over the judgments that are coming upon England, saying the Lord had spoken to him concerning the inhabitants. "An overflowing scourge, yea, even a great scourge, yea, even a great and terrible judgment, will come upon the land, and many in it will fall and be taken away."

Another Friend wrote the following laconic epistle, addressed to the King and both Houses of Parliament.

Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience, for if you do, I will send my plagues upon you, and you shall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the Lord by His servant,

"GEORGE BISHOP."

In the early part of the year 1665 two great evils fell upon the English nation, in which it was scarcely surprising Friends should see the hand of the Lord, in chastisement, upon a sinful and persecuting people. The war with Holland, wantonly commenced by the English court, and promoted by the selfishness of France, brought with it the inevitable results of broken hearts, the sacrifice of valuable lives, and money worse than wasted.

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, 'I **saw the angel** of the Lord, with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though **the court had been all on a fire.**' Not long after the wars broke out with Holland, and the sickness broke forth, and afterwards the **fire of London**; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

As the early months of the year passed, there came from city and hamlet a deep cry of terror, "The plague has broken out." Amid the festivities of the court there walked an unbidden guest, carrying fear and anguish into many hearts. Ruthlessly laying his hand alike on rich and poor, young and old, his path was strewn with his victims, which in five months were estimated at one hundred thousand.

Business in London was neglected, the merchant left his store and went home to die, the artisan ceased his work, the King and his courtiers fled to Oxford, and half the houses in the city were marked with the ominous tablet, "The Lord have mercy on us." Grass grew in the populous streets except on those which led to the grave-yards, and the busy hum of life and pleasure gave place to the mournful trappings of death and woe. At first the interments were only at night, but the number of deaths increased so rapidly, that the hoarse call was heard at all hours, "Bring out your dead."

How sunk the inmost heart of all,
As rolled the dead-cart slowly by,
With creaking wheel, and harsh hoof fall,
The dying turned him to the wall
To hear it, and to die."

But notwithstanding this fearful visitation the persecution of the non-conformists proceeded with unrelenting vigor, and the Five Mile Act was introduced and passed at Oxford. In the preamble to this bill it was declared, that "the non-conformist ministers instilled principles of schism and rebellion into the people." The bill enacted that it should be penal for "any non-conformist minister to teach in a school, or come within five miles (except as a traveler in passing) of any city, borough, or corporate town, or any place whatever, in which he had preached or taught, since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, before he has subscribed to the aforementioned oath, before a magistrate, etc., under a penalty of £40." One third of this sum was to be paid to the informer. Though this law was ostensibly aimed at the clergy of

the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents, it was nevertheless principally made use of in distressing Friends.

The committals to Newgate continued until the plague broke out within its walls, when the King, urged by the physicians, ordered that no more persons should be sent there. Within those dreary walls there was much suffering endured, however, with a truly christian spirit. The following testimony is borne by George Whitehead, who remained in London during this terrible season to minister to the comfort of his imprisoned brethren: "When sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, at their sad sufferings, this has refreshed me, that Christ their salvation and redemption was manifest to and in them. With such to live was Christ, even in this state, and to die was gain, it being through death, that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors."

The King one day inquired whether, "any Quakers had died of the distemper?" An affirmative reply induced him to say, "Then they can't say that the plague is a punishment sent for their enemies, because of having imprisoned them, when they are dying of it themselves." But the Puritan idea of the national punishment for national sins was not extinct in England, and many besides Friends, mourning over the sins and corruption of the day, saw in this calamity the visitation of an offended God.

The widows and orphans whose homes were rendered desolate by the plague, now claimed the attention of the Society always ready to assist their suffering companions. A number of Friends, both men and women, devoted themselves to the work of administering relief, holding regular meetings once a week, and devising means of meeting the need of the cases presented. Those residing in the country contributed of their substance, and also gave their personal service.

Now by reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I had become very weak of body; but the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for him, and for his truth and people, as the place would allow. For while I was in Lancaster prison, I refuted several books, as the Mass, the Common Prayer, the Directory and the Church Faith; which are the four chief religions that have arisen since the apostles' days. And since there were several Friends in prison at Lancaster and other prisons for not paying tithes, I was moved to give forth the following lines concerning tithes:

In the time of the law, those who did not bring their tithes into the storehouse robbed God; then there was not meat in their house. Therefore the Lord commanded, "To bring them into his house, that there might be meat in the storehouse, which was to feed the fatherless stranger, and widow." But these priests who are counterfeits, who take people's tithes now by a law, are from the beast; and if any will not pay them, they prison them, or make them pay triple. These rob the poor, rob the fatherless, and do not feed the stranger and widow; so the cry of the robbed goes up to heaven against these counterfeit priests. Many have been made almost beggars by these oppressing priests, their cattle and corn have been taken away from them; and they have been cast into prison. Others have been sued at law by the priests, and have had triple damages taken from them; yet such priests are supposed to be ministers of the gospel. Though since the unchangeable priest (Christ) has come, the priesthood that was changeable has been denied by him, as we now deny these priests. But if any are moved now to cry against them, they are stocked, beaten, or imprisoned. Many are now in prison at Lancaster and other places by a national law, which is not in agreement with the law of God delivered to Moses. We do not read that under Moses' law any suffered imprisonment, or seizures of property for not paying tithes, or a requirement to pay triple damages. Surely, surely, the cry for vengeance will be heard, which arises from the oppressed souls that lie under the altar. There are many prisoners at Kendal, because they cannot pay tithes, such as Captain Ward, Thomas Robertson, and the widow Garland, who have many small children; these suffer because they cannot pay tithes. Others are in Kendal prison, who were moved of the Lord to speak to the priests; one was moved to go in sackcloth, and of late with ashes upon her head. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, as a lamentation for the miserable state of this nation, since so many are preaching the gospel, and yet there is so much strife, debate, oaths, and dissension among people. But where the gospel is indeed received, strife and contention are ended, and oppression is lifted off. Oh! The land mourns because of the oppression of those called 'ministers!' And though the cry of the oppressed has not entered into the ears of the magistrates, yet the cry of the poor oppressed people of God has entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath, who will now be avenged on all his adversaries. You unjust lawgivers and unjust judges, to that in all your consciences I speak; to be cleared, whether you will hear or refuse, when you are judged by the just Judge of heaven and earth, whose terror is gone forth against all the ungodly, and all the oppressors of God's people.

George Fox

After the assize, colonel Kirby and other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had annoyed them bitterly at my trials there, and they labored to get me removed from there to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened I should be sent far away, and sometimes he said, 'I should be sent beyond the sea.' About six weeks after the assizes, they got an order from the king and council to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the earl of Anglesey, where he had written, 'that if those things were found true against me, which I was charged with, I deserved

no clemency nor mercy;' yet the greatest matter they had against me was that I could not disobey the command of Christ and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, came and brought me out of the castle. I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They brought me into the jailer's house, where William Kirby and several others were, and they called for wine to give me. I told them, 'I would have none of their wine.' Then they cried, 'bring out the horses.' I desired them first to show me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me; but they would show me nothing but their swords. I told them, 'There was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I preunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriff's. They and all the country knew, that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another, so that they might try me. But they all knew there was no sentence of preunire passed upon me, therefore I, not being the king's prisoner but the sheriff's, did desire to see their order.' Instead of showing me their order, they took me out, and lifted me upon one of the sheriff's horses. When I was on horseback in the street, the town's people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them. They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was so very weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback, and my clothes smelt so of smoke they were loathsome to myself. The wicked jailer, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip, and make him skip and leap; so that I, being weak, had much trouble to sit on him; then he would come and look me in the face, and say, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox?' I told him, 'It was not civil in him to do so.' But the Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Bentham in Yorkshire, we were met by many troopers and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were there, and a mass of people to stare at me. I being very weak and weary, desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted; for those who brought me there gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me. When they had stayed awhile, they took horses, raised the bailiff of the hundred, the constables, and others, and took me to Giggleswick that night; but I was exceedingly weak. There they awakened the constables with their clogshoes, who sat drinking all the night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest. Next day we came to a market town, where several Friends came to see me. Robert Widders and various Friends came to me upon the road. The next night I asked the soldiers, 'Where they intended to carry me, and where I was to be sent? Some of them said, 'Beyond the sea,' others said, 'To Tinmouth castle.' And there was great fear among them, that someone should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless. Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me up in a great chamber, where most of two troops of soldiers came to see me. One of those troopers, an envious man, hearing I was preunired, asked me, 'What estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free-land?' I took no notice of his question; but was moved to declare the word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving. At night lord Frecheville, so called, who commanded those horse soldiers, came to me and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my imprisonment and declared many things to him relating to truth. They kept me at York two days, and then the marshal and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough castle. Indeed these were very civil men, and carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we waited at Malton, and they permitted Friends to come and visit me. When we came to Scarborough, they brought me in that night. Next day they conducted me to the castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent half a dozen soldiers to be my guard. I was very weak and subject to fainting, so they let me go out sometimes into the air with a sentry. They soon removed me out of this room and put me into an open room, where the rain came in; and the room smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me. One day the governor, who was called Sir Jordan Crosland, came to see me and brought with him one called Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the governor to go into my room and see what a place I had. I had made a little fire in it, and the room was so filled with smoke, that after they entered, they could hardly find their way out again. Since he was a Papist, I told him that was his purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to pay about fifty shillings to keep out the rain and to keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that place and made it somewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. This room was to the sea-side; and since it was lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room; so much so that I was glad to be able to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so my body was numbed with cold, and my fingers swelled, so that one was grew as big as two. Though I had some expense on this room also, yet I could not keep out the wind

and rain. Besides they would allow few Friends to visit me, and many times not any, not even to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of the world to bring me the necessities. Sometimes the Soldiers would take it from her, and she would scuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire with when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a three penny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water, with wormwood steeped or bruised in it. One time, when the weather was very harsh, and I had taken a great cold, I got a little herbal beer; and I heard one of the soldiers say to the other, 'they would play me a pretty trick, for they would send me up to the deputy-governor, and in the mean time drink all my strong herbal beer;' and so they did. When I returned, one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer, and asked me for some strong beer. I told him, they had played their pretty trick, and I took no farther notice of it. But since they kept me so very closely confined, not giving liberty for Friends to visit me, I spoke to the keepers of the castle to this effect: 'I did not know until I was removed from Lancaster castle, and brought prisoner to this castle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a premunire; for the judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But since I am now a prisoner here, if I may not have my liberty, let my Friends and acquaintances have their liberty to come and visit me; as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who were not Christians but Heathens. For Paul's friends had their liberty, and all that would might visit him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house. But I do not have liberty to go into the town, nor for my Friends to come to me here. So you, that go under the name of christians, are worse in this respect than those Heathens were.'

But though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me or to contend with me.

One time there came a great company of Papists to discourse with me, who affirmed, 'the pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time.' I showed them the contrary by history: 'for one of the bishops of Rome, Marcellinus by name, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I told them, if they were in the infallible spirit, they need not have jails, swords, and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion, and to destroy men's lives about religion. For if they were in the infallible spirit, they would preserve men's lives, and use only spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one who was of their society had told me. A woman lived in Kent, who had not only been a Papist herself, but had brought over several to that religion; but coming to be convinced of God's truth, and being turned by it to Christ, her Savior, she exhorted the Papists to the same. When she tried to explain the falseness of the popish religion, and endeavored to persuade a tailor who was working at her house to the truth, he drew his knife on her, and got between her and the door. But she spoke boldly to him, and told him to him put up his knife, for she knew his motivation. I asked the woman, what she thought he would have done with his knife? She said, "he would have stabbed her." "Stab you!" I said, "what would he have stabbed you for? Your religion?" "Yes" she said, "it is the principle of the Papists, if any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can." This story I told those Papists, and that I had it from a person who had been one of them, but had forsaken their principles and discovered their practices. They did not deny this to be their principle, but said what! Would I declare this publicly? I told them, 'yes, such things should be declared publicly, that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true christianity;' at which time they went away in a great rage.

Another Papist came to discuss with me, who said, 'all the patriarchs were in hell from the creation until Christ came, and that when Christ suffered he went into hell, and the devil said to him, why are you here, to break open our strong holds? And Christ said, to bring the patriarchs out. So,' he said, 'Christ was in hell three days and three nights to bring them out.' I told him that was false; for Christ said to the thief, "this day you shall be with me in paradise." And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven; for the scripture said, 'Lazarus was in his bosom; and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount before he suffered.' These instances stopped the Papist's mouth, and put him to a stand.

Another time came one called Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great physician, came with lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth castle, and several knights. I was called to them, and Witty undertook to discuss with me, and asked me, 'What I was in prison for? I told him, 'Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.' He said, 'I ought to swear my allegiance to the king.' He being a great Presbyterian, I asked him, 'whether he had not sworn against the king and House of Lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? And had he not since sworn to the king? What then was

his swearing good for? But my allegiance, (I told him), did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.' After some further discourse, I was taken away to my prison again; and afterwards this Dr. Witty boasted in the town among his patients, that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the governor, 'It was a small boast in him to say, he had conquered a bondman.' I desired to ask him come to me again when he came to the castle. After awhile he came again with about sixteen or seventeen great persons, and then he got caught in even worse errors. For in discussion he affirmed before them all, 'That Christ had not enlightened every man that comes into the world; and 'that the grace of God, that brought salvation, had not appeared to all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.' I asked him, what sort of men those were which Christ had not enlightened? And whom his grace had not appeared to? And whom he had not died for? He said, 'Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men. Then I asked him, 'whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners?' he said, 'Yes.' 'And did not Christ die for sinners?' (I said), Did he not come to call sinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' he said. 'Then (I said), 'you have stopped your own mouth.' So I proved, that the grace of God had appeared to all men, though some turned from it into wantonness and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people that were present confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more.

Another time the governor brought a priest, but his mouth was soon stopped. Not long after he brought two or three members of parliament, who asked me, 'whether I did acknowledge ministers and bishops?' I told them, 'yes, such as Christ sent, such as had freely received, and would freely give, such as were qualified, and were in the same power and spirit the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers who would go no farther than a great benefice (position receiving revenue), I did not acknowledge; for they were not like the apostles. For Christ said to his ministers, "Go you into all nations, and preach the gospel;" but you members of parliament, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do you think they will go into all nations to preach? Or will go any farther than a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or not.'

At another time, the widow of old lord Fairfax with a great company came; one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me, 'Why we said thou and thee to people? For he counted us fools and idiots for speaking so.' I asked him, 'Whether those who translated the scriptures and made the grammar books were fools and idiots, since they translated the scriptures, and made the grammar like this, (thou to one, and you to more than one)? If they were fools and idiots, why had not he and such as he, who looked upon themselves as wise men and could I not bear thee and thou to a singular, altered the grammar and bible to put the plural instead of the singular? But if they were wise men, who translated the bible and had made the grammar books, then I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, who did not speak as their grammars and bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so!' Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some would have given me money but I would not receive it.

After this came one called Dr. Cradock, with three priests, the governor and his lady, (so called), and another who was called a lady, with a great company. Dr. Cradock asked me, 'what I was in prison for?' I told him, 'for obeying the command of Christ and the apostle, in not swearing. But if he, being both a doctor and a justice, could convince me that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they had commanded christians to swear, then I would swear. Here was the bible, I told him, and he might if he could show me any such command.' He said, 'it is written you shall swear in truth and righteousness.' 'Yes,' I said, 'it was written so in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so since Christ had forbidden all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as you and maybe more; but of what good are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament since Christ and the apostle ad forbidden it? 'Besides,' I said, 'in that text where it is written, "you shall swear," what [you] was this? Was it you Gentiles, or you Jews?' To this he would not answer; but one of the priests that were with him answered, 'it was to the Jews that this was spoken.' 'Then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so.' 'Very well,' I said, 'but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For you know that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' he said, 'in the gospel times everything was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then.' 'Why, then,' I said, 'do you force oaths upon christians, contrary to your own knowledge in the gospel times? And why,' I said, 'do you excommunicate my friends?' (For he had excommunicated many both in Yorkshire and Lancashire). He said, 'For not coming to church.' 'Why,' I said, 'you left us more than twenty years ago, when we were

but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom seized our property and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We were young, knew little then of your principles, and the old men that did know them, if you had intended to have kept them to you, and have kept your principles alive, that we might have known them, you should either not have fled from us as you did, or you should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned to the Turks or Jews for all you knew, and for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while. And now you have excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done; that is, "you have put us out of your church, before you have got us into it," and before you have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if you had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But," I said, "what do you call the church?" "Why," he said, "that which you call the steeple-house." Then I asked him, "whether Christ shed his blood for the steeple-house? And purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with his blood? And since the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, did he think the steeple-house was Christ's wife and bride, and was he the head of that old house, or of his people?" "No," he said, "Christ is the head of his people, and they are the church." "But," I said, "you have given the title church to an old house which belongs to the people; and you have taught them to believe so." I asked him also, "Why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes? And whether God ever commanded the Gentiles to pay tithes? And whether Christ had not ended tithes when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes? And whether Christ, when he sent his disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely as he had given them freely? And whether all the ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command of Christ?" He said, "he would not dispute that." Neither did I find he was willing to stay on that subject; for he presently turned to another matter, and said, "you marry, but I know not how." I replied, "it may be so, but why do you not come and see?" Then he threatened that he would use his power against us, as he had done." I told him, "take heed; for he was an old man." I asked him also, "where he read, from Genesis to Revelations, that ever any priest did marry any? I wished him to show me an example, if he would have us come to them to be married; for, I said, you excommunicated one of my friends about his marriage two years after he was dead. And why did you not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For we do not read they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and his people; and so do we. So all the holy men and women, which the scripture speaks of in this practice, we have on our side." We had much discussion; but when he found he could get no advantage on me, he went away with his company.

With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most people who came to the castle would desire to speak with me, and I had great disputes and reasonings with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to see me, few were allowed to come to me; and when any Friend came into the castle about business, if he only looked in my direction, they would rage at him. At last the governor came under trouble himself; for having sent out a privateer to sea. They took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends' ships; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat friendlier to me. Before this I had a marshal set over me to get money from me, but I would not to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing from me, he was taken off again. The officers often threatened me that I would be hanged over the wall. No, the deputy-governor told me once, that the king, knowing I had great interest in the people, had sent me there; and if there should be any stirring in the nation, they would hang me over the wall to keep the people down. Awhile after this there was a marriage at a Papist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them met together and talked much of hanging me. But I told them, "if that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready; for I never feared death or sufferings in my life; but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men." Afterwards, the governor having grown kinder, I spoke to him, when he was to go to London to the parliament, and desired him to speak to him that was called Squire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had laid in prison, and for what; which he did. When he came back again, he told me that Squire Marsh said, "he would go a hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well;" and several others, he said, spoke well of me. From this time forward the governor was very loving to me.

Among the prisoners were two very bad men, who often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them, it made them more against me. Once when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had

been a captain), came and challenged me to fight with him. Seeing what condition he was in, I got out of his way; and the next morning, when he was more sober, I showed him 'how unmanly a thing it was for him to challenge a man to fight, whose principle, he knew, was not to strike; but if he were stricken on one ear, he was to turn the other. I told him that if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some of the soldiers that could have answered him in his own way. However, since he had challenged me, I had now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him) here, I said, here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back.' With that he skipped away from me, and went into another room; at which point the soldiers fell laughing; and one of the officers said, 'you are a happy man that can bear such things.' Thus he was conquered without a blow. But after awhile he took the oath, gave bond, and got out of prison; and not long after the Lord cut him off.

While I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough, there were great imprisonments in that year and the former years. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate and other prisons, where there was sickness; and many died in prison. Many also were banished, and several were sent on shipboard by the king's order. Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbados, Jamaica, and Nevis, and the Lord blessed them there. One master of a ship was very wicked and cruel to Friends that were put on board his ship; for he kept them down under decks, though the sickness was among them; so that many died of it. But the Lord visited him for his wickedness; for he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed with contrary winds, though other ships went out and made their voyages. At last he came before Plymouth, where the governor and magistrates would not allow him nor any of his men to come ashore, though he had need of many provisions for his voyage; but Thomas Lower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and some other Friends went to the ship's side and carried necessities for the Friends that were prisoners on board. The master, being thus crossed and vexed, cursed those that had put freight upon his ship; and said, 'he hoped he should not go far before he was taken.' And when the vessel had gone only a little while gone out of sight of Plymouth, she was captured by a Dutch man of war and carried into Holland. When they came into Holland, the states sent the banished Friends back to England, with a letter of passport, and a certificate, 'that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them.' But in time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.

After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough castle, I sent a letter to the king, in which I gave him 'an account of my imprisonment, and the bad usage I had received in prison; and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but he.' After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance also with him that was called Squire Marsh, he went to visit him and spoke to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to deliver it to the master of requests, whom he called Sir John Birkenhead, who would endeavor to get a release for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the king for my release. The substance of the order was, 'that the king being certainly informed that I was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than to make any, therefore his royal pleasure was, that I should be discharged from my imprisonment.' As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarborough with it, and delivered it to the governor; who, upon receipt of that, gathered the officers together, and, without requiring bond or sureties for my peaceable living, being satisfied that I was a man of a peaceable life, he discharged me freely, and gave me the following passport:

Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough castle, this first day of September, 1666.

JORDAN CROSLANDS, Governor of Scarborough castle.



Between this and the fair my wife came out of the north to Bristol with and her son-in-law Thomas Lower and with two of her daughters. Her other son-in-law John Rouse, William Penn and his wife, and Gerard Roberts came from London, (and many Friends from several parts of the nation to the fair), and glorious powerful meetings we had there, for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In light of the fresh openings I was moved to declare of three estates and three teachers. 'God was the first teacher of man and woman in paradise; and as long as they kept to and under his teaching, they kept in the image of God, in his likeness, in righteousness and holiness, and in dominion over all that God had made; in the blessed state, in the paradise of God. But when they hearkened to the serpent's false teaching, (who was out of truth), disobeyed God, and obeyed the serpent, in feeding upon that which God did forbid; they lost the image of God, the righteousness and holiness, came under the power of satan, and were turned out of paradise; out of the blessed into the cursed state. Then the promise of God was, "That the seed of the woman should bruise the serpents head," break his power that man and woman were under, and destroy his works. So here were three states and three teachers. God was the first teacher in paradise; and while man kept under his teaching, he was happy. The serpent was the second teacher; and when man followed his teaching he fell into misery, into the fall from the image of God, righteousness, and holiness, and from the power that he had over all that God had made; and came under the serpent whom he had power over before. Christ Jesus was the third teacher; of whom God said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear you him;" and who himself said, "Learn of me." This is the true gospel-teacher, who bruises the head of the serpent the false teacher, and the head of all false teachers and false religions, false ways, false worships, and false churches. Christ, who said, "Learn of me," and of whom the Father said, "Hear you him," said, "I am the way to God, I am the truth, I am the life, and the true light." So as man and woman come to God, and are renewed up into his image, righteousness, and holiness by Christ, they come into the paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell; and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ who never fell. Therefore, the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Savior and the Redeemer; who has laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his precious blood. We can challenge the entire world. Who has any thing to say against our way? Our Savior? Our Redeemer? Our prophet, whom God has raised up that we may hear, and whom we must hear in all things? Who has any thing against our shepherd Christ Jesus, who leads and feeds us, and we know his heavenly voice? Who has any thing against our bishop, in whose mouth was never guile found, who watches over us in his pasture of life, that we do not go astray out of his fold? Who has any thing against our priest, Christ Jesus, made higher than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give freely? Who has any thing to say against our leader and counselor, Christ Jesus, who never sinned, but is holy, harmless, and separate from sinners? God has commanded us to hear him, and he said, "Learn of me;" and if we should disobey God's and Christ's command, we should be like our father Adam and mother Eve, who disobeyed God's command, and hearkened to the serpent's teaching. Man commands, and would force us to hear the hirelings, who plead for sin and the body of death to the grave; which doctrine savors of the devil's teaching, not of Christ's. But we resolve to hear the Son, as both the Father and he command; and in hearing the Son, we hear the Father also, as the scripture testifies. For the letter to the Hebrews says, "God, who at sundry times and in various ways spoke in time past to the fathers by the prophets, has in these last days spoken to us by his Son:" mark that, God has spoken to us (his apostles, disciples, and church), by his Son. And where, some have objected, "That although Christ did speak both to his disciples and to the Jews in the days of his flesh, yet since his resurrection and ascension he does not speak now;" the answer is, as God did then speak by his Son in the days of his flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, does now speak by his spirit. For which reason, John said in the Revelations, "He that has an ear, let him hear what the spirit says to the churches." Rev 2:7. "And Christ is said to speak from

heaven" **Heb12:25.** "See that you do not refuse him who speaks; for if they did not escape who refused him that spoke on earth, much more shall we not escape if we turn away from him that speaks from heaven." Whoever resisted Moses' law (who spoke on earth), died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but whoever refuses him who speaks from heaven, neglects and slights their own salvation, and so die a spiritual death through unbelief and hardness of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, "Today, if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation," Heb 3:15. They, who neglect or refuse to hear the voice of Christ now speaking from heaven in this his gospel-day, harden their hearts. Therefore let all mark well these three states and teachers: the God of truth was the first teacher, while man was in paradise and in innocence. The serpent was the second teacher, the false teacher, who by his false teaching came to be the god of the world which lies in wickedness. Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent's head, is the third teacher, who said, "Learn of me;" of whom God said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear you him;" and of whom the testimony of the saints of old was, "That God has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Thus they, that come to be renewed up again into the divine heavenly image in which man was at first made, will know the same God "that was the first teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, to speak to them now by his Son, who changes not; glory be to his name for ever!

Many deep and precious things were opened in those meetings, by the eternal spirit which searches and reveals the deep things of God. After I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I departed into Gloucestershire, where we had many large and precious meetings; and the Lord's everlasting power flowed over all. From Gloucestershire I passed into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings. At Slattenford in Wiltshire we had a very good meeting, though **we met with much opposition from some, who had set themselves against women's meetings; which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends, for the benefit of the church of Christ. 'So that faithful women, called to the belief of the truth, made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order.** There they can be help mates to the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, and in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil or temporal things. So that all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God. In this way the poor might be the better taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage, more closely and strictly enquir'd into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body the church might watch over and be helpful to each other in love.'

After these opposers had run into much contention and wrangling, the power of the Lord struck down one of the chief of them, so that his spirit sunk, and he came to be sensible of the evil he had done, in opposing God's heavenly power. He confessed his error before Friends and afterwards wrote a paper of condemnation, in which he declared, 'That he willfully opposed (although I often warn'd him to take heed), until the fire of the Lord did burn within him, and he saw the angel of the Lord with his sword drawn in his hand, ready to cut him off.'

Despite the opposition that was made at the meeting, a very good and serviceable meeting it was; for there was an occasion to answer their objections and quibbling, and to open the services of women in and for the church. At this meeting the women's meetings for that county were established in the blessed power of God.

After this I went to Marlborough, and had a meeting there, to which some of the magistrates came, and were civil and moderate. Then passing to Bartholomew Maylin's, I had a very precious meeting there. From there I went a little beyond Ore, where we had a very large and blessed meeting, as we had also soon after upon the border of Hampshire. Then turning into Oxfordshire, we visited Friends there; then went to Reading where we had a large meeting. From there passing into Buckinghamshire, we had many precious meetings in that county. After which we visited Friends until we came to Kingston upon Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me.

I did not stay at long Kingston, but I went to London where I found the Baptists and Socinians, with

some old apostates, who had grown very rude, and had printed many books against us; so I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could leave that city. But blessed be the Lord, his power came over them, and all their lying, wicked, scandalous books were answered. I made a short journey into some parts of Essex and Middlesex, visiting Friends at their meetings and their children at the schools, and returned soon to London. After some service there among Friends, I went to Kingston, and from there to Stephen Smith's in Surrey, where there was a very large meeting, many hundreds of people attending it. I stayed in those parts until I had cleared myself of the service the Lord had given me to do there, and then returned by Kingston to London where I felt my spirit drawn. I had heard that many Friends had been taken before the magistrates, and many imprisoned, both in London and in other parts of the nation, for opening their shop windows upon holy days and fast days (as they are called), and for bearing testimony against all such observation of days. Friends could not observe these days, knowing that since the true Christians did not observe the Jews' holy days in the apostles' times, neither could we observe the Heathens' and Papists' holy days (so called), which have been set up among those called christians since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into the day which has sprung from on high, and are come into him, who is Lord of the Jewish Sabbath, and the substance of the Jews' signs.

After I had stayed some time in London, laboring for some relief and ease to Friends in this case, I went with my wife and her daughter Rachel to Hendon, in Middlesex, and from there to William Penn's at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, where Thomas Lower, who married another of my wife's daughters, came the next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited Friends there, we passed to a Friend's house near Aylesbury; and from there to Bray Doily's at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, where on first-day we had a large and precious meeting. Since Truth had well spread, and Friends in those parts had increased much in number, two or three new meetings were then set up in that area.

At night as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken to jail; yet I said nothing to any body of it then. But getting out next morning, we traveled into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's at Armscot, in Tredington parish; where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with and among us. After the meeting, when most of the Friends were gone, as I was sitting in the parlor conversing with some Friends, Henry Parker, a justice, came to the house, and with him Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton, in Warwickshire. This justice became aware of the meeting through a woman Friend, who was a nurse to a child of his; she asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; the mistress spoke of it to her husband; and her husband and the priest plotted together to break up the meeting and apprehend me. However they had lingered long over dinner, because it was the day on which his child was sprinkled in baptism; so they did not come until the meeting was over, and Friends were mostly gone. But even though there was no meeting when they came, Henry Parker arrested me, (since I was the person they aimed at) and Thomas Lower for company with me; and though he had nothing with which to charge us, he sent us both to Worcester jail by a strange sort of mittimus; a copy of which here follows:

To the constables of Tredington, in the said county of Worcester, and to all constables and tithing-men of the several townships and villages within the said parish of Tredington, and to the keeper of the jail for the county of Worcester.

Complaint was made to me, being one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Worcester, that within the parish of Tredington, in that county, that of late there had been several meetings of many people, up to four hundred people and more at a time, pretending the exercise of religion, other than what is established by the laws of England. And some of them were teachers from the north and others were from the remote parts of the kingdom; which meeting may damage the reformed and established religion, and may prove harmful to the public peace. And it seemed to me that there had been such a meeting as before stated, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, at Armscot, in the parish of Tredington; and that George Fox of London, and Thomas Lower, of the parish of Creed, in the county of Cornwall, were present at the meeting; and that George Fox was a teacher or speaker at the meeting. And since no satisfactory account of their residence or place of settlement appeared to me; and since said George Fox and Thomas Lower refused to guarantee to appear at the next sessions of the

peace to be held for the county to answer the breach of the common laws of England, and what other matters should be objected against them; these are therefore, in his majesty's name, to be taken to the county jail of Worcester, and there safely kept until they shall be from there delivered by due course of law, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalf.

Dated the 17th day of December, in the 25th year of his majesty's reign over England,
Henry Parker

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the quarter sessions at soonest, we got some Friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worcester jail. From where, by the time I thought my wife could have arrived home, I wrote her the following letter.

Dear Heart,

You seemed to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rouse's at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw myself being taken, and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all; blessed be his holy name for ever!

George Fox

When we had been some time in the jail, we thought it suitable to lay our case before the lord Windsor, lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants, and other magistrates; which we did by the following letter:

This is to inform you, the lord-lieutenant, (so called), the deputy lieutenants, and the justices of the county of Worcestershire, how unchristianly and inhumanly we have been dealt with by Henry Parker, a justice, (so called), in our journey towards the north. We came to our friend John Halford's, the seventeenth of the tenth month, 1673, some Friends brought us, and others came to visit us there. Towards night came the justice, and a priest called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton, in Warwickshire, and demanded our names and places of residence. And though we were not in any meeting, but were conversing together when they came in, he made a mittimus to send us to Worcester jail. Where he says in his mittimus, "That complaint had been made to him of several past meetings of many hundreds at a time;" we know nothing of that, nor do we think that concerns us. And where he says further, "That no satisfactory account of our settlement or place of residence appeared to him;" this he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning there the places of our abode and residence; the account of which we satisfactorily and fully gave him. And one of us (Thomas Lower), told him, that he was going down with his mother-in-law, (who is George Fox's wife), and with his sister, to bring his own wife and child out of the north into his own country. And the other of us (George Fox), told him that he was accompanying his wife on her journey towards the north, who had been in London, to visit one of her daughters, who had lately given birth. And having received a message from his mother, an ancient woman in Leicestershire, that she earnestly desired to see him before she died, he intended, as soon as he had brought his wife on her journey as far as Causal, in Warwickshire, to turn into Leicestershire, to visit his mother and relatives there and then to have returned to London. But by his interrupting us in our journey, taking the husband from his wife, the son from his mother and sister, and stopping him from visiting his wife and child so remote, we were forced to get strangers or whom we could, to help them on their journey, to our great damage and hindrance. We asked the priest, "whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers?" And we asked the justice to consider, whether this was doing "as he would be done by?" But he said, "He had said it, and he would do it." And where he says, "we refused to give sureties." He asked only George Fox for sureties; who replied, "He was an innocent man, and knew no law he had broken;" but he did not ask Thomas Lower for any, as if it had been crime and cause enough for his commitment that he came out of Cornwall. If we were at a meeting, as he says in his mittimus, he might have proceeded otherwise, than by sending us to jail, to answer the breach of the common laws; though he showed us no breach of any, as may be seen in the

mittimus. We thought fit to lay before you the substance of his proceedings against us, hoping there will more moderation and justice appear in you towards us, so that we may proceed with our intended journey.

George Fox
Thomas Lower

But we did not receive release from confinement by our application to lord Windsor, (so called.) And although Thomas Lower received several letters from his brother Dr. Lower, who was one of the king's physicians, concerning his liberty, and one from Henry Savil, (who was one of the king's bed-chamber, to his brother) calling on lord Windsor on his behalf; yet since it related only to his release, not mine, so great was his love and regard to me, that he would not seek his own liberty alone, but kept the letter by him unsent. So we were continued prisoners until the next general quarter sessions of the peace. At which time various Friends from several places, who were in town, did speak to the justices concerning us. They spoke fairly and said we should be discharged. For many of the justices seemed to dislike the severity of Parker's proceedings against us, and declared an averseness to ensnare us by the tender of the oaths. Some Friends also had spoken with lord Windsor, who likewise said they spoke fairly; so that it was the general opinion we should be discharged. We also heard also that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from colonel Sands at London to some of the justices in our favor. Some of the justices also spoke to some Friends to advise us, that they would have us speak little in the court, for fear that we should provoke any on the bench, so they would authorize we should be discharged.

We were not called until the last day of the sessions, which was the twenty-first day of the eleventh month, 1673. When we came in, they were struck with paleness in their faces, and it was some time before anything was spoken; insomuch that a butcher in the hall said, 'what! Are they afraid? Do the justices not dare speak to them?' At length, before they spoke to us, justice Parker made a long speech on the bench, much to the same effect as was contained in the mittimus, often mentioning the common laws, but not instancing any we had broken. Adding, 'that he thought it a milder course to send us two to jail, than to put his neighbors to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have paid for if he had put the law in execution against conventicles (an illegal religious assembly). But in this he was either very ignorant, or very deceitful; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us, or his neighbors by.

When Parker had ended his speech, the justices began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined as to the cause of his coming into that country; of which he gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me, 'they were upon his examination, when it came to my turn, I should have free liberty to speak, for they would not hinder me; but I should have full time, and they would not ensnare us.' When they had done with him, they asked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, as is mentioned before, but more largely. And also where, justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great uproar of 'there being some from London, some from the north, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house when I was taken.' I told him, 'This was in a manner all one family'. For there was none from London but myself; none from the north but my wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall but my son-in-law Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol except one Friend, a merchant there. He met us, accidentally, and was able to assist my wife and her daughter in their journey homewards, when by our imprisonment they were deprived of our company and help.' When I had spoken, the chairman, whose name was Simpson, an old Presbyterian, said, 'Your account is very innocent.' Then he and Parker whispered awhile together, and after that the chairman stood up and said: 'You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?' I told them, 'They had said, "They would not ensnare us;" but this was a plain snare: for they knew we could not take any oath.' However, they caused the oath to be read; and when they had finished, I told them I never took an oath in my life, but I had always been true to the government; that I was cast into prison at Derby, and kept a prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against king Charles at Worcester-fight; and for going to meetings, was carried up out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles. And you know,' I said, 'in your own consciences that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, nor swear in any case, because Christ has forbidden it. But as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do

own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England, and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances against him; and I have nothing in my heart, but love and good-will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity; the Lord knows it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope, his power, and his religion, and abhor it with my heart.' While I was speaking, they cried, 'Give him the book.' I said, 'the book said, "Swear not at all." Then they cried, take him away, jailer;' and I still speaking on, they were urged jailer, crying; 'Take him away, we shall have a meeting here. Why do you not take him away? That fellow (meaning the jailer), loves to hear him preach.' Then the jailer drew me away; and as I was turning from them, I stretched out my arm, and said, 'The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ.' Thus they apparently broke their promise in the face of the country; for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me; and they promised they would not ensnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to ensnare me.

After I was taken away, Thomas Lower was kept behind in the court; and they told him, 'He was at liberty.' Then he tried to reason with them, asking them, 'Why I could not be set at liberty as well as he, seeing we were both taken together, and our case was alike? 'But they told him, 'they would not hear him;' saying, 'you may go about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged.' This was all he could get from them. Therefore, after the court was adjourned, he went to speak with them in their chamber, desired to know, 'What cause they had to detain his father, since they had discharged him? 'And wishing them to consider, whether this was not partiality and would be a blemish to them. At which time Simpson threatened him saying, 'If you are not content, we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father.' To which he replied, 'They might do that, if they thought fit; but whether they sent him or not, he intended to go and wait upon his father in prison; for that was now his business in that country.' Then said justice Parker to him, 'Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I did not have cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting that the parson of the parish complained to me that he has lost the greatest part of his parishioners so that when he comes among them, he has scarce any left in his congregation?' 'I have heard,' replied Thomas Lower, 'that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes), that it was only love in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock. Therefore you had no reason to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ, their true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes among them only to seek for his "financial gain from his position." Upon this the justices fell to laughing; for it seems that Dr. Crowder, the priest they spoke of, was then sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him; and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower had left them, the justices did so tease Dr. Crowder about this, that he was pitifully ashamed and so bothered with it that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court for defamation of character. Which when Thomas Lower heard of, he sent him word that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would; and Thomas said he would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This cooled the doctor. Yet some time after he came to the prison, pretending he had a mind to dispute with me, and to talk with Thomas Lower about that business; and he brought another with him, he himself being a church officer at Worcester.

When he came in, he asked me, 'What I was in prison for?' 'Do you not know that?' said I. 'Were you not upon the bench, when justice Simpson and Parker tendered the oath to me? And did you not have a hand in it?' Then he said, 'It is lawful to swear; and Christ did not forbid swearing before a magistrate; but swearing by the sun and the like.' I told him to prove that by the scriptures, but he could not. Then he brought that saying of Paul's, 'All things are lawful unto me.' 1 Cor 6:12. 'And if,' said he, 'all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him.' 'By this argument,' said I, 'you may also affirm that drunkenness, adultery, and all manner of sin and wickedness is lawful also, as well as swearing.' 'Why,' said Dr. Crowder, 'do you hold that adultery is unlawful?' 'Yes,' said I, 'that I do.' 'Why then,' he said, 'this contradicts the saying of St. Paul.' At which point I called to the prisoners and the jailer, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down for orthodox, 'that drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and such things were lawful!' Then he said, 'He would give it under his hand;' and took a pen, but wrote something other than what he had spoken. Then turning to Thomas Lower, he asked him, 'whether he would answer what he had written there?' Thomas undertook it. At the time when he had threatened Thomas Lower to sue him in the bishop's court for speaking so abusively, (as he called it),

of him before the justices, and Thomas had told him to go ahead with it whenever he pleased, for he would answer him and bring his parishioners in evidence against him; Dr. Crowder had gone away in a great fret, grumbling to himself as he went. A few days after Thomas Lower sent him an answer to the paper he had written and left with him; which answer a Friend of Worcester carried to him, and he read it and said, 'He would reply to it;' but he never did, though he often sent him word he would do it.

Soon after the sessions, the term coming on, a habeas corpus was sent to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the King's Bench bar. At which time the under-sheriff having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we set out the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month, 1673, and came to London the second of the twelfth month; the ways being very deep, and the waters high. Next day, notice was given that I was brought up, and the sheriff was ordered to bring me into court. I went accordingly and appeared in court before judge Wild; and both he and the lawyers were pretty fair, so that I had time to speak, to establish clearly my innocence, and show my wrongful imprisonment. After the return of the writ was entered, I was ordered to be brought into court again next day; the order of court being as follows:

Worcester, the King against George Fox

Thursday, next after the Morrow of the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 26th year of King Charles the Second.

The defendant being brought here into court, upon a writ of habeas corpus ad subjiciend, etc. under the custody of the sheriff of the county before stated; it is ordered. That the Return unto the habeas corpus be filed, and the defendant is committed to the marshal of this court, to be safely kept until, ...

By motion of Mr. G. Stroude.

By the Court.'

Accordingly I went in the morning, and walked in the hall until the sheriff came to me, (for he trusted me to go wherever I would), and since it was early, we went into the court of king's bench, and sat among the lawyers for almost an hour, until the judges came in, at which time the sheriff took off my hat; and after a while I was called. The Lord's presence was with me, and his power I felt was over all. I stood and heard the king's attorney, whose name was Jones, who indeed spoke notably on my behalf, as did also another counselor after him; and the judges, who were three, were all very moderate, not casting any reflecting words at me. I stood still in the power and spirit of the Lord, seeing how the Lord was at work, and the earth was helping the woman. But when they had finished, I applied myself to the chief justice, asking, 'That I might speak;' and he said I might. 'Then I related the cause of our journey, the manner of our being taken and committed, and the time of our imprisonment until the sessions; with a brief account of our trial at the sessions, and what I had offered to the justices then, as a declaration that I could make or sign, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.' When I had done, the chief justice said, 'I was to be turned over to the King's Bench, and the sheriff of Worcester to be discharged of me.' He said also, 'That they would consider further of it; and if they found any error in the record, or in the justices' proceedings, I should be set at liberty.' So a bailiff was called to take me into custody, and he delivered me to the keeper of the King's Bench, who let me go to a Friends house, where I lodged, and made an appointment to meet me at Edward Man's in Bishops-gate-street the next day. But following this, Justice Parker, or some other of my adversaries, made a move to the court, that I might be sent back to Worcester. So another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counsels that pleaded against me. George Stroude, a counselor, pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into the court; but they pushed him down, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment, 'That I should be sent down to Worcester sessions.' Only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the sessions, and to be of good behavior in the mean time. I told the four judges, 'I had never taken an oath and was never of ill behavior in my life, and that they might as well put the oath to me there, as send me to Worcester to be ensnared by the justices there in their putting the oath to me, and then premuning me. I told them, if I broke my yes or no, I was content to accept the same penalties which those did who break their oaths.' It was thought this alteration of the judges' minds in my case proceeded from some false information that my adversary justice Parker had given against me. For between the times of my former appearance and this one, justice Parker had spread abroad a very

false and malicious story: 'That there were many substantial men with me out of several parts of the nation when he took me, and that we had a design or plot in hand; and that Thomas Lower stayed with me in prison long after he was set at liberty, to carry on our design.' This was spoken of so much in the parliament-house that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I would have been stopped at Worcester, and Thomas would have been committed there with me. But although these lies were easily disproved and laid open to Parker's shame, still the judges would not alter their last sentence, but remanded me to Worcester jail. Only one favor was granted: that I might go down my own way, and at my own leisure, provided I would be there without fail by the assize, which was to begin the second of the second month following.

I stayed in and about London until the latter end of the first month, 1674, and then went down leisurely (for I was not able to abide hasty and hard traveling), and came into Worcester the last of the first month, 1674, the day before the judges came to town. The second day of the second month I was brought from the jail to an inn near the hall, so I would be in readiness if I should be called. But not being called that day, the jailer came at night and told me, 'I could go home,' meaning to the jail. Gerard Roberts of London was with me, and we went down together to the jail without any keeper. Next day, being brought up again, they set a little boy about eleven years old to be my keeper. I came to understand Justice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given an order that I should not be put onto the calendar, that I might not be brought before the judge. I got the judge's son to move in court 'that I might be called;' whereupon I was called and brought to the bar before Judge Turner, my old adversary, who had tendered me the oaths, and premunired me once before at Lancaster. After I stood in silence, he asked me, 'What I desired?' I answered, 'My liberty according to justice.' He said, 'I lay the oath upon you;' and asked, 'If I would take it?' I asked that he would hear the manner of my being taken and committed;' and he being silent, I gave him an account as is before explained. I told him also, 'That since my imprisonment I had understood my mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had desired to see me before she died, hearing that I was stopped and imprisoned on my journey, (so that I was not likely to come to see her), was so struck, that she died soon after, which was a very hard thing to me.' When I had finished speaking, he again asked me, 'To take the oaths.' I told him, 'I could not take any oath, for conscience sake; and I believed he and all of them knew in their consciences that it was for conscience sake that I could not swear at all. I declared among them what I could say and what I could sign, in owning of the king's right to the government, and in denying the pope and his pretended power, and all plotters, plots, and conspiracies against the government.' Some thought the judge had a mind to set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but Parker, who committed me, endeavored to incense him, telling him, 'That I was a ringleader; that many of the nation followed me, and he did not know what it might come to;' with many more envious words, which some took notice of; who also observed, that the judge gave him no word in answer. However, the judge, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the sessions again, bidding the justices make an end of it there, and not trouble the assizes any more with me. So I was continued prisoner, chiefly (as it seemed), through the means of justice Parker, who in this case was as false as envious; for he had promised Richard Cannon of London, who had acquaintance with him, 'That he would endeavor to have me set at liberty;' yet he was the worst enemy I had in court, as some of the court observed and reported. Other justices were very loving, and promised, 'that I should have the liberty of the town, and to lodge at a Friend's house until the sessions;' which accordingly I had, and the people were very civil and respectful to me.

Between this time and the sessions I had some service for the Lord with several that came to visit me. At one time three nonconformist priests and two lawyers came to converse with me, and one of the priests undertook to prove, 'That the scriptures are the only rule of life.' After I had defeated his proof, I had a suitable opportunity to show them, 'The scriptures' right and proper use, service, and excellence. I also showed that: 1) the spirit of God which was given to every one to profit with; and 2) the grace of God which brings salvation, and which has appeared to all men, and teaches them who obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; that these two make the most suitable, proper, and universal rule which God has given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives by.'

Another time a common prayer priest, and some other people came to discourse with me. He asked me, 'if

was grown up to **perfection?** 'I told him, 'what I was, I was by the grace of God.' He replied, 'it was a modest and civil answer.' Then he urged the words of John, 'if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' He asked, 'what did I say to that?' 'I said with the same apostle, "if we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us;" who came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to **know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.**' Then the priest was asked, 'whether Adam was not perfect before he fell? And whether all God's works were not perfect?' The priest said, 'there might be perfection as Adam had, and a falling from it.' But I told him, 'there is a perfection in Christ above Adam, and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; for the perfecting of whom they had their gifts from Christ. Col 1:27. Therefore whoever denied perfection, denied the work of the ministry, and **the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints.** Eph 4:11-13. The priest said, 'we must always be striving.' I answered, 'it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome.' I told him also, that 'Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also "thank God, who gave him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Cor 15:57" So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, "there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." The priest said, 'Job was not perfect.' I told him, 'God said Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil; Job 2:3 and the devil was forced to confess, that "God had set a hedge about him; Job 1:9-10" which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible, heavenly power.' The priest said, 'Job said, "he charged his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight."' I told him, 'that was his mistake; it was not Job who said that, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job.' 'Well, but,' said the priest, 'what say you to that scripture,' " the most just man that sins seven times a day?" 'Why truly, said I, 'I say there is no such scripture;' and with that the priest's mouth was stopped. Many other services I had with several sorts of people between the assizes and the sessions.

The next quarter sessions began the twenty-ninth of the second month, and I was called before the justices. The chairman's name was Street, he was a judge in the Welsh circuit, and he misrepresented me and my case to the country, telling them 'that we had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects, for which we had been committed to prison. And that for the trial of my faithfulness the oaths were put to me; and, having had time to consider it, he asked me if I would now take the oaths?' 'I desired liberty to speak for myself; and having obtained that, began first to clear myself from those falsehoods he had charged on me and Friends; declaring, that we had no such meeting from all parts of the nation as he had represented it; but that (except the Friend from whose house we came, and who came with us to guide us there, and one Friend of Bristol, who came accidentally, or rather providentially, to assist my wife homewards, after we were taken) those who were with me were in a sense part of my own family, being my wife, her daughter, and her son-in-law. And we did not meet in any way or manner that would occasion terror to any of the king's subjects; for we met peaceably and quietly without arms; and I did not believe there could be anyone produced that could truly say he was terrified with our meeting. Besides, I told them we were only on our journey home, the circumstances I now related as before. As to the oaths, I showed why I could not take them, (since Christ has forbidden all swearing), and what I could say or sign instead of them, as I had done before. Yet they caused the oaths to be read to me, and afterwards read an indictment, which they had drawn up in readiness, having a jury ready also. 'When the indictment was read, the judge asked me, 'if I was guilty? I said, 'no, it was a great mass of lies; which I showed and proved to the judge in several particulars, asking him, if he did not know in his conscience they were lies?' He said, 'it was their form.' I said, 'it was not a true form.' He asked me again, 'whether I was guilty?' I told him, 'no, I was not guilty of the matter, or of the form; for I was against the pope and popery, and did acknowledge and should set my hand to that.' Then the judge told the jury what they should say and do, and what they should write on the backside of the indictment; and as he said, they did. But before the jury gave their verdict, I told them, 'it was for Christ's sake and in obedience to his and his apostle James command, that I could not swear; therefore,' I said, 'take heed what you do, for before his judgment seat you shall all be brought.' The judge said, 'this is scolding the jury.' I said, 'if to confess Christ our Lord and Savior and to obey his command is called scolding by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you; yet you shall see that I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity, and my innocence shall be manifest.' So the jailer led me out of the court; and the people were generally tender, as if they had been in a meeting. Soon after I was brought in again, and the jury found the

bill against me, which I examined. Then I was asked to put in bail until the next sessions, and the jailer's son offered to be bound for me. But I stopped him, and warned Friends not to meddle, for I told them, 'there was a snare in that;' yet I told the justices, I could promise to appear if the Lord gave health and strength, and I was at liberty. Some of the justices were loving, and would have stopped the rest from indicting me or putting the oath to me; but judge Street the chairman said, 'he must proceed according to law.' So I was sent to prison again: yet within two hours after, through the moderation of some of the justices, I had liberty given me until the next quarter sessions. These moderate justices, as it was said, asked Justice Parker to write to the king for my liberty, or for a 'no prosecution,' because they were satisfied I was not a dangerous person as I had been represented. This, it was said, he promised to do, but did it not.

After I had got a copy of the indictment, I went to London, visiting Friends as I went. When I came there, some that were earnest to get me out of the hands of those envious justices that sought to preunire me at Worcester; wanted to interfere again and bring me before the judges of the King's Bench; whereupon I was brought again by an habeas corpus before them. I tendered them a paper, in which was contained what I could say instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as follows:

This I do in the truth and in the presence of God declare: that king Charles the second is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his dominions; that he was brought in and set up king over this realm by the power of God; and I have nothing but love and good will to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitions and idolatrous inventions; and do affirm, that he has no power to absolve sin. I do abhor and detest his murdering of princes, or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects; knowing them to be the works of darkness, the fruits of an evil spirit, against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle; but if I break my 'yes' or 'no', let me suffer the same penalty as those who break their oaths.

George Fox

But since the matter had proceeded so far at Worcester, they would not meddle in it, but left me to appear again before the justices at the next general quarter sessions at Worcester.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Meanwhile the Yearly Meeting of Friends came on, at which I was present; and the meetings were exceedingly glorious, beyond expression; blessed be the Lord!

After the Yearly Meeting, I set forward for Worcester, the sessions drawing on, which were held in the fifth month. When I was called to the bar, and the indictment was read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court, justice Street, caused the oaths to be read and presented to me again. I told him, 'I came now to try the traverse (denial that charges are true) of my indictment; and that his tendering me the oaths anew, was a new snare. I asked him to answer me a question or two; and asked him, 'whether the oaths were to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' He said, 'to the subjects of this realm.' 'Then,' said I, 'you have not named me as a subject in the indictment, and therefore have not brought me within the statute.' The judge cried, 'read the oath to him.' I said, 'I require justice.' Again I asked him, 'whether the sessions ought not to have been held for the king, and the body of the county?' He said, 'yes.' 'Then,' said I, 'you have left the king out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the king and me, since the king is left out?' He said, 'the king was in before.' But I told him, 'the king's name being left out, here was a great error in the indictment and sufficient, as I was informed, to quash it. Besides, I told him that I was committed by the name of George Fox, of London, but now I was indicted by the name of George Fox, of Tredington, in the county of Worcester. I wished the jury to consider how they could find me guilty upon that indictment, seeing I was not of the place the indictment mentioned.' The judge did not deny that there were errors in the indictment; but said, 'I might take my remedy in its proper place.' I answered, 'you know that we are a people that suffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore you exploit us, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we leave our cause to the Lord.' The judge said, 'the oath has been presented to you several times, and we will have some satisfaction from you concerning the oath.' I offered them the same declaration instead of the oath, which I had offered to the judges above; but it would not be accepted. Then I asked whether the indictment was quashed, since they put the oath anew to me? Instead of answering me, the judge told the jury, 'they might go out.' Some of the jury were not satisfied; whereupon the judge told them, 'they had heard a man swear that the oath was tendered to me the last sessions;' and then directed what they should do. I told him, 'he should leave the jury to their own consciences.' However, the jury, being instructed by him, went out and soon after came in again, and found me guilty. I asked them, 'how they could satisfy themselves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which was laid so false and had so many errors in it?' They could say little; yet one who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand; but I put him aside, saying, 'how now, Judas, have you betrayed me, and now come with a kiss?' So I told him and all of them to repent. Then the judge began to tell me, 'how favorable the court had been to me.' I asked him, 'how he could say so? Was ever any man worse dealt by than I had been in this case, who was stopped on my journey when traveling upon my own lawful affairs, and imprisoned without cause; and now had the oaths put to me only for a snare? I desired him to answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all are, whether this oath was not presented to me in envy?' He would not answer that; but said, 'I wish you had never come here, to trouble us and the country!' I answered, 'I came not here of myself, but was brought, being stopped in my journey. I did not trouble them, but they had brought trouble upon themselves.' Then the judge told me, 'what a sad sentence he had to tell me.' I asked him, 'whether what he was going to speak was by way of passing sentence, or for information?' For I told him I had many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those I had already mentioned, to stop him from giving sentence against me upon that indictment.' He said he was going to show me the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of liberty and of all my goods and chattels, and to suffer imprisonment for life.' But he said, 'he did not deliver this as the sentence of the court upon me, but as an admonition to me.' Then he told the jailer take me away.' I expected to have been called again to hear the sentence; but when I was gone, the clerk of the peace (whose name was Twitney), asked him, as I was informed, 'whether that which he ~London and Death

had spoken to me should stand for sentence?' And he, consulting with some of the justices, told him, 'yes, that was the sentence, and should stand.' This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the country. Many of the justices and the majority of the people were moderate and civil. And John Ashley, a lawyer, was very friendly both the time before the court and now; speaking on my behalf, and pleading the errors of the indictment for me; but justice Street, the judge of the court, overruled all. This justice Street said to some Friends in the morning before my trial, 'That if he had been upon the bench the first sessions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have proceeded against me according to that law; and that he was sorry that ever I came before him.' Yet he maliciously tendered the oath to me in the court again, when I was to have tried my traverse upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cause, and met with both him and Justice Simpson, who first ensnared me with the oath at the first sessions; for Simpson's son was arraigned not long after at the same bar for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, after the judges had returned me back from the king's bench to Worcester, said, 'Now I was returned to them, I should lie in prison and rot;' had his daughter (whom he so doted on that she was called his idol), brought dead from London in a hearse to the same inn where he spoke these words, and was brought to Worcester to be buried within a few days after. People took notice of the hand of God, how suddenly it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his carriage afterwards showed.

After I was returned to prison, several came to see me; among others, the earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt so wickedly by me. He stayed about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors of the indictment now in writing.

The sessions being over, and I fixed in prison by a preunire, my wife came out of the north to be with me. The assizes was coming in the sixth month, and the state of my case having being drawn up in writing, she and Thomas Lower delivered it to judge Wild. In it was set forth the occasion of my journey, the manner of my being taken and imprisoned, the proceedings of the several sessions against me, and the errors in the indictment by which I was preunired. When the judge had read it he shook his head, and said, 'We might try the validity or invalidity of the errors, if we would;' which was all they could get from him.

While I lay in prison, it came upon me to state our principle to the king: not with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for his better information concerning our principle, and us as a people.

To the King.

The principle of the Quakers is the spirit of Christ, who died for all, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his. He dwells in us by his spirit, and by the spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness. It brings us to deny all plots and contriving against the king, or any man. The spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness, as lying, theft, murder, adultery, fornication, all uncleanness, debauchery, malice, hatred, deceit, defrauding and cheating whatsoever, and the devil and his works. The spirit of Christ brings us to seek the peace and good of all men, and to live peaceably, and leads us from such evil actions as the magistrate's sword defends against. Our desire and labor is that all who profess themselves Christians may walk in the spirit of Christ; that they through the spirit may put to death the deeds of the flesh; and by the sword of the spirit may cut down sin and evil in themselves. Then the judges and other magistrates would not have so much work in punishing sin in the kingdom. Neither then would kings or princes need to fear any of their subjects, if they all walk in the spirit of Christ, for the fruits of the spirit are love, righteousness, goodness, temperance, etc. If all that profess themselves Christians walked in the spirit of Christ, and by it did mortify sin and evil, it would be a great ease to the magistrates and rulers, and would free them from a great deal of trouble, for it would lead all to "do unto others as they would have others do unto them," and so the royal law of liberty would be fulfilled. For if all called Christians walked in the spirit of Christ; by it to have the evil spirit and its fruits cut down in them, then, not being led by the evil spirit, but by the good spirit of Christ, the fruits of the good spirit would appear in all. For as people are led by the good spirit of Christ, it leads them out of sin and evil, which the magistrate's sword defends against and so would be an ease to the magistrates. But as people err from this good spirit of Christ, and follow the evil spirit, which leads them into sin and evil; that spirit brings the magistrate into a great deal of trouble, to execute the law upon the sinners and transgressors of the good spirit. That spirit, which leads people from all manner of sin and evil, is one with the magistrate's power, and with the righteous law. For the law was added because of transgression, and that spirit which leads out of transgression

must be one with that law which is against transgressors. So that spirit which leads out of transgression is the good spirit of Christ, and is one with the magistrates in the higher power, and owns it and them; but that spirit which leads into transgression is the bad spirit, and is against the law, against the magistrates, and makes them a great deal of troublesome work. The manifestation of the good spirit is given to every man to profit from; and no man can profit in the things of God but by the spirit of God which brings to deny all sin and evil. It is said of Israel, *Nehem.9.* "The Lord gave them his good spirit to instruct them, yet they rebelled against it." If all people would mind this manifestation of the spirit which God has given to instruct them, it would lead them to forsake all manner of sin and evil, enmity, hatred, malice, unrighteousness and ungodliness, and to mortify it. Then in the spirit of Christ they would have fellowship and unity, which is the bond of peace; then would love and peace, which are the fruits of the good spirit, flow among all that are called Christians.

We are a people, who, in tenderness of conscience to the command of Christ and his apostle, cannot swear; for we are commanded in *Matt. 5* and *James 5* to keep to yes and no, and "not to swear at all; neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath, for fear that we go into evil, and fall into condemnation." The words of Christ are these: "you have heard that it has been said by (or to) them of old time, you shall not forswear yourself, but shall perform to the Lord your oaths." These were true and solemn oaths, which those who made should have performed in old time; but these Christ and his apostle did forbid in the gospel-times, as well as false and vain oaths. If we could take any oath at all, we could take the oath of allegiance, knowing that king Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and set up king of England, over the heads of our old persecutors; and as for the pope's supremacy, we utterly deny it. And the apostle James having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to yes and no, we dare not break their commands; therefore, many knowing this have put the oaths to us as a snare, so that might make a prey of us. Our denying to swear is not in willfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle; and we are content, if we break our yes and no, to suffer the same penalty as they should that break their oaths. We desire therefore that the king would take this into consideration, also how long we have suffered in this case. This is from one who desires the eternal good and prosperity of the king and of all his subjects in the Lord Jesus Christ.

George Fox

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued so a little while, so that some Friends began to doubt my recovery. I seemed to myself to be among the graves and dead corpses; yet the invisible power secretly supported me and conveyed refreshing strength to me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. One night as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord which was over all, it was said unto me, 'That the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for him, before he took me to himself.'

Endeavors were made to get me released, at least for a time until I should grow stronger; but the way of effecting it proved difficult and tedious (for the king was not willing to release me by any other way than a pardon, being told he could not legally do it otherwise; and I was not willing to accept a pardon, which he would readily have given me, because I did not look upon that way as suitable to the innocence of my cause.) Edward Pitway, having occasion to speak with Justice Parker upon business, asked him to give an order to the jailer, 'That in consideration of my weakness, I might have liberty to go out of the jail into the city. Upon which Justice Parker wrote the following letter to the jailer, and sent it to the Friend to deliver.

Mr. Harris,

I have been much entreated by some Friends of George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indisposed; what lawful favors you can do, for the benefit of the air for his health, pray show him. I suppose, the next term they will make application to the king. I am, Sir,

Your loving Friend, '*Henry Parker.*'
Evesham, the 8th of Octob. 1674.'

After this, my wife went to London, and spoke to the king; 'laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment, with the manner of my being taken, and the justices' proceedings against me,

in tendering me the oath as a snare, by which they had preminured me; so since I was now his prisoner, it was in his power and at his pleasure to release me; which she desired.' The king spoke kindly to her and referred her to the lord keeper; to whom she went, but could not obtain what she desired; for he said, 'The king could not release me except by a pardon;' and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have accepted freedom by a pardon, I need not have remained in jail so long; for the king had been willing to give me one long before. He told Thomas Moore, 'That I need not doubt the correct basis of being released by a pardon, for many a man that was as innocent as a child had had a pardon granted him;' yet I could not consent to accept one. For I would rather have stayed in prison all my days than come out in any way dishonorable to the truth; therefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. Having first gotten the opinion of a counselor upon it, (Thomas Corbet of London, with whom Richard Davis of Welchpool was well acquainted, and recommended to me), an habeas corpus was sent to Worcester, to bring me up once more to the king's bench bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The under sheriff and I set off traveling to the court in London on the fourth of the twelfth month; traveling in the coach with us was the clerk of the peace and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along and now sought to ensnare me in discussion; but I realized this and thus shunned him. He asked me, 'What I would do with the errors in the indictment?' I told him, 'They should be tried, and every action should terminate the indictment.' He quarreled with me for calling their ministers priests. I asked him, 'If the law did not call them so?' He asked me, 'What I thought of the church of England? Were there no Christians among them?' I said, 'They are all called so, and there are many tender people among them.' We came to London the eighth of the twelfth month, and on the eleventh I was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where counselor Corbet started a new plea. He told the judges, 'they could not imprison any man upon a preminure.' Upon which the chief justice Hale said, 'Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with this plea.' He answered, 'We could not get a copy of the return and the indictment.' The judge replied, 'You should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner.' Then said judge Wild, 'Mr. Corbet, you speak upon general terms; and if it is as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts.' Corbet was positive that by law they could not imprison upon a preminure. The judge said, 'There is summons in the statute.' 'Yes,' said Corbet, 'but a summons is not imprisonment, for a summons is in order to have a trial.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'we must have time to look in our books, and consult the statutes.' So the hearing was put off until the next day.

The next day they chose to let this plea fall and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they were opened, they were so many and gross, that the judges were all of opinion that the indictment was quashed and void, and that I should have my liberty.' There were that day several great men, Lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in open court just before my trial came on; and some of my adversaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them, 'I was a dangerous man to be at liberty.' But judge Hale said, 'he had indeed heard such reports; but he had also heard many more good reports of me;' so he, with the rest of the judges, ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months, for nothing, I was justly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors of my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise. Counselor Corbet got great fame by it; many of the lawyers told him, 'he had brought that to light which had not been known before, as to not imprisoning upon a preminure;' and after the trial a judge said to him, 'you have obtained a great deal of honor by pleading George Fox's cause so in court.'

During the time of my imprisonment in Worcester (notwithstanding my want of health, and being so often hurried to and fro to London and back), I wrote several books for the press, one which was called, 'A warning to England;' another was, 'To the Jews, proving by the prophets, that the Messiah is come;' another, 'Concerning inspiration, revelation, and prophecy;' another, 'Against all vain disputes;' another, 'For all bishops and ministers to try themselves by the scriptures;' another, 'To such as say, we (Quakers) love none but ourselves;' another, entitled, 'Our testimony concerning Christ;' and another little book, 'Concerning swearing,' being the first of those two given to the parliament. Besides these, I wrote many papers and epistles to Friends, to encourage and strengthen them in their services for God, which some (who made profession of truth, but had given way to a seducing spirit, and were departed from the unity and fellowship of the gospel, in which Friends stand) tried to discourage them from; especially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing the affairs of the church of Christ.

Being at liberty, I visited Friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went to Kingston. Having visited Friends there, I returned to London, wrote a paper to the parliament, and sent several books to them. A great book against swearing had been delivered to them a little before; the reasonableness of which had so much influence, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief if they had sat longer. I stayed in and near London until the Yearly Meeting, to which Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond sea. A glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God.

This meeting over, and the parliament session over, (in which nothing was done for or against Friends), I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of Friends there, and having had a glorious meeting with some of them at John Elson's in the morning, I traveled towards the north with my wife and her daughter Susan by coach (for I was not able to travel on horseback), many Friends accompanying us as far as Highgate, and some to Dunstable, where we lodged that night. We visited Friends and were visited by them at Newport-Pagnel, Northampton, and Cossel. Among others, came a woman, who brought her daughter so I could see how well she was doing. She reminded me that when I was there before, she had brought her to me much troubled with the king's evil (kidney disease), and had then asked me to pray for her which I did, and she was healed; praised be the Lord! From Cossel we went by John Simcock's and William Gandy's to Warrington, Preston, and Lancaster.

I had not been in Lancaster since I was taken prisoner from there by the under-sheriff and jailer to Scarborough castle in Yorkshire. I found the town full of people; for it was fair-time, and the local militia regiments were having a general muster. Many Friends were also in town from several parts of the county, because the Quarterly Meeting was to be held there next day. I stayed two nights and a day at Lancaster and visited Friends both at their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable; for the Lord's power was over all, and none interfered with us. Here we met with Thomas Lower and his wife, Sarah Fell, James Lancaster, and Leonard Fell. The next day after the meeting, the twenty-fifth of the fourth month, we went over the Sands with several other Friends to Swarthmore.

After I had been awhile at Swarthmore, several Friends from various parts of the nation came to visit me, and some out of Scotland. From these I understood, that four young students of Aberdeen were convinced there this year, at a dispute held by Robert Barclay and George Keith with some of the scholars of that university.

Among others, colonel Kirby paid me a visit, who had been one of my great persecutors; but now he said he came to bid me welcome into the country and carried himself in appearance very lovingly. Yet before I left Swarthmore he sent for the constables of Ulverstone, and ordered them to tell me, 'that we must have no more meetings at Swarthmore; for if we did, they were commanded by him to break them up, and would come the next first-day to see if we complied.' That day we had a very precious meeting, the Lord's presence was wonderful among us, and the Constables did not come to disturb us. The meetings have been quiet since, and have increased.

The illness that I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me, it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and as I had many things that lay upon me to write for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time I now stayed in the north; but when Friends were not with me, I spent much of my time writing books and papers for truth's service. While I was at Swarthmore, I gave several to be printed:

One, 'Concerning swearing.'

Another showing, 'That none are successors to the prophets and apostles, but those who succeed them in the same power and holy ghost that they were in.'

Another showing, 'That possession is above profession; and how the professors now do persecute Christ in spirit, as the professing Jews did persecute him outwardly in the days of his flesh.'

Another little book, 'To the magistrates of Dantzick.'

Another called, 'Cain against Abel; or, an answer to the New England men's laws.'

Another 'To Friends at Nevis, concerning watching.'

Another, 'A general epistle to all Friends in America.'

Another, 'Concerning Cesar's due, and God's due.'

Another, 'Concerning ordering of families.'
Another, entitled, 'The spiritual man judges all things.'
Another, 'Concerning the higher power.'

Besides these; I wrote several letters to Friends both in England and beyond the seas; and answers to various papers concerning the 'running out of some who had opposed the order of the gospel.' This had stirred up a great deal of strife and contention in Westmoreland. Therefore I was moved to write a few lines particularly to Friends there.

This is for Friends in Westmoreland:

All live in the power of God, in his light and spirit, which did first convince you; that in it you may keep in the ancient unity, in humility, in the fear of the Lord, and his gentle and peaceable wisdom, which is easy to be entreated. That in the same power, light, and spirit of God you may be serviceable in your men's and women's meetings in the possession of the gospel-order. Which gospel, the power of God, has brought life and immortality to light; that in this you may see over him that has darkened you. In this power no apostates can come; for the power of God was before apostates were, or the fall of man and woman was, or the devil either, and will be when he is gone. Therefore praise God in the eternal fellowship of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ, which is not of man, nor by man. And all Friends in Westmoreland keep in the power of God, which will and must preserve and cover you, if you are preserved. Let your faith stand in the power of God, and not in the wisdom of men's words, so that you do not fall. In God's power you have peace, life, and unity; and for failing to keep in God's power, in his righteousness and Holy Ghost, all this strife has come among you.

George Fox

I also wrote the following general epistle to Friends at the Yearly Meeting in London:

My dear Friends and brethren,

Whom the Lord has preserved by his eternal power to this day, over and through many troubles, storms, tempests, and prisons: Let everyone's faith stand in the power of God, which is over the devil, and was before him. Your faith standing in the invisible power of God, it stands in that which does not change; and the faith that Christ Jesus, the power of God, is the author of, must stand in the power of God. So then your faith stands in that which is over all, in which all Christians are established. This the apostle brought the church, the true Christians, to; and so all the true Christians' faith now, which Christ is the author of, is to stand in the power of God, in which the everlasting kingdom stands. As everyone's faith stands in this power, it keeps all in the power of godliness.

For as it was in the days of the apostles, when some were crying that they had been convinced by Paul or Apollos, and so forth, he judged them as carnal; and exhorted and admonished them that their faith should not stand in men, nor in the words of man's wisdom, but in the power of God. He said, "He would not know the speech of them, but the power among them, for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power."¹ 1 Cor 4:19-20. So it is to be now. Everyone's faith must stand in the power of God, and not in men, nor their speeches upon the good words. For we have seen by experience, what happens when people begin to follow men, and their faith stands in them. Those who would have people's faith to stand in them, love popularity, and do not bring people's faith to stand in the power of God. Such cannot exalt Christ; and when they fall, they draw a great company after them. Therefore the apostle would not know any after the flesh, but those who were in the power and spirit; and struck down everyone's faith that stood in the words of man's wisdom, that they might stand in the power of God. So it must be now. They, whose faith does not stand in power, cannot exalt his kingdom that stands in power. Therefore everyone's faith must stand in the power of God.

The apostle denied popularity, when he judged the Corinthians, (for looking at Paul and Apollos), to be carnal; such are carnal still. Therefore all should know one another in the spirit, life, and power, and look at Christ; this keeps all in humility. Those whose faith stands in men will make sects; as in the days of James Naylor, John Perrot and others. Christ is not the author of the faith of such; or if he has been, they have erred from it, and made shipwreck of it. All who are in the true faith that stands in the power of God will judge them as carnal, and judge down that carnal part in them that cries up Paul or Apollos;

that their faith may stand in the power of God, and that they may exalt Christ, the author of it. For everyone's eye ought to be to Jesus, and every just man and woman may live by their faith, which Christ is the author and finisher of. By this faith every man may see God, who is invisible; which faith gives the victory, and thereby he has access to God. So every one's faith and hope standing in the power of God, all have unity, victory, and access to God's throne of grace; in which faith they please God. By this faith they are saved, obtain the good report, and subdue all the mountains between them and God.

This power has preserved Friends over their persecutors, over the wrath of men, above the seizure of their property, and imprisonment; as seeing God that "created all, gives the increase of all, and upholds all by his word and power." Therefore, let everyone's faith be in his power. In this no schism or sect can come, for it is over them, before they were, and will be when they are gone. But perfect unity is in the truth, in the spirit, that circumcises the body of death, puts off the sins of the flesh, and plunges it down with the spirit. In the spirit of God there is perfect fellowship; and Christ is the minister of the circumcision and baptism.

This is upon me from the Lord to write unto you, that every one of you, whose faith Jesus is the author of, may stand in the power of God. From the Lord I warn you, and all everywhere of the same; for if a star should fall, which has been a light, either the earth or the sea does receive it: that is, the earthly mind, or the foaming, raging people. Though neither the seed, light, power, nor truth ever fell, nor the faith itself, the gift of God; but men going from it become unsavory.

Adam, while he kept in truth and obeyed the command of God, was happy; but when he disobeyed the Lord, he fell under the power of satan, and became unhappy. Though he might talk after of his experiences in paradise; he had lost his image, and his power and dominion that God created him in.

The Jews, after they received the law, as long as they kept the law of God, which was just, holy, good, and perfect, it kept them good, just, holy, and savory; but when they turned their backs on the Lord, and forsook his law, they came under the power of darkness, under the powers of the earth, and were trodden under as unsavory.

The christians were called a "city set on a hill, the light of the world, and the salt of the earth;" but when they forsook the power of God, and their faith stood in words and men, and, not in the power; then their walls fell down, though the power in itself stood; and they lost their hill, their saltiness, and their shining. And as Christendom now confesses, they are not in the same power and spirit the apostles were in, so they are not in the same salt, nor upon the same hill. So they came to be trod under, and the beast, the whore, and the false prophet are uppermost, the unsavory. Their dead faith is in men, and in words; therefore they are full of sects, and one against another.

And now the everlasting gospel, the power of God, is preached again, which was before the devil was, who darkened man. And by this power of God, life and immortality has come to light again; therefore, everyone's faith is to stand in this power that has brought life and immortality to light in them, and so to be heirs of the power of God, the gospel. In this all have a right to the power of God, which is the authority of men's and women's meetings, and of all other meetings set up by God's power.

As the gospel is preached again, if your faith does not stand in the power, but in men, and in the wisdom of words, you will grow carnal; and such are for judgment who cry up Paul or Apollos, and not Christ, the author of your faith. Those who love to be popular would have people's faith stand in them; such do not preach Christ, but themselves. But those who preach Christ and his gospel would have every man and woman to be in the possession of it. And every man's and woman's faith to stand in Christ, the author of it. And in the power of God, in which, as their faith stands, nothing can get between them and God. For if any should fall among us, as too many have, that leads its followers either into the waters or into the earth.

If any should go from the spirit of prophecy, that opened things to them, and from the power, they may speak of those experiences the power opened to them formerly. So might Adam and Eve speak of what they saw and enjoyed in paradise; so might Cain and Balaam, of what they saw; and also the Jews, Korah, and Dathan, who praised God on the banks, saw the victory over Pharaoh, ate the manna, drank of the rock, came to mount Sinai, and saw the glory of the Lord. So might the false apostles speak of

their experiences, and all those false christians that turned from the apostles and Christ. So may such do now, that err from the spirit, that are come out of spiritual Egypt and Sodom, and have known the raging of the Sodomites, as Lot did the outward; and the pursuit of the spiritual Egyptians, as the outward Jew did the outward Egyptian. Yet if they do not walk in the spirit of God, in the light, and in the grace, which keeps their hearts established, their words seasoned, and their faith in the power of God, in which the kingdom stands, they may go forth like the false christians, like the Jews, like Adam and Eve, Cain, Korah, and Balaam, and be wandering stars, trees without fruit, wells without water, and clouds without rain; and so come to be unsavory, trodden down, and as Adam who lost paradise, and the Jews who lost the holy land, not walking in the law, and keeping the command of God; and as the christians who lost the city, the hill, the salt, and the light, since the apostles' days, and came to be unsavory, and to be trodden under foot of men.

Therefore, let everyone's faith stand in the Lord's power, which is over all, through which they may be built upon the rock, the foundation of God, the seed Jesus Christ. So all in Christ may be ever fresh and green; for he is the green tree that never withers, all are fresh and green that are grafted into him, abide in him, and bring forth heavenly fresh fruits to the praise of God. And though Adam and Eve fell from paradise, the Jews fell from the law of God, many of the christians fell from their prophecies, erred from the faith, the spirit, and the grace; and the stars have fallen, as was spoken in the Revelation; yet the spirit, grace, faith, and power of God remains.

I have seen many such states within these past twenty-eight years; though there is a state that shall never fall, nor be deceived, in the elect before the world began, who are come to the end of the prophecies, and are in him, where they end, renewed up into the image of God, (by Christ), which man was in before he fell, in that power, where he had dominion over all that God made. And not only so, but "attain to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ," who never fell. In him is the sitting down in life eternal, where their feet stand sure and fast in the gospel, his power. Here their bread is sure; and he that eats this bread lives for ever.

And all friends and brethren, that declare God's eternal truth and word of life, live in it, be seasoned with grace and salted with the heavenly salt, that your lives and conversations may preach wherever you come; that there be no rawness, nor quenching of the spirit, nor despising prophecy either in men or women. For all shall meet in the faith that Jesus is the author of, and in the light that comes from him, and be so grafted into the life, that you may have knowledge of one another in Christ. And that none may be slothful, or sitting down in earthly things, minding them, like Demas of old, so that you do not clothe yourselves with another clothing than you had at first; but all keep chaste, for the chaste follow the Lamb.

And Friends that are ministers possess as if you did not; be married as if you were not; be loose to the world in the Lord's power; for God's oil will be a-top of all visible things, which makes his lamps burn, and give light afar off. Let none strive nor covet to be rich in this world, in these changeable things that will pass away; but let your faith stand in the Lord God, who changes not, created all, and gives the increase of all.

Now Friends, concerning faithful men's and women's meetings, which were set up in God's counsel. Whoever oppose them, oppose the power of God, which is the authority of them. They are no ministers of the gospel, nor of Christ, that oppose his power, which all are to possess. For the true ministers of Christ, that preach his gospel (which is to be preached to all nations) as deceit is gone over all nations, and all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and she has them in her cage, her unclean power from the beast and dragon, out of the power of God, and out of truth and the spirit of God, the apostles were in; the power of God must come over all this again; and all true ministers, that preach the gospel, must bring people into the possession of it again. I say, who ever preaches the gospel of Christ and him to people and nations, those people and nations receiving the gospel, they receive the power of God, that brings life and immortality to light in them; and they see over the devil that has darkened them, and the beast, the whore, and her cage. So by the power of God, life and immortality is brought to light in them; then these men and women, being heirs of this power, the gospel, are heirs of authority and power over the devil, beast, whore, and dragon.

It is their possession and portion, and they are to labor in their possession and portion, to do God Almighty's business and service in the possession of the power of God, the gospel, which is a joyful,

glorious, everlasting order. Here is the authority of our men's and women's meetings, and other meetings in the name of Jesus, the gospel of Christ, the power of God, which is not of man, nor by man. In this are all to meet, and to worship God. By this are all to act, and in this have all fellowship, a joyful fellowship, a joyful and comfortable assembly. All faithful men and women in every country, city, and nation, whose faith stands in the power of God, the gospel of Christ, who have received the gospel, and are in the possession of it, have a right to the power in these meetings, for they are heirs of the power, which is the authority of the men's and women's meetings.

So here is God's choice (and not man's) by his power, of his heirs; and they have all freedom to go to the meetings, the men to the men's, and the women to the women's, for they are heirs of the power, which is received in the holy ghost; and they see over enmity, and before it was, by the light, the life, and immortality, which is brought to light in them.

The devil, the author of enmity, cannot get into this authority, power, order, nor fellowship of the gospel, nor life, nor light, nor into the unity of the faith, which gives victory over him that has separated man from God. Into the unity of this faith the serpent cannot come, nor into the worship of God in spirit and truth the devil cannot come, nor any enmity. And they that are in this are in unity over him. Therefore, let everyone's faith stand in the power of God, the glorious gospel; all walk as becomes the gospel and the order of it. As everyone has received Christ Jesus, the Lord, so walk in him, and let him be their Lord and orderer. For the preaching of the gospel of Christ Jesus is to the intent that all might come to be heirs of the gospel, into the possession of it, to be heirs of Christ and of his government, to the increase of which there is no end. Who is over all in his righteousness, and over all in his light, life, power, and dominion. Therefore know one another in his power, his gospel; know one another in Christ Jesus, who is able to restore man out of the state of the fall into the image of God, and into that power and dominion that man had before he fell, and into him, that never fell, where they will no more go forth. Here is the rock and foundation of God that stands sure.

And, Friends, be tender to the tender principle of God in all. Shun the occasion of vain disputes and arguments, both among yourselves and others; for many times that is like a blustering wind, that hurts and bruises the tender buds and plants. For the world, though they have the words, are out of the life; and the apostle's disputing with them was to bring them to the life. And those disputers among the Christians about genealogies, circumcision, the law, meats, drinks, and days, came to be the worst sort of disputers, whom the apostles judged; for such destroyed people from the faith. Therefore did the apostles exhort the churches that everyone's faith should stand in the power of God, and to look at Jesus the author of it. There every graft stands in Christ, the vine; quiet, where no blustering storms can hurt them; there is the safety. There all are of one mind, one faith, one soul, one spirit, baptized into one body with the one spirit, and made all to drink into one spirit, one church, one head, that is heavenly and spiritual. And one faith in this head, Christ, who is the author of it, and has the glory of it; one Lord to order all, who is the baptizer into this one body. So Christ has the glory of his faith out of every man and woman; and the Father through him has his glory, the Creator of all in his power, the gospel that has brought life and immortality to light in them. And their faith standing in it, they know the immortal God, serve and worship him in his spirit and in his truth; by which they are made God's free men and women, from him that is out of the truth.

Now, Friends, you who have been ancient laborers, and have known the dealings of the Lord these twenty years, (more or less), as I have often said to you, draw up what you can of that which the Lord has carried you through by his power, the passages and sufferings, and how by the Lord you have been supported from the first; so that he may be exalted by his power now, and in ages to come. Who has been the only support, defense, and stay of his people all along, over all to himself; to whom be all glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen. He deserves it in his church throughout all ages, from his living members, who return the praise to the living God, who lives and reigns over all, blessed forever; who is the life, strength, health, and length of the days of his people. Therefore let there be no boasting, but in the Lord, in his power and kingdom; that keeps all in humility.

And Friends, in the Lord's power and truth, what good you can do for Friends in prison, or sufferers, by informing or helping them, everyone bend yourselves to the Lord's power and spirit, to do his will and his business; and in that all will have a fellow-feeling of one another's conditions in bonds, or in whatever trials or tribulations. You will have a fellow-feeling with one another, having one head, one Lord, and being one body in him. For God's heavenly threshing rod has brought out his seed, his

heavenly plough has turned up the fallow ground, his heavenly seed is sown by the heavenly man, which brings forth fruits to the heavenly sower, in some fifty, sixty, and a hundred fold in his lifetime; and such in the world without end will have life everlasting. Oh! Therefore all keep within; let your lights shine, and your lamps burn, that you may be wells full of the living water, and trees full of the living fruit of God's planting, whose fruit is unto holiness, and whose end is everlasting life.

The Lord God of power preserve you all in his power. Let your faith stand in that, so you may have unity in the faith, and in the power; and by this faith and belief you may all be grafted into Christ, the sure root and rock of ages, where the eternal Sun of righteousness shines, in the heavenly and eternal day, upon his plants and grafts. This Sun never goes down, and the heavenly springs of life, and showers are known to water and nourish the grafts, plants, and buds, that they may always be kept fresh and green, and never wither. Bringing forth fresh, green, and living fruit, which is offered up to the living God; who is glorified, when you bear much fruit. The Lord God Almighty keep you, and preserve you all in his power, light, and life, over death and darkness; that you may spread his truth abroad, and, be valiant for it upon the earth, answering that of God in all. That with it the minds of people may be turned to God, so that with it they may come to know Christ Jesus in the new covenant, in which the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters do the sea. His life must go over death, his light must go over darkness, and the power of God must go over the power of satan.

So all you that are in the light, life, and power, keep the heavenly fellowship in the heavenly power, the heavenly unity in the heavenly divine faith, and the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly Prince of princes' peace; who bruises the head of the enemy, the adversary, and reconciles man to God, and all things in heaven and earth. A blessed reconciliation! Let everyone's faith stand in the power of God, which Jesus Christ is the author of; that all may know their crown of life. For all outward things, without the substance, the life, the power, are as the husk without the kernel, and do not nourish the immortal soul, nor the new-born babe. But that which nourishes is the milk of the word, where all grow in the heavenly life, strength, and wisdom. The gospel is not of man, nor by man, but is the power of God, and answers the truth in all. All the possessors of it are to see that all walk according to it; which everlasting order is ordained of God already, and all the possessors of him possess their joy, their comfort, and salvation. My love unto you all, with him that reigns, and is over all, from everlasting to everlasting.

Dwell in the love of God, which passes knowledge, and edifies the living members of the body of Christ; which love of God you come to be built up in, and in the holy faith. This love of God brings you to "bear all things, endure all things, and hope all things." From this love, which you have in Christ Jesus, nothing will be able to separate you, neither powers nor principalities, heights nor depths, things present nor things to come, prisons nor seizures of property, death nor life. The love of God keeps above all that which would separate from God, and makes you more than conquerors in Christ Jesus. Therefore in this dwell, that with the same love you may love one another, and all the workmanship of God; that you may glorify God with your bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's. Amen.

George Fox

All Friends sit low in the life, the Lord's power. Keep your place in it, until the Lord and master of the heavenly feast bid you "sit higher;" for fear that you take the highest place, and be put down with shame. He that has an ear, let him hear.

George Fox

Postscript.

Friends, take heed of speaking the things of God in the words that men's wisdom has taught; for those words will lift up the foolish that go astray from the spirit of God. These words and wisdom of men are for condemnation, along with that which is lifted up by them, and they that speak the things of God in them. So that old house, with its goods, must be thrown under the foot of the new birth.

And Friends, I ask that you may all keep the holy order, which is in the gospel, the glorious order in the power of God, which the devil is out of; which was before all his orders were, and before any orders of the world.

This joyful order keeps all hearts pure to God in everlasting peace, unity, and order. Feel it, and keep it, both men and women, and come to be heirs of the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, and to see over that power of darkness, by him who was before the power of death was. In this is the holy order in love and peace. So keep in this that keeps you always pure; whatever men and women do in this, they do in that which will stand when the world is gone.

There has been some uneasiness about men's and women's meetings. Men and women in the gospel are heirs of the power, which was before the devil was; heirs of this, then enter into the possession of it, and do the Lord's business there. Everyone take care of God's honor, and keep all things in righteousness and holiness, which becomes God's house. When those meetings were set up for men and women, who are heirs of the gospel, and have right to the gospel order, it comforted me because their righteousness and holiness honored God. Then take your possessions, practice in it, be not talkers only, but live and walk in the gospel, the power of God which is the authority of your meetings.

George Fox

Swarthmore, the 28th of the 2d month, 1676.'

Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, the 17th of the third month, 1676.

From *Valiant for the Truth*: Well would it have been for the church he loved so well, if his earnest, loving counsel had been attended to. In the two hundred years since this was written, there have been disputess about points analogous to the meats and drinks, and days and times, which disturbed the early Christians; disputes, too, carried on without the loving spirit he recommends, which have brought confusion into her borders, and crippled her usefulness.



During this time I collected together as many as I could of the epistles I had written in former years to Friends. I made a collection too of the several papers I had written to Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard, in the time of their protectorships, and to the parliaments and magistrates in their times. I collected also the papers I had written to king Charles the Second since his return, and to his council and parliaments, and the justices or other magistrates under him. I made another collection of certificates, which I had received from various governors of places, judges, justices, members of parliament, and others, clearing of me from many slanders, which the envious priests and professors, both here and beyond sea, had cast upon me. This I did for the truth's sake, knowing that their design in slandering me was to defame the truth published by me, and hinder the spreading of it among the people. Besides these, I made two books of collections; one was a list or catalogue of the names of those Friends who went out from the north of England, when truth first broke forth there, to proclaim the day of the Lord through this nation. The other was of the names of those Friends who went first to preach the gospel in other nations, countries, and places, in what years, and to which parts they went.

I made another collection, in two books: one of epistles and letters from Friends and others, on several occasions, to me; the other of letters of mine to Friends and others.

I wrote also a book of the types and figures of Christ, with their significance; and many other things, which will be of service to truth and Friends in time to come.

I took notice also of those who had run out from truth, drawn others out after them, and turned against truth and Friends, since the first breaking forth of truth in this latter age, and what became of them; noting particularly the repentance and return of those who came back to truth again. Some ran quite out, and never returned, but were cut off in their defiance and rebellion; for the word and power of God has blasted, and is blasting them, and the holy seed has ground, and is grinding them to pieces. I have observed that those who have been convinced and have not lived and walked in the truth, have been the worst enemies to the truth and done most hurt among Friends in the truth and to others. In these I have seen fulfilled what the Lord did long ago show me, 'That such would be greater deceivers than all the priests and professors. For such as came as far as Cain, Balaam, Korah, and Dathan, who could 'preach Christ,' and say, 'They had preached in his name;' 'such as came to be apostles, and had tasted of the power of Christ, and then turned from it, such could yet speak their old experiences, and have good words like Korah and Balaam; but not keeping in the life and truth, they deceived the hearts of the simple. Such come to be of the devil, who abode not in the truth; as Cain and all the Jews that abode not in the truth were. For though Cain sacrificed to God and talked with God, and the Jews could talk of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, yet Christ told them, 'They were of their father the devil.' In the same way, those called christians can talk of Christ and use his and his apostles' and disciples' words, yet not abiding in the truth, power, and spirit the apostles were in, they are of the devil, out of truth, and do his work. So are all those that have been convinced of God's eternal truth since it sprang up in this nation, that have not lived in the light, in the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, but have turned against the power and have opposed the work of that; though they may retain their former experiences, and be able to speak many good words. Yet not living in the life and power that gave them those experiences, they live in the power of darkness, which is of the devil; and by the light and truth both he and they are condemned; and if they ever come to truth again, they must own their condemnation. For to resist the heavenly power and to oppose the workings and divine manifestations through anyone is not a light matter. And as I had been moved of the Lord to travel in his power round this nation, and in

other parts, to preach the everlasting gospel, and to declare the word of life, which was in the beginning, through many imprisonments, hardships, sufferings, and trials; so I was afterwards moved to travel in the same heavenly power about the nation again (and to write to such places where I did not go), to recommend to Friends the setting up of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in all counties, for looking after the poor, taking care for orderly proceedings in marriages, and other matters relating to the church of Christ. Though some meetings for this end were settled in the north of England in the year 1652.

After this, truth still spreading further over the nation, and Friends increasing in number, I was moved by the same eternal power to recommend the setting up women's meetings also. So that all, both male and female, who had received the gospel, the word of eternal life, might come into the order of the gospel, brought forth by the power of God, and might act for God in the power, and therein do business and service for him in his church. All the faithful must labor in God's vineyard; they being his hired servants, he having given them the deposit of his spirit. For a master that hires a servant, and gives him the deposit of his hire, expects him to do his work after he knows his will in the outward creation; so all God's people that are of the new creation and have received the deposit of his spirit, ought to labor with, by, and in his spirit, power, grace, and faith, in the light, in God's vineyard that they may have their wages when they have done God's work and business in his day, which is eternal life. But none can labor in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and spirit of Christ; which has been, and is my travail and labor in the Lord to turn all to.

Some that professed truth and had made a great show of it, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into arguing, division, and a spirit of separation, endeavored to discourage Friends (especially the women) from their godly care and watchfulness in the church over one another in the truth; opposing their meetings, which in the power of the Lord were set up for that end and service. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it among Friends, to discover that spirit by which those opposers were acting, its work and way by which it was accomplished, and to warn Friends of it that they might not be betrayed by it.

All my dear Friends,

Live in the seed of peace, Christ Jesus, in whom you have life. That spirit, which comes among you to raise up strife, is out of Christ; for it is the spirit that is not easy to be entreated, not gentle, so not of the wisdom of God, which is justified of her children. They who follow that spirit are none of wisdom's children. There is a spirit that has made a separation, and has been against men's and women's meetings. Yet they have set up a meeting of their own, which they have given power to; and none shall sit among them but whom they give power to, but shall be looked upon as usurpers of authority. This spirit and its work is not of God, though it has made a confusion among some. And the path it may travel in is through the earthly affections, among the unestablished or apostates. But all that are in the life, spirit, light, grace, truth, and power of God, shut it out; and such as sit under their own vine, Christ Jesus, and are grafted into him, have no need of their exhortation or counsel; for the true believers are entered into their rest. Therefore, all keep in the gospel of peace, and they that be heirs of the kingdom keep your possession thereof.

Some of this spirit have said to me, "they see no service in women's meetings." My answer is, and has been to such, if they are blind and without sight, they should not oppose others; for none impose any thing upon them. God never received the blind for a sacrifice, neither can his people. But Christ has enlightened all; and to as many as receive him, he gives "power to become the sons of God." Such as are heirs of his power, and of his gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, can see over him that has darkened those; and all such keep the order of the gospel, the power of God, and their meetings therein, which preserve them in life and immortality. These see the great service of men's and women's meetings, in the order of the gospel, the power of God; for they are help mates in this power, which is the authority of their meetings. I say to all you that are against men's and women's meetings, who say, "You see no service for the women's meetings," and oppose them; you are out of the power of God, and do not live in his spirit. For God saw a service for the assemblies of the women

in the time of the law, about those things that appertained to his worship and service, and to the holy things of his tabernacle; and they in his spirit now see their service in the gospel, many things in these meetings being more proper for the women than the men. And they, in the power and wisdom of God, may inform the men of such things as are not proper for them; and the men may inform the women of such things as are not proper for them, as help mates to each other. For in the time of the law, the women were to offer as well as the men; so in the time of the gospel they are to offer their spiritual sacrifices. For both men and women are called a royal priesthood, the household of faith, the living stones, that make up the spiritual building, which Christ is the head of; and are to be encouraged in their labor in the gospel; for all things that both men and women do, are to be done in the power of God. Such as see no service for these women's meetings, or the men's, but oppose them, and make strife among Friends, are in the spirit of the world that is against and forbids our other meetings. In the same spirit that has been and is against women's speaking in meetings, and say, "they must be silent," though the same apostle commands, "that men should keep silence as well as the women," if there were not an interpreter. You may see the spirit of the world has entered such opposers, though they come under another appearance; for they would not have us meet at all. These are against women's meetings and some of them against men's also, and say, "they see no service for them;" then they may hold their tongues, and not oppose those who do see their service for God in these meetings.

Therefore, all you that feel the power of God, and your service for God in them, both men and women, keep your meetings in the power of God, the authority of them, as they were settled in it; then you will be preserved both over this spirit that opposes them, and over the spirit of the world that opposes your other meetings; for it is basically all one spirit in its foundation, and would bring you into bondage. Those who are out of the peaceable gospel, oppose its order; and are out of the faith that works by love, out of the wisdom that is gentle, easy, and peaceable, etc. and out of the kingdom that stands in peace and joy. Therefore, keep over that spirit that sows discord or dissension, and would draw you from your habitation and possession in the order of the gospel. For it is the same spirit that deceived Adam and Eve, by which they lost their habitation in righteousness and holiness, and their dominion; so that spirit got over them; and it is trying to get over you. One time while it is telling you, "it sees no service for your meetings;" and another time it opposes you. But I say, this is the blind spirit which is out of the power of God, and which the power of God is over. Therefore, keep in the power, so that you may stand for your liberty in Christ Jesus, males and females, heirs of him, of his gospel, and his order. Stand up for your liberty in the gospel, and in the faith, which Christ Jesus has been the author of; for if you lose it, and let another spirit get over you, you will not soon regain it. I knew satan would bestir himself in his instruments, when men's and women's meetings came to be set up in the power, light, and truth. And the heirs of the gospel to take their possession of it in every county and city; walk in it, watch over one another, and take care of God's glory and honor, and his precious truth. And to see that all walk in the truth as becomes the gospel, and to see that nothing was lacking; and so whatever was decent, modest, virtuous, lovely, comely, righteous, and of good report, to follow after; and to admonish and exhort all who were not faithful, and to rebuke all that did evil. I knew this would give such a check to all loose speakers, talkers, and walkers, that there would be opposition against such meetings. But heed it not, truth will come over them all, and is over them all, and faith must have the victory. For the gospel and its order is everlasting, the seed (Christ), is the beginning and the ending, and will outlast all; the Amen, in whom you have peace. I say, all who oppose the men's and women's meetings; or that marriages should be laid before them, or the recording of condemnations of sin and evil, or admonishing or exhorting such as walk not in the truth, are of a loose spirit, and their spirits tend to looseness. Let those accept the deceptive spirit that will; truth will not have them, nor any of their sacrifice; for nothing is accepted of God but what is done in truth, and in his spirit, which is peaceable. The authority of our men's and women's meetings is the power of God; all the heirs of the gospel are heirs of that authority and dignity; this is of God, and shall answer the witness of God in all. The greatest opposers of this practice and work are such as have been convinced of God's truth, but have not lived in it. Such were the greatest troublers of the church in Moses' day and in the days of the apostles; but mark their end, and read what became of them all. Therefore, all keep your habitation in the truth, and there you may see what became of all the opposers of it for twenty years past: they are all gone, and the truth lives and reigns; the seed is over all, and all are one in it, in rest, peace, and life everlasting; and there they sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the Amen.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 8th month, 1676.

While I was at Swarthmore, William Lampit died; the priest of Ulverstone (the parish that Swarthmore is in.) He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord, and a persecutor of the people of God. Much contest I had with him when I first came into those parts. He had been an old false prophet: for in the year 1652 he prophesied (and said he would wage his life upon it) 'that the Quakers would all vanish and come to nothing within half a year:' but he came to nothing himself. For he continued in his false accusing of God's people until a little before he died, and then cried for a little rest To one of his hearers, who came to visit him before he died, he said, 'I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it would be so hard a thing to die.'

After I had finished the services which lay upon me then to do, feeling my spirit drawn towards the south (though I was weak, and not able to travel far in a day) I left Swarthmore the twenty-sixth of the first month, 1677, and went to Thomas Pearson's at Powbank in Westmoreland, where I had a meeting the next day; and from there to Thomas Camm's at Camm's-gill, where Robert Widders, with his wife and several other Friends came to see me before I left the country, and to attend the meeting there the next day, which was very large, and in which I was largely drawn forth in testimony to the truth. I had much discussion with some of that meeting, who were not in unity with the Quarterly Meeting they belonged to; but afterwards several of them, who were somewhat tender, came to see their error, and gave condemnations against themselves. Next day John Blaykling came to Thomas Camm's to bring me to his house at Drawell in Sedberg in Yorkshire; where I went with him, visiting Friends on the way. I stayed at Drawell two or three nights, having meetings there and thereabouts; for while I was there, the men's and women's meetings were held, which were very large and precious. The first-day following I had a meeting at Brigflats, to which most of the Friends from the several meetings around came with a great gathering of other people; it was thought there were five or six hundred people. It was a very good meeting, where truth was largely declared and preciously opened, to the comforting and refreshing of the faithful, and the drawing near them that were afar off. I had another meeting at John Blaykling's, where many Friends came who were going to the Quarterly Meeting at Kendal. My wife went back with them, she with her daughter Rachel had accompanied me this far; and Leonard Fell and I then passed through Sedberg and Garsdale into Wensydale, visiting Friends as we went. At night I reached Richard Robinson's at Counterside, where several Friends came to me that evening, some of whom went with me next day to the widow Tenant's at Scar house in Langstroth-dale. We had trouble getting there, the snow lay so deep, though it was a week in the second month. Here on first-day we had a large meeting, Friends coming to it from several parts in the surrounding area; and the Lord gave me a very reasonable testimony to bear among them, which I did for several hours, to their great satisfaction and comfort. Therefore passing through Bishopsdale, Mildum, Barton, and by Bedal and Northallerton, I came to George Robinson's at Burrowby, where Friends also came from several parts, and we had a very large and good meeting, and very peaceable. Not long after, an envious justice, hearing I had a great meeting there, troubled Friends about it, and made them appear at the sessions, where he asked them many ensnaring questions; for he did not know how to convict them, because he had no proof against them. When he saw his questions did not catch them; he told them, 'he had heard that George Fox was at a large meeting with them, and they all sat silent, and none spoke in the meeting.' This false story he cunningly feigned; thinking by this to have drawn some of the Friends to have contradicted him, and have said, 'that I had spoke in the meeting;' that he might have convicted them upon their own confession, and have fined them. But Friends standing in the wisdom of God, did not answer him according to his desire, and so escaped his snare. But two Friends that had come over from Ireland were having a meeting that evening about three miles off, and this evil minded justice got information of it, and fined Friends, and plundered them very greatly for it.

I went from Burrowby to Isaac Lindley's, calling upon Friends as I went. Robert Lodge and some Friends with me, passed to York the next day; and the day following, being first-day, I was at Friends' meeting in York, which was large and peaceable. The second-day I also stayed in York, and had two meetings with Friends at John Taylor's, from where I wrote to my wife as follows:

Dear Heart,

To whom is my love, and to your daughters, and all Friends that enquire after me. My desires are, that you all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting seed, in whom you will have life and peace, dominion and settlement in the everlasting home or dwelling, in the house built upon the foundation of God. In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings on the way. The way was deep and bad with snow many times, our horses sometimes were down; and we were not able to ride, and sometimes we had great storms and rain, but by the power of the Lord I went through all.

At Scarhouse we had a very large meeting and another at Burrowby, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Bishoprick; and many other meetings we have had. At York yesterday we had a very large meeting which was exceedingly thronged, Friends attending from many parts, and all was quiet, and Friends were well satisfied. Oh! The glory of the Lord shined over all. This day we had a large men's and women's meeting, with many Friends, both men and women, and all was quiet. This evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the Friends of the city. John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others. Friends are very glad beyond measure. So I am in my holy element and holy work in the Lord; glory to his name forever! Tomorrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel as well as I do! So my love in the fountain of life, in which as you all abide and you will have the refreshment of life; that by it you may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord and be satisfied. To the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all to his ordering.

George Fox

York, the 16th of the second month, 1677.

Leaving York, I visited Friends at Tadcaster, Nottingly, Doncaster, and Balby, having meetings as I went. At Balby I stayed for the first-day meeting, and went next day to Thomas Stacy's at Ballowfield, where in the evening I had a meeting, to mediate a difference that had happened between some that professed truth, and they were reconciled. Next day I came to Stainsby in Derbyshire, in which county I had formerly lived, about the time of the first breaking forth of truth. Here I had a good meeting with Friends, and afterwards passed to Skegby in Nottinghamshire, and from there to Nottingham, to John Reckless'. I had a meeting with Friends at his house that evening, and another the next day in Friends' public meeting-house, which was peaceable and well.

I went the day following to John Fox's at Wymeswould in Leicestershire, where I had a meeting that evening; and next day to William Smith's at Sileby, where, it being first-day, we had a very large meeting: for besides Friends from several places, many of the town's people, hearing I was there, came to the meeting, and heard the truth declared gladly. Next day I went to Leicester, there finding many Friends had come out of the country, to be at the horse fair next day. I had a very good meeting with them that night, and another next evening at William Wells' at Knighton, about a mile from Leicester. Next day I passed to Swanington, and had a meeting there: from there to Samuel Fretwell's at Hartshorn in Derbyshire, where I had a meeting also; then to Henry Sidon's at Badgely in Warwickshire, and stayed for the meeting there, which, being the first-day, was very large and peaceable, notwithstanding a justice had threatened to come and break it up. I went in the evening to Richard Baal's of Whittington, where several Friends came to visit me. Next day I went to Nathaniel Newton's at Hartshill, where several Friends met me, with whom I had good service. After this I passed on, visiting Friends in various places, until I came to Dingley, where a meeting was appointed before, which was very numerous, and truth was largely opened to the people. The meeting was peaceable, and the people generally sober; except that, while I was showing how Christendom (so called), was gone from the pure religion that is undefiled, a man rushed out in a furious manner, and said, 'I deny that.' After this meeting, I went with Thomas Charles to his house at Adingworth; and next day to Northampton, where I stayed the first-day meeting, which was very large and peaceable. I had much service among Friends besides. Next day Eftward Cooper of Northampton accompanied me to Olney in Buckinghamshire, where I stayed at James Brierlie's, several Friends coming to see me in

the evening. Next day I went to a meeting at Turry in Bedfordshire, to which Friends came from several parts. It was a very large meeting. Here I met with William Dewsbury, who after the meeting took me to his son-in-law John Rush's of Kempston, where I stayed with William that night and most of the next day; passing from there towards the evening through Ampthill to Thomas Gamboll's of Bullock's hill. William Dewsbury went along with me, and several Friends came to visit us. Next day, passing through Luton, I went to Market-street, William Dewsbury accompanying me part of the way, and the next day, Leonard Fell was with me. I had a meeting at Kensworth, which was pretty large and peaceable; after which we visited Friends at Alban's, and next day at South Mims and Barnet. We came that night to the widow Haley's at Guttershedje in Hendon, Middlesex. Next day, being first-day, we had a very large meeting there, several Friends coming from London. I stayed second-day, and the third went to William Mead's house at Highgate, with whom next day I went to London. It being fourth-day, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where Friends and I were greatly refreshed in each other in the Lord, and the Lord's power and seed was set over all; blessed be his name for ever!

Thus it pleased the Lord to bring me safely to London, though much wearied. For though I did not ride very far in a day, my body being weakened, continual traveling was hard for me. Besides, I did not get much rest at night to refresh myself, for I often sat up late with Friends where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things where they were lacking; and when I was in bed, I was often hindered from sleep by great pains in my head and teeth, caused, I thought, by a cold I had taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to his praise.

In my journey I observed a slackness and shortness in some that professed truth, in keeping up the ancient testimony of truth against tithes; for where ever that spirit got entrance it created division in the church, and opposed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened those who received it in their testimony against tithes. Therefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth an 'Epistle to Friends,' to stir up the pure mind in them, and to encourage and strengthen them in their Christian testimony against that antichristian yoke of oppression.

My Dear Friends,

Be faithful to the Lord in your testimony for Jesus, who has ended the Levitical priesthood of Aaron that took tithes, and sent his ministers to give freely that which they had received of him freely, without a bag or a staff. Christ's disciples could not join with those who made a trade of preaching. And as there was a testimony to be borne against those tithes which were commanded in the law for Levi and Aaron, so there is a testimony to be borne against those tithes which have been set up by man in the dark time of popery, and not set up by God or Christ. To cry against the priests in words, and yet to give them money and put food into their mouths to keep them from preparing war against you, is a contradiction. Therefore take heed; for if the Lord bless you with outward creatures, and you give them to Baal's priests, he may justly require the outward things from you again which he has given you; (who said, that his ministers should freely give, as they have freely received). So all the preachers for tithes and money, and the takers and payers of tithes, must be testified against in the Lord's power and spirit; that all may stand up in their testimony for Jesus Christ, in his power and spirit, against the tithemongers. Consider how many faithful and valiant servants of the Lord have laid down their lives against them, in this day of the Lord; and in the days of the martyrs who witnessed against them. Consider also, what judgments have come upon those who seized Friends' property and cast them into prison for tithes and maintenance. Therefore in the power of the Lord maintain the war against the beast, and do not put into his mouth, for fear that he cry peace to you; which peace you must not receive, but it must be broken and thrown out by the spirit of God. Then in the same spirit you will receive the peace from the Son of peace, which the beast, the whore, and the world, with all their earthly teachers for the earth (made by man), cannot receive, nor deprive you of. Therefore keep your authority and dominion in the power, spirit, and name of Jesus, in who is my love to you.

George Fox

3rd month, 1677.

I came to London ten or twelve days before the Yearly Meeting; in which time I joined with Friends there

in the service of truth, visiting them at the meetings. The parliament was then in session, so we prepared something to put before them, concerning seizing the third part of Friends' estates, like popish dissenters; which was a great suffering, and a grievance we complained of; but we got no amendment.

To the Yearly Meeting many Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some out of Scotland, Holland, etc. We had very glorious meetings, where the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on in the unity of the spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright hearted; blessed be the Lord for ever! After the Yearly Meeting, having stayed a week or two with Friends in London, I went with William Penn to his house in Sussex; John Burneyate and some other Friends were with us. As we passed through Surrey, hearing the Quarterly Meeting for the county was that day, William Penn, John Burneyate, and I went from the road to it; and after the meeting returning to our other company, went with them to William Penn's that night, which is forty miles from London. I stayed at Worminghurst about three weeks, in which time John Burneyate and I answered a very wicked and envious book, which Roger Williams, a priest of New England (or some colony near there), had written against truth and Friends. When we had finished that service, we went with Stephen Smith to his house at Warpleton in Surrey, where we had a large meeting. Friends there had been exceedingly plundered about two months before on the priest's account; for they took from Stephen Smith five cows (being all he had), for about fifty shillings tithes. From there we went to Kingston, and so to London, where I stayed not long; for it was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to visit Friends and to preach the gospel there and in some parts of Germany. Therefore setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of Friends in London, and with several other Friends went down to Colchester in Essex, in order to arrange my passage for Holland. Next day, being first-day, I was at the public meeting of Friends there, which was very large and peaceable. In the evening I had another large meeting, but not so public, at John Furly's house, where I lodged. The day following was the women's meeting, which was also very large. Next day we passed to Harwich, where Robert Duncon, and several other Friends came to see us; and some from London that intended to go over with me. Since the packet-boat was not ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to his familiar goodness, by his overcoming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare his everlasting truth, and to praise and glorify him. After the meeting, we returned to John Vandewall's where I had lodged; and when the boat was ready (taking leave of Friends), we who were bound for Holland went on board about the ninth hour in the evening, the 25th of the 5th month, 1677.

The Friends that went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, one of my wife's daughters. About the first hour in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair, brisk wind, which by the next morning brought us in sight of Holland. But that day was very clear and calm, so we made little progress until about the fourth hour in the afternoon when a fresh gale arose, which carried us within a league of land. Then the wind being becalmed, we cast anchor for that night between the hours of nine and ten in the evening. But William Penn and Robert Barclay (understanding Benjamin Furly had come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet us), got two of the boatmen to let down a small boat that belonged to the packet and row them to shore. But before they could reach it, the gates were shut; and there being no house outside the gate, they were forced to lie in a fisher's boat all night. As soon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in and found Benjamin Furly with other Friends of Rotterdam who had come to meet us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it, who lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to the Briel, where the Friends received us with great gladness.

We stayed about two hours to refresh ourselves; and then took a boat, with the Holland Friends to Rotterdam, where we arrived about the eleventh hour that day, the twenty-eighth of the fifth month, 1677. I was very well this voyage, but some of the Friends were sea-sick. We had a fine passage, and we all came safe and well to land; blessed and praised be the name of the Lord for ever!

The next day, being first-day, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's where many of the town's people and some officers came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly or John Claus interpreted, when any Friend declared. I spent the next day in visiting Friends. The day following, William Penn and I

with other Friends went towards Amsterdam, with some of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us there. We took a boat in the afternoon, and passing by Overkirk, came to Delft, through which we walked on foot; and then took boat again to Leyden, where we lodged that night at an inn. This was counted six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are equal to eighteen English miles and five hours sail or traveling; for our boat was drawn by a horse that walked on the shore. Next day taking boat again, we went to Harlem, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large. Many of the town's people came in, and two of their preachers. The Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to Friends, but to other sober people, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. After the meeting we passed to Amsterdam, accompanied by several Friends of that city and of Alkmaer.

Next day was the Quarterly Meeting at Amsterdam, to which came Friends from Harlem, and Rotterdam, and with them those of our company, whom we had left at Rotterdam, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, etc. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieson's. It was a very large and serviceable meeting. William Penn and I were drawn to open many things concerning the order of the gospel, and to show the benefit and service of Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings of men and women. We had another meeting at Gertrude's the next day, more public, and very large, at which were professors of several sorts, to whom the way of life and salvation was largely and lovingly opened; which they listened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the same place, but fewer people, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of Friends only, where by joint agreement were settled several meetings: Monthly, Quarterly, and a Yearly Meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Ernbden, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Frederickstadt, Dantzic, and other places in and about Germany; which Friends were very glad of, and it has been of great service to truth.

Next day an exercise came upon me concerning that deceitful spirit which wrought in some to make divisions in the church, and the care of the churches being upon me, I was moved to write a few lines to warn Friends of it, as follows:

All Friends,

Keep over that spirit of separation and division, in the peaceable truth, and in the seed of life, which will wear it all out, and outlast it. For the Lamb will have the victory over all the spirits of strife, as it has had since the beginning. And they will wither as others have: but all that keep in the seed, which is always green, shall never wither; as Friends have been kept to this day. If any have backslidden, thrown off the cross, grown loose and full, and gone into strife and contention with their earthly spirits, and there plead for liberty, this spirit takes with loose, earthly spirits, and cries imposition to such as admonish them to come to the life, light, spirit, and power of God, that they may be made alive, and live again with the living. Upon this admonition their spirits rise into contention and strife, and separation, turning against the living, in their loose earthly spirits, which would have the name of truth, but are not in the nature of it, but are for eternal judgment of the living seed. This is the spirit which deceives, but it is judged by that which frees from deception and saves.

George Fox

Amsterdam, in Holland, the 5th of the 6th month, 1677

This being first-day, we had a very large meeting, where there was a great gathering of people of several opinions, Baptists, Seekers, Sadnians, Brownillits and some of the collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn, and I, all separately declared the everlasting truth among them; opening the state of man in the fall, and showing the way man and woman may come into the restoration by Christ Jesus. The mystery of iniquity and the mystery of godliness were very plainly laid open, and the meeting ended quietly and well.

The day following, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, leaving me and some other Friends

at Amsterdam, set forward towards Germany, where they traveled many hundred miles, and had good service for the Lord, Benjamin Furly going with them, and interpreting.

That day and the next I stayed at Amsterdam, visiting Friends, and assisting them in some business concerning their meetings. Three Baptists came to discourse with me, to whom I opened things to their satisfaction, and they parted from me in kindness. I wrote a letter also to the princess Elizabeth, which Isabel Yeomans delivered to her, when George Keith's wife and she went to visit her.

Princess Elizabeth,

I have heard of your tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth, from some Friends, that have visited you, and also by some of your letters, which I have seen. Which indeed is a great thing, for a person of your rank to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth, since so many are swallowed up with luxuriousness, and the pleasures of this world. Yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep inward sense and feeling of him. For not many of the mighty or wise of the world that can become fools for Christ's sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate, and a mightier kingdom, through the inward holy spirit, the divine light and power of God. And a mightier wisdom, which is from above, pure and peaceable: which wisdom is above that which is below, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, by which men destroy one another about their religions, ways, worships, and churches; but this is not from God or Christ. The wisdom which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, keeps the heart clean. By this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. This is the wisdom that is justified of her children. In this fear of God and wisdom, my desire is, that you may be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord comes to teach his people himself, and to set up his banner, that the nations may flow to it. There has been an apostasy, since the apostles' days from the divine light of Christ, which should have given them the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus;" and from the holy spirit, which would have led them into all truth. And therefore people have set up so many leaders outside themselves, to give them knowledge. And also from the holy and precious faith which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of, which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which faith they please God, the mystery of which is held in a pure conscience. And also from the gospel which was preached in the apostles' days (which gospel is the power of God) which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people should have seen over the devil that has darkened them; which gospel will preserve all those who receive it in life and immortality. For the eyes of people have been after men, and not after the Lord, who writes his law in the hearts, and puts it into the minds of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace; through which they all come to know the Lord, from the least to the greatest; so that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth, as the waters do the sea. This work of the Lord is beginning again, as it was in the apostles' days; people shall come to receive an anointing in them from the Holy One, by which they shall know all things, and shall not need any man to teach them, but as the anointing teaches them. And also to know how the righteousness of faith speaks, the word within the heart and mouth, to obey it and to do it. This was the word of faith the apostles preached; which is now received and preached again, and is the duty of all true Christians to receive. So now people are coming out of the apostasy, to the light of Christ and his spirit; to receive faith from him, and not from men; to receive the gospel from him, their anointing from him, the word. And as they receive him, they declare him freely, as his command was to his disciples, and is still to the learners and receivers of him. For the Lord God and his son Jesus Christ have come to teach his people, and to bring them from all the world's ways to Christ the way, the truth, and the life, who is the way to the Father; and from all the world's teachers and speakers, to him who is the speaker and teacher, *Hbr 8:10-11*. And from all the world's worshippers, to worship God in the spirit and in the truth, which worship Christ set up more than sixteen hundred years ago, when he put down the Jews' worship at the temple at Jerusalem, and the worship at the mountain where Jacob's well was. And to bring people from all the world's religions, which they have made since the apostles' days, to the religion that was set up by Christ and his apostles, which is pure and undefiled before God, and keeps from the spots of the world. And to bring them out of all the world's churches and fellowships, made

and set up since the apostles' days, to the church that is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *1Thes 1:9*. And to bring to the unity and fellowship in the Holy Spirit, which mortifies, circumcises, and baptizes, to plunge down sin and corruption, that has gotten up in man and woman by transgression. In this Holy Spirit there is holy fellowship and unity; yes, it is the bond of the Prince of princes, the King of kings, and Lord of lords peace; which heavenly peace all true Christians are to maintain with spiritual weapons, not with carnal.

And now, my friend, the holy men of God wrote the scriptures as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and all Christendom is in contention about those scriptures, because they are not led by the same Holy Ghost as those were who wrote the scriptures; which Holy Ghost they must come to in themselves, and be led by, if they come into all the truth of them, and to have the comfort of God, Christ, and them. For none can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost; and all that call Christ Lord without the Holy Ghost, take his name in vain. Likewise all who name his name are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name with reverence, in truth and righteousness. Oh therefore feel the grace and truth in your heart, that comes by Jesus Christ, that will teach you how to live, and what to deny. It will establish your heart, season your words, and bring your salvation, and will be a teacher to you at all times. By it you may receive Christ, from whom it comes; and as many as receive him, to them he gives power not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God. And if sons, then heirs of a life, and a world and kingdom without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures of that kingdom. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, who tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head, that has been between God and man. That through Christ man may come to God again, and praise him through Jesus Christ the Amen, the spiritual, heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore.

George Fox

Amsterdam, the 7th of the 6th month, 1677.

Postscript.

The bearer of this letter is a daughter-in-law of mine, who comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife, to give you a visit.

George Fox

The princess Elizabeth's answer

Dear Friend, I cannot but have a tender love to those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Therefore your letter, and your friends' visit, have both been very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still

Your loving friend,

Elizabeth.

Hertford, the 30th of August, 1677.



Next day John Claus and I passed to Buyckslote, Purmerent, and Alkmaer, about thirty miles from Amsterdam. We went to a Friend's whose name was Willem Willems, where I had a meeting that night. I had another meeting the next day, which was larger; several professors came, and all was quiet and well. After the meeting I visited some Friends; then taking boat, passed to Hoorne, known as the chief city in North Holland. We lodged at an inn, and taking a wagon early next morning, we passed to Enckhuysen, where we took a ship for Friesland. Landing in the afternoon at Workum, we took water, and rode upon the high bank of the Friezen seas, until we met two Friends coming with a wagon to meet us, with whom we went to Harlingen, the chief sea-port town in Friesland. We went to Hessel Jacobs,' where several Friends came to visit with us that night. Next day we visited the Friends of the place; and I wrote a paper, directed, 'To those who persecute Friends for not observing their fast-day.'

The day following being first-day, Friends had a meeting there, to which we went, and many professors came to it. I declared the everlasting gospel among them, John Claus interpreting. They were all very civil, and heard attentively; and when the meeting was over, departed peaceably, without making any opposition. After the meeting I went to Hessel Jacobs' again, where after awhile came a Calvinist, to ask me some questions, which I answered to his satisfaction; and he departed friendly. Soon after he was gone, a preacher of the collegians came to discuss with me, who seemed well satisfied also, and we parted lovingly. That evening I had another meeting with the Friends there and the next morning we traveled to Leuwarden, the chief city in Friesland, and lodged that night at a Friend's house whose name was Sybrand Doves.

Next morning early we traveled to Dockum, and walking through the city, took a boat again to Stobus, which is the most distant part of Friesland. There we waited at a commissary's. Then taking a boat, we passed to Groningen, the chief city of the province of Groningland. One of the magistrates of that city came with us from Leuwarden, with whom I had some discussion on the way; and he was very loving. We walked near three miles through the city; then took a boat for Delfziel. In the evening we traveled through Appingdaem, where there had been a great horse fair that day, and many officers came rushing onto the boat, who were drunk and very rude. I exhorted them to 'fear the Lord and beware of Solomon's vanities.' They were a sort of boisterous fellows; yet somewhat more civil after I spoke to them. We landed at Delfziel about the tenth hour at night, having traveled about fifty English miles that day. We went to an inn to lodge; and as we passed through the guards, they examined John Claus as to whether or not I was a militia soldier? He told them I was not, and they let us pass peaceably.

Delfziel stands on the river Eems, over which we passed the next day to Embden, where Friends had been cruelly persecuted, and from which they had often been banished. I went to an inn where I dined with some men that understood English, with whom I had a fine time, and they were loving. Meanwhile John Claus went with his wife to her father's in Embden; after I had dined, I went there also, understanding her father desired to see me. In the afternoon John Claus and I walked through the city, to the place where the wagon was to meet us; and while we tarried for it, the Friends that were in the city came to the house where we were, and we had a little meeting. When the meeting was over, and the wagon did not come, we sent to find out the reason. The master of the wagon sent us word that he dared not let his wagon come; for the bishop of Munster's soldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horses. Being deprived of our transportation, we returned to John Claus' father-in-law's house, where I left him, and went to my inn for the night.

We took a ship the next day, and passed about fifteen miles upon the river Eems, to a market-town in East Friesland, called Leer, where there lived a Friend who had been banished from Embden. After we had visited him, we hired a wagon and passed to a garrison town called Strikehuysen, where the guards examined us. Then we went to Deterren, and there hiring another wagon, we passed to another garrison town, where we were very strictly examined. From there we passed to Apre, in the king of Denmark's country, where we lodged that night. In our traveling that day, we met the earl of Oldenburgh, going to the treaty of peace at Lembachie.

Next day we passed to Oldenburgh, lately a great and famous place, but at that time burnt down, with only a few houses left standing in it. At this place we hired another wagon, and went to Delmenhurst; where, after we had been examined by the guards, we went to a magistrate's to lodge, whose house was at an inn. Since there were many people there, I declared the way of truth to him and them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all evildoers.

We passed next day to Bremen, a stately city in Germany; and from there after a double examination, we went to a body of water called Overdeland, and there took a boat to Fisherholder; where finding a number of people together, I declared the way of God to them, and exhorted them, 'to fear the Lord.' There we took a wagon again, and traveled in the bishop of Munster's country, to Closter-Seven. Having no inclination to stay there, we got fresh horses, intending to travel all night. Accordingly we went a little way; but it quickly grew so dark, and rained so hard, that we thought it best to turn back again; for our wagon was open, and we had no defense against the rain, and our clothes were already wet with the rain that had fallen for several days before. So we went to an inn, and got a little fresh straw; upon which we lay until about break of day, then set out and traveled to the city of Buxtehude.

The people in the bishop of Munster's country were very dark. As we passed among them, I preached truth to them, warning them of the great and notable day of the Lord, exhorting them to soberness, and to mind the good spirit of God in themselves.

It was on a first-day that we went through Buxtehude; and outside the walls was a great fair of sheep and geese that day. We stayed a little to refresh ourselves, and went on as fast as we could to Hamburg, partly by wagon, and partly by water.

We got to Hamburg in time to have a meeting there that evening. A good and glorious meeting it was. There were, among others, a Baptist teacher and his wife, and a great man of Sweden with his wife; and all was quiet, blessed be the Lord, whose power was exalted over all! Yet a hard, dark place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth.

At Hamburg was a woman who had spoken against me in John Perrot's time, though she had never seen me until now. She had been troubled for it ever since and now was glad of an opportunity to acknowledge her fault; which she very readily did, and I as readily and freely forgave her.

We stayed that night at Hamburg, encouraging and strengthening the Friends there in their testimony to the truth; and sometime next morning we set off towards Frederickstadt, which is two long day's journey from Hamburg. We went the first-day to Elmshoorn, where we waited and then rode through a garrison-town of the king of Denmark's; and passing by the monument of the earl of Rantzow, came to the city of Itzeho, where we lodged that night. I had some service in the evening among the people at the inn, whom I exhorted to soberness and to live in the fear of the Lord. Next morning we traveled to Hoghenhofn, where we dined at an inn with one of the council of Frederickstadt; to whom and to the rest of the people present, I declared the truth, with which they seemed to be affected. Then traveling on, we came to a river called Eyder, where we took boat and went to Frederickstadt. We went to William Paul's, where several Friends came to see us, for there is a large company of Friends in that city. We had a fine refreshing meeting together that evening, which made us forget our weariness; for we were indeed very weary, having traveled hard those two days, and were wet through our clothes, having had much rain in our open wagons. But the Lord made all easy and good to us; and we were well and glad to see Friends; blessed be his holy name forever!

This city is in the duke of Holstein's country, who would have banished Friends out of the city and country, and sent to the magistrates of the city to do it; but they said, they would lay down their offices rather than do it; since they came to that city to enjoy the liberty of their consciences. Friends still enjoy their liberty there; and truth and Friends have a good reputation among the people, both in city and country.

On first-day I had a meeting here, to which many people came along with some with rough spirits; but the power of the Lord bound them down, and the seed of life was set over all. While I was here, I had a discourse with a Levite concerning the coming of the Messiah; and he was much deceived in what he said; yet he carried himself lovingly and invited me to his house. I went and there discussed with a Jew, who showed me their Talmud, and many other Jewish books; but they are very dark and do not understand their own prophets.

There was in this city a Baptist teacher, who had reproached and mimicked Friends. Jahn Claus went with two Friends of the town to the house where he lodged, cleared truth and Friends from his reproaches, and charged his lies and slanders upon his own head to his shame.

Before we left this place, I had another meeting with Friends only, where I told them about the usefulness of a Monthly Meeting, for looking after the poor and taking care that marriages; and all other things relating to the church were performed in an orderly manner. This answered the witness of God in their consciences, so they readily agreed to have Monthly Meetings from then on among themselves, so that both men and women might take care of the outward concerns of the church.

Feeling my spirit clear of that place, we took leave of Friends, whom we left in good order, and turned back far Hamburg. When we had traveled one day's journey and came to an inn at night to lodge, I inquired whether there were any tender people in the town that feared God or that had a mind to discuss the things of God? The innkeeper told me that there were few such people in that town. The next night we got to Hamburg; and having passed the guards, we went to a Friend's house because we were very weary; for we had been up the previous two mornings before the third hour, and had traveled each day hard and late. Here we met with John Hill, an English Friend, who had been traveling in Germany; and being on a ship bound for Amsterdam, which waited for a favorable wind, he had been sick on board for about two weeks. Now, hearing that I was in the country, he got off the ship and came here to meet me and to go along with me.

We had a very good meeting here, and it was very peaceful. After which I had a discussion with a Swede, an eminent man in his own country; who having been banished from there because of his religion, had come to Hamburg, and was at the meeting I had there previously. When I had finished talking with him, I had another discussion with a Baptist concerning the so called sacraments; in both cases I had good service, having an opportunity to open truth to them.

Being clear of Hamburg, we took leave of Friends there, who we left well; and taking John Hill with us, we passed by boat to a city in the duke of Lunenburgh's country. Here, after we were examined by the guards, we were taken to the main guard and there examined more strictly; but when they found we were not soldiers, they were civil to us and let us pass. In the afternoon we traveled by wagon; and since the waters were high, (because of the great rains that had fallen), when it drew towards night, we hired a boy to guide us through a great water. When we came to it, the water was so deep that before we could cross the bridge, the wagon driver decided to wade, and I drove the wagon. When we came upon the bridge, the horses broke part of it down, and one of them fell into the water; the wagon remained standing upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken. It was the Lord's mercy to us that the wagon did not fall into the water. When they had gotten the horse out, he lay awhile as if he were dead; but at length they got him up, hitched him to the wagon again, laid the planks right, and then, through the goodness of the Lord to us, we got safely over.

After this we came to another stream; and since it was very deep, and it was night, we hired two men to help us through. These men put ropes on the wagon to haul it by, so that the force of the water would not drive it out of the way. But when we came into it, the stream was so strong that it swept one of the horses off his legs and was carrying him down the stream. When I saw this, I called to the wagon driver to pull the horse to him by his reins, which he did, and the horse recovered his legs; and with much difficulty we got over the bridge, and went to Bormerhaven, the town where the wagon driver lived. It was the last day of the sixth month that we escaped these dangers, and being about the eleventh hour in the night when we came in there, we got some fresh straw and lay upon it until about four in the morning. Then getting up, we set forward again towards Bremen, going part of the way by wagon and part by boat. On the way I had good opportunities to declare the truth, especially at a market town where we stayed to change our passage. There I declared the truth to the people, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh; and exhorting them to righteousness, telling them, 'that God had come to teach his people himself,' and that they should turn to the Lord, and hearken to the teachings of his spirit in their own hearts.

At Bremen we were examined, and afterward went to an inn, and stayed until another wagon was provided to carry us further. Though I felt the Lord's power was over the city, which kept the wicked and unruly spirits down, my spirit suffered much in this place for the people's sake. When our wagon was ready, we left Bremen. We traveled to Keby, where we lodged at an inn, and early the next morning we set out for Oldenburgh. It was a lamentable sight to see such a great and brave a city burnt down. We went to an inn, and though it was first-day, the soldiers were drinking and playing at shovel-board; and at those few houses that were left, the shops were open, and the people were trading one with another. I was moved to declare the truth among them and warn them of the judgments of God, and though they heard me quietly and were civil towards me, I was burdened with their wickedness. Many times in the morning, and at noon, and nights at the inns, and on the way as I traveled; I spoke to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and spirit of God in themselves, that by that they might be led out of evil.

Next day, passing through many great waters, we came to Leer. The next day we came to Embden, where John Claus' wife's father lived. When we first went into Germany, we had left a young man who wrote for me and had been traveling with me at his house because he was sick, whom we now found pretty well recovered. John Claus went to his father-in-law's. John Hill and I went to an inn where we dined. After dinner we went also to John Claus' father's, and had a good meeting there in the evening.

The following day we took a ship at Embden and passed to Delfziel, where we went to an inn. A Friend came to see us who then lived in Delfziel and was often banished from Embden. He was a goldsmith by trade, and had a house and shop in Embden, and even though they banished him he went back again. Then they imprisoned him, fed him with bread and water, and at length took his goods from him and banished him along with his wife and children, leaving them neither a place to come to, nor anything to live on. We comforted and encouraged him in the Lord, exhorting him to be faithful, and stand steadfast in the testimony committed to him. When we had taken leave of him, we passed the same day to Groningen, where we met with Cornelius Andries, a Friend that had also suffered much by imprisonment and banishment at Embden. We went with him to his house, and the next day we had a good meeting in that city, to which several professors came, who were very peaceable and attentive. After the meeting we passed by boat to Strobuis, and Dockum, where we lodged that night at an inn. Taking a boat again the next morning, we passed to Leuwarden, the chief city of Friesland, where I found my daughter Yeomans, who had come from Amsterdam to meet me. That day we had a precious meeting at Sybrand Doves' house. After the meeting I had a discussion with some who were at the meeting, who had formerly been convinced of truth, but had not come into obedience to it. We stayed there that night; but John Hill left us, and went that day to Harlingen, and so to Amsterdam.

The next day we passed down the river to the lake of Hempten-Sarmer, and so by lake Lugmer, and to a town called Anderigo; from where sailing through lake Whispool, we came to Gardick by nightfall. We lodged at an inn; and the next day being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, which was very large with many of the town's people coming to it. I declared the truth in the power of the Lord that was upon me, which tendered the people; and they were very sober. After the meeting we stayed to

refresh ourselves, and continued on by boat again; but the people observing us, gathered together at a bridge we were to pass; and there I declared the way of life and salvation to them, and they were very attentive and civil.

We went back that evening twenty-seven miles to Leuwarden; but before we could reach it, the gates were shut and the bridges drawn up, so that we could not get into the city and were forced to lie in the boat all night. A man had been killed in the city that night, so it was late before the gates were opened. When we could get in, we went to a Friend's house, where we stayed awhile; then taking a boat, we passed through Franeker to Harlingen to Hassel Jacobs', where we found several Dutch Friends had come to be at the meeting there the next day. William Penn, returning two or three days before from Germany, had been at a large meeting at Amsterdam on first-day; and after the meeting, understanding I was at Harlingen, came there to be with me.

Next day was the Monthly Meeting for men and women, which we attended. It was a large and good meeting. And there it was agreed that 'a meeting should be held there once a month, both for the men and for the women, to take care of the outward concerns of the church.'

In the afternoon we had a public meeting, to which came people of several sorts: Socinians, Baptists, Lutherans, etc., among whom was a physician and a priest. I declared the truth pretty largely, opening the happy state that man and woman were in while they kept under God's teaching and lived in paradise; and the woe and misery that came upon them when they went from God's teaching, listened to the serpent's teachings, transgressed God's command, and were driven out of the paradise of God; and set forth the way that man and woman might come into that happy state again. The priest, an ancient grave man, stood up just as I had finished speaking and putting off his hat, said, 'I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing against it.' He would willingly have stayed until the meeting had been ended, but since he was to preach that evening, he could not stay any longer, because it was time for his own worship. Therefore, when he had made confession of the truth, he hurried away so that he might come again; and it seems he did come to the meeting-place, but the meeting had ended. After this we went to Hassel Jacobs' where I had a meeting with Friends, and the physician came there to discuss with William Penn, who had a good opportunity to open truth to him. By this doctor, the priest sent his love to me; wishing him to tell me that he had stopped his preaching that evening half an hour earlier than he usually did so that he might come to our meeting again to hear more of that good doctrine. I heard afterwards that his congregation questioned him about what he had said in our meeting; and that since he stood by his words, they had complained of him for it to the other priests of the city, who called him to account about it; but the result I could not learn.

Early next morning William Penn, taking John Clause with him, passed from Harlingen for Leuwarden, where he had appointed a meeting, intending to travel into some other parts of Germany to visit a tender people there. I and those Friends that were with me took a ship the same day for Amsterdam, where we arrived a little after midnight; but the gates were shut, and so we stayed on board until morning. We then went to Gertrude Dirick Nieson's, and many Friends came to see us and were glad of our safe return. The next day I felt a concern upon my mind about those seducing spirits that made division among Friends; and I sensed that they tried to infuse themselves into the tender part of Friends. So I was moved to write a few lines to Friends concerning them as follows:

All those who increase themselves in the tender affections of the people; increase themselves and increase the tender affections of the people, but they do not increase Christ. But Friends, your peaceable habitation in the truth, which is everlasting and does not change, will outlast all the habitations of those who are out of the truth, although they may have many words. So those who are so keen for J. S. and J. W., let them have them and the separation; and you that have given your testimony against that spirit, stand in your testimony until they answer by their condemnation of their error. Do not strive with or make bargains with that spirit, which is out of the truth; nor save that from death, thinking to do so as a sacrifice for God, which instead should be slain, for to do so is to risk the loss of your kingdom.

Amsterdam, the 14th of the 7th month, 1677.

The next first-day, I was at a Friends' meeting at Amsterdam, to which many people came, and were very civil and attentive, hearing truth declared several hours. John Roeloffs interpreted for me.

Before this several of the Friends that came over with me returned to England again, (Robert Barclay, George Keith's wife, and others); and now my daughter Yeomans went back also; so that I was left alone in Amsterdam. While I was there, it came upon me to visit my suffering friends at Dantzick, with a few lines to encourage and strengthen them in their sufferings, as follows:

Dear Friends,

To whom is my love in the Lord's truth, that is over all, and by which all God's people are made free men and women, being set free from him who is out of the truth. That walking in the truth, they may answer the witness of God in all people; which truth all must come to if they are to be made free. Therefore be faithful to what the Lord shows you. I am glad the Lord has witnesses in that city, to stand for his glory and name and for Christ Jesus, the great prophet, whom God has raised up and who is to be heard in all things; so that you need none of the prophets which men have raised up. Therefore stand faithful to Christ Jesus, your shepherd, that he may feed you; hear his voice and follow him, who has laid down his life for you. But do not follow the shepherds and hirelings that are made by men, though they may be angry because you will not follow them to their dry and barren mountains. They have been and are the thieves, persecutors, and robbers, who climb up another way than by Christ. Set up Christ to be your counselor and leader, and then you will have no need of any of the counselors and leaders of the world; for Christ is sufficient, whom God has given you. Set up Christ Jesus to be your bishop and overseer, who is sufficient to oversee you, so that you do not go astray from God. By which you may see over all the hireling ministers made by men, who keep the people from leaving the rudiments, formalities, fashions, and customs of the world, which has been and is their work. I am glad that you have come to own Christ Jesus, your high priest, who is holy, harmless, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, as the church and the apostle did own him in their days, Heb. 7. Who is the high priest over the household of faith; which faith Christ Jesus is the author and finisher of; and this all the children of the new covenant witness, who walk in the new and living way. Therefore my desire is, that you may all be steadfast, (whether in prison or out), in the faith of Christ Jesus, which is the gift of God; by which faith the valiant overcame the devil and all their enemies; in which faith they had victory and access to God, and in that was their unity; which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience, hidden from the world. I do believe, that your imprisonments and sufferings in that place will be for good in the end (as it has been in other places), you standing faithful to the Lord, who is all sufficient. For your sufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worship, and make manifest what birth they are of; even that which persecutes him that is born of the spirit. For you know that there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; therefore it is time to leave them when there is no salvation by them or in any of them. Now Friends, I desire that you would make a list of the names of all those who are ruled by the king of Poland; where they live, and how you may send books and epistles to them, and keep a correspondence with them. Also get the name of the bishop or cardinal that I heard was with you; and if you can, get some who are connected to the king to come and visit the prisoners, so that they may inform the king of their cruel sufferings. Also I desire you to get as many books of mine as you can spare to distribute, which set forth your sufferings and the cruelty of the magistrates of Dantzick; and give them to the king, his council attendants, and bishops. And some of the women may speak to the queen, if they can, so that she may make known to the king their cruel sufferings; and especially some of the sufferers' wives, if there are any who have the ability to do it. You may likewise give his attendants any other Friends' books. Whatever books you need, send to Amsterdam for them, where you may be supplied with them, to answer every tender seeker, and enquiring mind after the Lord. So let all your minds be changed with the Lord's power, to spread his truth abroad; and where you hear of any, or have any correspondence in trading with any sober people, far or near, send them books, so that their understandings may be opened to the Lord. The Lord God Almighty preserve you! To his protection, in

his eternal power, do I commend you all, in bonds or at liberty, with my love to you in the everlasting seed of God, Christ Jesus, who bruises the head of the serpent, that makes you to suffer. Christ is over him, and will be when he is gone, who is first and last, over all, from everlasting to everlasting, in whom you have life, knowledge, wisdom, and salvation, and through him live to the praise and glory of God, who is blessed for evermore, Amen.

George Fox

Amsterdam, the 18th of the 7th month, 1677

English style

The next day, the fourth of the week and the nineteenth of the month, I had a large meeting at Amsterdam, many professors being at it, and truth was largely opened to them, in the demonstration of the heavenly power. The day following I went by boat, many Friends going with me, to Landsmeer in Waterland (a town in which, they say, there are more than a hundred bridges), where I had a very good meeting, to which several professors came. After the meeting I returned with Friends to Amsterdam again, where I stayed until the first-day following, and went to their meeting which was large. Many professors of several sorts were at it and heard the truth declared with great attention.

I stayed the next day, and the night following had a great exercise upon my spirit concerning that loose spirit that had run into strife and contention among Friends, and had drawn some after it into division and separation. The way, work, and end of this spirit the Lord opened to me; therefore, feeling the motion of life upon me, I got up in the morning and wrote the following epistle to Friends.

My Dear Friends,

Keep your first love in the truth, power, and seed of life in Christ Jesus; for last night as I was lying in bed in Amsterdam, I had a great exercise in the holy seed of life and peace, and my spirit was troubled with that spirit of strife and separation. I saw it was a destroying spirit, and it sought not only to get over the seed, but to destroy it; and by strife and contention to eat out the minds of the people not joined to it. And under pretence of standing for the ancient truth, its work is to root it out and destroy the revealing to the world of it, and to set itself up in the place of truth. It is a creeping spirit, seeking whom it can convince; and what it cannot do itself, it stirs up others to do, and gets their spirits puffed up, with dark wisdom to destroy the simple. This spirit is managed by the prince of the air, and leads some to do things they would have been ashamed to have done, as men; it unmans them, and they would not have allowed these things, if they had kept to the tender principle of God, which leads to peace. It is a despising, backbiting, secret whispering spirit, a creator of dissension; and it takes advantage of all prejudiced spirits that are disobedient to their first principle and love and truth, and leads into hatred. So it leads all into that spirit, whose work is to destroy both the good within themselves and the good order around them. It would, if it could, destroy the government of Christ and the order of the gospel, to set up its own will and spirit, which is not of God; and under pretense of dismantling the pride of man, is increasing pride, and gathering into a separation of disobedient men, who live in presumption above their conditions. This spirit neither lives in the truth nor its order, but opposes those who do. The spirit and its work that I see are beyond words, and its end will be beyond words. Therefore, Friends, I am to warn you all that have not lost your simplicity, do not to touch it, or to join in anything with it, for fear you will be defiled, lose your conditions of your eternal estate, and your everlasting portion; and that your inward man, which is after God, may be preserved, and Christ may reign in all your hearts. And those who are joined with these dissenters will find it very hard for them to ever come down to truth in themselves, and to see their own conditions, and to have that spirit of strife and contention (which eats as a canker) brought down in them; which is carnal, and slays the tender child, which was once begotten in themselves. The Philistine has gotten up in them that stops up the wells and springs, makes a great noise, and is building up men and pleading for them instead of Christ. So, Friends, strive not with them, but let those take them who build them up. Keep yourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ with his light that comes from him that he may be your Lord; and you in him may be all in unity, in one light, life, power, and dominion in Christ your head. The God of peace and power preserve you all in Christ Jesus your Savior, and out of and from that evil spirit which is idle and slothful in regard to the work of the power, spirit, and light of God and Christ. Its very act works strife and disturbance against the peace of the church of Christ. It thinks in its willfulness, stubbornness, and

unruliness to establish itself, and in that to have peace; but destruction will be the end of it; and it is sealed for the fire and eternal judgment. Therefore let Christ the seed be the head and crown of every one of you that nothing may be between you and the Lord God. Be not deceived with vain, insincere, or rough words; for satan is transforming himself as an angel of light to deceive; but God's foundation stands sure. And God knows who are his, and will preserve his upon the rock and foundation of life, in his peaceable truth and habitation; that in the same they may grow. Keep out of strife and contention with these people. After you have borne your testimony in the Lord's power and truth against this spirit, then keep in the truth; for this evil spirit has a life in contention, strife, and arguing, because it would enlarge its hell, and bring others into its misery with the airy power. It seeks to get power over the good and separate people from the good, and so commit rapes upon the simple by its subtlety. But I do believe the Lord will defend his people, though he may try and exercise those of his spirit for a time, as he has done in days past using other people; as he does of these now, (who seem to be fair from the outside, but are foul, rough, and rugged within), against the seed Christ; like the Pharisees tried to destroy Christ. Under a pretense of preaching Christ, they destroy and crucify him and kill the just, not only in themselves, but are trying with all their efforts to destroy him in others where he is born. Pharaoh and Herod killed the young Jews in the spirit of old; I feel it tearing at them. That spirit crowns itself to be king, without knowing the suffering of Joseph. But God will plague him, and the seed will have more rest, and be better entertained in Egypt than under Herod, (Jesus' parents fled to Egypt to escape Herod's infanticide), into whom old Pharaoh's spirit had entered. He that has an ear to hear let him hear, and an eye to see let him see how this spirit has transformed in all ages against the just and righteous; but mark what has been its end. The seed reigns; glory to the Lord God over all forever! His truth spreads, and Friends here are in unity and peace, and of good report, answering the good or that of God in people. My desires are, that all God's people may do the same in all places, that the Lord may be glorified in their producing much fruit that is heavenly and spiritual. Amen.

George Fox

Amsterdam, the 25th of the 7th month, 1677.

After I had written this letter, which eased my spirit, in some measure, of the weight that lay upon it, I went in the afternoon to the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Amsterdam; where the Lord was present with us, and refreshed our spirits together in himself.

I had thought to go the next day to Harlem; but there was a fast appointed to be kept that day, and I was stopped in my spirit and moved to stay at Friends' meeting at Amsterdam. We had a very large meeting, a great assembly of people coming to it, and among them were many great persons. The Lord's power was over the meeting and in the openings I was moved to declare to the people 'that no man by all his wit and study, nor by reading history in his own will, could declare or know the generation of Christ, who was not begotten by the will of man, but by the will of God.' After I had largely opened this, I showed them the difference between the true fast and the false; showing that the professed christians, Jews, and Turks, were out of the true fast; and they fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, with which they were striking one another; but they did not lift up pure hands to God. And though they seemed to men to fast, and hung down their heads for a day (like a bulrush), yet that was not the fast which God accepted. But in that state all their bones were dry, and when they called upon the Lord he did not answer them, neither did their health grow; for they kept their own fast, and not the Lord's. I exhorted them to keep the Lord's fast, which was to fast from sin and iniquity, strife and debate, violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil. These things were explained to the astonishment of the listeners, and the meeting ended peaceably and well.

I went to Harlem the following day, having before arranged a meeting. Peter Hendricks and Gertrude Dirick Nieson went with me, and a blessed meeting we had. There were professors of several sorts, and a priest of the Lutherans, who sat very attentive for several hours while I declared the truth, Gertrude interpreting. When the meeting was over, the priest said, 'He had heard nothing but what was according to the word of God, and desired the blessing of the Lord might rest upon us and our assemblies.' Others also confessed to the truth, saying, 'They had never heard things so plainly opened to their understanding before.'

We stayed that night at Harlem at a Friend's house, whose name was Dirick Klassen; and returning next day to Amsterdam, went to Gertrude's house. We had not been there long, before a priest of great reputation, (who had formerly been priest to the emperor of Germany), and another German priest, came, desiring to have some conference with me. I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth, opening to them how they might come to know God and Christ and his law and gospel; and showing them that they could never know it by study or philosophy, but by divine revelation through the spirit of God, opening to them in the stillness of their minds. The men were tender, and went away well satisfied.

The first-day following, I was at a Friends' meeting at Amsterdam, where, among several sorts of professors, was a doctor of Poland, who for his religion was banished from the place he lived, and being affected with the testimony of truth in the meeting, he came afterwards to have some discussion with me. After we had been together some time and I had opened things further to him, he went away very tender and loving.

While I was at Amsterdam, I spent much of my time writing books, papers, or epistles on truth's behalf. I wrote several epistles from Amsterdam to Friends in England and elsewhere as the Lord moved me by his spirit to do. I wrote also from there, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Oldenburgh, which had lately burned down;' also, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Hamburg.' I wrote also an epistle to the ambassadors that were making treaty about a peace at Nimeguen. I also wrote to the magistrates and priests of Embden, showing them their unchristian practices in persecuting Friends. I wrote several other books there in answer to priests and others of Hamburg, Dantzick, and other places, to clear the truth and Friends from their false charges and slanders.

After some time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amsterdam and had a dispute with one Galenus Abrahams, (one of the most noted Baptists in Holland), at which many professors were present. They did not have time to finish the dispute then, and so they met again two days later; and the Baptist was much confounded and defeated, and truth gained ground. Between these two disputes we had a very great meeting at the Friends' meeting place, to which many hundreds of people came; some of high rank in the world's opinion. An earl, a lord, and various other eminent persons were present, who all behaved themselves very civilly. But, when the meeting ended, some priests began to make opposition. When William Penn understood, he stood up again, and answered them to the great satisfaction of the people, who were much affected with the several testimonies they had heard. After the meeting several of them came to Gertrude's, where we were staying, and George Keith had a discussion in Latin with them.

Having now finished our service at Amsterdam, we said goodbye to Friends there and passed by wagon to Leyden, about twenty-five miles distant; where we stayed a day or two, seeking out and visiting some tender people who we had heard of there. We met with a German, who was partly convinced. He informed us of an eminent man who was enquiring after truth. Some sought him out and visited him, and found him a serious man. I also spoke to him and he owned the truth. William Penn and Benjamin Furly went to visit another great man who lived a little out of Leyden, who had been general to the king of Denmark's forces. He and his wife were very loving to them and heard the truth with joy.

From Leyden we went to the Hague, where the prince of Orange kept his court; and visited one of the judges of Holland with whom we had much discussion. He was a wise tender man, and put many objections and queries to us, which when we had answered, he was satisfied, and parted with us in much love. Leaving the Hague, we went to Delft, and from there that night to Rotterdam, where we stayed several days, and had several meetings. While I was here, I wrote a book for the Jews, with whom I had desired to have some discussion when I was in Amsterdam; but they would not. Here I also reviewed several other books and papers which I had written before and were now transcribed.

Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we said goodbye to Friends in Rotterdam and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day in the packet

boat for England. Several Friends from Rotterdam accompanied us along with some from Amsterdam, who had come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet boat was not coming in until night, so we were forced to lodge at the Briel. The next day, the one-and-twentieth of the eighth month, and the first-day of the week, we went on board and set sail about the tenth hour; the party traveling included William Penn, George Keith and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children.

There were about sixty passengers in all, and we had a long and hazardous passage; for the winds were opposing us, and the weather was stormy. The boat was also very leaky, so that we were forced to have two pumps continually running day and night, and it was estimated that we pumped twice as much water out as the vessel could have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease and the raging waves of the sea to be calm, yes, to raise them and stop them at his pleasure, he alone did preserve us; praised be his name for ever! Though our passage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good service for truth on board among the passengers, some of whom were great folks and were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich the twenty-third of the eighth month at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea. Next morning William Penn and George Keith rode horses to Colchester; but I stayed, and had a meeting at Harwich. There was no coach to Colchester available. The post-master's wife was unreasonable in her price to hire a coach, and renegeed on her agreement after we had hired it; so we went to a Friend's house about a mile and a half in the country, and hired his wagon, which we bedded well with straw and rode in it to Colchester.

I stayed in Colchester until first-day, having a desire to be at the Friends' meeting there that day; and a very large and weighty meeting it was; for Friends hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from several parts of the country; and many of the town's people came also. It was thought there were about a thousand people at the meeting, and all was peaceful. Having stayed a day or two longer at Colchester, I traveled through Essex, visiting Friends at Halsted, Braintree, Felsted, and Saling, and having meetings with them. At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening. There were many Friends who were prisoners; they got liberty, and came to the meeting, and we were well refreshed together in the Lord. Next day, the ninth of the ninth month, I got to London, where Friends received me with great joy; and the on the first-day went to Gracechurch-street meeting, where the Lord visited us with his refreshing presence, and the glory of the Lord surrounded the meeting, praised be the Lord!



After I had been a little while in London, I wrote the following letter to my wife:

Dear Heart,

To whom is my love, and to the children, and to all the rest of Friends in the Lord's truth, power, and seed, that is over all; glory to the Lord, and blessed be his name forever beyond all words! He who has carried me through and over many trials and dangers in his eternal power! I have been twice at Gracechurch-street meeting; and though opposite spirits were there, yet all was quiet; the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of the Lord shined over all. Every day I am pleased to be at meetings about business, and sufferings, which are great abroad; and now many Friends are concerned with the many suffering: so in haste, with my love to you all.

George Fox

London, the 24th of the 9th month, 1677

About this time I received letters from New England, which gave account of the magistrates' and rulers' cruel and unchristian proceeding against Friends there, whipping and abusing them very shamefully; for they whipped many women Friends. One woman was stripped her to the waist, tied to a cart, and drug along the street. They even whipped some masters of ships that were not Friends just because they had transported Friends there. At that same time, while they were persecuting Friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians slew sixty of their men, captured one of their captains, and scalped the skin off his head while he was alive, and carried the scalp away in triumph; so that the sober people said, "the judgments of God came upon them for persecuting the Quakers;" but the blind, dark priests said, "it was because they did not persecute them enough." I had great exercise (of prayer) here in seeking relief for poor suffering Friends there that they might not lie under the rod of the wicked.

Upon this and other services for truth I stayed in London four to five weeks, visiting meetings and helping and encouraging Friends to labor for the deliverance of their suffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards I went to Kingston, and visited Friends there and in the area. While staying a little while among Friends there, I reviewed a book that was then ready to go to the press. I went into Buckinghamshire visiting Friends; we had several meetings among them at Amersham, Hungerhill, Jordans, Hedgerly, Wickham, and Turvil-heath. In some of meetings were those that had gone out from the unity of Friends in truth, into strife, opposition, and division; they were very unruly and troublesome, particularly at the men's meeting at Thomas Ellwood's in Hungerhill. The leader of these came from Wickham, endeavoring to make disturbance and to hinder Friends from proceeding in the business of the meeting. When I saw their design, I admonished them to be sober and quiet and not trouble the meeting by interrupting the service of it; but rather, if they were dissatisfied with Friends' proceedings, and had any thing to object, let a meeting be appointed some other day to address their objections. So Friends offered to give them a meeting another day; which after long discussion was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's the week following. Accordingly Friends met them there, and the meeting was in the barn because so many came that the house could not hold them. After we had sat (in silence waiting on the Lord's presence and power) awhile, they began their arguing. Most

of their arrows were shot at me; but the Lord was with me and gave me strength in his power to cast back their darts of envy and falsehood upon themselves. Their objections were answered; things were opened to the people; and it was a good opportunity and serviceable to the truth; many who before had been weak, were now strengthened and confirmed; some that were doubting and wavering were satisfied and settled; and faithful Friends were refreshed and comforted in the springing of life among us; for the power rose, and life sprung, and as it arose, many living testimonies were born against that wicked, dividing, rending spirit, which those in opposition were joined to and acted by; and the meeting ended to the satisfaction of Friends. That night I lodged with other Friends at Thomas Ellwood's; and the same week I had a meeting again with the opposition at Wickham, where they again showed their envy and were thus revealed to the upright in heart.

After I had visited Friends in that upper side of Buckinghamshire, I called at Henley in Oxfordshire and went by Causham to Reading, where I was at meeting on first-day; and in the evening I had a large meeting with Friends. There was another meeting the next day about settling a women's meeting; some of those that had let in the spirit of division fell into arguing and were disorderly for awhile until the weight of truth brought them down. After this I passed on visiting Friends and having meetings in several places through Berkshire and Wiltshire until I came to Bristol, which was on the 24th day of the 11th month, just before the fair.

I stayed at Bristol during the fair and for sometime after. We had many sweet and precious meetings; many Friends were in Bristol from several parts of the nation, some on account of trade and some in the service of truth. Friends that lived faithful in the truth showed great love and unity, though some were gone out of the holy unity and were run into strife, division, and enmity; such were rude and abusive and behaved themselves in a very unchristian manner towards me. But the Lord's power was over all. His power preserved me in the heavenly patience, which can bear injuries for his name's sake; so I felt dominion within it over the rough, rude, and unruly spirits; and left them to the Lord, who knew my innocence and would plead my cause. The more these labored to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of Friends, who were sincere and upright-hearted, abound towards me. And some that had been betrayed by the adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behavior, broke off from their division; those who ceased the division have cause to bless the Lord for their deliverance.

When I left Bristol, I went with Richard Snead to a house of his in the country, and from there to Hezekiah Coale's at Winterburn in Gloucestershire. Several Friends that were under very great sufferings for truth's sake came there. I had invited these Friends to meet me there. Stephen Smith, Richard Snead, and I drew up a brief of their sufferings, setting forth the illegal proceedings against them. This brief was delivered to the judges at the assizes at Gloucester, and they promised to put a stop to those illegal proceedings. Next day we passed to Sudbury and had a large meeting in the meeting-house, which at that time was of very good service. We went next day to Nathaniel Crips' of Tedbury and from there to Nailsworth; there on first-day we had a large and magnificent meeting. From there we went to the Quarterly Meeting at Finchcomb, where were several of the opposite spirit, who (it was thought), intended to disturb the meeting among Friends; but the Lord's power was over all and kept them down, and we had good service for the Lord at that meeting. We returned from Finchcomb to Nailsworth and had another very precious meeting there, to which Friends came from the several meetings in the area, making it very large also.

We went from Nailsworth the first on 1st day of the first month, 1677, and traveled, visiting Friends, and having many meetings at Currencies, Crown-All ins, Helena, Stoke-Orchard, Treasury, and others. We went to Worcester where I had formerly suffered imprisonment over a year for the truth's sake, and Friends rejoiced greatly to see me there again. I stayed there several days and had many very precious meetings in the city and much service among Friends. After which I had meetings at Per shore and Eve sham; next going to Draggel, and Warlocks to visit the lady Conway who I understood was very hopeful of seeing me. I found her very tender and loving, and she wanted me to stay longer than I had freedom to do. About two miles from there I had two meetings at a Friend's house named was John Stanley. William Dews bury came here and stayed with me about half a day. I visited Friends in their meetings at Stratford, Lam coat, and Arm scott, (from where I was sent prisoner to Worcester in the year 1673), and there passed into Oxfordshire, visiting Friends, and having meetings at Sibbard,

North-Newton, Banbury, Adderbury. Then visiting Friends through Buckinghamshire, at Long-Crendon, Ilmer, Mendle, Weston, Cholsberry, Chesham, I came to Isaac Pennington's, where I stayed a few days. I then turned into Hertfordshire, visiting and holding meetings with Friends at Charlewood, Watford, Hempstead, and Market-street. In the morning I went from Market-street to Luton, in Bedfordshire to see John Crook, with whom I spent a good part of the day; and then towards evening I went to Alban's, where I stayed at an inn that night. After visiting Friends and holding meetings at South-Mims, Barnet, and Hendon, I came to London the eighth of the third month. It being the fourth-day, I went to Gracechurch-street meeting, which was peaceable and well; many Friends, not knowing I had come to town, were very joyful to see me there, and the Lord was present with us, refreshing us with his living virtue; blessed be his holy name!

The parliament was in session when I came to town; and Friends having laid their sufferings before them, were waiting on them for relief against the laws made against catholic recusants (those who refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of the king), which they knew we were not; though some malicious magistrates took advantage to prosecute us in several parts of the nation upon those statutes. When I arrived, I joined Friends who were attending that service. There was some probability that something might be obtained towards Friends' ease and relief in that case because many of the parliament members believed that we were maligned by our adversaries and they were very tender and loving towards us. But one morning when I went with George Whitehead to the parliament-house to attend them on Friends' behalf, the laws had been suddenly published, though they lasted only a short time.

About two weeks after I came to London, the Yearly Meeting began; to which Friends came out of most parts of the nation, and we had a glorious heavenly meeting. Oh the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom and unity, that was among us! The power reigned over all, and many testimonies were borne in the meeting against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions among the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened among us in its defense, or on its behalf. Good and pleasing reports also we had, for the most part, from Friends in other countries; of which I find a brief account in a letter which soon after I wrote to my wife, a copy of which follows:

Dear Heart,

To whom is my love in the everlasting seed of life, that reigns over all. Great meetings have occurred here and the Lord's power has been stirring through all, the like or which has not been before. The Lord has in his power knit Friends wonderfully together, and his glorious presence did appear among Friends. And now the meetings are over (blessed be the Lord!) in quietness and peace. From Holland I hear that things are well there. Some Friends have gone over there to be at the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished have returned to the city again. At Dantzic, Friends are in prison and the magistrates has threatened them with harder imprisonment; but the next day the Lutherans rose, and defaced and pulled down the catholic monastery, so they have work enough to keep order among themselves. The king of Poland received and read my letter, and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. I hear that Ireland's Friends are all in love there by letters from their Half-yearly Meeting. At Barbados Friends are quiet, and their meetings are settled in peace. Antigua and Nevis also report that truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New-England and other places things concerning truth and Friends are well. In those places the men's and women's meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord! So keep in God's power and seed that is over all and in whom you all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all, in his glory, and in his kingdom; glory to his name forever. Amen!

So in haste, with my love to you all and to all Friends.

George Fox

London, the 26th of the 3d month, 1678.

To Johannes III king of Poland,

O KING ! We desire your prosperity both in this life and that which is to come. And we desire that we may have our christian liberty to serve and worship God under your dominion; for our principle leads us not to do anything prejudicial to the king or his people. We are a people that exercise a good conscience towards God through his holy spirit, and in it do serve, worship, and honor him; and towards men in the things that are equal and just, doing to them as we would have them do unto us; looking unto Jesus, who is the author and finisher of our faith; which faith purifies our hearts, and brings us to have access to God; without which we cannot please him; by which faith all the just live, as the scripture declares. That which we desire of you, O king, is that we may have the liberty of our consciences to serve and worship God; and to pray unto him in our meetings together in the name of Jesus, as he commands; with a promise that he will be in the midst of them who meet. The king, we hope, cannot but say that this duty and service is due to God and Christ; and we give Caesar his due, and pay our tribute and custom equal to our neighbor according to our just share. We have never read in all the scriptures of the New Testament that Christ or his disciples ever banished or imprisoned any that were not of their faith or religion, or would not listen to their pleas, or gave any such command; but, on the contrary, let the weeds and the wheat grow together until the harvest, which harvest is the end of the world. Then Christ will send his angels to sever the wheat from the weeds. He rebuked such as would have had fire from heaven to consume those that would not receive Christ; and told them they did not know of what spirit they were; he said he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

We desire the king to consider how much persecution has been in Christendom, since the apostles' days, concerning religion. Christ said, "They should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison;" then what will become of them that imprison him in his members, where he is revealed? None can say the world is ended; therefore how will Christendom answer the dreadful and terrible God at his day of judgment, that have persecuted one another about religion before the end of the world, under a pretense of pulling up weeds; which is not their work, but the angels' at the end of the world! Christ commands men to love one another, and to love enemies; and by this they should be known to be his disciples. Oh that all Christendom had lived in peace and unity, that they might by their moderation have judged both Turks and Jews; and let all have their liberty, that own (to acknowledge) God and Christ Jesus, and walk as becomes the glorious gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Our desires are, that the Lord God of heaven may soften the king's heart to all tender consciences that fear the Lord, and are afraid of disobeying him.

We entreat the king to read some of the noble expressions of several kings, and others, concerning liberty of conscience; and especially Stephanus king of Poland's sayings, viz. "It belongs not to me to reform the consciences; I have always gladly given that over to God which belongs to him; and so shall I do now, and also for the future. I will suffer the weeds to grow until the time of harvest, for I know that the number of believers are but small: therefore, "said he, when some were proceeding in persecution, "I am king of the people, not of their consciences." He also affirmed, that "religion was not to be planted with fire and sword." Chron. Liberty of Religion, Part 2.

Also a book wrote in French by W. M. anno 1576, has this sentence, viz. "Those princes that have ruled by gentleness and clemency added to justice, and have exercised moderation and meekness towards their subjects, always prospered and reigned long; but, on the contrary; those princes that have been cruel, unjust, prejudiced, and oppressors of their "subjects, have soon fallen, they and their estates, into danger or total ruin."

Veritus said, "Seeing Christ is a Lamb, whom you profess to be your head and captain, then it requires you to be sheep, and to use the same weapons which he made use of. For he is a shepard of sheep is not a shepherd of wolves and wild beasts. If you lose the nature of sheep," said he, "and be changed into wolves and wild beasts, and use fleshly weapons, then will you exclude yourselves out of his calling,

and forsake his banner; and then will not he be your captain."

Also we find it asserted by King James, in his speech to the parliament, in the year 1609, "That it is a pure rule in divinity, that God never planted his church with violence or blood." And further he said, "It was usually the condition of christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute."

King Charles, in his book, page 61, said in his prayer to God, "You sees how much cruelty among christians is acted under the color of religion; as if we could not be christians unless we crucified one another."

Page 28. "Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent nor injurious can be religious."

Page 70. "Nor is it so proper to hew out religious reformation by the sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputes, among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force but reason must convince."

Page 66. "Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities in religion devour not at all."

Pag. 91, 92. "In point of true conscientious tenderness I have so often declared, how little I desire my laws and scepter should entrench on God's sovereignty, who is the only king of conscience."

Pag. 123. "Nor do I desire any man should be further subject unto me, than all of us may be subject unto God."

Page 200. "O you Sovereign of our souls, the only commander of our consciences !"

Page 346. (In his Meditations on Death), "It is indeed a sad estate, to have his enemies to be his accusers, parties, and judges."

"The prince of Orange testified, Anno 1579, "That it was impossible the land should be kept in peace, except there was a free toleration in the of the exercise of religion."

Where have you read in your day (said Menno) in the writings of the apostles, that Christ or the apostles ever cried out to the magistrates for their power against them that would not hear their doctrine, nor obey their words? I know certainly (said he) that where a magistrate shall banish with the sword, there is not the right knowledge, spiritual word, nor church of Christ; it is, invocare brachium seculare (to invoke the secular arm.)"

"It is not christian-like, but tyrannical (said D. Philipson) to banish and persecute people, about faith and religion; and they that do so are certainly of the Pharisaical generation, who resisted the holy ghost."

Erasmus said, "Though they take our monies and goods, they cannot therefore hurt our salvation; they afflict us much with prisons, but they do not thereby separate us from God." - *In de Krydges wrede*, fol. 63.

Lucernus said, " He that commands anything with which he binds the conscience, this is an antichrist." - *In de Bemise Disp.* fol. 71.

Irenreus affirmed, "That all forcing of conscience, though it was but a forbidding of the exercise which is esteemed by one or another to be necessary to salvation, is in no wise right nor fitting." He also affirmed, "That through the diversity of religions the kingdom should not be brought into any disturbance."

Constantine the emperor said, "It was enough that he preserved the unity of the faith, that he might be excusable before the judgment-seat of God; and that he would leave everyone to his own understanding, according to the account he will give before the judgment-seat of Christ. Hereto may we stir up people, (said he) not compel them; beseech them to come into the unity of the christians, but to do violence to them, we will not in anywise."-*Sebast. Frank. chron.* fol. 127.

Augustine said, "Some disturbed the peace of the church, while they went about to root out the weeds before their time; and through this error of blindness are they themselves separated so much the more from being united unto Christ."

Retnaldus testified, "That he, who with imprisoning and persecuting seeks to spread the gospel, and greases his hands with blood, shall much rather be looked upon for a wild hunter, than a preacher or a defender of the christian religion."

"I have for a long season determined (said Henry IV, King of France), in his speech to the parliament, 1599), to reform the church, which without peace I cannot do; and it is impossible to reform or convert people by violence. I am king, as a shepherd, and will not shed the blood of my sheep; but will gather them through the mildness and goodness of a king, and not through the power of tyranny: and I will give them that are of the reformed religion, right liberty to live and dwell free, without being examined, perplexed, molested, or compelled to anything contrary to their consciences; for they shall have the free exercise of their religion," &c. [*Vid. ekron. Van de Undergo 2 deel, p. 1514.*]

Ennius said, "Wisdom is driven out, when the matter is acted by force. And therefore the best of men, and most glorious of princes, were always ready to give toleration."

Eusebius, in his second book of the life of Constantine, reports these words of the emperor: "Let them which err with joy receive the like fruition of peace and quietness with the faithful, this the restoring of communication and society may bring them into the right way of truth; let none give molestation to any; let everyone do as he determines in his mind. And indeed there is great reason for princes to give toleration to disagreeing persons, whose opinions cannot by fair means be altered; for if the persons be confident, they will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be publicly prohibited, they will privately convene; and then all those inconveniences and injuries, which are arguments against the permission of dissenter meetings, are arguments for the public permission of differing religions, they being restrained and made resentful, endears the discontented persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations."

The like council in the divisions of Germany, at the first reformation, was thought reasonable by the emperor Ferdinand and his excellent son Maximilian; for they had observed, that violence did exasperate, was not blessed, unsuccessful, and unreasonable; and therefore they made decrees of toleration."

The duke of Savoy, repenting of his war undertaken for religion against the Piedmontese, promised them toleration; and was as good as his word.

It is remarkable, that until the time of Justinian the emperor, Anno Domini 525, "the Catholics and Novatians had churches indifferently permitted, even in Rome itself."

"And Paul preached the kingdom of God, teaching those things which concerned the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, and no man restricted him; and this he did for the space of two years in his own hired house at Rome, and received all that came to him."

Now, O king, seeing these noble testimonies concerning liberty of conscience of kings, emperors, and others, and the liberty that Paul had at Rome in the days of the heathen emperor, our desire is, that we

may have the same liberty at Dantzig to meet together in our own hired houses, which cannot be any prejudice either to the king or the city of Dantzig; for us to meet together to wait upon the Lord, and pray unto him, and to serve and worship him in spirit and truth in our own hired houses, seeing our principle leads us to hurt no man, but to love our enemies, and to pray for them, yes, even them that persecute us. Therefore, O king, consider, and the city of Dantzig, would you not think it hard for others to force you from your religion to another, contrary to your consciences? And if it be so, that you would think it hard to you, then "do unto others as you would have them do unto you," don't do unto others that you would not have men do unto you; for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And so in love to your immortal soul, and for your eternal good this is written.

George Fox

Postscript

"Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." And remember, O king, Justin Martyr's two apologies to the Roman emperors, in the defense of the persecuted christians, and that notable apology which was written by Tertullian upon the same subject; which are not only for the christian religion, but against all persecution for religion.'

'ear Peter Hendricks, John Claus, J. Rawlins, and all the rest of Friends in Amsterdam Friesland, and Rotterdam, to whom is my love in the seed of life that is over all:

I received your letter, with a letter from Dantzig; I have written something directed to you addressed to the king of Poland which you may translate into High Dutch, and send it to Friends there, to give it to the king; or you may print it, after it is delivered in manuscript, which may be serviceable to other princes. So in haste, with my love. The Lord God Almighty over all give you dominion in his eternal power, and in it over all preserve you, and keep you to his glory, that you may answer that of God in all people! Amen.

George Fox

London, the 13th of 9th month, 1677

I continued still in and about London for some weeks, the parliament in session again, and Friends attending to get some redress of our sufferings, which about this time were very great and heavy upon many Friends in many parts of the nation. Friends were being very unduly prosecuted upon the statutes made against popish recusants; though our persecutors could not but know Friends were utterly against popery, having borne testimony against it in word and writing, and suffered under it. But though many of the members of parliament in either house were kind to Friends, and willing to have done something for their ease, yet having much business, they were hindered from doing the good they would, so that the sufferings upon their Friends were continued.

But that which added much to the grief and exercise of Friends was, that some, who made profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into fleshly liberty, and laboring to draw others after them, did oppose the order and discipline which God by his power had set up and established in his church; and made a great noise and clamor against regulations; by which they easily drew after them such as were loosely inclined, and desired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Also some of the more simple and young in truth, or weak in judgment, were likely to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of satan in these deceptive arguments; for whose sake I was moved to write the following paper, for the undeceiving the deceived, and opening the understandings of the weak in this matter:

All that deny regulations without prescriptions may as well deny all the scriptures, which were given forth by the power and spirit of God. For do they not prescribe how men should walk towards God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yes, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis,

what people ought to believe and trust in; and all along until you come to the prophets? Did not the Lord prescribe to his people by the fathers and then by his prophets? Did he not prescribe to the people how they should walk, though they turned against the prophets in the old covenant for declaring or prescribing to them the way how they might walk to please God, and keep in favor with him? In the days of Christ, did he not prescribe and teach how people should walk and believe? And after him, did not the apostles prescribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the gospel and the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they should walk in the new covenant in the days of the gospel, and by what way they should come to the holy city? And did not the apostles send forth their decrees by faithful chosen men (that had hazarded their lives for Christ's sake), to the churches, by which they were established? So you, that deny prescriptions given forth by the power and spirit of God, do thereby oppose the spirit that gave them forth in all the holy men of God. 'Were there not some all along in the days of Moses, in the days of the prophets, in the days of Christ, and in the days of his apostles, who did resist that which they issued from the spirit of God? And has there not been similar opposition since the days of the apostles? How many have risen, since truth appeared, to oppose the order which stands in the power and spirit of God? Who are in nothing but the same spirit which has opposed the spirit of God all along from the beginning. See what names or titles the spirit of God gave that opposing spirit in the old covenant, and also in the new; which is the same now; for after the Lord had given forth the old covenant, there were some among them that did oppose; which were worse than public enemies. And likewise in the days of the new covenant, in the gospel times, you may see what sort opposed Christ and the apostles, after they came to some sight of the truth; and how they turned against Christ and his apostles? See what liberty they pleaded for and ran into in the apostles' days, who could not abide the cross, the yoke of Jesus. We see the same rough and high spirit that cries now for liberty (which the power and spirit of Christ cannot give) and cries "imposition," yet is imposing cries, "Liberty of conscience," and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; cries against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing both in words and writing. So with the everlasting power and spirit of God this spirit is fathomed: its rise, beginning, and end; and it is judged. This spirit cries, "We must not judge conscience, we must not judge matters of faith, we must not judge spirits, or religions." Yes, they that are in the pure spirit and power of God, which the apostles were in, judge of conscience, whether it be a seared conscience, or a tender conscience; they judge of faith, whether it be a dead one, or a living one; they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure and undefiled; they judge of spirits, and try them, whether they be of God, or not; they judge of hope, whether it be that of hypocrites, or the true hope that purifies, even as God is pure; they judge of belief, whether it be that which is born of God, and overcomes the world, or that which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy, and does not overcome the world; they judge of worships, whether they be will-worships, and the worship of the beast and dragon, or the worship of God in spirit and in truth; they judge of angels, whether they be fallen, or those that keep their habitation; they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the spirit, hates the light, turns the grace of God into wantonness, and resists the holy ghost. They judge of the hearts, ears and lips, which are circumcised, and which are uncircumcised. They judge of ministers, apostles, and messengers, whether they be of satan or of Christ. They judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yes, the least member of the church has power to judge of such things, having the one true measure and true weight to weigh things and with which to measure things without respect to persons. This judgment is given, and all these things are done by the same power and spirit the apostles were in. Such also can judge of election and reprobation; and who keep their habitation, and who don't; who are Jews, and who are of the synagogue of satan; who are in the doctrine of Christ, and who are in the doctrines of devils; who prescribes and declares things from the power and spirit of God, to preserve all in the power and spirit of God, and who prescribes and declares things from a loose spirit, to let all loose from under the yoke of Christ, the power of God, into looseness and liberty. These likewise can judge and discern who brings people into the possession of the gospel of light and life, over death and darkness, and into the truth where the devil cannot get in; and who brings them into the possession of death and darkness, out of the glorious liberty of the gospel, and of Jesus Christ, his faith, truth, spirit, light, and grace. For there is no true liberty but in that; and that liberty answers the grace, the truth, the light, the spirit, the faith, the gospel of Christ in every man and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and woman. That makes it rage, and swell, and puff up; for that is restless, unruly, out of patience, and ready to curse his God, and that which reigns over him, because it has not its' will. It works with all subtlety and evasion with its restless spirit, to get in and defile the minds of the simple, and rape the virgin minds. But as they receive the heavenly wisdom, by which all things

were made (which wisdom is above that spirit), through this wisdom they will be preserved over that spirit. And Christ has given judgment to his saints in his church, though he be judge of all; and the saints, in the power and spirit of God, had and have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and conversations, growths, and states, from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savor of death, and to whom they are a savor of life; and who serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and preach him, and who preach themselves, and serve themselves; and who talk of the light, of faith, of the gospel, of hope, of grace, and preach such things; yet in their works and lives deny them all, and God, and Christ, and preach up liberty, from that in themselves to that in others, which should be under the yoke and cross of Christ, the power of God. So the saints in the power and spirit of Christ can discern and distinguish who serves God and Christ, and who serves him not; and can put a distinction between the profane and the holy. But such as have lost their eye salve, and their sight is grown dim, lose this judgment, discerning, and distinction in the church of Christ; and such come to be spewed out of Christ's mouth, except they repent: and if not, they come to corrupt the earth, and burden it, that it vomits them out of it. Therefore, all are exhorted to keep in the power and spirit of Christ Jesus, in the word of life and the wisdom of God, (which is above that which is below), in which they may keep their heavenly understandings and heavenly discernings; and so set the heavenly spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which dishonors God, which leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity which stands in the heavenly spirit, which brings to be conformable to the image of the Son of God, and his gospel, the power of God, (which was before the devil was), and his truth, (which the devil is out of), in which all are of one mind, heart, and soul, and come to drink into one spirit, being baptized into one spirit, and so into one body, which Christ is the head of; and so keep one fellowship in the spirit, and unity in the spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes' peace. And those who cry so much against judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apostles, professors, or profane, are the most judging with the censorious false spirits and judgment; yet cannot bear the true judgment of the spirit of God, nor stand in his judgment. This has been manifest from the beginning, they having the false measures and the false weights, for none has the true measure and the true weight, but who keep in the light, power, and spirit of Christ. There is a loose spirit that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, yet is prescribing ways, both by words and writings. The same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, yet is judging with a wrong spirit. This is given forth in reproof to that spirit.

George Fox

London, the 9th of the 4th month, 1678

When I had finished what service I had for the Lord at this time here, I went towards Hertford, visiting Friends and having several meetings in the way. At Hertford I stayed several days with much service for the Lord there, both among Friends in their meetings and in conferences with such as stood in opposition to the order of truth, having let in evil surmisings and jealousies concerning Friends. I also answered some books written against truth and Friends. While I was there, it came upon me to write a few lines, and send them abroad among Friends, as follows:

Dear Friends,

Let the holy seed of life reign over death and the unholy seed in you all; that in the holy seed of the kingdom you may all feel the everlasting holy peace with God, through Christ Jesus your Savior, and sit down in him, your life and glorious rest, the holy rock and foundation, that stands sure over all from everlasting to everlasting, in whom all the fullness of blessedness is; so that you may glory in him that live for evermore. Amen! Who is your eternal joy, life, and happiness, through whom you have peace with God. This holy seed bruises the head of the serpent, and will outlive all his wrath, malice, and envy; who was before he and it was, and remains when he and it is gone into the fire that burns with brimstone. The seed Christ will reign; and so will you live, as you live and walk in him, sit down in Christ, and build up one another in the love of God.

George Fox

Hertford, the 10th of the 5th month, 1678

Next day a fresh exercise came upon me, with respect to those unruly and disorderly spirits which had gone out from us, and were laboring to draw others after them into a false liberty. Feeling the hurt and injury these deceitful spirits might do if they were followed, I was moved to write a few lines to warn Friends of them as follows:

All Friends,

Keep in the tender life of the Lamb over that unruly, puffed up and swelling spirit, whose work is for strife, contention, and division, drawing into looseness and false liberty, under a pretence of conscience, and endangers the ruin of the young in Christ. Those who encourage them will be guilty of their destruction, and establishing a fixed mind set, instead of conscience, in their rage and passion; which will quench the universal spirit in themselves and in every man and woman; and so that spirit shall not have true liberty in themselves, nor in others; thus they shut up the kingdom of heaven in themselves, and also in others. So a loose spirit gets up under a pretence of liberty of conscience, or a stubborn will; it makes profession of the words of truth in a form without power; this pretense will disguise and cover all detachment and wickedness, which is for eternal judgment; for such dishonors God. Therefore keep to the tender spirit of God in all humility, that in it you may know that you are all members of one another, and each has an office in the church of Christ. All these living members know one another in the spirit, and not in the flesh. So here is no man ruling over the woman, as Adam did over Eve in the fall; but Christ, the spiritual man, among and over his spiritual members, which are edified in the heavenly love that is shed in their heart from God, where all strife ceases.

George Fox

Hertford, the 11th of the 5th month, 1678

I went from Hertford to a meeting at Rabley Heath, and there to Edward Crouch's of Stevenage. Next day I went to Baldock, where I had a meeting that evening, and after had meetings at Hitchin and Ashwell. Then passing through part of Bedfordshire, where I had a meeting or two, I went to Huntingdon, in which county I stayed several days, having many meetings, and much service among Friends; laboring to convince opposers, and to confirm and strengthen Friends in the way and work of the Lord. At Ives in Huntingdonshire, George Whitehead joined me and we traveled in the work of the Lord five or six days in that county and some part of Northamptonshire. Leaving me in Great Bowden in Leicestershire, he went towards Westmoreland. I stayed in Leicestershire, visiting Friends at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sibley, Swannington, and various other places. At these places I had very precious meetings and good service among Friends and others: for there was great openness, and many weighty and excellent truths did the Lord give me to deliver among them.

At Leicester I went to the prison to visit the Friends in prison for the testimony of Jesus, with whom I spent some time, encouraging them in the Lord to persevere steadfastly and faithfully in their testimony, and not to be weary of suffering for his sake. And when I had taken my leave of the Friends, I spoke with the jailer, desiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could, including visiting their families occasionally.

I had a meeting or two in Warwickshire, and then went into Staffordshire, where I had several sweet and opening meetings, both for gathering into truth and establishing it. While I was in Staffordshire, I was moved to give forth the following paper:

Dear Friends of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings everywhere: my desire is, that you may all strive to be of one mind in the Lord's power and truth, which is peaceable (into which strife and enmity cannot come) and also in the wisdom of God, which is pure, peaceable, and easy to be entreated (which is above that which is below, that is earthly, devilish, and sensual). And that in this heavenly wisdom that is peaceable, and easy to be entreated, you may be all ordered, and do what you do to God's glory. And dear Friends, if there should happen at any time anything that leads to strife, dispute, or contention in your Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, let it be referred to half a dozen, or such a like number to debate and end out of your meetings, as it was at first, that all your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings may be kept peaceable. And then they may inform the meeting what they have done; that the

weak and young among you may not be hurt by listening to the strife or contention in your meetings, where no strife or contention ought to be; but all to go on, and determine things in one mind, in the power of God, the gospel order; in which gospel of peace you will preserve the peace of all your meetings. If any man or woman has any thing against anyone, let them speak to one another, and end it between themselves; if they cannot so end it, let them take two or three to end it. In case these can't settle it, let it be laid before the church; and let half a dozen, or a proper number out of your Monthly or Quarterly meeting hear it, and finally end it, without respect of persons. Let all prejudice be laid aside and buried; also all shortness one towards another; and let love, which is not puffed up, envies not, seeks not its own gain, but bears all things, have the dominion in all your meetings; for that edifies the body which Christ is the head of, and this will rule over all sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. This love will suffer long, and is kind; will keep down that which would boast of itself, be puffed up, behave itself unseemly, or is easily provoked; it has a sway over all such fruits which are not of the spirit, the fruit of which is love. And that with this holy spirit you may all be baptized into one body, and be made to drink into one spirit; in which spirit you will have unity, in which is the bond of the King of kings and the Lord of lords, his peace. They, who dwell in love, dwell in God, for God is love; therefore let every one keep his habitation.

My love to you in Christ Jesus, the everlasting seed, which is over all,

George Fox

Staffordshire, the 20th of the 6th month, 1678

Out of Staffordshire I went to visit John Gratton at Moniash in Derbyshire, with whom I stayed one night, and went next day to William Shaw's, of the hill in Yorkshire, where I appointed a meeting to be on first-day following. Many Friends out of Derbyshire, and from several meetings in Yorkshire came, and a precious, comfortable meeting it was; where was opened the blessed estate that man was in before he fell; the means by which he fell, the miserable condition into which he fell, and the right way of coming out of it into a happy state again by Christ, the promised seed.

I spent about two weeks in Yorkshire, and many heavenly meetings I had in that county. Then visiting Robert Widdel's at Kellet in Lancashire, I passed to Arnside in Westmoreland, where I had a precious living meeting in the Lord's blessed power, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends, who came from various parts to it. The next day I went to Swarthmore; and it being the meeting-day there, I had a sweet opportunity with Friends; our hearts being opened in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing among us.

I had not been long at Swarthmore before a concern came upon me to visit the churches of Christ, by an epistle as follow:

Dear Friends,

To you is my love in the heavenly seed, in whom all nations are blessed. Oh, keep all in this seed, in which you are blessed, and in which Abraham and all the faithful were blessed, without the deeds of the law: for the promise was and is to and with the seed, and not with the law of the first covenant. In this seed all nations and you are blessed, which bruises the head of the seed that brought the curse, and separated man from God. This is the seed which reconciles you to God; and this is the seed in which you are blessed both materially and spiritually; through which you have an inheritance among the sanctified, who cannot be defiled, neither can any defiled thing enter into its possession; for all defilements are out of this seed. This is that which leavens into a new lump, and bruises the head of the wicked seed that leavens into the old lump, upon whom the sun of righteousness goes down and sets, but never goes down and sets to them that walk in the seed in which all nations are blessed; by which seed they are brought up to God, which puts down that seed which separated them from God, so that there comes to be nothing between them and God. Now all my dear Friends, my desires are, that you may all be valiant in this heavenly seed for God and his truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad, answering that of God in all; that with it the minds of people may be turned towards the Lord, that he may come to be known, served, and worshipped, and that you may all be as the salt of the earth, to

make the unseasoned savory. And in the name of Jesus keep your meetings, who are gathered into it, in whose name you have salvation; he being in the midst of you, whose name is above every name under the whole heaven. So you have a prophet, bishop, shepherd, priest, and counselor (above all the counselors, priests, bishops, prophets, and shepherds under the whole heaven), to exercise his offices among you, in your meetings, gathered in his name. For Christ's meeting and gathering is above all the meetings and gatherings under the whole heaven; and his body, his church, and he the head of it, is above all the bodies, churches, and heads under the whole heaven. And the faith that Christ is the author of, and the worship that he has set up, and his fellowship in the gospel, is above all historical faiths, and the faiths that men have made, together with their worship and fellowships under the whole heaven. And now dear friends, keep your men's and women's meetings in the power of God, the gospel, the authority of them, which brings life and immortality to light in you; and this gospel, the power of God, will preserve you in life and in immortality (which has brought it to light in you), that you may see over him that has darkened and kept from the knowledge of the things of God: for it is he and his instruments (which has darkened you from life and immortality), that would throw down your men's and women's meetings (which were set up in the power of God, the gospel), and would darken you again from this life and immortality which the gospel has brought to light, and will preserve you there, as your faith stands in this power of God, the gospel, in which everyone sees your work and service for God. Every heir in the power of God, the gospel, has right to this authority, which is not of man nor by man; which gospel the power of God, is everlasting, an everlasting order, an everlasting fellowship; and in the gospel is everlasting joy, comfort, and peace, which will outlast all those joys, comforts, and peace that will have an end, and also the spirit that opposes God's order and glorious fellowship and the peace and comfort in it. And my dear friends, my desire is, that you may keep in the unity of the spirit, that baptizes you all into one body, of which Christ is the heavenly and spiritual head. So that you may see and bear witness to our heavenly and spiritual head, and so all drink into the one spirit, which all people on the earth are not likely to do, while they grieve, quench, and rebel against it, nor to be baptized into one body, and to keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace, yes the King of kings and Lord of lords' peace; which is the duty of all true christians to keep, who are inwardly united to Christ.

George Fox

My love to you all in the everlasting seed,

Swarthmore, the 26th of the 7th month, 1678

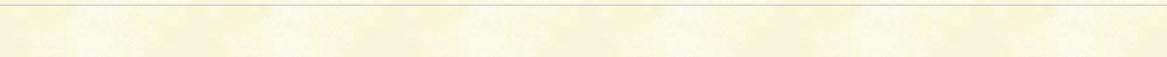
There were about this time several Friends in prison for bearing testimony to the truth; to whom I was moved to write a few lines to comfort, strengthen, and encourage them; having a true sense of their sufferings upon my spirit, and a sympathizing with them within. That which I wrote was after this manner:

My Dear Friends,

Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus' sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will that you may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting and destroying spirit, which makes to suffer in Christ, (who bruises the head), in whom you have both election and salvation. For his elect's sake the Lord has done much since the foundation of the world, as may be seen throughout the scriptures of truth. They that touch them touch the apple of God's eye, they are so tender to him; and therefore it is good for his suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they shall be as mount Zion, that cannot be removed from Christ their rock and salvation, the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and apostles, and of God's people now and to the end; glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all! Remember my dear love to all Friends, and do not think the time long; for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. Therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift. The Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy spirit of faith. Amen.

George Fox

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 12th month, 1678





I lived in the north above a year, having service for the Lord among Friends there, and being much taken up in writing in answer to books published by adversaries; and for opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world, that they might come to have a right understanding of them, and be gathered into the truth. I also wrote several epistles to Friends in this time. One was to the Yearly Meeting held in London this year, 1679; a copy of which here follows:

My Dear Friends and Brethren,

Who are assembled together in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, fill all your hearts, and establish you in his grace, mercy, and peace upon Christ, the holy living rock and foundation, who is the first and last, and over all the foundations and rocks in the whole world; a rock and foundation of life for all the living to build upon, which stands sure in his heavenly divine light, which is the life in him; by whom all things were made, who is the precious stone laid in Zion, (and not in the world), which all the wise master-builders rejected, who pretended to build people up to heaven with the words of the prophets, and the law from mount Sinai, but out of the life of both: therefore such builders could not receive the law of life from Christ, the precious stone laid in Zion, nor the word from heavenly Jerusalem. But you, my dear friends, that have received this law from heavenly Zion, and the word from heavenly Jerusalem, in the new covenant, where the life and substance is enjoyed, you see the end and abolishing of the Jews' law and ceremonies from mount Sinai. And therefore, my desire is, that you may all keep in the law of life and love, which you have in Christ Jesus, by which love the body is edified, knit, and united together to Christ Jesus, the head. Which love bears all things, fulfils the law, will preserve all in humility, and in it to be of one mind, heart, and soul. So all may come to drink into that one spirit, that does baptize them and circumcise them, plunging down and cutting off the body of the sins of the flesh, that is got up in man and woman by their transgressing of God's commands. So that in this holy pure spirit all may serve and worship the pure God in spirit and in truth, which is over all the worships that are out of God's spirit and his truth. In this spirit you will all have a spiritual unity and fellowship over all the fellowships of the unclean spirits, which are out of truth in the world. By this Holy Spirit all your hearts, minds, and souls may be knit together to Christ, from where it comes; and by the grace and truth, which is come by Jesus Christ, which all should be under the teachings of in the new covenant, and not under the law, as the outward Jews were in the old covenant. By this grace and truth in the new covenant, all may be made God's free men and women, to serve God in the new life, the new and living way: showing forth the fruits of the new heart and new spirit, in the new covenant, over death and darkness. Glory to the Lord forever! In this grace and truth is heavenly, gracious, and true liberty to every spiritual mind, which makes you free from him that is out of truth, where your bondage was. Also your liberty in the holy, divine, and precious faith, which gives you victory over that which once separated you from God and Christ by which faith you have access to God again through Jesus Christ. So in this divine and holy faith, you have divine, holy, and precious liberty, yes and victory over him that separated you from God; and this faith is held in a pure conscience. So the liberty in the spirit of God is in that which baptizes and plunges down sin and iniquity, and puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, that are got up by transgressing God's command. And also the liberty of the gospel, which is sent from heaven by the holy ghost, which is the power of God, which was and is again to be preached to all nations; in this gospel is the true liberty, and the gospel fellowship and order. So that the evil spirit or conscience, or false dead faith, that which is ungracious, out of truth, and not in the spirit of God, nor in his gospel, nor in the divine faith, its liberty is in the darkness; for all true liberty is in the gospel, and in the truth that makes free; in the faith, in the grace, and in Christ Jesus, who

destroys the devil and his works, that has brought all mankind into bondage. So in this heavenly, peaceable spirit, truth, and faith, which works by love, and in the gospel of peace, and in Christ Jesus is all the saints' peace and pure, true, and holy liberty; in which they have salt, sense, feeling, discerning, and savor, yes and unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father, that heavenly, eternal fellowship. So all being subject to the grace and truth, and to the faith and gospel (the power of God), and to his good spirit, in this they distinguish all true, pure, and holy liberty from that which is false. This will bring all to sit low; for patience runs the race, and the Lamb must have the victory; and not the rough, unruly, and vain talkers, unbaptized, uncircumcised, and unsanctified. Such travel not in the way of regeneration, but in the way of unregeneration: neither do they go down into the death with Christ by baptism. **Such are not like to reign with him in his resurrection, if are not buried with him in his baptism. Therefore, all must go downward into the death of Christ, and be crucified with him, if they will arise and follow him in the regeneration before they come to reign with him.** And, friends, many may have precious openings; but I desire all may be comprehended in that which does open to them, and that they may all keep in the daily cross; then they keep in the power that kills and crucifies that which would lead them among the beast and goats, to leaven them into their rough unruly spirit; that, through the cross, the power of God, that may be crucified, and they in the power might follow the Lamb. For the power of God keeps all in order, subjection, and humility, in that which is lovely, virtuous, decent, comely, temperate, and moderate; so that their moderation comes to appear to all men. My desire is, that all your lights may shine as from a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid; and that you may be the salt of the earth, to salt, season, and make it savory to God, and you all seasoned with it. Then all your sacrifices will be a sweet savor to the Lord, and you will be as the lilies and roses, and garden of God, which gives a sweet smell unto him: whose garden is preserved by his power, the hedge that hedges out all the unruly and unsavory, the destroyers and hurters of the vines, buds, and plants, and God's tender blade, which springs up from his seed of life, who waters it with his heavenly water and word of life every moment, that they may grow and be fruitful; that so he may have a pleasant and fruitful garden. Here all are kept fresh and green, being watered every moment with the everlasting holy water of life from the Lord, the fountain. My dear friends, my desire is, that this heavenly seed, that bruises down the head of the serpent both within and without, may be your crown and life, and you in him one another's crown and joy, to the praise of the Lord God over all, blessed for evermore. This holy seed will outlast and wear out all that which the evil seed since the fall of man has brought forth and set up. As every one has received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him in the humility which he teaches; and shun the occasions of strife, vain arguments, and disputes with men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth; for the truth is peaceable, the gospel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God; his wisdom is peaceable and gentle, and his kingdom stands in peace. Oh, his glory shines over all his works! In Christ Jesus you will have peace, which is not of the world; yes a peace that the world cannot take away; for the peace that you have from him was before the world was, and will be when it is gone. This keeps all in that which is weighty and substantial over all chaff. Glory to the Lord God over all, forever and ever! Amen.

And now, my dear friends, the Lord does require more of you than he does of other people, because he has committed more to you. He requires the fruits of his spirit, of the light, of the gospel, of the grace, and of the truth; for **by your fruits is he glorified**, (as Christ said), in your bringing forth much fruit, fruits of *righteousness, holiness, godliness, virtue, truth, and purity*; so that you may answer that which is of God in all people. Be valiant for his everlasting, glorious gospel in God's Holy Spirit and truth, keeping in the unity, and in the Holy Spirit, light, and life, which is over death and darkness, and was before death and darkness were. In this spirit we have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken except you go from the spirit, and then you lose this unity and bond of peace, which you have from the Prince of peace.

The world also expects more from Friends than from other people; because you profess more. Therefore, you should be more just than others in your words and dealings, more righteous, holy, and pure in your lives and conversations, so that your lives and conversations may preach. For the world's tongues and mouths have preached long enough; but their lives and conversations deny what their tongues have professed and declared.

And, dear friends, strive to excel one another in virtue that you may grow in love, that excellent way

which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honor, that in no way may his power be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil talkers or walkers; but that in all things God may be honored, and you may glorify him in your bodies, souls, and spirits, the little time you have to live. My love to you all in the holy seed of life, that reigns over all, and is the first and last, in whom you all have life and salvation, and your election and peace with God, through Jesus Christ, who destroys him that has been between you and God; so that nothing may be between you and the Lord but, Christ Jesus. Amen.

My life and love is to you all, and among you all. The Lord God Almighty by his mighty power, by which he has preserved his people unto this day, preserve and keep you all in his power, and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father. Amen.

George Fox

The 24th of the 3d month, 1679

I wrote several other epistles and papers to Friends during my stay in the north; one was 'To encourage Friends to be bold and valiant for the truth, which the Lord had called them to bear witness to. It was as follows:

Dear Friends, All be valiant for the Lord's truth upon the earth, which the serpent, satan, the devil is out of; and in the truth keep him out, in which you all have peace, life, and unity with God and his Son, and one with another. Let the love of God fill all your hearts, that in it you may build up and edify one another in the light, life, holy spirit, and power of God, the glorious comfortable gospel of Christ, the heavenly man, your Lord and Savior, who will fill all your vessels with his heavenly wine and water of life, clothe you with his heavenly clothing, his fine linen that never grows old; and arm you with his heavenly armour, that you may stand faithful witnesses for God and his Son, who has come and has given you an understanding to know him, and you are in him. So walk in him, in whom you all have life and salvation, and peace with God. My love to you in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have labored, and God Almighty, in his eternal power and wisdom, preserve you to his glory. Amen.

George Fox

Swarthmore, the 29th of the 10th month, 1679

The next day I had a sense upon me that some who had received the truth, had openings about the truth, but then had run out from the truth; this happened because they had not remained low and humble. I was moved to issue the following epistle, as a 'warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility.'

My Dear Friends,

Whom the Lord in his tender mercies has visited with the day-spring from on high, and has opened you to confess and bow to his name; keep low in your minds, and learn of Christ who teaches you humility, to keep in it; so that in no way will you that are younger become exalted, puffed up, or conceited through your openings, and by that, lose your conditions being carried up into presumption and then down into despair, and so abuse the power of God. For it was the apostles' care, that none should abuse the power of the Lord God; but in all things their faith was to stand within the power, that they all might be comprehended into the truth which they spoke to others, that they might not be preachers to others and themselves castaways. Therefore it does concern you to be comprehended into that which you preach to others, and keep low in it; then the God of truth will exalt the humble in his truth, light, grace, power, and spirit, and in his wisdom to his glory. Here all are kept in their measures of grace, light, faith, and the spirit of Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man. So let none quench the spirit, nor its motions, nor grieve it, nor err from it; but be led by it, which keeps everyone in their tents; which holy spirit of God gives them an understanding, how to serve, worship, and please the holy, pure God, their maker and Creator in Christ Jesus, and how to wait, speak, and answer the spirit of God in his people: in which holy spirit is the holy unity and fellowship. The holy spirit teaches the

holy, gentle, meek, and quiet lowly mind to answer the seed that Christ has sown upon all grounds; and to answer the light, grace, and spirit, and the gospel in every creature, though they are gone from the spirit, grace, light, and gospel in the heart. So by holy walking all may come to do it, as well as by holy preaching, that God in all things may be glorified by you, and that you may bring forth fruits to his praise. Amen.

George Fox

Swarthmore, the 30th of the 10th month, 1679

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel into the south again. I set forward the beginning of the first month, 1679 and passing through part of Westmoreland and Lancashire, I visited Friends at several meetings, and came into Yorkshire. I had several large and weighty meetings in Yorkshire, before I came to York city. When I came there it was the assize time, and since there were many Friends in prison for truth's sake, I put those at liberty to document the sufferings of the Friends in prison, that they might be laid before the judges; and I assisted them in this task. The Quarterly Meeting of Friends was also at that time, so I had a magnificent opportunity among them. Many weighty and serviceable things did the Lord open through me to the meeting, relating to the inward state of man; how man by faith in Christ comes to be grafted into him, and made a member of his spiritual body; and also the outward state of the church, how each member ought to walk and act, according to their place in the body. I spent several days in York, having several meetings; and all was peaceable and well. I went also to the castle to visit the prisoners; with whom I spent some time, encouraging and strengthening them in their testimony.

Then leaving York, I traveled southward, having meetings among Friends, until I came to Burton in Lincolnshire; where on first-day I had a large and precious meeting. Then turning into Nottinghamshire, I traveled through a good part of that county, in which I had several very good meetings, and then passed into Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, having meetings all along as I went, until I came to Warwick where William Dewsbury and several other Friends joined me; and we had a little meeting in the town. As I was passing through Southam and Radway, we had a very good meeting at each of these places, after which I went to Nathaniel Ball's, of North-Newton, in Oxfordshire, and on to Banbury for a Monthly Meeting. After I had visited Friends at their meetings in the bordering parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire, I passed to Richard Baker's, of Biddlesden, in Buckinghamshire; and the next day, being first-day, I had a very large meeting in Biddlesden, at an old abbey-house, in which a Friend rented and lived. Many Friends and people came to this meeting out of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, and the parts adjacent; and of good service it was. After this, I visited Friends in those parts, having meetings at Lillingstone, Lovel, and Bugbrook. Then going to Stony-stratford, I went into some parts of Bedfordshire, until I came to Edward Chesters' of Dunstable. Where passing on by Market-street, I had a meeting at Albans, and calling on Friends at Mims and Barnet, I came to the widow Haly's, at Guttershedje, in Hendon, Middlesex, on a seventh-day night, and had a very large and good meeting there the day following.

I passed from there to London the third-day following, and went directly to the Peel-meeting at John Elson's, and next morning to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was very large and quiet; and Friends rejoiced in the Lord to see me. The Yearly Meeting was in the week following, to which many Friends came out of most parts of the nation, and a blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together; wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all. After the Yearly Meeting, I continued about a month or five weeks in and about London, laboring in the work of the Lord both in and out of meetings; for besides the public testimony, which the Lord gave me to bear both to Friends and to the world in meetings, I had much service lay upon me with respect to Friends' sufferings, in seeking to get ease and liberty for them in this and other nations. Much pains and time I spent while I was at London, in writing letters to Friends in divers parts of England, and in Scotland, Holland, Barbados, and several other parts of America.

After this I was moved of the Lord to visit Friends in some parts of Surrey and Sussex. I went to Kingston by water, and tarried certain days; for while I was there, the Lord laid it upon me to write both to the

great Turk and the governor of Algiers to warn them and the people under them to turn from their wickedness, and fear the Lord, and do justly, for fear that the judgments of God should come upon them, and destroy them without remedy. To the Algerians I specifically wrote concerning the cruelty they exercised towards Friends and others whom they held captives in Algiers. When I had finished that service and visited Friends in their meetings at Kingston, I went further into the country and had meetings among Friends at Worplesdon, Guildford, Esher, Capell, Patcbgate, Worminghurst, Bletchington, Horsham, Ifield, Ryegate, Gatton, and back to Kingston again, and from there to Hammersmith. Having spent some days in the service of truth among Friends at Hammersmith, Battersea, Wandsworth, and the surrounding area. I crossed over, by Kensington, to Hendon, where I had a very good meeting on first-day; and went from there to London.

When I had been about ten days in London, I was drawn again to visit Friends in the country; and went to Edmonton to Christopher Taylor's, who kept a school for the education of Friends' children. I had some service among the children, and then went towards Hertford, visiting Friends on the way. At Hertford I met with John Story and some others of his party; but the testimony of truth went over them, and kept them down, so that the meeting was quiet. It was on a first-day, and the next day being the men's and women's meeting for business, I visited them also; and all the better because some in that place had slighted the importance of them. Then I was moved to open the service of those meetings, and the usefulness and benefit of that to the church of Christ, as the Lord opened my thoughts to me; and it was of good service to Friends. I had a meeting also with some of those that were gone into strife and contention, to show them how they were wrong; and having cleared myself of them, I left them to the Lord. After another public meeting in the town, I returned towards London by Waltham-abbey, where I had a public meeting the first-day following, and another with Friends in the evening. Next day I went to Christopher Taylor's at Edmonton, and stayed a day or two, having some things upon me to write for the service of truth. When I had finished that service, I went to London by Shacklewell, where Friends had a school Friends for the education of young maidens that were Friends' daughters.

I resided in London most of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in and out of meetings. Because it was a time of great sufferings among Friends, I was drawn in spirit, to visit Friends' meetings more frequently, to encourage and strengthen them by exhortation and example. The parliament was also in session, and Friends were diligent to wait upon them to lay their grievances before them. We received fresh accounts almost every day of the sad sufferings Friends underwent in many parts of the nation. I spent much time together with other Friends who were freely given up to that service in seeking relief for my suffering brethren, attending the parliament-house many days together, and watching for all opportunities to speak with such members of either house as would hear our just complaints. And indeed some of the members of each house were very courteous, and appeared willing to help us if they could. But the parliament then was busy in examining the Papist plot and working out ways to discover who were Papist sympathizers. Although our adversaries knew in their consciences we were not Papists and had experience to know that we were not plotters, they seized the advantages against us (because they knew we could not swear or fight), to expose us to those penalties that were made against Papists. To clear our innocence and stop the mouths of our adversaries, I drew up a short paper to be delivered to the parliament as follows:

It is our principle and testimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king, or any of his subjects; for we have the spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them. We desire the safety of the king and all his subjects. For which reason we do declare, that we will endeavor to our power to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters, which shall come to our knowledge that would destroy the king or his subjects. This we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, you know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal of that. And now that the Lord has brought us together, we desire you to relieve and free us from those sufferings, and that you will not put upon us to do those things which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing; for if you do, you will make our sufferings and bonds stronger instead of relieving us.

George Fox

About this time I received two very envious books written against truth and Friends; one of them by a doctor (so called) of Bremen, in Germany, the other by a priest of Dantzic, in Poland. They were both full of gross falsehoods and reproachful slanders. I found it upon me to answer them, and so that I might not be seriously interrupted by other business and company, I went to Kingston upon Thames, where I wrote an answer to each of them, and also to some other scandalous papers which had been printed and scattered about to misrepresent Friends.

While I was there I wrote also the following paper, to persuade the magistrates to moderation towards dissenters, and take off their edge to persecution. Because it should have its full service, I directed it:

To all the rulers, magistrates, and law-makers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the highest to the lowest, and to all other magistrates everywhere in that which is called Christendom; desiring their health, peace; tranquility, life, and salvation in Christ Jesus, the Lord Of glory, and the Lamb Of God, who takes away the sins of the world, and is the King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom all power in heaven and in earth is given, and who will reward every man according to his words and works.

You that bear the name of christian magistrates, my desire is that you may all be found in Christ, and not only have the name, but be made partakers of his divine nature; that you may be not only sayers of the word, but doers of the word, not only professors of Christ, and talkers of Christ, but let Christ rule in your hearts by faith, and be walkers in Christ. For as Christ's great apostle said, "As everyone has received the Lord Jesus Christ, so let him walk in him; for in him there is peace." If all that profess Christ did walk in Christ, they would walk in peace, and be in unity; for the apostle exhorted the christians in his day to keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace, yes of Christ the King of kings' peace. All christians who have the scriptures and are not in this spirit of Christ, are not in unity one with another, and so have broken this bond of peace, which should knit and unite them together. Likewise all that profess the truth of Christ should live in it; for it is peaceable, and the gospel is the gospel of peace; which if all christians lived in, they would be at peace one with another, and in the glorious fellowship of the gospel. And if all christians kept in the fear of God, which is the beginning of the pure, heavenly, peaceable, and gentle wisdom, which is easy to be in treated, (above that wisdom which is earthly, sensual, devilish, and destroying), there would be no difference and destroying about matters of religion.

I do declare the mighty day of the Lord has come and is coming, and the Lord God has come to teach his people himself by his Son (Hebrews 8,v11) who bruises the serpent's head, that false teacher, that led Adam and Eve from God their teacher. God will teach his people by his Son, the teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, before they fell, disobeyed the Lord and forsook him, and followed the serpent; whose head Christ bruises, and renews man and woman up again into the image of God which Adam and Eve were in before they fell. Glory and honor be to God through Jesus Christ, who has called us by his Son into his glorious image, to serve and worship him in his spirit and truth; which holy spirit and truth the devil is out of, and cannot come into.

I desire all christian magistrates to take heed of persecuting any, though they differ from you in matters of faith, worship, and religion. For Christ said, "Let the weeds and the wheat grow together until the harvest;" and he did forbid such as would be plucking up weeds. The reason was, "Unintentionally they might damage the wheat also;" for Christ said, it should be his angels' work to separate the weeds from the wheat. Moreover Christ said, they should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison in his members; then what will become of them that cast him into prison, where he is made manifest in his members! Oh! lay these things to heart! A day of judgment will come, vengeance and recompense upon everyone according to their works.

To those disciples, who would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume them that would not receive him, he turned about, rebuked, and told them, "They did not know what spirit they were of; for he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Therefore, let all magistrates and priests, in that which is called Christendom, consider who have destroyed men's and women's lives since the apostles' days, because they would not receive the

religions, ways, and worships, which they have made and set up. Have they known what spirit they have been of? Are they not all reproved by, and come under the judgment of Christ? Therefore, let all persecution be laid aside concerning religion; let love rule, to overcome evil and enemies; *let patience overrule passion in all, that all may retain the heavenly reason and the pure understanding*, that your moderation in true christianity may be known to all men. For have you not the Turks, Jews, Tartars, Indians, and Atheists' eyes upon you? Therefore, be in unity, and let not the name of God and Christ be blasphemed among them by means, of any that bear the name of christians. So God may be glorified all and in all through Jesus Christ, who is over all, who calls all to Peace, and is blessed for ever.

I would have you to be as noble as the Bereans and search the scriptures of Christ and the apostles. Where did he or they give any command to imprison, banish, persecute or put to death any that would not receive or conform to them, or that were contrary minded to them in religion, or differed from them in matters of worship?

Again I desire all christian magistrates to search both scriptures and chronicles, and see what was the end of all persecutors, and what judgments came upon them. What fell upon Cain, who was the first persecutor for matters of faith and sacrifice? Did not he become a vagabond and a fugitive in the earth? What became of the old world that grieved God, and Noah, a preacher of righteousness? What became of Sodom that vexed just Lot? What became of Pharaoh that persecuted God's people in Egypt? (though the more he persecuted them the more they grew), what became of Ahab and Jezebel that persecuted the Lord's prophets? And what became of Haman that would have destroyed the Jews? What became of the Jews and Jerusalem that persecuted Christ and the apostles? What was the end of all these? Have they not become vagabonds in the earth, and driven away from their native country? Therefore, I beseech you in the love and fear of God, be so noble as to search both scripture and history, and let not your divine understanding be clouded. What will become of the beast and whore spoken of in the Revelations, with their false prophets, that have drunk the blood of the saints, martyrs, and prophets of Jesus? Must they not all go with the devil, who is a murderer, destroyer, and adversary of mankind, into the lake of fire that burns with brimstone? You may be sure that spirit that stirs you up to persecution, whoever it is in, it is not of Christ, and of his lamb-like nature, who takes away the sins of the world, not the lives of men. Paul was a persecutor, a haler to prison, before he was converted to Christianity, but never after. And therefore are not all in Saul's nature, whatever name or profession of Zion they have who are persecutors and unconverted into Paul's life of Christianity? After he was converted, Paul said the life that he lived, was by faith in the Son of God; and "it is no longer I that live, but Christ within who lives." And Christ to save men's lives not to destroy them. This life should be the life of all Christians now, which Paul in his converted state lived in. And the apostle said, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully; knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless, for the ungodly and sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, and for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, liars, and perjured persons." 1 Tim 1:9-10 So the law in its place is good against such. Again the apostle says, "The law was added because of transgression." Gal 3:19. Here all magistrates may see what the law in its place is good against, and what it was made for and against, and what evils, the apostle says, it takes hold upon. He does not say, the law should be laid upon men that differed from them in their religion and judgment, nor upon righteous men. So you may see in what condition the law is good, and what it was made against; not against righteous men, against whom they have nothing, only because they differ from them in matters of religion; letting manslaughter, whoremongers, perjured persons, ungodly, profane persons, liars, etc. go unpunished; and thus do not use, or execute the law lawfully. As the apostle says; "The law is good, if a man uses it lawfully." Therefore it ought to be used lawfully; which law, the apostle says, is for the punishment of evildoers, and a praise to them that do well, as may be seen. Rom 13:3 So, as the apostle said, "We do not break the law, nor make it void; but we establish the law." Rom 3:31.

This is from him who desires the eternal good and salvation of you all in Christ Jesus, Amen.

George Fox

After I had finished these services, I returned to London, where I stayed about a month, laboring among Friends in the work of the Lord, both in public meetings for worship and in those relating to the outward affairs of the church. Then feeling my spirit drawn to visit Friends about Enfield, I went to Waltham Abbey, where I had a very precious meeting, and another at Flamstead Heath. Having spent some time among Friends in the area, and having had many good meetings at Edmonton, Enfield, Winchmore-hill, and other places, I came back to London a little before the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month, 1681. It was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed.

Some time after it came upon me to write the following epistle:

To the Quarterly men's and women's meetings that are gathered in the name and power of Jesus

Christ, the second Adam, who is both head and husband of his church, the redeemer, purchaser, Savior, sanctifier, and reconciler of his sons and daughters to God, I say feel Christ's presence among you, to exercise his prophetic office, in opening you with his light, grace, truth, power, and spirit; and to exercise his office, as he is a bishop, to oversee you with his light, grace, power, and spirit, that you do not go astray from God. As Christ is a shepherd, feel, see, and hear him exercising that office, who has laid down his life for his sheep, is feeding them in his living pastures of life, and makes them to drink of his living, eternal springs. Let him rule and govern in your hearts, as he is king, that his heavenly and spiritual government all may live under, as true subjects of his righteous, peaceable kingdom, which stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy ghost, over satan and his power, the unclean, unholy ghost, and all unrighteousness. So all you subjects to Christ's kingdom of peace, if you want wisdom, knowledge, life or salvation, Christ is the treasure; feel him the treasure among you. And everyone, as you have received Christ, walk in him in whom you have peace; who bruises the head of the serpent, the author of all strife, distraction, and confusion: yes, you have peace with God, and one with another, though the trouble be from the world and the world's spirit. Therefore, my dear friends, brethren, and sisters, love one another with the love that is of God shed in your hearts, that you may bear the marks of Christ's disciples, and it may appear that Christ is in you, and you in him, so that God Almighty may be glorified among you. Whatever you do, let it be done in the name of Jesus, to the praise of God the Father, keeping in unity in the Holy Spirit of God, which was before the unholy spirit was; which Holy Spirit is your bond of peace, yes, the holy King of kings and Lord of lords, his peace. And in this holy, pure spirit is your eternal unity and fellowship; in which spirit of truth you serve and worship the God of truth, who is God over all, blessed for ever, Amen. So the Lord guide you all with his word of patience, word of life, power, and wisdom; in all your actions, lives, conversations, and meetings to God's glory. My love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who is over all, the first and the last.

George Fox

London, the 9th of the 4th month, 1681

About this time I had occasion to go to several of the judges' chambers, upon a suit about tithes. For my wife and I, with several other Friends, were sued in Cartmel Wapentake Court, in Lancashire, for small tithes, and we had demurred to the jurisdiction of that court. Then the plaintiff prosecuted us in the exchequer court at Westminster; where they ran us up to a writ of rebellion, for not answering the bill upon oath, and got an order of court to the serjeant to take me and my wife into custody. This was a little before the Yearly Meeting, at which time it was thought they would have taken me up; and according to outward appearance it was likely, and very easy for them to have done it, I lodging at the same places where I used to lodge, and being very public in meetings. But the Lord's power was over them, and restrained them, so that they did not take me. Yet understanding a warrant was out against me, as soon as the Yearly Meeting was well over, I took William Mead with me, and went to several of the judges' chambers, to let them understand both the state of the case, and the ground and reason of

our refusing to pay tithes. The first we went to was judge Gregory, to whom I tendered mine and my wife's answer to the plaintiff's bill; in which was set forth, that my wife had lived forty three years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid nor demanded; and an old man, who had long been a tithe gatherer, had made affidavit that he never gathered tithe at Swarthmore Hall in judge Fell's time, nor since. There were many particulars in our answer, but it would not be accepted without an oath. I told the judge, that both tithe and swearing among christians came from the pope; and it was matter of conscience to us not to pay tithes, nor to swear; for Christ bid his disciples, who had freely received, give freely; and he commanded them, 'not to swear at all.' The judge said, there was tithe paid in England before popery was. I asked him by what law or statute they were paid then? But he was silent. Then I told him, there were eight poor men brought up to London out of the north about two hundred miles, for small tithes; one of them had no family, but himself and his wife, and kept no living creature but a cat. I asked him also, whether they could take a man and his wife, and imprison them both for small tithes, and so destroy a family? If they could, I desired to know by what law? He did not answer me; but only said, that was a hard case. When I found there was no help to be had there, we left him, and went to judge Montague's chamber. With him I had a great deal of discourse concerning tithes. Upon which he sent for our adversary's attorney; and when he came, I offered him our answer. He said if we would pay the charges of the court, and be bound to stand trial, and abide the judgment of the court, we should not have the oath tendered to us. I told him, they had brought those charges upon us, by requiring us to put in our answer upon oath; which they knew we could not do for conscience sake; and as we could not pay any tithe, nor swear, so neither should we pay any of their charges. Upon this he would not receive our answer. So we went from there to judge Atkyns' chamber; and he being busy, we gave our answers and our reasons against tithes and swearing to his clerk; but neither could we find any encouragement from him to expect redress. After leaving him, we went to one of the most noted counselors, and showed him the state of our case, and our answers; he was very civil to us, and said, 'this way of proceeding against us, was somewhat like an inquisition.' A few days after, those eight poor Friends, that were brought up so far out of the north, appeared before the judges; and the Lord was with them, and his power was over the court, so that the Friends were not committed to the Fleet. Our cause was put off until the next term, (called Michaelmas term), and then it was brought before the four judges again. William Mead told the judges, that I had engaged myself never to meddle with my wife's estate. The judges could hardly believe that any man would do so; whereupon he showed them the writing under my hand and seal; at which they wondered. Then two of the judges and some of the lawyers stood up and pleaded for me, that I was not liable to the tithes; but the other two judges and several lawyers pressed earnestly to have me sequestered, alleging that I was a public man. At length they prevailed with one of the other two judges to join with them, and then granted a sequestration (seizure of property) against me and my wife together. At which point, by advice of counsel, we moved for a limitation, which was granted; and that much defeated our adversary's design in suing out the sequestration; for this limited the plaintiff to take no more than was proved. One of the judges, baron Weston, was very bitter, and shouted out in a great rage against me in the open court; but in a little time after he died.

After the Yearly Meeting I tarried about a month in London; then went into Sussex to visit Friends there, among whom I had many large and very precious meetings in several parts of that county. I did not spend much time in Sussex but returned pretty soon to London where I felt drawings in my spirit; and we had very good service for the Lord there both in public meetings and among Friends. When I had been some time in London, I went to Edmonton; and from there into Buckinghamshire, where I visited Friends at several meetings in the upper side of that county; and then went by Henly to Reading, where I attended several meetings. I went no farther west ward at this time than Ore, where I had a very large meeting; after which, striking through the edge of Oxfordshire, I had a large and very precious meeting at Warborough, in which the glory of the Lord shined over all. Many Friends came to this meeting out of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire. From there I passed to Ilmore in the Vale of Buckinghamshire, where we had a glorious meeting. The day following I returned to Mary Pennington's. From where I visited the men's and women's Monthly Meetings at Hungerhill, and some other meetings in the area. I then passed to Watford where I was present at a marriage of two Friends. We had a very large meeting on that occasion, and the Lord's power was over all. I went from Watford to Longford in Middlesex, visiting Friends at Uxbridge on the way. At Longford since it was first-day, we had a large meeting, and the presence of the Lord was precious among us; blessed be his name! I passed from Longford to Kingston, as I went visiting Friends at Staines and Sunbury.

At Kingston I abode with Friends two meetings, in which we were sweetly refreshed together in the Lord. Passing from there towards London, I had a very precious meeting at Wandsworth; then crossing over to Hammersmith, I had a good meeting there; which was the larger by reason of a burial, and there being a pretty openness in the people on that occasion, I had a fine opportunity to open the way of truth among them.

After I came to London, I was moved to write the following paper concerning that spirit which had led some who professed truth, into strife and division, and to oppose the way and work of the Lord:

Friends, You that keep your habitation in the truth that is over all, do see that it is the same spirit which leads the back-sliders and apostates now from the spiritual fellowship and unity of the church of Christ, that led Adam and Eve from God. This spirit was the same that was in the world, which got into the Jews when they were gone from the spirit of God; and then turned against God and his prophets, and against Christ and his apostles. That spirit led them to be as bad as Pilate, or worse. The enmity or adversary had gotten within them against the truth, and those that walked in it, and the spirit of the Lord; so that they killed and destroyed the just. This was the spirit of the devil, the destroyer, who sought not only to destroy the truth, but the order of it, and those that walked in it when true christianity was planted among the possessors of the light, grace, and truth, the holy gospel faith and spirit, who enjoyed Christ in their heart. But when some began to err from the spirit and faith, to hate the light, disobey the gospel, turn the grace of God into wantonness, walk despitefully against the spirit of grace, turn from the truth, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame; these were they that let in the spirit of the world, who held the form of godliness, but denied the power of that; and troubled the churches in the apostles' days. When the spirit of satan had gotten into such, they were more troublesome to the church than the open persecutors without. These got into the assemblies to deceive the hearts of the simple; having the good words and fair speeches, the sheep's clothing. Paul, Peter, John, Jude, and James, had much to do with such, to keep them from troubling the church of Christ; for they are out of the light, power, and spirit; therefore, the apostles of Christ exhorted the saints to keep to the word of life within; to the anointing; to the grace, truth, and holy spirit in their hearts. This foul spirit will profess all the scriptures in words; but by the spirit of God, which is holy, that spirit is tried, and its fruits. So the apostates went from the power and spirit of God, and turned against the prophets and martyrs of Jesus; and became the whore, whose cup all nations drank of. The dragon with his tail threw down many of the stars, and would have devoured the woman with his flood; but the woman, the true church, was preserved, for the gates of hell cannot prevail against her; and then the dragon made war with her seed. So the dragon, the whore, beast, and false prophets, all made war against the Lamb and the saints, but the Lamb and the saints will overcome them, and have the victory. And now the everlasting gospel is preached again to all nations, tongues, and people; and many are gathered into the gospel, the power of God, turned to the light, which is the life in Christ, grafted into him, and are come to walk in the order of the new covenant of light and life, in the gospel of peace and salvation. The same spirit that opposed the apostles and the churches in their days, opposes now; yes, it is the same that opposed Christ and disdained him, that disdained God's servants now. The same that opposed the prophets, and rebelled against Moses, opposes and rebels against God's servants and people now. It is the same dark, blind, disobedient, faithless, willful, jealous spirit, that persecutes some with the hands, and others with the tongue. It is the same spirit that is now going about, sometimes like a roaring lion, sometimes like a twisting serpent to tempt, to deceive and to devour, in those that have fair speeches and good words, the sheep's clothing, in a form of godliness, under pretence of light and liberty, but deny the power of that, and inwardly are ravening wolves. If it were possible they would deceive the very elect. But the elect are in the covenant of light and life, in the power of God over them, and in Christ, who will grind them to pieces, and slay all his enemies with his spiritual sword, who will not have him to rule over or in them. In Christ all his people have rest and peace, who is their sanctuary over all storms and tempests. In Christ, the sanctuary, no deceiver nor destroyer can come; for he is a place of sweet rest and safety. Hallelujah! Praise the Lord for his sanctuary. Amen.

George Fox

Sufferings continuing severe upon Friends at London, so I found my service lay mostly there. For

which reason I seldom left town and went not far if I did. I was frequently at most of the public meetings to encourage Friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them. At other times I went from house to house, visiting those Friends that had their goods taken away for their testimony to truth. The wicked informers had grown very audacious, because they had much sympathy and encouragement from some justices, who, trusting wholly to their information, proceeded against Friends without hearing them; whereby many were made to suffer, not only contrary to moral right, but even contrary to the law also. I advised with some Friends about it; and we drew up a paper which was delivered to most of the magistrates in and about the city, as follows:

Informers have obtained warrants of some justices of peace, who have convicted many of us without hearing us, or even once summoning us to appear before them. By these proceedings many have had their personal property seized and taken away, being generally fined ten pounds apiece as "an unknown speaker" in a meeting, when some of those persons fined had not even been at the meetings for which they were fined for "speaking." And this fine ignored that the real speaker had already been fined for the same meeting, the same day the others were fined as "the unknown speaker." The justices might see the wickedness of these informers, by whose false oaths we have been convicted for "an unknown preacher," when the preacher has already both been known and fined. The justices also might take note that the informers swore such persons to have been at such a meeting such a day, when indeed those so sworn against had never even attended that meeting. By which proceedings seven families of the king's peaceable subjects are likely to be ruined unless these proceedings are quickly ceased. Therefore we hope and desire that in the future you, the king's justices, when any informers shall come to any of you with an information against any of us, will summon those accused to appear before you and hear us and our accusers face to face so that the innocent may not suffer wrongly. For Pilate the governor heard Christ and his accusers face to face before he condemned him. *John 19.* The council and chief priests heard Stephen and his accusers, with the witnesses that were brought against him, face to face before they condemned him. *Acts 7.* The Roman captain heard Paul and his accusers face to face. *Acts 23.* Felix the governor heard Paul and Ananias the high priest, and the elders that accused Paul, face to face. *Acts 24.* And when the high priests and chief of the Jews accused Paul to Festus, he heard Paul and his accusers, and them that witnessed against him, face to face. *Acts 25.* Does the law of God, or did the Roman law, or does the law of the land judge any man before he and his accusers, and they that witness against him, be heard face to face?

This somewhat moderated the justices; and after this several Friends, who had been illegally prosecuted and troubled, entered their appeals; upon trial whereof they were acquitted, and the informers condemned. This resulted in a great discouragement to the informers, and some relief to Friends.

A little before the time for choosing new sheriffs for the city, those who running for office who desired the support of Friends, I wrote a few lines, tending to discover of what spirit they were and how they what value they placed true liberty; it was a discovering inquiry as follows:

Do any here in London, who stand to be chosen sheriffs, own that Christ, who was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, to be the light of the world, who "enlightens every man that comes into the world," who said, "Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light?" Is any of you against persecuting people for their religion and worship of God in spirit and truth, as Christ commands? For Christ said, "I am not of this world and my kingdom is not of this world:" therefore he does not uphold his spiritual worship and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. Christ said, "Swear not at all;" and his apostle James said the same; but in putting oaths to us, are you not forcing us to swear and to break Christ's and his apostle's commands? Christ said to his apostles, "Freely you have received, freely give." Will you not force us to give tithes and maintenance to such teachers as we know God has not sent? If we give you the support of our voices, will we be free to serve and worship God and keep his and his Son's commands? For we are unwilling to give our voices for those who might imprison and persecute us, and seize our personal property.

But whatever the candidates were, I observed heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I wrote a few lines to be spread among them, directed,

People, All keep in the gentle and peaceable wisdom of God, which is above that which is earthly, sensual, and devilish; and live in that love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unseemly; which envies not, but bears and endures all things. In this love you will seek the good and peace of all men, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, be not hot-headed; but be cool and gentle, that your christian moderation may appear to all men; for the Lord is at hand, who beholds all men's words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward everyone according to their work; what every man sows, that shall he reap.

I had some inclination to go into the country to a meeting; but hearing there would be trouble at our meetings, and feeling great disquietness in people's spirits in the city about choosing sheriffs, it was upon me to go to the meeting in Gracechurch-street on first-day. William Penn went with me and spoke in the meeting. While he was declaring the truth, a constable came in with his great staff, and told him to yield and come down; but William Penn kept speaking, declaring truth in the power of God. After awhile the constable drew back; and when William Penn was done, I stood up and declared to the people the everlasting gospel which was preached in the apostles' days and to Abraham; of which the church in the apostles' days did receive, and came to be heirs. This gospel, I declared, was sent from heaven by the Holy Ghost in the apostles' days, and is so now; and was not of man, neither by man, but by the revelation of the Holy Ghost. And now this gospel is preached again (as John saw and said it should be) to all nations, tongues, and people; and all people now are to hear Christ the prophet, in this his gospel of the new covenant. For as Moses said, "Like unto me will God raise up a prophet, and him shall you hear in all things;" so I said, this prophet Christ is come, and all the Jews in spirit, the true believing Christians in the light, who have the law of God written in their hearts, and put into their minds, are to hear Christ in his gospel, New Testament, and new covenant, which is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, who bruises the serpent's head (which is the head of enmity), and makes free from the law of sin and death. I showed, that all whom Christ quickens and makes alive, he makes to sit together "in the heavenly places in himself." So that they do not wander up and down, like the fool's eye in the corners of the earth; nor are their eyes abroad in the world, to sit down in the world's invented seats of religion; but they sit together in him, as the saints did in the apostles' days. So Christ was and is their treasure of wisdom, life, knowledge, and salvation.' As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and commanded me, 'stop speaking and come down.' But feeling the power of the Lord with me, I spoke on within it to both the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, 'That we were a peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God and worship him in spirit and in truth; and therefore they needed not to have come with their staves against us, who were meeting in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.' Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them. While I was speaking, the constables drew towards the door, and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down, and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his holy spirit: that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and Friends passed away, the constables coming in again without the soldiers; and indeed both they and the soldiers conducted themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room nearby, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us; and in case the constables might think we would run from them, a Friend went down and told them that if they had any business with us and wished to see us, they should come to our location. One of them came to me soon after, but without his staff; which he chose to do, that he might not be observed; for he said, 'The people told him, he busied himself more than he needed.' We desired to see his warrant; and we therein found the informer was named Hilton from the north country and reputed a Papist. The constable was asked, 'whether he would arrest us by his warrant on that day, it being first-day, which in their law was called the Lord's day?' He said, 'He thought he could not.' He told us also, 'He had charged the informer to come along with him to the meeting, but he had run away from him.' We showed the constable that both he and we were clear of obligation; yet to free him from all fear of danger, we would freely go to the alderman that granted the warrant. A Friend present said, 'he would go with the constable to speak with the alderman;' which they did and quickly came back again because the alderman was gone from home. Seeing the constable in a predicament and finding him a tender man, we told him set an hour to come back and meet with us, or send for us and we would come to him. So he appointed the fifth hour in the afternoon, but neither came or sent for us; and when a Friend met him afterwards in the evening, the constable told him, 'He thought it would come to

nothing and therefore did not follow up on us.' So the Lord's power was over all; to him be the glory!





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The fourth-day following, it was upon me to go to Gracechurch-street meeting again; for I had heard they would come to break up the meeting that day. The neighbors appeared to have been informed; a justice had granted a warrant for that purpose; and the constable told a Friend that Hilton the informer had told him about the meeting. The constable wanted the informer to come to the meeting with him, but the informer refused and told the constable to go without him; I don't know if his refusal to come angered the constable or not; but he did not come. I was in a deep concern of spirit in the power of God, and was moved in it to go to the meeting; and the Lord's power chained everyone down. Though they threatened to bring the red coats, none of them came, and there was no disturbance; but a glorious powerful meeting it was, and very peaceable; glory, honor, and praises be to the Lord over all forever. Amen!

During the time I that I stayed in London, as I had leisure between meetings and from other public services, I wrote many books and papers; some of which were printed, and others were spread about in manuscript. Of these, one was directed, 'To the bishops and others that stirred up persecution; to show them from the Holy Scriptures, that they did not walk therein according to the royal law, "To love their neighbor as themselves, and to do to others as they would be done unto." Another was, "To all the several sorts of professed Christians, as well Protestants as Papists, whose religion and worship stands in outward observances and ceremonies; pressing them from those words of the apostle Paul to the Galatians 5:2-4. "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you are circumcised (in hopes of attaining salvation), Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised (as a means to attain salvation), that he is a debtor to the whole law. Christ's coming and sacrifice has no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; you are fallen from grace," to consider, whether they, being gone back into legal observations and shadowy ceremonies, (in upholding tithes, offerings, first-fruits, priests' garments, outward altars, temples, lamps, lights, etc., and in observing days, months, times, years, with many other things commanded by the law), were not gone into the same state that the Galatians were running into; and so were fallen from grace, and become debtors to the whole law.' Another was, 'To direct and turn all people to the spirit of God, that they might thereby receive a right understanding, and be able to distinguish between right and wrong truth and error; that under pretence of punishing evildoers, they might not themselves do evil in persecuting the righteous.' The letter is here inserted:

The spirit of God, which he has poured upon everyone, gives an understanding to all that are led by it; and to those who do not quench the motions of it, it gives knowledge and understanding to distinguish good from evil, light from darkness, Christ from antichrist, the old testament or covenant from the new, the old way from the new and living way; the sheep and lambs from the goats and wolves; the worship of God, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, from the dragon's and beast's worship; and all those that worship the works of men's hands, and the will-worshippers, from them that worship God in his spirit and in his truth, in which God's people worship him; which worship is over all false worships and worshippers. Those who believe in the light, which is the life in Christ, become the children of light, and are the lambs of Jesus. These lambs follow the Lamb of God, that take away the sins of the world; they will not follow the hirelings, nor the strangers, to be led into strange ways, doctrines, religions and churches; for the lambs of Christ follow Christ the Lamb of God, and know his heavenly voice. They know also, that those who are without Christ are dogs and wolves, adulterers, idolaters, liars, and unbelievers, who would devour the lambs; but these are in the hand of the Lord, which is his power, that is over all; such do good in his power unto all; for they have the mind of Christ, who would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. Those that do good to all, do hurt to none; for that spirit that hurts anyone is not of God; but that spirit, which does good to everyone, and especially to the household of faith, is of God. Christ came not to destroy men's

lives, but to save them. It is the devil that is the destroyer of men's lives about religion, who corrupts men and women making them deaf and blind to the things of God and turning out of God's way. Those that obey the evil one and forsake the Lord are the destroyed by the destroyer; but Christ destroys that destroyer, and in Christ all have life.

George Fox

I wrote also concerning meditation, delight, exercise, and study; showing from the scriptures of truth what true Christians ought to meditate upon, exercise their minds and take delight in, and what they should study to do. For not only do profane and loose people taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things; but even great professors of religion take delight in the same when they should meditate on heavenly things, delight in the law of God after the inward man, and conduct themselves to always have a 'conscience void of offence towards God and towards men,' as the apostle Paul did.

From Quaker British Records, regarding persecutions in Bristol, England in 1682:

On the 7th of the month called July, they dispersed the meeting which then consisted chiefly of children; for the men and women being generally in prison, the children kept up their meetings regularly, and with a remarkable gravity and composure: it was surprising to see the manly courage and constancy with which some of the boys behaved on this occasion, keeping close to meetings in the absence of their parents, and undergoing on that account many abuses with patience... On the 30th, in the afternoon, about fifty-five were at the meeting, when Helliar, with a twisted whalebone-stock, beat many of them unmercifully, striking them violent blows on their heads, necks and faces, few of them escaping without some marks of his fury...

He also [on 13 August] sent eleven boys and four girls to Bridewell, [the local jail] till a Friend engaged for their appearance next day before the deputy mayor, who endeavored both by persuasions and threats to make them promise to come at no more meetings; but the children in that respect were unmovable: wherefore they were sent to Bridewell again, Helliar, to terrify them, charging the keeper to provide a new cat of ninetails against next morning. Next day at the Tolzey he urged the justices to have them corrected, but could not prevail. The boys and girls were mostly from ten to twelve years of age. Their names were Samuel Gibbon, William Miller, Joseph James, Elias Osborne, Tabitha Jones, Jonathan Jones, William Fry, Joseph Watkins, Rachel Mears, William Day, Samuel Watkins, James Randy, Martha Watkins, Martha James and James Wheeler.

As sufferings continued very sore and heavy upon Friends not only in the city, but in most parts of the nation, I drew up a paper to be presented to the king; setting forth our grievances, and desiring redress from him in those particular cases which I understood were in his power. But not having relief from him, it came upon me to write an epistle to Friends, to encourage them in their sufferings that they might bear with patience the many exercises brought upon them, both by magistrates and false brethren and apostates; whose wicked books and filthy slanders grieved the upright-hearted. When I went to visit an ancient Friend at Dalston that lay sick, I wrote this epistle.

Friends and brethren in Christ Jesus, whom the Lord has called and gathered into himself, in him abide; for without him you can do nothing, and through him you can do all things. He is your strength and support in all your trials, temptations, imprisonments, and sufferings. For Christ's sake you are accounted as sheep for the slaughter; in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Christ who has loved us. Therefore, Friends, though you suffer by the outward powers, you know that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, suffered by the unconverted. And though you suffer by false brethren and apostates for a time, and by their filthy books and tongues, whose tongues indeed are become to slander; let them speak, write, or print what they will; for the sober people even of the world hardly regard it. It is well they have exposed themselves to the world, that their folly may proceed no farther; though to the utmost of their power they have showed their wicked intent to stir up the magistrates, professors, and wicked against us, and to speak evil of the way of truth. God's judgments will overtake them, as sure as they have come upon those that are gone before them. Let their pretense be ever so high, mark their end; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the grass planted on the roof of the house. Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the seed is on their heads and will grind them to powder; the same seed that

crushes the serpent's head. Therefore in this seed, Christ, who is your sanctuary, rest, peace, and quiet habitation, who is the first and the last, and over all, in him walk; for the Lord takes pleasure in his faithful people that serve and worship him. Therefore let the saints be joyful in glory; and the God of peace, that the God of all grace, who has called us into his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after that you have suffered awhile, make you perfect, establish, strengthen, and settle you. Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he cares for you. And dearly beloved, do not think it strange concerning the fiery ordeal that is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened to you: for it is better, if the will of God be so, that you suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing; and rejoice that you are sharers of Christ's sufferings. Therefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as to a faithful Creator. For you are not only given the gift of belief in Christ, but also you are given the gift of suffering for his sake. So it is given, or is a gift from Christ to suffer for his name; and therefore rejoice, for you are sharers of Christ's sufferings. If you are spoken of with contempt or evil for the name of Christ, be happy for the spirit of glory and of God rests upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Therefore if any suffer as Christians, let them not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf. Though now for a season you are in sufferings, trials, and temptations; the trial of your faith is much more precious than that of gold which perishes, though it be tried with fire; may your trial result in praise, honor, and glory as you are kept by the power of God through faith, unto salvation. Therefore mind your keeper, wherever you are, or whatever sufferings you are in; and mind the example of the apostle, how he suffered trouble as an evildoer including imprisonment. But the word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures forever; and they who are in that which is not everlasting and does not endure forever, cannot bind the word. The apostle said, "I endure all things for the elect's sake; that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory. (Mark, with eternal glory.) And if we suffer with Christ we shall reign with Christ, who remain faithful." Therefore don't join unprofitable conversations, avoiding impure and chatter spoken from pride (godless chatter), for they will increase your ungodliness; avoid such so that you may be vessels of honor, sanctified and suitable for Christ your master's use, and prepared for every good work. Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, and meekness. Fight the good fight of faith with your heavenly weapons; which faith is victory (or gives victory) by which you seize eternal life, and have access to God, "who will give to every man according to his deeds: to them who patiently continue in well-doing, seek for glory and honor, immortality and eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that does evil; but glory, honor and peace to every man that works good." Christ said to his disciples, " If the world hate you, you know that it hated me before it hated you. If you were of the world, the world would love its own: but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hates you." And, "If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you." And John in his general epistle to the church said, "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren." And Christ in his prayer to his Father, said of his followers, "As you have sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world; and the glory which you gave me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one." Therefore all you that know God and Jesus Christ (whom to know is eternal life) and are partakers of his glory, keep the testimony of Jesus, and be valiant for his truth upon earth, that you may be all settled upon Christ, the rock and foundation.

George Fox

Dalston, the 3d of the 8th month, 1682

I made only a little stay at Dalston, but returned to London, where I stayed for most of the winter; laboring in the service of truth among Friends, except for a little while at Kingston, in the tenth month of this year, where I wrote a book, setting forth "The state of the fleshly birth, and the spiritual birth; and the duty and state of a child, youth, young men, aged men and fathers in the truth." But I did not stay long at Kingston; for the intense persecution still continued, and I felt my service was most required in London where our meetings were mostly disturbed and broken up; forcing Friends to meet outdoors because they were kept out of their meeting-houses by the officers. Yet to our surprise, we sometimes had a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houses. One time I had decided to visit a friend that was a couple of miles out of town who was not well; however, hearing that the king had sent to the mayor to put the laws in execution against dissenters, and that the magistrates then intended to nail up the meeting-house doors, I did not have the freedom to go out of town; but was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-street. Despite all their threats, a quiet and large meeting took place, and

the glory of the Lord shone over all.

The same week I went to the meeting at the Peel in John's street, and the court sessions were held the same day at Hicks' hall. I went in the morning; and since William Mead was scheduled to appear at the court sessions for not going to the steeple-house worship, he came once or twice from Hicks' hall to me at the Peel; which some ill-minded people observing, went and informed the justices at the bench that he had gone to a meeting at the Peel. Upon which they sent a messenger to see if there was a meeting; but this being in the late morning, there was no meeting. So the messenger went back and told them. Then others informed the justices that there would be a meeting there in the afternoon; at which point they sent for the chief constable and asked him, 'Why he allowed a meeting to be at the Peel, so near to him?' He told them, 'he did not know of any meeting there.' They asked him, 'how he could not know about it living so near it?' He said, 'he had never been there in his life, and had no knowledge of a meeting there.' They tried to convince him that he had to know; but he maintained his denial, and they said, 'they would order it brought up again in the afternoon.' But after they had dealt with many other matters of the sessions, when dinner-time came, they hastened to their dinner, without giving order, and when they came to the bench again after dinner, the Lord put it out of their minds, so the meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a blessed meeting we had, the Lord's presence being precious among us. When Friends saw me coming into the meeting, many were worried that I would be arrested; but before I went, I resolved in my mind that if it was the Lord's will, I was ready to be arrested and to suffer, for I had nothing on my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory. I believe that the Lord put it out of their minds so that they would not order our meeting to be broken up that day. Yet the first-day after, three or four justices (as I heard) came to the Peel and ejected Friends out of their meeting-house, and kept them out. The also asked for William Mead, but he was not there.

That day I was moved to go to Gracechurch-street meeting; and it was expected that the officers would come to break up the meeting or keep Friends out; and many hundreds of people came to see what would be done to us. But the officers did not come; so we were in peace and quietness; and many of the people that came to look on, stayed all the time; and a glorious, precious meeting we had, for the Lord's presence was plentifully among us, and his power came over all; glory to his name forever, who is over all!

I had seen the mayor's printed speech for putting the laws in execution against dissenters; and I thought we should draw up a paper to send to the mayor and aldermen, to clear ourselves from being such as those laws were made against; and to set forth our peaceable behavior both towards the king and the government. Accordingly a paper was drawn up, signed, and delivered to the mayor; and copies delivered to the aldermen, and the bishop of London who generally took it kindly, and were civil to the Friends that delivered it.

About this time I was moved to write the few lines following to Friends:

Dear Friends, Feel the power of God in you all, and over all, and by it let your hearts be united to one another, and to the Lord God, who has gathered you himself by his power and spirit, to be a people to serve and worship him. So you may all strive to excel one another in virtue, and in that love that bears all things, and edifies the body of Christ, the body of the second Adam. For the body of old Adam in the fall is full of malice, envy, and vice. Therefore you who are called out of old Adam in the fall, and have put on Christ the second Adam that never fell, walk in him, the treasure of life, wisdom, and knowledge, in whom you have peace with God, who is the first and last, the beginning and the ending. So let all be gathered up to God, into him who reconciles all things in one, both things in heaven and things on earth; who is the faithful and true witness in male and female. In him sit down, who is above the subtle foxes in their holes, and the fowls of the air in their nests; I say, sit down in Christ, who has no place among them to lay his head; he is your rest. So in him is my love to you all.

George Fox

London, the 20th of the 11th month, 1682

Not long after I received an account by letter, from some Friends that were prisoners at Denbigh in Wales, that many Friends there were under great sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. In the tender sense whereof I was moved in the love of God to visit them with a few lines, as a word of consolation to them in their sufferings; and of exhortation, to stand fast in the testimony committed

to them, after this manner:

Dear suffering lambs for the name and command of Jesus! Be valiant for his truth, and faithful, and you will feel the presence of Christ with you. Look at him who suffered for you, has bought you, and will feed you, who said, "be of good comfort, I have overcome the world:" who destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. I say, look at Christ your sanctuary, in whom you have rest and peace.' To you it is given not only to believe, but to suffer for his name's sake. They that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution by the ungodly professors of Christ Jesus, who live out of him. Therefore, be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and look above that spirit that makes you suffer, up to Christ, who was before it was, and will be when it is gone. Consider all the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, who suffered and were persecuted; but they were never persecuted as true men, but as deceivers, and yet they were true. Christ is the same today as yesterday, a rock and foundation for your age and generation, for you to build upon. I have written concerning you (after I heard your letter), to Friends in Cheshire to visit you, understanding that you belong to their Quarterly Meeting. I desire some Friends of your county to go and lay your suffering condition before the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting in Cheshire. I have written likewise to Richard Davis, that some of that side may go and visit you and see how your condition is.

My love is to you in the Lord, who alone is your support.

George Fox

London, the 27th of the 11th month, 1682

Because the many of the magistrates were unwilling to have fines laid upon meeting-houses, they kept Friends out in many places, setting officers and guards of soldiers at the doors and passages; yet sometimes Friends were fined for speaking or praying, though it was done outside the meeting house. One first-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning, (as they were that day at most meetings about the city), I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard, before the soldiers came to guard the passages; but the constables had gotten there before me and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in; they said 'they could not and dared not because they were commanded to stop us and were sorry for it.' I told them, I would not oppose them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood until I became weary; then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after awhile the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon commanded him to stop and said he should not speak. When he didn't stop, they began to be angry. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and asked him to let him alone. The constable relented and became quiet; and the Friend did not speak much longer. After he was finished, I was moved to stand up and speak; and in my declaration said, 'there was no need for them to come against us with swords and staves; for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in our hearts but good will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. We did not "meet under pretense of religion to plot and plan against the government, or to raise insurrections;" but to worship God in spirit and in truth. We had Christ as our bishop, priest, and shepherd, to feed us and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our teacher. So to Christ their bishop and shepherd, I recommended them all. I sat down and after awhile was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people including the constables and soldiers took off their hats. When the meeting was done and Friends began to leave, the constable took off his hat and asked the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people.

After this I went around the area, visiting Friends at their houses who had their personal property seized for worshipping God. We took an account of what had been taken from them. Some Friends met together about it and drew up the case of the sufferings of our Friends in writing, and gave it to the justices at their petty sessions. Which resulted in them issuing an order, 'that the officers should not sell the personal property of Friends which they had in their hands, but keep them until the next sessions;' which gave some discouragement to the informers, and put a little stop to their proceedings.

The next first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy; and by that time it was gathered, the court server came in; and after him the wild people, like a sea; but the Lord's power chained them all. The spirit of the Lord went through and over all, and they were quiet, and we had a glorious,

peaceable meeting; blessed be the Lord for his unspeakable goodness! This was in the twelfth month, 1682.

In the first month, 1683, I went to Kingston upon Thames. As I went to the meeting, I met the chief constable who had been at the meeting-place, and had set watchmen to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let Friends have a couple of benches out, to sit upon in the highway; so Friends met together there, and a very precious meeting we had; for the refreshing presence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace.

Having visited and encouraged Friends there, I returned to London and went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where the constables with their watchmen kept a guard to keep Friends out of the house. So we met in the street; and when any Friend spoke, the officers and watchmen made a great show to pull him down and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak. I said, 'heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool; and will you not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God?' While I spoke, they were quiet; and after I had finished what I felt moved to say, we broke up our meeting in peace. This was on the sixth day of the week.

On the first-day following I was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-street. When I came there, I found a guard set at the entrance on Lombard-street, and another at the gate in Gracechurch-street, to keep Friends out of the meeting-place; so we were forced, but happy, to meet in the street. After some time I stood up on a chair and spoke extensively to the people 'opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths concerning magistracy, and the Lord's prayer.' Besides the Friends was a great multitude of people, and all was very quiet; for the Lord's power was over all, and in his time we broke up our meeting and departed in peace.

Next day I went to Guildford in Surrey; and having visited Friends there, passed to Worminghurst in Sussex where I had a very blessed meeting among Friends, free from disturbance. While I was there, James Claypole of London, (who was there with his wife), was suddenly taken very ill with so violent a kidney stone attack so that he could neither stand or lie down; and with extreme pain cried out like a woman in childbirth. When I heard it, I was much grieving in spirit for him and went to him. After I had spoken a few words to him to turn his mind inward, I was moved to lay my hand upon him and prayed the Lord to rebuke his infirmity. As I laid my hand on him, the Lord's power went through him; and by faith in that power he pain eased quickly and he soon fell into a sleep. When he awaked, the stone passed from him like dirt; and he was so well, that the next day he rode with me twenty five miles in a coach, though each previous kidney stone attacks forced him to bed for two to four weeks at a time. But the Lord was solicited for him, and by his power he soon gave James ease at this time; blessed and praised be his holy name therefore!

After I had had some meetings in Sussex and Surrey, and visited Friends in the area, I returned to London by Kingston, where I had a meeting on the first day of the second month, being first-day. We were kept out of the meeting-house by a constable and watchmen, so were forced but happy to meet in the highway. Since it was the Monthly Meeting day and many people had come, the meeting was pretty large and very quiet; and the Lord's' blessed presence was among us; blessed be his name forever!

Arriving back in London, I went to the meeting at Wheeler-street near Spitalfields, which that day proved very large, and a glorious blessed meeting it was; for the Lord's power and truth was over all, and many deep and weighty things were opened to the people to their great satisfaction.

I stayed in and near London, visiting meetings, and laboring in the service of the gospel, until the Yearly Meeting, which began the 28th of the third month. It was a time of great sufferings, and I was very concerned that Friends coming up from the country to the church's service might be arrested and imprisoned in London. But the Lord was with us, his power preserved us, and it gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon him, and be refreshed together in him, and to perform those services for his truth and people with which we met. Afterwards was a time of great persecution, and we understood that in some counties Friends were under great sufferings either by imprisonment or seizure of personal property, or both. A concern was weightily upon me, for fear that Friends, especially traders and dealers in the world, might be at risk to the loss of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings. As a result of this being opened in me, I drew an epistle of caution to Friends in that case, which I communicated to the Yearly Meeting; and from there it was sent among Friends throughout the nation; a copy of which here follows:

Dear Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,

Who is your only sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, seizures of personal property, and imprisonments! Let everyone's eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him; so that none can touch a hair of your head, or you, or any thing you have except it is permitted or allowed in this day to try his people, whether their minds are with the Lord or in outward things. Dear Friends take care that all your offerings be free from lien or obligation, and your own, that you have fully paid for, so that you may not offer that which is another man's, or that with which you are entrusted, (and not your own), or orphan's or widow's estates; but all such things settle and establish in their places. You may remember many years ago, in a time of great persecution, many Friends who were traders, shopkeepers, and others, had the concerns of widows and orphans and other people's estates in their hands. And when a great suffering, persecution, and seizure of goods came upon Friends, special care was taken that the only thing offered up to the Lord in their sufferings was really their own, and not any other people's estates or goods which they had in their hands; and that they might not offer up anybody else's, but only what they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. Afterwards several letters came out of the country to the meeting at London, from Friends that had the goods of the shopkeepers at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors, asking them to take their goods back again. And some Friends came to London themselves, and spoke with their creditors, letting them understand, "They were liable to have everything in their possession seized;" and told them, "They would not have any man to suffer because of them; neither would they by suffering offer up anything except what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for." Upon which several took their goods again. This created a very good reputation of Friends in the hearts of many people, when they saw such a righteous, just, and honest principle that would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus should really and truly be their own, not other people's. In this they owed nothing to anyone but love. So in this every man and woman stands in the free offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or material which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan said unto David, "I give you the threshing-floor,.... and the oxen for burnt offerings; and the threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat offering, I give it all." But king David said unto Ornan, "No, but I will in truth buy it for the full price; for I will not take that which is yours for the Lord, nor offer burnt offerings without cost." 1Chr 21:24. So any offering had to be what David owned, and so should it be every man's offering that offers. You may see here, that David would not accept of another man's gift for an offering to the Lord; he would not offer up that which cost him nothing, but what should be really his own. Psalm 112, v5. "A good man will guide his affairs with discretion."

Let this be read in your Monthly and Quarterly men's and women Meetings.

George Fox

London the 2d of the 4th month, 1683

Some time after the Yearly Meeting I went to Kingston by the river Thames to visit Friends; and while I was there, it came upon me to write the following epistle to Friends in general, as a salutation of love, and to stir up the pure mind in them.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

Who are turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God, who are believers in the light, which is the life in Christ, and are become children of the light and of the day, grafted into Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and are gathered in the name of Jesus, in whom you have salvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven. For Christ Jesus said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Mat 18:20. So you being gathered in the name of Jesus, he is in the midst of you, a Savior, a mediator, a prophet, a shepherd, a bishop, a leader, a counselor, the captain of your salvation, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works. Therefore, brethren in Christ Jesus, exhort one another daily, while it is called today, for fear that any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For you are made partakers of Christ, if you hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast to the end. Hbr 3:14. Therefore, hear Christ's voice; for he is in the midst of you as a teacher. Take heed to prevent in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God, as there is in too many in this

day of provocation and temptation. While it is today, hear his voice, and let us consider how to encourage and exhort each other to love and doing good works. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, (for he is faithful that has promised, and has called you). Do not stop meeting together with fellow believers, as is the manner of some," mark, "as is the manner of some," that did and do neglect meeting together; but exhort each other and increase exhorting even more as you see the day of light appearing. For if we willfully sin after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful dread of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. Heb. 10. Therefore it is good not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but exhort one another daily; for Christ is in the midst of his people a teacher and a prophet, who said, "Learn of me, the way, the truth, and the life." We being many individuals are but one body in Christ, gathered in his name; and everyone members one of another. Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given us, if it is prophecy, then let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; and let those that minister serve those in their care; those that are teachers on their teaching; and he that exhorts encourage and persuade; he that gives, let him do it with simplicity and quietly; and he that rules, with diligence; and he that shows mercy, is to do it with cheerfulness. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly and affectionate to one another, with brotherly love, in honor deferring to one another. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulations, "be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good;" and if it be possible, as much as you are capable, "be at peace with all men;" Rom 12. This is and was the practice of the church of Christ. And now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost. I myself also am persuaded that you, my brethren, are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and are able also to admonish one another. Rom 15:14. Here is the church of Christ in which Christ is present among them as a teacher and the head of the church; and the members were and are able through him to admonish one another. Let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which you are also called into one body, to wit, of Christ. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another,... Col.3 " whatsoever you do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God and the Father by him;" and above all things strive for love, which is the bond of perfection The apostle said to Timothy, "Do not be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner; but be a partner of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God, who has saved us, and called us with a holy calling; not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." 2 Tim 1:8-9. It concerns everyone not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, who has called them by his grace; and not to be ashamed of any of Christ's prisoners, and afflicted ones for Christ's and his gospel's sake, who abolishes death, and brings life and immortality to light through his gospel; you that believe in the light, know it. Peter said in his general epistle to the church of Christ, "As every man," mark every man, "hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," so not of men. "If any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God gives," so not of the ability of men's arts and sciences, "that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ." For these gifts and grace come from Jesus into the hearts of the members of his church, whom he is in the midst of. And if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God. Every true Christian has the presence of Christ, who has all power in heaven and in earth given him, to support him with his power, light, and life. Christ said to his believers, "Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in the synagogues, and you shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, don't rehearse how or what you shall say; for it shall be given you in the same hour what you shall speak: for it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your Father that speaks in you. And you shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endures to the end shall be saved. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; it is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord; for if they have called the master of the house a devil, what will they call his servant? Do not fear those who can kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. A sparrow shall not fall to the ground without your heavenly Father's knowledge; the hairs of your head are all numbered, you are of more value than many sparrows. Whoever confesses me before men, I will confess they are my followers before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. And whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed." Mat 10:32-33. Again Christ said, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man be ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy angels." Mark 8:38. And Christ said to his disciples, "He that receives you receives me, and he that receives me receives him that sent me; he that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall

receive a prophet's reward; and he that receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. Whoever give to drink to one of my little ones, even a cup of cold water because he is my disciple, I assure you, he shall not lose his reward." *Mat 10:40-42*. Here you may see how Christ encourages his disciples, and them that receive them. And John said, "Among the chief rulers of the Jews many believed in Christ; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, for fear they should be expelled from the synagogue." *John 12:42*. There are too many believers today who are reluctant to confess Christ, for fear they will lose the approval of men. But Christ encourages the faithful disciples, and told them, they would put them out of their synagogues; yes, that the time should come, that whoever killed them would think they did God a service. "These things," said he, "will they do to you, because they have not known the Father or me. But I tell you these things so that when the time comes you may remember what I told you about them." *John 16:2-4*. Here you may see what Christ told his disciples should come to pass to them. And Saul, before he was converted, did compel the Christians to blaspheme, and make havoc of the church of Christ. *Acts 8:1-3* and *Acts 22:1-8* and *Acts 26:9-11*. Did not the beast in the Revelation compel both small and great to worship him and his image? And did not all worship it, except those who had their names written in the Lamb's book of life? Did not Nebuchadnezzar let up an image of sixty cubits high, and six cubits broad? And did not he cause a herald to cry aloud, "It is commanded that all people, nations, and languages fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar has set up; and whoever does not fall down and worship shall in the same hour be cast into the midst of the fiery furnace!" And were not Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego cast into the furnace? *Dan. 3*. But God delivered them. Therefore it is good to be faithful to God and his worship in spirit and truth. The Jews agreed, that if any man should confess Christ he should be put out of their synagogue. *John 9:22*. So it was for Christ's sake they were excommunicated out of their synagogues. But, as it is written, "Behold I lay in Zion a stumbling stone, and a rock of offence; and whoever believes on him shall not be ashamed." *Isaiah 28:16* So Christ is a stumbling stone, and a rock of offence to all the unbelievers in the light, which is the life in Christ, whether they be Jews, Christians, or Gentiles. The Jews did believe Christ was to come, from the scriptures, and the Christians believe he is come, by the scriptures, but do not believe in the light as Christ commands, and so do not become children of the light. Therefore you that are believers in the light, and are become the children of light, walk in Christ, your way, life and salvation.

George Fox

Kingston, the 5th month, 1683

Before I left Kingston something further opened in me, which I was moved to write and send among Friends; as follows:

Dear Friends,

My love is to you all in the holy seed that reigns over all. And my desire is that everyone, both male and female, may feel the seed Christ in you, which is heir of the promise of life eternal, that you may all grow up in Christ Jesus, your head, and be built upon him the rock and foundation that God has laid, which stands sure over all rocks and foundations in the world. That you may eat and drink of this spiritual rock, the spiritual water and food; so that you may truly and inwardly say, your rock and foundation, your bread and water of life is from heaven, and your bread and water is sure; also that you know his voice that feeds, and leads you into the pastures of life, which are always fresh and green. In this your affections are set on things above, seeking that which comes down from above more than that which is from below, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, making intercession for you; who is your mediator, making peace between God and you; and your heavenly bishop to oversee you, that you keep in his light, life, and power, and do not go astray from his heavenly fold and pasture, that he your shepherd may feed you there. He is your prophet, to open to you the fulfilling of the promises and prophecies, himself being the substance; that you may live in him, and he in you, yes, and reign in your hearts; there to exercise his offices, his prophetic, priestly, and kingly office, who is heavenly and spiritual. That you may **know the three that bear witness in the earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood**, which is the life of Christ, which cleanses from all sin; the water that washes and refreshes you, the spirit that baptizes, circumcises, and leads you into all truth; that you may come all to drink into one spirit, and keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace. So being led by the spirit of God, you are his sons and daughters, and by his spirit will come to know the three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the

Holy Ghost. These are the three witnesses that are in heaven, that bear record of all things; for he is God in the heaven, and God in the earth. Therefore, I desire that you may all feel his love shed in your hearts, and in it live, (above the love of the world, which is enmity), and in that you will keep in the excellent way. For love edifies the body of Christ, builds his church up, and keeps out of the enmity; for it is above it, and brings and keeps all in true humanity, and in the true divinity; and to be courteous, kind, and tender one towards another. And show forth the nature of Christ, and true Christianity, in all your lives and conversations, that the blessings of the Lord may rest upon you, as you all live in the seed of the gospel, the seed of the kingdom of God, in which all nations are blessed. In that you will all have a care of God's glory. There is the hill or mountain where the light shines to the answering the witness of God in all, and the salt that is a good savor to the witness of God in the hearts of all; which savor and salt being kept in, it does not come under the feet of men. So my love to you all in Christ Jesus, whom God has given to be a sanctuary for all his people, who is from above, and not of this world, in whom you have life, peace, and salvation. In him God Almighty keep and preserve you all to his glory, Amen. As you live in the peaceable truth of God, it keeps you under and within his protection; but they that make profession of the scriptures of truth, and yet live out of the truth, in the spirit of strife, unquietness, and discontent, in a contriving, plotting, ravenous, destroying spirit, which is of the devil, and not of God, that spirit is judged out of the truth, and to be of him in whom there is no truth, whose portion is in the lake, and in the fire that burns.

George Fox

Kingston, the 27th of the 5th month, 1683

Having visited Friends at and around Kingston, I returned to London; for it was a time of suffering for Friends there, and I did not have freedom to be gone long from the city. I went to the meeting at the Peel which had just been broken up shortly before my arrival by the justices and constables, and they had conducted themselves very roughly; but during that day the meeting was in the house; it had been quiet and glorious, blessed be the Lord.

On first-day following I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where I found three constables in the meeting-house, who kept Friends out; so we met in the court. After I had been some time in the meeting, I stood up, and spoke to the people, and continued speaking a pretty while. Then one of the constables came, took hold of my hand, and said, 'I must come down.' I desired him to be patient, and went on speaking to the people; but after a little time he plucked me down, and took me into the meeting-house. I asked them if they were not weary of this work? One of them said, 'indeed they were.' They let me go into the widow Foster's house, which joined to the meeting-house, where I stayed, it being very hot. One Friend prayed after I was taken away; and when the meeting was ended, the constables asked some Friends, 'which of them would pass their words that I should appear, if they should be questioned about me?' But Friends told them they need not require that, for I was a man well known in the city to be 'one that would neither flee nor hide;' they came not to me, but went their way, and I heard no further of it. The same week I was at the meeting at the Savoy, which had been kept outside and disturbed; but that day it was within doors and peaceable, and a precious meeting it was. The first-day after, it was upon me to go to the meeting at Westminster, where there used to be great disturbances: but there also the meeting was within doors that day and was very large. The Lord's power was over all, and kept all quiet and still; for though many loose spirits were there, yet they were bound down by the power and spirit of the Lord, that they could not get up to make disturbance.

About this time I was moved to write the following epistle:

Friends and Brethren,

Who have received the peaceable truth, let the fruits of its peace, and of your quiet spirit appear in all your meetings and in all your words and actions; for *he that inhabits eternity dwells with a humble heart, and he gives grace to the humble and resists the proud.* Heaven is his throne, and the earth you walk upon is his footstool; happy are you that see and know him who is invisible. And now, Friends, let all things be done in your meetings and otherwise in love, without strife or self-seeking. For love fulfils the law, and love overcomes and edifies the body of Christ. There is neither self or envy in love, neither is it puffed up; but love endures and bears all things. See that this love of God rules in you all and over you all. Christ said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they shall

inherit the earth. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. "Now Friends, here is a great deal in these words. All must be in these states and conditions, if they have these blessings. The children of God are peacemakers, and strive to make peace in the truth; and to live in peace with all men where possible. So live in the peace and goodwill to all men; which goodwill is both for their sanctification and salvation. And Friends, consider the wisdom of God which is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, and reasonable, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. Dear Friends, let this pure, peaceable, gentle wisdom that is from above, that is reasonable, and is full of mercy and good fruits, be exercised and practiced in all the true churches of Christ; that wisdom may be justified of her children. For the works of the flesh, or fleshly spirit, are hatred, sexual immorality, impurity, debauchery, idolatry, hatred, discord, jealousy, fits of rage, selfish ambition, dissensions, envy, drunkenness, etc. and they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruits of the spirit of God are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control. So, dear Friends and brethren strive to exceed one another and all people upon the earth in humility, in meekness, in gentleness, in temperance, in love, in patience, in pureness, and in mercy; then you will show forth the fruits of the spirit of God, and of his heavenly wisdom that is from above. In this, wisdom will be justified of her children; and you will be the salt of the earth, and a light to the world set on a hill that cannot be hid; and your moderation will appear to all men. Be just and righteous, faithful and true in all your words, dealings, and conversations; that you may answer the truth in all people; for Christ said, his father is glorified by those who produce fruits, and men see the resulting good works; for he that does righteousness, is accepted with God. And he that dwells in love, dwells in God; for love is his dwelling state. Let that dwelling state be everyone's who has received the truth; for if not, you are not dwelling in God, whatever you say your state is. Therefore my desire is that all of you who have received Christ the seed, which bruises the serpent's head, may walk in him as your sanctuary, life, and salvation, your rest and peace, Amen.

George Fox

London, the 14th of the 6th month, 1683

I continued yet at London, laboring in the work and service of the Lord both in and out of meetings; sometimes visiting Friends in prison for the testimony of Jesus, encouraging them in their sufferings, and exhorting them to stand faithful and steadfast in the testimony which the Lord had committed to them to bear; sometimes also visiting those that were sick and weak in body, or troubled in mind, helping to bear their spirits up from sinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable; sometimes they were disturbed and broken up by the officers. One first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, which was large; for many professors and sober people were there. The Lord opened many precious weighty things in me to the people, which I declared among them, and directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, which the Lord had given them a measure of; that all by the spirit might understand the scriptures, which were given forth from the spirit of God; and that by the spirit of God they might know God, and Christ whom God has sent, whom to know is eternal life; and that by the spirit they might all come into Christ, and know him to be their sanctuary, who destroys the devil, the destroyer, and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. For Christ was a sanctuary to them to whom he was a Savior, whom he saved from the destroyer. And Christ did baptize them with the holy ghost and with fire, and did thoroughly purge his floor, and burn up their chaff with unquenchable fire; that is, sin and corruption, which entered into man and woman by their disobedience; but Christ gathers his wheat into his barn. So all that are baptized with Christ's baptism, their wheat is in God's barn; and nothing of destruction can get into God's barn to harm the wheat there, though harm may be permitted to material possessions.' As I was speaking in the power of the Lord by which the people were greatly affected, constables and a sea of rude people suddenly flowed into the meeting. One of the constables said, 'Come down,' and laid hands on me. I asked him, 'Are you a Christian? We are Christians.' He grabbed my hand, and was very determined to pull me down; but I stood still and spoke a few words to the people, asking the Lord to place the blessings of God upon them all.



<1> <2> <3> <4>

The constable still called upon me to come down, and finally pulled me down; and he told another man with a staff to 'arrest me and take me to prison.' That man took me to the house of another officer who was more civil; and after awhile they brought in four more Friends whom they had arrested. I was very weary and in a great sweat; and several Friends hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house; but I told them all to go away for fear the constables and informers should arrest them. After awhile the constables took us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man. After he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, the constable informed him, 'that I had preached in the meeting.' The justice said in an angry manner, 'do not you know that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such unlawful meetings what is contrary to the liturgy of the church of England?' There was present one named Shad (a wicked informer, who was said to have escaped jail at Coventry and to have been branded in the hand as a criminal in London), who hearing the justice speak so to me, stepped up to him and told him that he had convicted them on the act of the 22d of king Charles the second.' 'What! You convict them?' said the justice. 'Yes,' said Shad, 'I have convicted them, and you must convict them too upon that act.' With that the justice was angry with him and said, 'You teach me! What are you? I'll convict them of a riot.' Upon hearing that and seeing the justice angry, the informer went away in a fret; so he was disappointed of his purpose. I thought he would have sworn somebody against me; therefore I said 'let no man swear against me, for it is my principle, 'not to swear;' and therefore I would not have any man swear against me.' The justice thereupon asked me, 'If I did not preach in the meeting?' I told him, 'I did confess what God and Christ had done for my soul; and did praise God. I thought I might have done that in the streets and in all places to the praise of God, and confess Christ Jesus; which I was not ashamed to confess. Neither was this contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' The justice said 'the laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' I said, 'I knew of no such laws against our meetings; but if he meant the act that was made against those who met to plot, contrive, and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people and abhorred all such actions; and did bear true love and good will to the king, and to all men upon the earth.' The justice then asked me, 'if I had been under court orders?' I told him, no. Then he took his law books, and searched for laws against us, bidding his clerk take the rest of our names in the meantime. But when he could find no other law against us, the clerk swore the constable against us. Some of the Friends warned the constable 'to be careful to what he swore, to avoid being perjured because he had arrested them in the entry, not in the meeting.' Yet the constable, being an ill man, swore 'that they were in the meeting.' However, the justice said, 'seeing there was but one witness, he would discharge the rest; but he would send me to Newgate, and I could preach there.' I asked him, 'if it stood with his conscience to send me to Newgate for praising God, and for confessing Christ Jesus?' He cried, 'conscience! conscience!' But I felt my words touched his conscience. He bid the constable 'take me away, and he would make a mittimus to send me to prison after he had dined.' I told him, 'I desired his peace, and the good of his family; and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord.' So I left, and as I left the constable accepted a Friends' word that I would come to his house the next morning by the eighth hour. Accordingly I did go with those Friends, and the constable told us he went to the justice for the mittimus after he had dined; and the justice bid him, 'come again after the evening service;' which he did; and then the justice told him, 'he might let me go.' So, said the constable, you are discharged. I blamed him for turning informer and swearing against us. He said, 'he would do so no more.' Next day the justice was meeting with Gilbert Laty and asked him, 'if he would pay twenty pounds for George Fox's fine?' Gilbert said, 'no.' Then, 'said the justice, 'I am disappointed because since he only rents, I cannot seize the value of his fine; and since he has been brought before me showing his ability to pay, I cannot lay his fine on any other.'

After I was discharged, I went into the city. This was the week the sessions court was scheduled which would deal with many concerns of Friends; some were prisoners, and some on trials of appeals upon the illegal meetings act. I went to a Friend's house not far off that I might be ready if asked to assist

those Friends with or without counsel; and I found service in it. While my spirit was concerned on behalf of Friends and their respective outward sufferings in the world by the persecutors out in the world, a spiritual exercise also came heavily upon me at this time. I sensed the mischievous working of that adulterated spirit which had left the heavenly unity; and having drawn away some who professed truth into enmity and opposition against Friends, now was working to trouble the church of Christ with their arguments and contentions. And as a further discovery of the working of that seducing spirit, and a warning to all Friends to beware of it, I was moved to write the following epistle:

To all the elect, faithful, called, and chosen of God, the flock and heritage of God, who have been acquainted with the dealings of the Lord, and have kept your habitations in his life, power, and truth; being built upon the holy heavenly rock and foundation Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles; which foundation stands sure.

Many foundations have been laid since the apostles' days, by such as have gone from Christ the true and sure foundation; and their foundations have proven rotten, and come to nothing, and they who laid the false foundations have come to loss. Many since the day of Christ, and many since the truth has appeared in this nation, have had some openings and insights, and come among us for a time, and then gone from us again. These are and have been the comers and goers, just like those in the apostles' days. Such had an outward profession of truth, and have gone from the true foundation Christ Jesus, and so from the heavenly society and unity of the saints in the light. Then they set up foundations of their own; they have a form of godliness, but they are out of the power of God and out of the order of God, and such have turned to arguments and vain disputes. You who have kept your habitations in Christ Jesus, the first and the last, have been acquainted with this spirit. And you are not insensible of the scurrilous and filthy books of lies and defamations which have been spread abroad in this nation and beyond sea against the faithful. It is very well that the Lord has allowed them to publish their own shame in print so that truth's enemies may be discovered; their fruits and spirits have appeared and shown themselves both in print and otherwise. And I believe the Lord will allow this spirit to more publish its fruits, its shame and nakedness, to professor and profane, and to all sober, moderate and innocent people, that its shame and nakedness may more fully appear. Though for a time it has been hidden and covered with the fig leaves of an outward profession, and sometimes with complimentary and flattering words, (and other times it has revealed itself by rough, lying, and defaming words), yet the Lord God will blast all such vain talkers, that do not talk in the order of life, truth, and the gospel. Therefore, you that are faithful, stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made you free in his government. The government is upon his shoulders; he holds it up; the increase of it and of its peace there is no end. For all contenders against his order and government are not in him, nor in his heavenly, spiritual government and peace. Therefore, you faithful ones, who have stood the trial through many persecutions, imprisonments, and seizures of property; you know there is a crown of glory laid up for you. You that suffer with Christ, shall reign with him in his kingdom of glory; you that die with Christ, shall live with him in eternal life, in the world that has no end, who have gone through the sufferings without and within by false brethren, by comers and goers, that have caused the way of truth to be evil spoken of, and have been persecutors of the faithful with their tongues; and by printing and publishing their lying, defaming books against the faithful. These have stirred up magistrates and priests, who were willing to use any pretext to speak evil of the right way and precious truth of Christ, by which his people are made free; it would be better for these deceivers if they had never been born. But God has brought them to light, and their fruits and ravenous spirit are seen, savored, and known; who are become Judases and sons of perdition, to betray Christ now within (where he is made revealed) to the priests, magistrates, and heathen, as Judas betrayed Christ without to the priests and Pilate. Though some of the magistrates and sober people see their envy and mistakes; and that they have unreasonable hatred against the faithful. The Lord will consume this Judas, or son of perdition! The Lord will consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming! So let all the faithful look unto the Lord. And let that wicked son of perdition know, though he may be thought as high as Judas, (who was partaker of the ministry with the apostles), "the Lord will consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming." That is his portion. The brightness of the Lord will destroy him, and the spirit of his mouth will consume him. And when he is destroyed and consumed, there will not be a son of perdition to betray Christ in his people that live and walk in Christ, who has all power in heaven (mark in heaven) and in earth given to him; and with his holy and glorious power he limits and orders; so that nothing shall be done against his people, but what is suffered for their trial and their good, neither by apostates, persecutors with the tongue, Judases, sons of perdition to betray, or the outward powers to imprison, or seize goods; all these are limited by Christ who has all power in heaven and earth given to him. Everyone's faith is to

stand in him and his power. Such rejoice in his power, and see the increase of his righteous, holy, heavenly, spiritual, peaceable government, in which the glorious, holy order of life is lived and walked in by all his sons and daughters; and in his spirit is the holy unity and bond of peace. Though you are separated in body one from each other, yet all are together present in his spirit being glad and rejoicing; and beholding in the same spirit your spiritual order, unity, fellowship, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ Jesus. Who is steadfast forever, the first and the last, whose presence is among his people, and who is their head. **Here is heavenly Zion known, and heavenly Jerusalem, and the innumerable company of angels (which are spirits), and the spirits of the just men made perfect. Here is the general assembly, or general meeting, and a general heavenly, holy, and spiritual joy and rejoicing, lauding and praising the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb that lives for evermore. Amen.**

George Fox

London, the 14th of the 8th month, 1683.

Read this in your assemblies among the faithful.

I stayed a little in London, visiting Friends and meetings, and laboring in the work of the Lord. Meetings had long been prohibited inside the Bull and Mouth, but on this first-day we had a large and peaceful meeting in the house for the day; the people were so affected with the truth and refreshed with the powerful presence of the Lord, that when the meeting ended, they were did not want to depart.

After some time having several things upon me to write, I went to Kingston so I might be free from interruptions. After I arrived I learned that the officers had been very rude at the meeting, having abused them and then driving them out of the meeting-place; and remained very abusive for some time. While I was there I wrote a little book, (printed soon after), the title was: "The saints' heavenly and spiritual worship, unity, and communion, in which is stated what the true gospel-worship is, and in what the true unity and communion of the saints stand; with a discovery of those that were gone from this holy unity and communion, and were turned against the saints that lived in it."

When I had finished the services for which I went there, and had visited the Friends, I returned to London and visited most of the meetings in and about the city. Afterwards I went to visit a Friend in Essex; and returning by Dalston, I stayed at the widow Scot's, where I wrote an epistle to Friends, which may be read among my other printed books.

I came from Dalston to London, and the next day was sent for in haste to my son Rouse's at Kingston; whose daughter Margaret lay very sick, and had a desire to see me. I stayed in Kingston about a week, and then returned to London; where I continued most of the next winter and the spring, until the general meeting in 1684, (save that I went once as far as Enfield, to visit Friends thereabouts). In this time I did not cease to labor in the work of the Lord, being frequent at meetings, and visiting Friends that were prisoners or that were sick, and in writing books for the spreading of truth, and opening the understandings of people to receive it.

The Yearly Meeting was in the third month. A blessed, weighty meeting it was, in which Friends were sweetly refreshed together; for the Lord was with us, and opened his heavenly treasures among us. And though it was a time of great difficulty and danger because of informers and persecuting magistrates, yet the Lord was a defense and place of safety to his people.

Now I had drawings in spirit to go into Holland, to visit the seed of God in those provinces. And as soon as the Yearly Meeting was over, I prepared for my journey. Going with me from London were Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who also had drawings into that country. We took a coach the 31st of the third month, 1684, and got to Colchester that night. Next day, being first-day, we went to the meeting there; and though there was no notice given of my coming, our presence there was quickly spread over the town seven to ten miles distant in several places in the country; so that many Friends came in with two horse carriages, which made the meeting very large. I had a concern and burden in my mind, for fear this great gathering would upset the town, and be more than the magistrates could bear; but it was very quiet and peaceable; and we had a glorious meeting to

the settling and establishing of Friends both in the town and in the country; for the Lord's power was over all; blessed be his name forever! Truly, the Lord's power and presence was beyond words; for I was very weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reason of a cold), was sore; but God manifested his strength in us and with us, and all was well; the Lord have the glory for evermore for his supporting power. After the meeting more than a hundred Friends of the town and country came to see me at John Furley's. We were very glad to see one another, and we were greatly refreshed together, being filled with the love and riches of the Lord; blessed be his name forever!

We stayed at Colchester two more days visiting Friends, both at their meetings for business, and at their houses. Early in the morning on fourth-day we took a coach to Harwich, where we met William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield, who went over with us. About the eighth hour at night we went on board the packet-boat, Richard Gray, master; but because of contrary winds, it was the first hour in the morning before we sailed. We had a very good passage; and the next day at about the fifth hour in the afternoon we landed at the Brill in Holland, where we spent the night. Early the next morning we went to Rotterdam, where we stayed several days. The next day after we came to Rotterdam, Wilber Frouzen, a burgomaster and kinsman of Aarent Sunneman's, heard I was there and invited me to his country-house, having a desire to speak with me about some business relating to Aarent Sunneman's daughters. George Watts accompanied me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman's took us there. The burgomaster received us very kindly and was glad to see me. Entering into discourse about his kinsman's daughters, I found he was apprehensive that since their father was dead and having left them considerable inheritances, that the inheritances might be stolen and the daughters married to their disadvantage. At which point I told him, 'it was our principle and practice that none should marry among us unless they had a certificate of the consent of their relations or guardians; for it was our Christian care to watch over and look after all young people that came among us, especially those whose relations were dead. And as for his kinsman's daughters, we should take care that nothing should be offered to them but what should be agreeable to truth and righteousness, and that they might be preserved in the fear of God, according to their father's mind.' This seemed to give him great satisfaction. While I was with him, many people came there to see me; and I exhorted them all 'to keep in the fear of God, and to mind his good spirit in them, to keep their minds to the Lord.' After I had stayed two or three hours and discussed several things with them, I left my host very kindly sent me to Rotterdam in his carriage.

The next day was first-day and we were at the pretty large meeting in Rotterdam, and we declared to the people by an interpreter. The day following alderman Gaul came to speak with me, with whom we had much discussion about religious matters; he seemed to be well satisfied with the discussion, and was very tender. Several other persons of position intended to have come to speak with me, but being hindered by extraordinary business, (as I understood), they did not come.

The next day we went from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, where we had a large and very precious meeting. In the afternoon I was at another meeting there with Friends about business.

There was a Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam for the Friends of Holland and Germany, et al. which now began on the eighth of the fourth month, and ended the twelfth. Here we had a fine opportunity of seeing Friends from many areas and of being refreshed together in the love of God. After this meeting, before those who had come out of the several provinces left, we had a meeting with some particular Friends about the places and countries into which we, who came out of England in the work of the ministry, were to travel; and to inquire as to whom among them were suitable persons to go along with us as interpreters. This resulted in William Bingley, and Samuel Waldenfield sailing to Friesland, with Jacob Claus their interpreter. Alexander Parker and George Watts remained with me. We remained a few days longer in Amsterdam where I had further service. Before I left Amsterdam, I went to visit Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the Menonites or Baptists. I had met with him when I was in Holland about seven years before; and William Penn and George Keith had disputed with him. Then he was very high and very shy, so that he would not let me touch him or look at him (by his good will) but told me "to keep my eyes off him; for," he said, "they pierced his." But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth: his wife and daughter were also tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly. Feeling our spirits drawn towards Friesland, Alexander Parker, George Watts, and I with John Claus as our as interpreter, took a ship at Amsterdam bound for Friesland; and having sailed nine or ten leagues, we left the ship and traveled by land through Friesland, visiting Friends and tender people in towns and villages with meetings being common one of two times in a day. After we had been at Leuwarden, we passed by Franeker to Harlingen in West

Friesland which was the furthest place we went to in that area. And having been out six days from Amsterdam with very good service in that time in visiting Friends and publishing truth among the people, we took a ship at Harlingen bound for Amsterdam the 26th of the fourth month and arrived that night. The first-day following we were at the very large and precious meeting in Amsterdam. Many of the people, some of their teachers, and some persons of position were there. They seemed very attentive and we had a good opportunity, one after another, to declare the word of the Lord and open the way of truth to them; John Claus interpreted for us. The next day I stayed in Amsterdam, but George Watts went to a burial in Harlem with many hundreds of people attending; he took advantage of the opportunity to speak and came back to us that night.

The day following we went by boat to Osanoverton in Waterland, and from there in another small boat about a three miles by a small river on which we passed over and by a hundred bridges; we continued on to Lansmeer to a Friend's home named Timon Peters; here we had a very good meeting. We returned to Amsterdam at night, and were at the meeting there next day. In addition to Friends many were at this meeting including the great Baptist teacher Galenus, who was very attentive to the testimony of the truth; when the meeting was over, he came and took me by the hand very lovingly.

The next day we went by boat to Alkmaer, about twenty four miles from Amsterdam, passing through several towns along the way including Sardam, the great town of ship carpenters. At the pretty city of Alkmaer we stayed, and the next day we had a meeting at William Williams'. There were, besides Friends, many very serious people at this meeting, who were very attentive to the testimonies of truth that were made by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and myself; John Claus again was our interpreter. This was on a sixth-day, and on the seventh we returned to Amsterdam in order to be at the meeting on first-day, because it was likely to be the last meeting we would have there. Accordingly we attended what was a very large and open meeting. Many great persons were present including some earls with their attendants out of Germany, so we were told; who were very grave and sober; and the everlasting gospel was preached to them.

After this meeting we said goodbye to the Friends in Amsterdam, and the next morning departed to Harlem, where we had a meeting at a Friend's named Abraham Frondenberg. Great numbers of people were at this meeting, and it was of great service. After the meeting, a watchmaker of Amsterdam, who was at the meeting with his wife, desired to speak with me concerning religion. I had a long discussion with him, and both he and she were very low and tender, receiving with gladness what I spoke to them and seemingly to depart well satisfied.

We went next day to Rotterdam, where we stayed through two meetings; then we went to Brill to catch a ship to England on the sixteenth of the fifth month.

About four in the afternoon, we went on board the packet-boat of master William Sherman and set sail from Brill. When we had gone over the Mase about a three miles, we set anchor at a place called the Pit, because it was near the sands; here we laid at anchor until about four next morning when, having a pretty fair wind and the tide with us, we weighed anchor and set sail; by four next day we were within fifteen miles of Harwich over against Alborough castle. Because the wind fell short and the tide was weak, it was the first hour in the afternoon before we came near enough to Harwich that boats could come to receive the passengers and goods. On board there about forty passengers in all; of which some were English, some Scots, some Dutch, some French, some Spanish, some Flemish, and some Jews.

I spent a day with Friends at Harwich, while Alexander Parker and George Watts went to visit Friends at Ipswich and returned at night. Next morning early we all took a coach for Colchester where we all attended a large and peaceful meeting; after the meeting we traveled to Witham and lodged there that night. The next day we met William Mead on the way at Harestreet and I went with him to his house while the other Friends went to London.

Since I was weak with travel and continual exercise, I spent some time to rest myself and recover my health. In the meantime I was able to get out and visit Friends in that part of the country. When I was a little recovered I went to Enfield, visiting Friends there and around the area; then I went to Dalston to see the widow Stot, and from there to London to meet with some Friends from New-Jersey in America about business, they having requested my presence.

It was the latter end of the summer when I came to London, where I stayed the winter following except once or twice when I accompanied my wife, being in town with me, to her son Rouse's at Kingston. And though my body was very weak, I was still in continual service either in public meetings, when I was able to bear them, or in particular businesses among Friends; and I visited those that were sufferers for truth, either by imprisonment or loss of goods. I also wrote many things during this time, some for the press and some for particular service; such as letters to the king of Denmark and one to the duke of Holstein on behalf of Friends that were sufferers in his dominions as the follows:

For the Duke of Holstein;

Whom I do entreat in the love of God to read this which is sent to him in love.

I understand that formerly, by some evil-minded persons, it was reported to you, when Elizabeth Hendricks came to Frederickstadt to visit the people called Quakers, "that it was a scandal to the Christian religion that a woman should be suffered to preach in a public assembly religiously gathered together." Upon which you gave an order to the rulers of Frederickstadt, "to make those people leave that place immediately or to send them away." But the said rulers being Armenians, and they or their Fathers having come to live there as a people persecuted in Holland not much above threescore years ago, answered the duke that "they were not willing to persecute others for conscience sake, who had looked upon persecution on that account in their own case as anti-Christian." But after that, the people of God in scorn called Quakers, did write to you from Frederickstadt; and since that time they have had their liberty, and their meetings have been peaceful, to serve and worship God almost these twenty years at Frederickstadt and thereabouts, freely without molestation; which liberty they have acknowledged as a great favor and kindness from you.

And now, O duke, you professing christianity from the great and mighty name of Christ Jesus, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, and the holy scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, do not you use many women's words in your service and worship out of the Old and New Testament? **The apostle said, "Let your women keep silence in the churches;" and that he "did not permit a woman to speak, but to be under obedience; and if she wanted to learn anything, to ask her husband at home; for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church." And 1 Tim. 2:11-12. "Women are to learn in silence, and not allowed to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." 1 Cor. 14:34. Here the duke may see what sort of women were to be in silence and subjection, whom the law commands to be silent and not to usurp authority over the man, nor to speak in the church; these were unruly women. In the same chapter he commands "not to plait nor broider their hair, nor to wear gold, pearls, or costly array." These things were forbidden by the apostle, and women that wear such things are to learn in silence and to be subject, and not to usurp authority over the men; for it is a shame for such to speak in the church. But do not such women as these that wear gold and silver, pearls and gaudy apparel, or costly array, and plait and broider their hair, speak in your church, when your priests sets them to sing psalms? Do not they speak when they sing psalms? Consider this, O duke! Yet you say, "Your women must keep silence in the church, and must not speak in the church;" but when they sing psalms in your churches are they silent? Though the apostle forbids such women as before mentioned to speak in the church, yet in another place he encourages the good or holy women to be teachers of good things. Titus 2:3-4. The apostle also said, "And I urge you also, true companion, help these women who labored with me in the gospel, and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names are in the Book of Life." Here he owns these holy women, and encourages them which labored with him in the gospel, and did not forbid them. Phil 4:2-3. He likewise commends Phoebe unto the church of the Romans, calls her a "servant unto the church of Cenchrea," sends his epistle by her to the Romans from Corinth, and desires the church at Rome to "receive her in the Lord, as becomes saints;" and to assist her in whatever business she had need of; for she had been a nurturer of many and of him also." And he said, "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who risked their own necks for my life, to whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." Now here the duke may see that these were good holy women, whom the apostle did not forbid speaking, Rom16:1-4 but commended them, and Priscilla and Aquila "instructed and expounded to Apollos the way of God more perfectly." Acts 18:26. So here Priscilla was an instructor as well as Aquila, which holy women the apostle does not forbid. Neither did he forbid Philip's four daughters, who were virgins, to prophesy. Women**

might pray and prophesy in the church, 1Cor 11:5. The apostles showed to the Jews the fulfilling of Joel's prophecy: "That in the last days God would pour out of his spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, should prophesy with the spirit of God." So the apostle encourages daughters and handmaids to prophesy, as well as sons; and if they do prophesy, they must speak to the church or people, Joel. 2:28. Acts 2:17. Did not Miriam the prophetess sing unto the Lord, and all the women with her, when the Lord had delivered the children of Israel from Pharaoh? Did not she praise the Lord, and prophesy in the congregation of the children of Israel? Was not this in the church? Ex 15:21. Moses and Aaron did not forbid her prophesying or speaking; but Moses said, "Would God all the Lord's people were prophets!" And the Lord's people are women as well as men. Deborah was a judge and a prophetess; and do you not make use of Deborah's and Miriam's words in your service and worship? See Jud 4:1-31 Deborah's large speech or song. Barak did not forbid her, nor none of the Jewish priests. Did not she make this speech or song in the congregation or church of Israel? In the book of Ruth there are good speeches of those good women, which were not forbidden. Hannah prayed in the temple before Eli, and the Lord answered her prayer. See what a speech Hannah makes, and a praising of God before Eli the high priest, who did not forbid her. 1 Sam 2:1-10. Josiah the king sent his priest, with several others, to ask counsel of Huldah the prophetess, who dwelt at Jerusalem in the college. 2 Kings 22:14-15. 2 Chr 34:22-23. So here the king and his priests did not despise the counsel of this prophetess; and she prophesied to the congregation of Israel, as may be seen in these chapters. In Luke 1:41-45, see what a godly speech Elizabeth made to Mary, and what a large godly speech Mary made also. Mary said, "That the Lord did regard the low estate of his handmaid." And do not you make use in your worship and service of Mary's and Elizabeth's words from Luke 1:41-55 in your churches, and yet forbid women's speaking in your churches, and but to be in silence? Yet all sorts of women speak in your churches when they sing, and say Amen. In Luke 2:36-38 there was Anna the prophetess, a widow, of about fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. Did not she confess Christ Jesus in the temple, and give thanks to the Lord, "and speak of Christ to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?" Luke 2:36-38. So such holy women were not forbidden to speak in the church, neither in the law nor gospel. Was it not Mary Magdalene and other women that first preached Christ's resurrection to the apostles? The women indeed (namely Eve) was first in transgression; so they were women that first preached the resurrection of Christ Jesus; for Christ said to Mary, "Go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and to your Father, and to my God and to your God." John 20:17. And Luke 24:10. It was Mary Magdalene, Johanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them, who told the apostles, "Christ was risen from the dead; and their words and these women's words were as idle tales to the apostles, and they believed them not." Luke 24:8-12. "Certain women also of our company made us astonished," they said. So here it may be seen that the women's preaching the resurrection of Christ did astonish the apostles. Christ sent these women to preach his resurrection; so it is no shame for such women to preach Christ Jesus, neither are they to be silent when Christ sends them. The apostle says, "Every tongue shall confess to God," Rom 14:11. and "Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Phil 2:11. So here it is clear that women must confess Christ as well as men, if every tongue must confess. And the apostle said, "There is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal 3:28.

And whereas it is said, "women must ask their husbands at home," the duke knows very well that virgins have no husbands, nor widows; for Anna, the prophetess, was a widow; and if Christ be the husband, men must ask counsel of him at home, as well as women, before they teach. And suppose that a Turk's wife is Christian, or a Papist's wife should be a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, must they ask and learn of their husbands at home before they confess Christ Jesus in the congregation of the Lord? Their counsel will be to them to turn Turks or Papists.

I entreat the duke to consider these things, I entreat him to mind God's grace and truth in his heart, that comes by Jesus Christ, that by his spirit of grace and truth he may come to serve and worship God in his spirit and truth; so that he may serve the living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and

have his peace in Christ that the world cannot take away. And I do desire his good peace and prosperity in this world, and his eternal comfort and happiness in the world that is everlasting, Amen.

[For more information on the topic of women's equality, [see Letter 320](#)]

George Fox

London, the 26th of the 8th month, 1684

Besides the foregoing, I wrote also epistles to Friends; one of which is as follows:

Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,

In whom you have life, peace, and salvation; walk in him who is your heavenly rock and foundation, that stands sure, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him. So his power is over all. Let your faith stand in his power, which is over all from everlasting to everlasting, over the devil and his power; that in the holy heavenly wisdom of God you may be preserved and kept to God's glory, out of all the snares and temptations; that God's wisdom may be justified of all his children in this day of his power, and they all may be faithful, serving and worshipping God in spirit and truth, and valiant for it upon the earth. For, as the apostle said, "they that believe are entered into their rest, and have ceased from their own works, as God did from his." Now this rest is an eternal rest in Christ, the eternal Son of God, in whom every true believer has everlasting life in Christ Jesus, their rest and everlasting day. For Christ the rest bruises the serpent's head, and through death destroys death, and the devil, the power of death, and his works. He is the eternal rest that gives eternal life to his sheep. Christ fulfills the prophets, and all the figures, shadows, and ceremonies of the Old Testament; and all the promises are yes and amen in Christ, who was the eternal rest to all true believers in the apostles' days, and ever since, and is so now. Christ is the beginning and the ending, the first and last, ascended above all principalities, powers, thrones, and dominions, that he might fill all things. For by Jesus Christ all things were made and created, whether they be things in heaven or things in the earth; and he is the eternal rest. They that believe are entered into Christ, their eternal rest, in whom they have eternal life, and peace with God. For which reason I say again, in him who is your rest live and abide; for in him you are happy, and his blessings will rest upon you. God Almighty keep and preserve you all, his true believers, in Christ your rest and peace this day. Amen.

George Fox

London, the 18th of the 12th month, 1684-5

About a month after I got a little out of London, visiting Friends at South-street, Ford-green, and Enfield, where I had meetings. Afterwards I went to Waltham-abbey, and was at a large and peaceful meeting there on a first-day. Then returning through Enfield and around Edmonton-side, I came back to London in the third month to advise and assist Friends in laying their sufferings before the sitting parliament; and we drew up a short account of our sufferings which we had printed and distributed among the parliament-men.

The Yearly Meeting coming on, I was much concerned for Friends that came up to it out of the country, for fear they would meet with any trouble or disturbance in their passage coming or returning; and the worse because about that time a great tumult arose in the nation about the duke of Monmouth's landing in the west. But the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve Friends in safety, and gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with his living, refreshing presence; blessed forever is his holy name!

Considering the hurries that were in the nation, it came upon me at the close of this meeting to write a few lines to Friends, 'to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth;' as follows: (the below letter is in line verse format too, [click here](#))

Dear Friends and Brethren, Whom the Lord has called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom you have rest and peace with God. The Lord by his mighty power which is over all, has

preserved and supported you to this day, to be a peculiar holy people to himself, so that by his eternal spirit and power you might be all kept out of the world, for in the world is trouble. In this great day of the Lord God Almighty, he is shaking the heavens and the earth of outward professions, their elements are in a heat, their sun and their moon are darkened, the stars falling, and the mountains and hills shaking and tottering, as it was among the Jews in the days of Christ's appearing. Therefore, dear friends, and brethren, dwell in the seed, Christ Jesus, the rock and foundation, that cannot be shaken; that you may see with the light and spirit of Christ, that you are as fixed stars in the firmament of God's power; and in this his power and light you will see over all the wandering stars, clouds without water, and trees without fruit. That which may be shaken will be shaken, as will all that are wandered from the firmament of God's power.

Dear Friends and Brethren, you that are redeemed from the death and fall of Adam, by Christ, the second Adam, in him you have life, rest, and peace; for Christ said, "in me you shall have peace, but in the world trouble." And the apostle said, "they that believe are entered into their rest," namely Christ, who has overcome the world, bruises the serpent's head, destroys the devil and his works, and fulfils the types, figures, and shadows of the Old Testament, and the prophets. In whom the promises are yes and amen; who is the first and last, beginning and ending, the eternal rest. So keep and walk in Christ, your rest, every one that has received him.

Dear Friends and Brethren, whatever stirrings and trouble, tumults or outrages, quarrels and strife, arise in the world, keep out of them all; concern not yourselves with them; but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power you seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which God has shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ. neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing that is below and without; nor to hinder or break your heavenly fellowship in the light, gospel, and spirit of Christ, nor your holy communion in the holy ghost, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads you into all truth. In this holy ghost, in which is your holy communion, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, you have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another. This is it which links and joins Christ's church or body together to him the heavenly and spiritual head, and in unity in his spirit, which is the bond of peace to all his church, and living members, in whom they have eternal rest and peace in Christ, and with God everlasting, who is to be blessed and praised for ever, Amen!

Dear Friends, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, who are gathered in the name of Jesus, your prophet, whom God has raised up in the New Testament, to be heard in all things; who opens to you, and no man can shut, who shuts and no man can open; he is your priest, made higher than the heavens by the power of an endless life; by him you are made a royal priesthood, to offer up to God spiritual sacrifice; He is the bishop of your souls, to oversee you, that you do not go astray from God; he is the good shepherd that has laid down his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow him, and he gives to them eternal life.

Dear Friends and Brethren, abide in Christ the vine, that you may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. As everyone has received Christ, walk in him, who is not of the world that lies in wickedness; so that you may be preserved out of the vain fashions and customs of the world which satisfy the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world that passes away. Whoever joins to that which is not of the Father, or encourages it, draws the mind from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore let Christ rule in your hearts, that your minds, souls, and spirits may be kept out of the vanities of the world in their words, ways, and actions, that you may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works, serving the Lord through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of God; that by the word of his grace your words may be gracious, and in your lives and conversations you may show forth righteousness, holiness, and godliness, that God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and through you all, who is above all, blessed and praised for ever. Amen.

George Fox

London, the 11th of the 4th month, 1685

I wrote several other letters to Friends in several foreign countries from whom I had received letters about the affairs of truth. Which when I had mailed them, I went a little ways out of town because I

was exhausted with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual business. I went at first to South-street, where I stayed several days. And a great sense entered me of the growth and increase of pride, vanity, and excess in apparel, and that not only among the people of the world, but also too much in some that came among us and seemed to make profession of the truth. Sensing this evil, I decided to write the following as a reproof and check unto.

The apostle Peter said (in 1 Pet 3:3-4) of the women's adorning: "Let it not be (mark, let it not be: this is a positive prohibition) that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price, for after this manner in old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves."

Here you may see what was the dress of the holy women; which was of great price in the sight of God, which the holy women who trusted in God adorned themselves with. But the unholy women, that trusted not in God, their dress was not a meek and a quiet spirit; they adorned themselves with plaiting the hair, changes of apparel, and wearing of gold, which is forbidden by the apostle in his general epistle to the church of Christ, the true christians.

The apostle Paul said, 1 Tim 2:9-10. "In like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with brodered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but which becomes women professing godliness, with good works." Here you may see what the women were not to adorn themselves with who professed godliness; they were not to adorn themselves with brodered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; for this was not looked upon to be modest apparel for holy women that professed godliness and good works. But this adorning or apparel is for the immodest, unshamefaced, unsober women that profess not godliness, neither follow those good works that God commands. Therefore it does not become men and women, who profess true Christianity and godliness, to be adorned with gold, or chains, or pearls, or costly array, or with brodered hair; for these things are for the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and pride of life, which is not of the Father. All holy men and women are to mind that which is more precious than gold; "being redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation, but with the precious blood of Christ, as a Lamb without blemish and without spot. Therefore as obedient children to God, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignorance, but as he which has called you is holy, so be you holy in all manner of conversation." 1 Pet 1:14-15.

Christ said, "life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment." Luke 12:23.

I read of a wise moral philosopher, who, upon meeting a woman with her neck and breasts bare, laid his hand upon her and said, "woman, is this flesh for sale?" and she replied, no. "Then pray," said he, "shut up your shop," (meaning her bare breasts and neck.) So they were looked upon as harlots that went with their necks, breasts, and backs bare, and not modest people, even among the moral heathens. Therefore those that profess the knowledge of true Christianity should be ashamed of such things. You may see a book written by the very Papists, and another by Richard Baxter the Presbyterian, against bare breasts and bare backs. They that were but in an outward profession did declare against such things, therefore they who are in the possession of truth and true Christianity should be ashamed of such things. Read, I pray you, the third of Isaiah. There you may see the holy prophet was grieved with the foolish women's vain attire, and was sent by the Lord to reprove them. Envious, persecuting Jezebel, her attired head and bravery, like a painted harlot out of the truth, did not keep her from the judgments of God, when the Lord stirred up Jehu against her. Does not pride go before the fall, and a haughty mind before destruction? "God resists the proud and gives grace to the humble." Solomon said, "The Lord will destroy the house of the proud." Prov 15:25. "For the day of the Lord shall be upon everyone that is proud and lofty, and he shall be brought low." Isa 2:12. and Mal 4:1. Therefore take heed of calling the proud happy; for "the Lord will scatter the proud in the imagination of their own hearts, and exalt them of a low degree." You may read in the Revelation 17:4-5. and Rev 18, of the false church, how she was outwardly decked, but full of abomination, and came to a downfall at last. Therefore it is good for all that profess the truth, to use this world and not abuse it; "for the fashion of this world passes away, but the word of the Lord endures for ever. The Lord takes pleasure in his people, he will beautify the meek with salvation." Psalm 149:4. All that know the truth as it is in Jesus, are to be beautified and clothed with this salvation, which salvation is a strong wall or a bulwark against that spirit that would lead you further into the fall from God, into those things which the fallen man

and woman delight in, to beautify, or adorn themselves with. Therefore, all that profess the truth, be circumspect, sincere, and fervent, following the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not of this world; in whom you have life and peace with God.

George Fox

South-street, the 24th of the 4th month, 1685

From *Vallant for the Truth*:

It remains to be a truth that "those christians who enter most deeply into the spiritual nature of the gospel dispensation will find that it leads them into simplicity as regards their outward appearances." The new life hid with Christ in God must differ from the old life of self-indulgence, and many things will drop off like the petals of the flower, when the fruit matures. But as the outward creation differs, so peculiar temperaments differ, and there will be variety in the household of God, great variety but great unity, as the love of God and the desire to serve Him are predominant, and all things done to his glory.

"During the lifetime of George Fox there was no evidence of any disposition to enforce a uniform style of dress among Friends. They were gathered out of all classes of society, from the army, the navy, and the church; from commercial and professional circles; from the farm and the workshop, and from every religious profession in Great Britain. They embraced representatives of every rank, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, Cavaliers and Roundheads, Churchmen and Dissenters, and they dressed as differently as they naturally would do, under such circumstances.

"Before another generation passed away, however, that natural tendency of all human institutions, continually to gravitate earthward, unless perpetually revived and uplifted by the same Almighty Power which first gives life to them, began to manifest itself in the organization of the Society of Friends."

George Fox had several years before been "gathered to the everlasting rest and joy of his Lord," as the London Meeting testified of him; but his noble wife, Margaret Fox, who had spent several years in various English jails, and had suffered the loss of all for Christ's sake and the gospel, entered her protest against any mere outward uniformity. In a letter written from Swarthmore, Fourth Month, 1698, she says:

Dear Friends, Brethren, and Sisters:

God the Father of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is a universal God of mercy and love to all people. And in that blessed love he visited us, "in an acceptable time and in a day of salvation, .." And he that early brought unto us the glad tidings of the gospel of peace, [namely George Fox], continued in the body among God's plantation up and down forty years; and we had from him certain directions and instructions upon many weighty accounts and occasions. He has left us several writings and records, to be practiced according to the gospel which he preached amongst us; and we have lived under the teaching of that blessed eternal Spirit of the eternal God, which he directed us to, unto this day. And now it is good for us all to go on and continue hand in hand in the unity and fellowship of this eternal Spirit, in humility and lowliness of mind, each esteeming others better than ourselves; and this is well pleasing unto God.

And let us all take heed of touching anything like the ceremonies of the Jews; for that was displeasing unto **Christ**, for he came to bear witness against them, and **testified against their outside practices, who told them of their long robes** and of their broad phylacteries, (Mat 23:5)... **[Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love greetings in the markets ... the same shall receive greater damnation. (Luke 20:46-50). But all their works they do to be seen by men.] So that we may see how ill he liked their outward ceremonies.** So let us keep to the rule and leading of the eternal Spirit, that God has given us to be our teacher. Let that put on and off as is meet [proper] and serviceable for every one's state and condition. Let us take heed of limiting that, neither practices is safe for us. For we are under the Gospel leading, guiding and teaching, which is a free spirit, which leads into unity; lowliness of mind the saints and servants of Christ, desiring to be established in the free Spirit, not bound or limited. Legal ceremonies are far from gospel freedom. Let us beware of being guilty or having a hand in ordering or contriving that which is contrary to gospel freedom; for the Apostle would not have dominion over their faith in Corinth, but to be helpers of their faith. It's a dangerous thing to lead young Friends much into the observation of outward things, which may be easily done; for they can soon get into an outward garb, to be all alike outwardly, but this will not make them Christians: it's the Spirit that gives life; **I would be loath to have a hand in these things.** The Lord preserve us, that we do no hurt to God's work; but let him work whose work it is. We have lived quietly and peaceably thus far, and it's not for God's service to make breaches.

Margaret Fox

Swarthmore Hall, 4th Month, 1698

Margaret's last letter of her life was a second plea to the Quakers of the day, who were sinking deeper and deeper into the pit of uniformity in dress, and now color. It is available for reading on this site.

After some weeks I returned to London. Among other services that I found there, one was to assist in drawing up a testimony to clear our friends of being concerned in the late rebellion in the west, and from all plots against the government; which accordingly was done, and delivered to the chief justice,

who was then to go into the west with commission to try prisoners

I tarried some time in London, visiting meetings, and laboring among Friends in the service of truth. But finding my health much impaired for want of fresh air, I went to Charles Bathurst's country-house at Epping-forest, where I stayed a few days. There it came upon me to write the following epistle to Friends:

Dear Friends,

Who are called, chosen and faithful in this day of trial, temptations, and sufferings, whom the Lord by his right hand has upheld in all your sufferings (and some to death) for the Lord and his truth's sake. Christ said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world; in me you have peace, but in the world you have trouble." The children of the seed, which are heirs of the kingdom, know this is true. And though you have trials by false brethren, Judases, and sons of perdition, that have gotten into the temple of God, and exalted above all that is called God, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth and the brightness of his coming; and though you be tried by powers and principalities, yet there is nothing able to separate you from the love of God which you have in Christ Jesus. In that love dwell, which bears all things, and fulfils the law; in which edify one another, and be courteous, kind, and humble; for to such God gives his grace plentifully, such he teaches. And pray in the Holy Ghost, which proceeds from the Father and the Son; in it keep your Holy Communion and unity in the spirit, in the bond of peace, which is the King of kings' heavenly peace. In that you are all bound to good behavior, to keep peace among yourselves, to seek the peace of all men, and to show forth the heavenly, gentle, and peaceable wisdom to all, in righteousness and truth, answering the good in all people in your lives and conversations, (for the Lord is glorified in your bringing forth spiritual fruit) , that you may eye and behold the Lord in all your actions, that the blessings of the Lord you may all feel to rest upon you. Whether you are the Lord's prisoners for his name and truth's sake, or at liberty, in all things labor to be content, for that is a continual feast; and let no trouble move you; then you will be as mount Zion, that cannot be removed. In all things exercise the word of patience, which word will sanctify all things to you. Study to be quiet, and do the Lord's business that he requires of you, (and your own), in truth and righteousness. Whatever you do, let it be done to the praise and glory of God in the name of Jesus Christ. All who make God's people suffer make the seed suffer in their own particulars, and imprison the just there. Such will not visit the seed in themselves, but cast it into prison in others, and do not visit it in prison. You may read that Christ said, "all such must go into everlasting punishment." That is a sad punishment and prison. Such become apostates and backsliders, who crucify to themselves Christ afresh, put him to open shame, trample under feet the blood of the Son of God by which they were cleansed, and come to be unclean. Such grieve, vex, quench, and rebel against the spirit of God in themselves, and then they rebel against those who walk in the spirit of God. Such are unfaithful to God and man, and are enemies to every good work and service of God ; but their end will be according to their works, who are like the earth that has often received rain, but brings forth briars and thorns, which are to be rejected, and are for the fire. Therefore, dear friends, in all your sufferings feel the Lord's eternal arm and power, which has supported you to this day, and will support you to the end, as your faith stands in it, and as you are settled upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, that cannot be removed, in whom you have life and peace with God. The Lord God Almighty, in him, give you dominion, and preserve you all to his glory, that in all your sufferings you may feel his presence, and that, when you have finished your testimony, you may receive the crown of glory which God has laid up for them that fear and serve him, Amen.

George Fox

The 15th of the 7th month, 1685



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Having spent about a week in the country I returned to London; where I stayed for about two months, visiting meetings, and laboring to get relief for Friends from their sufferings, which still lay heavily on them in many parts of the nation. I also wrote several papers relating to the service of truth, one of which was concerning order in the church of God, which some who had gone out of the unity of Friends did much oppose. It was as follows:

All societies, or families, or nations of people in the world, have among them some sort of order. There was the order of Aaron in the Old Testament, and there was the order of Melchisedeck before that, after whose order Christ Jesus came, who did not despise that order. God is a God of order in his whole creation and in his church; and all believers in the light, the life in Christ, who pass from death to life, are in the order of the Holy Spirit, power, light, life, and government of Christ Jesus, the increase of which there is no end. This is a mystery to all those disorderly people, who have written and printed so much against order, which the Lord's power and spirit has brought forth among his people. And to you who cry so much against order; is it not obvious that you have gone into a land of darkness, thick as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death, into disorder, and where the light is as darkness? Is this not your condition that is seen by all them who live and walk in the truth, and whose conversations are according to the gospel of life and salvation?

The devil, satan, dragon, the first and second beast, the whore and false prophets, and their worshippers and followers, are all out of the truth, abode not in it, nor in the order of it; and the truth is over them all. God's tabernacle is in Salem, and his tabernacle is in Shiloh; these are far beyond the tabernacles of Ham. *Psa 76 and 78.*

All the figures and shadows were and are understood in time; but Christ the substance is the beginning and the ending. And all trials, troubles, persecutions, and temptations came up in time; but the Lord's power, which is everlasting, is over all such things; in which is safety.

The black world of darkness lies in wickedness, and by their wisdom know not God that made the world and all things therein; for the god of the world and prince of the air rules in the hearts of all that disobey the living God who made them. So the god of this wicked world has blinded the eyes of the infidels or heathen; so that this wicked world by their wisdom does not know the living God.

In the Old Testament the Lord said, "With all your offerings you shall offer salt." *Lev 2:13.* And Christ said in his new covenant, "Everyone shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt has lost its saltiness, with what will you season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another." *Mark 9:49-50.*

We have received the earnest of the spirit, which is the earnest of the inheritance that fades not away. For God pours out his spirit upon all flesh. It is God's spirit, which is above our natural spirit (by which alone we do not know God); for it is by the spirit of God that we know the things of God. And the spirit of God does witness to our souls and spirits, that it is the earnest of an eternal inheritance. "God opens his people's ears to discipline, and commands that they turn from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity, and their years in pleasure; but if they obey him not, they shall perish by the sword, and they shall die without knowledge." *Job 36:10-12.* So the disobedient, that do not turn from their iniquity, do not have prosperity and pleasure; but die without the knowledge of God; and their ears are shut to this discipline, which God opens to his people.

When I had been in London for about two months, I was sent for by my son Rouse at Kingston, to visit a daughter of his, who at that time lay very sick, but recovered. While I stayed there, I had several meetings with Friends; and returning by Hammersmith, stayed for the first-day meeting there, which was large and peaceable. Having visited Friends in the area, I came back to London again; being very intent upon the business of getting relief for suffering Friends. In this and other services I continued in London until the latter end of the eleventh month; except when I went to visit an ancient Friend at Bethnal-Green, with whom I stayed for three or four days. While I was there, I was much exercised in the sense of the enemies working, to draw from the holy way of truth into a false liberty, and so into the world's ways and worships again. And the example of the backsliding Jews coming before me, I was moved to write the following, as a warning:

You may see, when the Jews rebelled against the good spirit of God which he gave to instruct them, they forsook him and his law, way, and worship, went whoring after Balaam's ways and became like the "wild ass's colt, sniffing at the wind." Jer 2:24. In Jer. 3 see how Judah played the harlot under every green tree and upon every high mountain; therefore the Lord divorced Judah, as he had divorced Israel when she forsook his way and followed the ways of the heathen. Though the Lord had fed them to the full, yet they "forsook him, committed adultery, and assembled themselves together in harlots' houses." Jer 5:7. "And with their whoredom they defiled the land and committed adultery with stocks and stones." Jer 3:9. Here you may see, when they forsook the living, eternal God, they followed the religions and worships of other nations, whose gods were made of stocks and stones, with which the Jews worshipped and committed adultery. When they forsook the living God, and his way and worship, they forsook the worship at Jerusalem at the temple, and followed the heathen's worships in the mountains and fields: so it was called adultery and whoredom, to join with other religions, and forsake God Jer 13:27.

And now, if the children of the New Jerusalem that is above forsake the worship that Christ in his New Testament set up, (which is in spirit and in truth), and follow the worship' of nations, which men have set up; will not they commit adultery with them, in forsaking God's worship and Christ the new and living way?

In Jer 44 you may see how the children of Judah provoked the Lord against them by worshipping the works of their own hands, and following the gods of the land of Egypt. In this they committed adultery, forsaking the living God, their husband, and his worship; and there you may see God's judgments pronounced against them to their destruction. What will become of those who forsake the worship in spirit and truth, which Christ set up; and worship the works of their own hands in spiritual Egypt, and follow spiritual Egypt's will-worship, which man invented? Should this not this be called whoredom in those who forsake Christ, the new and living way, his pure religion, and the worship that he has set up? And those who forsake the Lord's way and his worship, and follow the world's ways and worships, do not they who follow the world's ways eventually become the victims of those they followed after the world's ways? As in Lam 1:2. And see how the Jews forsook the Lord's way and worship, and doted on other lovers, (the Assyrians, etc) and with all their idols were defiled; and how they retained the whoredoms brought from Egypt, and were polluted with the Babylonian's bed: read Eze 23. When they forsook the Lord, his way and worship, and followed the way and worship of the heathen; then it was said, "they went a whoring after others, and committed adultery with them."

You may see Eze 16 the state of the Jews was likened to that of their sister Sodom, which had played the harlot with the Assyrians, committed fornication with the Egyptians, and increased their whoredom, in following their abominable idols; therefore the Lord carried away the two tribes, that forsook him, into Babylon; see Eze 17:20. And they that forsake Christ, the new and living way, and the worship of God in spirit and truth, which Christ set up in his New Testament, go into captivity in spiritual Babylon.

Hosea 2 You may see how the prophet discovers the whoredom and idolatry of the Jews who forsook the Lord, and compares them to an harlot. And in chapter 3 you may see the destruction threatened against the Jews for their impiety and idolatry. In chapter 9 also the distress and captivity of the Jews is threatened for their sins and idolatry; and again they are reprov'd and threatened for their impiety and idolatry. Hosea 10. This was for forsaking the Lord and his way, and following the ways of their own inventions, and the ways of the heathen.

Does not Isaiah say, "That the Lord would visit Tyre, and that she should commit fornication with all the kingdoms upon the face of the earth?" therefore, the Lord threatened destruction upon her, Isa 23. In Isaiah chapter 57 you may see how the Lord reproved the Jews for their whorish idolatry, saying, "Upon a high and lofty mountain you have set your bed, even there you went up to offer sacrifices. You have enlarged your bed, and made a covenant with them, you love their bed where you saw it." This was a joining to the heathen's religions, altars and sacrifices, and forsaking the Lord's altar and sacrifices, which he commanded in the law; and therefore that was committing whoredom with the heathen and going into their beds from the living God that made them. And now in the New Testament God having poured his spirit upon all flesh, that by it all might come to be a "royal priesthood, to-offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Jesus Christ;" all that err from the spirit of God, and rebel against it, are not likely to offer spiritual sacrifices to God. The sacrifice of such God does not accept, no more than he did that of the heathen or the Jews, who rebelled against his good spirit that he gave them to instruct them.

You may see in the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of the Revelation the punishment of the great whore, Babylon, the mother of harlots, and the victory of the Lamb, and how he called God's people out of Babylon; "for in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth." There you may read her judgment and downfall. This whore is those who are whored from the spirit of God, and so from God, from his holy worship in spirit and truth, from the pure undefiled religion that keeps from the spots of the world, from the new and living way of Christ Jesus. These are whored from the spirit of God into false religions, ways, and worships, and so have corrupted the earth with her abominations. But her judgment and downfall are seen, over whom Christ has the victory; and the marriage of the Lamb is come, glory to the Lord for ever! And God's pure religion and pure worship in spirit and truth Christ has set up, as it was in the apostles' days, Hallelujah.

George Fox

I soon returned to London, but did not stay there long because my body was not able to bear the closeness of the city for very long. While I was in town, besides the usual services of visiting Friends, and taking care to see to their sufferings to ease them, I assisted the Friends of the city in distributing certain sums of money, which our Friends of Ireland had charitably and very liberally raised, and sent over for the relief of their brethren who suffered for the testimony of a good conscience; which monies were distributed among poor suffering Friends in the several counties in proportion according to their need as we understood it.

Before I left the city, I heard of a great doctor lately come from Poland, whom I invited to my lodging, and had a long discussion with him. After I had informed myself of the things that I had a desire to know, I wrote a letter to the king of Poland on behalf of Friends at Dantzick, who had long been under grievous sufferings. A copy of it follows:

To John the third, king of Poland, great duke of Lithuania, Russia, and Prussia, defender of the city of Dantzick

Concerning the innocent and afflicted people in scorn called Quakers, who are now fed with bread and water in Bridewell of the city of Dantzick, under close confinement, where their friends, wives, and children are hardly allowed to come to see them.

Oh King! The magistrates of the city of Dantzick say it is your order and command that these innocent and afflicted people should suffer such oppression. This punishment is inflicted upon them only because they come together in the name of Jesus Christ, their Redeemer and Savior, who died for their sins, and is risen from the dead for their justification. Who is their prophet, whom God has raised up like Moses; whom they ought to hear in all things in this day of the gospel and new covenant; who went astray like scattered sheep, but now are returned to the chief shepherd and bishop of their souls 1 Peter 2:25. "Who has given his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow him; who leads them into his pastures of life." John 10.

Now, Oh King! I understand that you openly profess Christianity, and the great and mighty name of Jesus Christ, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, Oh king, it seems hard to us, that any who openly

confess Christ Jesus (yes, the magistrates of Dantzick do the same) should inflict those punishments upon an innocent and harmless people, by reason of their tender consciences only, because they come together to serve and worship the eternal God, who made them, in spirit and in truth; which worship Christ Jesus has set up sixteen hundred years ago, as we read in *John 4:23-24*.

I request that he would consider whether Christ in the New Testament ever gave such a command to his apostles that they should shut up any in prison, and feed them with bread and water, who did not conform in every particular to their religion, faith, and worship? Where did the apostles practice such things in the true Church after Christ' ascension? Is this not the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, that Christ's followers should "love their enemies, and pray for them that hate, persecute, and despitefully use them?" *Mat 5:43-48*.

Is it not a shame to Christendom among the Turks and others, that one Christian should persecute another for the doctrine of faith, worship, and religion? They cannot prove that Christ ever gave them such a command, whom they profess to be their Lord and Master. For Christ says, that his believers and followers should "love one another;" and by this they should be known to be his disciples. And did not Christ reprove those who would have "fire to come down from heaven" to destroy those who would not receive him? Did he not tell them, "they did not know what spirit they were of?" Have all who have persecuted men, or taken away their lives because they would not receive their religion, known what spirit they were or are of? Is it good for all to know by the spirit of Christ what spirit they are of. The apostle says, *Rom 8:9*. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." And *2 Cor 10:4*. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, ... we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness." Thus we see, the fight of the first Christians and their weapons in the days of the apostles were spiritual.

Would not the king and the magistrates of Dantzick think it contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced by the Turk to his religion? Would it not in like manner seem hard to the magistrates of Dantzick and contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced to the religion of the king of Poland; or the king of Poland not think it hard, if he should be compelled to the religion of the magistrates of Dantzick? And if they would not submit, that they should be banished from their wives and families and out of their native country, or otherwise be fed with bread and water under strict confinement?

We beg the king with all Christian humility, and the magistrates of Dantzig, that they would regulate their proceedings in this matter according to the royal law of God, which is "to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, and to love their neighbor as themselves." For we have this love, and we hope and believe the king of Poland and his people, with the magistrates of Dantzig, own the writings of the New Testament as well as of the Old. Therefore we beseech the king and the magistrates of Dantzig, to take heed that their work of imprisoning an innocent people for nothing but their meeting together in tenderness of conscience to serve and worship God, their Creator, may not be contrary and opposite to the royal law of God or to the glorious and everlasting gospel of truth.

We desire the king, in Christian love, earnestly and weightily to consider these things, and to give orders to set the innocent prisoners, our friends, called Quakers, at liberty from their strict confinement in Dantzig. That they may have freedom to serve and worship the living God in spirit and in truth, and go home to their homes, and follow their trades and calling, to maintain their wives, children, and families. And we believe that the king, in doing such a noble, glorious, yes, Christian work, will not go unrewarded from the great God who made him, whom we serve and worship, who has the hearts of kings, and their lives and length of days in his hand.

From him who desires the king and all his ministers may be preserved in the fear of God, and receive his word of wisdom, by which all things were made and created, that by it he may come to order all things to the glory of God, which God has put under his hand; that both he and they may enjoy the comforts and blessings of the Lord in this life, and in that which is to come life eternal, Amen.

George Fox

London, the 10th of the 3d month, commonly called May, 1684.

The king may be pleased to consider that his and all men's consciences are the prerogative of God.

After this I went to the Enfield area, where, several Friends had country houses, among whom I stayed for some time visiting and being visited by friends, and having meetings with them. I wrote several things during this time relating to the service of truth, one which was concerning judging; for some, who had departed from the truth, were so afraid of truth's judgment, that they made it their business to cry out against judging. Therefore I wrote a paper, proving by the scriptures of truth, that the church of Christ has power and ability to judge those who profess to be part of it, not only with respect to outward things relating to this world, but with respect to religious matters also. A copy of which follows:

Concerning Judging.

The natural man receives not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned; but he that is spiritual judges all things (mark) all things, yet he himself is judged by no man." 1Cor 2:14-15. So the natural man cannot judge those things he receives not, for they are foolishness to him; but he and his foolishness are understood by the spiritual man, and is judged, though he cannot judge the spiritual man.

"Do not you judge them that are within?" said the apostle. This power the church had and has, "therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." Do you not think this wicked person professed and pleaded for liberty for his wickedness and his freedom, since he was a Christian who was a member of the church?

The apostle said, "For truly, even though I am absent in body, I am present in spirit and have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him who has done this wicked deed." 1Cor5:3-12. Here the apostle did judge, though from a distance, and set up judgment in the church against false liberty, under whatever pretence.

And the apostle said, "Dare any of you, having a matter against a brother, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints?" Here the saints, the church, are to judge of things among themselves, and not the unjust to judge of their matters. "Do you not know the saints shall judge the world?" So the saints are to judge the unjust, and not the unjust to judge their own matters.

And farther the apostle said, "If the world shall be judged by you (to wit, the saints) are you unworthy to judge the smaller matters among you?"

It is clear that the saints have a judgment given them from Christ, by his power and spirit, light and wisdom, to judge the world, and not to carry their matters before the unjust, but to judge of them among themselves: and if they carry them before the unjust, they show their unworthiness of the saints' judgment.

Again, "Know you not, that we shall judge the angels?" (and angels are spirits) how much more the things which pertain to this life?

"If you then have judgment of things pertaining to this life, appoint as judges those who have least esteem in the church." 1Cor 6:4. Here it is clear the church of Christ has a judgment in the power and spirit of God, not only to judge in "things that pertain to this life;" but also to judge of things between brethren, without brother going to law with brother before unbelievers; which was a fault, and to be judged, if they did so.

But all the saints have a judgment to judge angels that kept not their habitations, and the world. Jude "judged the angels that kept not their habitations, their first state." Did not he judge in spiritual matters here? He judged the state of Cain, Balaam, and Korah, and such Christians who went into their ways,

and were gone as far as they (Cain, Balaam, and Korah) though they professed themselves Christians. Here again he judged in spiritual matters, and of their states and beings, who stood in the divine principle, and who were fallen from it.

The apostle said, "Try the spirits, and believe not every spirit." 1John4:1-6. Here again was a judgment in divine matters. And he judged those who went out from them, who while they were with them had revelations of things and understandings, but when they went from them, they went from the anointing. Therefore he exhorts the saints to keep to the anointing. Those who went from them who had the anointing, then came to be the seducers and false prophets that went into the world.

John had a judgment to try sacrifices, and distinguished Cain's from Abel's, and by the spirit of God knew which God accepted, and which he did not accept. 1 John 3:12. Paul judged and tried such messengers and apostles, and those who imitated apostles of Christ, and would have the church to try such, and have the same judgment as he had. 2 Cor11:4-5.

Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira and the thoughts of Simon Magus who would have been a worker of miracles for money. Are not these examples of Peter judging spiritual matters? The apostle Paul judged the preachers of circumcision both in Romans and Galatians. Even though these preachers preached circumcision through their faith and liberty in Christ, it was clearly a wrong faith. Again, is this not an example of an apostle judging in spiritual matters?

James judged in matters of faith, and manifested the living faith from the dead one. He also judged in matters of religion, the vain religion from the pure religion, and distinguished them.

Paul judged of the "false brethren who would spy on the liberty of the true brethren. We did not give into them for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might continue with the saints." Gal 2:4. Did not the apostle here judge in spiritual matters? And he judged concerning the matters of the gospel, when some came to pervert them with another gospel, and said, "The gospel which I received is not from any man, neither was I taught it; rather I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ." Gal 1:12. So here was a judgment to distinguish the gospel of Christ from all other gospels which were accursed; which are made up by man, received from man, and taught by man, and not by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Gal 1:11-12. And he had judgment to know, "Who made the gospel chargeable, and who kept it without charge."

He set up a judgment in the church, that the believers should not be unequally yoked, and to see when men had a communion in the light, and when they had it in darkness; when with Christ and when with Baal, with the believer and unbeliever, with the temple of God, and with idols, as in 2 Cor 6:14-16. Did he not set up a clear judgment here in spiritual matters in the church?

And the apostle judged such libertines (those without restraint) who through their knowledge and liberty could eat in the idol's temple, but which caused the weak brother to perish, for whom Christ died. These, it is likely, professed it was their faith, and their liberty, yet did not keep in the unity of the true faith, but went astray to destroy it. 1 Cor 8

Peter gives judgment upon the angels that sinned and were cast down into hell, of the state of the old world, and of Sodom, and the state of the false prophets then among them, who could speak great swelling words of vanity, and while they promised them liberty were themselves the servants of corruption. Did not Peter here judge in spiritual matters? These were such, whose work was to bring into bondage; being like the dog and sow that were washed; which shows that they had been washed, but were turned into the mire again. The apostle Paul had a judgment upon such with their fair words and men's wisdom, which deceived the hearts of the simple and upon such "as served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and were enemies to the cross of Christ." He had a judgment and discerning who lived in the cross of Christ, and who did not, and exhorted all to live in the cross of Christ, the righteous power of God, that slew all deceit and the deeds of the old man; agreeable to Christ's words, "He that will be my disciple, must take up his cross, and follow me." Was not here a judgment again in spiritual matters, of those who walked in the divine power, and those who did not?

Christ sets up a judgment in his seven churches, and praised those who kept in his judgment, and had

tried them which said, "They were apostles," who might pretend they were sent of God and Christ and were not; but the church of Christ had found them liars. Christ praised this judgment of the church of Ephesus because they had "not borne with them that were evil, but had tried those false apostles;" and Christ commends this church who had "hated the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which he also hated;" and had not these Nicolaitans sprung from Nicholas, one of the deacons? And were not those become a sect of christians? Though they might talk and preach of Christ, yet Christ hated their doctrine.

Christ said to the church of Smyrna, "I know the blasphemy of those who say they are Jews, and are not; but are of the synagogue of satan." So the church is to have a judgment upon these blasphemers, and is to distinguish the Jews in the spirit from those who are not, but of the synagogue of satan.

The church in Pergamos Christ had a "few things against, because, (said he), you have there those who hold the doctrines of Balaam, etc. And also those who hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which I hate." Those who held the doctrine of Balaam, and the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, had gotten into the church, and might look upon themselves to be high Christians, and take great liberty to go into Balaam's and Nicholas' doctrine, which was hated by Christ; but the church was to keep a spiritual and divine judgment upon the heads of all these.

To the church of Thyatira, said Christ, "I have a few things against you, because you allow the woman Jezebel to teach, who seduces my people," etc. Here was an allowing which should have been a judgment by Christ's spirit upon that Jezebel who was erred from his spirit, and so from Christ. Such as these were high preachers. Is not the church to beware of allowing such now, for fear that she should come under the reproof of Christ for not passing judgment against the false teacher and seducer?

The church of Sardis "had a name to live, but was dead, and her works were not found perfect before God." There is a judgment to be set up in the church, to judge all imperfect works, and those who would have the name 'Christian', but not the nature; a name to live yet are dead. The life of every member of the true church must be in Christ their life. These living members live to his name. This church had a few names "who had not defiled their garments, that walked in white;" but such as have a name to live but are dead, while they are in a dead state cannot walk in white, nor judge in spiritual matters. "Behold," said Christ, "I will make them of the synagogue of satan, which say they are Jews, but are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before my feet."

And to the church of Laodicea, that was "neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm; I would you were either hot or cold; I will spew you out of my mouth, because you said you were rich, and wanted for nothing;" when they were "wretched, miserable, poor, blind, and naked." This was because they did not live in the power and spirit of Christ. These could talk of high experiences and great enjoyments, but were naked, miserable, and blind; so lived not in the power, spirit, light, and righteousness of Christ, by which they might be clothed, and have the eternal riches. So the church of Christ had a spiritual judgment given to those who are faithful in his power and spirit and light, to judge material things and the things of this life, and to judge spiritual, eternal and divine things and states; and of angels and wicked men, and those who go from truth; and of the states of election and reprobation, yes and of the devils who are out of truth. These were to judge, who were in Christ Jesus who is the first and last, from whom they have the eternal judgment, to judge eternal, spiritual, and divine things. And in this word of power and wisdom, by which all things were made and are upheld, they are to order all things to God's glory, and to judge of all things in righteousness.

The apostle judged, and set up a judgment in the church, of gifts, of prophecies, of mysteries, of faith, and of giving the body to be burned, and of giving goods to the poor, and of speaking with tongues of men and angels. That if they not have love, all this was nothing, but they were as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Therefore they are to be tried by the fruits of the good spirit, which is love. The apostle not only judged himself in spiritual matters, but set up a judgment in the church in those spiritual and divine matters.

The apostle James judges between fountains (fresh water or bitter) and of fig-trees, (bearing fruit other than figs) of the wisdom below, and of the wisdom from above and the fruits of both. James 3:11-17. And Paul judged in spiritual matters, when he said, "The spirit spoke expressly, that in the latter times some should depart from the faith." 1Tim 4:1. He judged in spiritual matters, when he judged all those

teachers who were high minded, and had the form of godliness, but denied the power, and termed them like Jannes and Jambres, which withstood Moses coming out of outward Egypt, as these with their form of godliness oppose Christ and his power that brings them out of spiritual Egypt now. Was not he a judge here in spiritual matters, who judged such as had gotten the form of godliness but denied the divine power? 2 Tim 3:4-8

When the apostle Paul said, "The priesthood of Aaron was changed, and the law was changed, and the commandment annulled, that gave them their tithes," did he not judge in divine and spiritual matters? And was not the law spiritual, which served until the seed came?

Did not the apostle judge in divine and spiritual matters in the sixth of the Hebrews, where he said, "Let us go on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, and of the doctrines of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment; and this will we do, if God permit," And does not the apostle judge here, "That it was impossible for those who were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the holy ghost, and had tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, since they had crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?" Hbr 6:1-6. Were not these spiritual, eternal, and divine matters and states that the apostle judged of? And do not the saints have the same judgment given to them in the same spirit? Have not the apostles and the church a spiritual judgment to judge of prophets, mysteries, faith, apostles, angels, world, and the devil? And is not this judgment given to them from God in spiritual matters, besides the judgment given them in matters pertaining unto this life?

And did they not have to judge discern the true gospel from the false? And all those who had a profession of the form, and did not live in the power? And those who spoke of the things of God, in the words that man's wisdom taught? Which things of God were not to be spoken in the wisdom which man's words taught; but in the word which the Holy Ghost taught. Therefore did not the apostle exhort to know the power, and that their faith might stand in the power of God? That the kingdom of God stands not in word, but in power?

Had not all the prophets a judgment to judge in spiritual matters? As did Jeremiah, when he judged the prophets; Jer 23:14-16 and as Ezekiel judged all those who came with a pretence of the word of the Lord, using their tongues, and saying, "thus said the Lord; when the Lord never spoke to them." Eze 13. (and many other places that might be instanced). Did he not judge Hananiah, who prophesied falsely? And did not this Hananiah pretend to speak the word of the Lord to the priests and people? Jer 28:13-17

Did not Isaiah judge in spiritual matters, when he judged the watchmen and the shepherds? Isa 56:10-11. Did not Micah judge in divine and spiritual matters, when he said, he "was full of the power by the spirit of the Lord, and of judgment?" "Did not he judge priests, prophets, and judges, though they would lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord among us, and no evil can come to us; yet did he not let them see their states and conditions, and "divided the precious from the vile?" Micah 3. And so you may see the rest of the prophets also judged in spiritual matters for God, "who served him, and who served him not; who lived in truth, and who not;" and the apostles did likewise. And this divine, spiritual, heavenly judgment was given of God to his holy men and women.

Those who judge in God's divine matters, must live in his divine spirit, power, and light now, as they did then. This spiritual and divine judgment Christ has given to his church, the living stones, and living members, that make up his spiritual household; to try Jews, apostles, and prophets; to try faiths and religions, trees and fruits, shepherds and teachers, and to try spirits. So the living members have a living divine judgment in the church of Christ, which he is the head of, the judge of all.

The church also has a power given to them, which is greater than judging; for what they "bind on earth is bound in heaven by the power of God; and what they loose on earth is loosed in heaven by the power of God." This power Christ has given to his living members, the church.

George Fox to Friends

I returned to London in the first month 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, which we had now some hopes of getting relief from. The sessions came on in the second month at Hicks' Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried; who I was with from day to day to advise, and to see that no opportunity was missed, nor advantage lost; and they generally succeeded well.

From *Valiant for the Truth*: In the Second Month of 1685, the stern messenger who comes alike to palace and cottage, presented himself at Whitehall, in the midst of that corrupt court, which busied itself about anything rather than a preparation for his coming. King Charles was seized with illness, and after three days passed to the tribunal of the King of kings. His brother James, who had as Duke of York been very obnoxious to Parliament, now ascended the throne amid the acclamations of nearly all parties. He at once professed himself a Romanist, had a new pulpit erected at court for a Romish priest, and mass was publicly celebrated at Westminster. Still he declared that he was determined to protect the liberties of his people.

About a month after his accession to the throne a petition for relief was drawn up by the Friends, and sent to the King. They stated that above one thousand five hundred Friends, both men and women, had been detained prisoners in England and Wales. Their long and tedious imprisonment in the crowded jails had impaired the health of all, while three hundred and twenty had died in consequence. Thus many homes were made desolate, and widows and fatherless children were mourning the loss of their dear ones. Woeful havoc and spoil had also been made upon the property of those not in prison, through the fines imposed upon them. Some were left without a bed to rest upon; some with no oxen to till their fields, no corn for seed, and no tools to work with; thus preventing industry. And all this, the petition says, "under pretense of serving the King and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of."

Action upon this petition was prevented by the attempt of the Duke of Monmouth to obtain the throne. The King and his court were fully occupied in suppressing this insurrection, and wreaking vengeance on those concerned in it. There is much to regret in the sanguine character of that vengeance; and the action of the brutal Lord Jeffries, presiding over the "bloody assize," is one of the dark stains in English history. The Duke of Argyle, who was a Presbyterian, had taken an active part in this attempt to drive James from his throne. Against this sect consequently, as well as other Dissenters, the laws were now more rigorously enforced.

A deputation of the Friends was appointed to wait upon the King, and renew their solicitations for the release of their brothers and sisters, who had been shut up in dungeons, in terms varying from five to fifteen years. While King James as a Roman Catholic had some object in desiring leniency of action toward non-conformists, it must be acknowledged that he always professed himself averse to persecution for religious belief. The deputation was favorably received, and on the 15th of Third Month, 1685, a warrant was issued, releasing the Friends who were in prison. Nearly fifteen hundred now came forth to be with rejoicing restored to their families and homes.

While so much had been gained there was need for further assistance from the King, as the laws against non-conformists were still in force, and the informers were busily at work. A statement of their perjuries and embezzlements was drawn up, and Friends petitioned to have a commission appointed to examine into its truth. The assertions were all proven and the King declared his aversion to the informers, and that it was his will they should be discountenanced.

Soon after, the king was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him 'to give order for the releasing of all who were imprisoned for conscience sake; which were in his power to discharge.' Whereby the prison doors were opened, and many hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty. Some of them, who had many years been restrained in bonds, came up to the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month this year. This caused great joy to Friends, to see our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long confinement. And indeed a precious meeting we had; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and among us. After the meeting I was moved to write a few lines, to be sent among Friends; the tenor which was thus:

Dear Friends,

My love is to you all in the holy seed Christ Jesus; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works; and who has all power in heaven and earth given to him. Let every one's faith stand in him, and in his power, who is the author and finisher of your faith. You have been partakers of his power, and are sensible of it in this day of his power, (which is over darkness and its power); by whose power the hearts of the king and rulers have been opened; and by which your outward prison doors have been set open for your liberty. My desires are that all may be preserved in humility and thankfulness, in the sense of the mercies of the Lord; and live in the peaceable truth that is over all; that you may answer God's grace and his light and spirit in all; in a righteous, godly life and conversation. Let none be lifted up by their outward liberty, neither let any be cast down by suffering for Christ's sake; but all live in the seed (which is as wheat), which is not shaken nor blown away by the winds and storms, as the chaff is. Which seed of life none below can make higher or lower; for the children of the seed are the children of the everlasting, unchangeable kingdom of Christ and God. In Christ Jesus, whom God has given you for a sanctuary, God Almighty keep you, in whom you have life everlasting, and wisdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and

good fruits. That all may be exercised in it, and may practice this wisdom in holy lives and conversations; that this wisdom may be justified of all her children, and they trained and preserved in it in this day of the power of Christ; in which all his people are made a willing people, to serve and worship God in righteousness and holiness, in the spirit and truth.

Let none abuse the power of the Lord, nor grieve his spirit, by which you are sealed and kept to the day of salvation and redemption; but always exercise yourselves to have a "good conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men;" being exercised in holiness, godliness, and righteousness, in the truth, and in the love of it. All study to be approved by God in innocence, virtue, simplicity, and faithfulness, laboring and studying to be quiet in the will of God. "And whatever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father by him;" that he, who is over all, may have the praise for all his mercies and blessings, with which he has refreshed his people, and by his eternal arm and power has kept and preserved them to this day. Glory to his name over all for ever, Amen! Christ has called you by his grace into one body, to him the holy head; therefore, live in charity, and in the love of God, which is the bond of perfection in his body; which love edifies the body of Christ; which body and all its members are knit together, and increased with the increase of God, from whom they receive nourishment. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been made all to drink into one spirit; in which spirit the body and all its members have fellowship with Christ the head, and one with another. The unity of this Holy Spirit is the bond of peace of all the living members of Christ Jesus, of which he is the spiritual head, rock, and foundation. In the midst of his church of living members Christ exercises his spiritual prophetic office, to open to them the mysteries of his kingdom. He is a spiritual bishop to oversee them, that they do not go astray from the living God that made them; a shepherd that feeds them with bread and water of life from heaven, and none is able to pluck his sheep out of his hands. He is a priest that died for them, sanctifies them, and presents them to God, who rules in their hearts by the divine faith, which he is the author and finisher of. His living members praise God through Jesus Christ, in whom they have life and salvation, who reconciles them to God, that they can say they have "peace with God through Jesus Christ:" and so praise God through him that was dead and is alive, reigns over all, and lives for evermore, blessed for ever, hallelujah, Amen!

Greet one another with a holy kiss of charity. Love or charity bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. It envies not, does not boast, is not proud, nor does it behave itself unseemly. It rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth. Love is not easily provoked, and thinks no evil, but endures long and is kind. Love never fails. I say, greet one another with this holy kiss of love, and peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation.

George Fox

The 30th of the 3d month, 1686.

I remained most of this year in London, other than the times I went to Bethnal-green for a night or two, and sometimes as far as Enfield and that area to be with Friends. Once or twice I also went to Chiswick, where an ancient Friend had set up a school to educate Friends' children; in all these places I found service for the Lord. At London I spent my time among Friends, either in public meetings, as the Lord drew me, or visiting those who were not well, and in looking after the sufferings of Friends. For though many were released from prison, some remained prisoners still for tithes, etc. and sufferings of several sorts lay heavily on Friends in many places. Inasmuch as many who had been prisoners were not set at liberty, I felt a concern upon me that none might look too much at man, but might see the Lord, from whom deliverance comes. For which reason I wrote an epistle to Friends as follows:

Friends,

The Lord by his eternal power has disposed the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and has given a stop to the informers, so that in many places our meetings are quiet. My desires are that both liberty and sufferings may be sanctified to his people, that Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things and be thankful to him, who stills the raging waves of the sea, quiets the storms and tempest, and makes all calm. Therefore it is good to trust in the Lord and cast your care upon him who cares for you. For when you were in jails and prisons the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you. To some he made them as a sanctuary, and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and seizures of

personal property. In all this the Lord was with his people and taught them to know that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness of it;" and that he was in all places, "who crowns the year with his goodness." Psalm 65:11. Therefore let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another in the glorious, peaceable gospel of life and salvation. The glory shines over God's camp, and his great prophet, bishop, and shepherd is among, or in the midst of them exercising his heavenly offices in them; so that you his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he who destroys the devil and his works and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's peoples' heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days past, and is now the rock of our age; which rock, the foundation of God, stands sure. Upon this the "Lord God establish all his people," Amen.

George Fox

London, the 25th of the 7th month, 1686

I wrote various other epistles and papers this year, one of which an exhortation to 'Friends to keep in unity in the truth, in which there is no division or separation:'

Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ

In whom you have all peace and life, in whom there is no division, schism, rent, strife, nor separation; for Christ is not divided, and there can be no separation in the truth, nor in the light, grace, faith, and holy ghost, but unity, fellowship, and communion. For the devil was the first that went out of the truth, separated from it, and tempted man and woman to disobey God, and to go from the truth into a false liberty, to do that which God forbade. So it is the serpent now that leads men and women into a false liberty, even the god of the world, from which man and woman must be separated by the truth, that Christ the truth may make them free, and then they are free indeed. Then they are to stand fast in that liberty in which Christ has made them free, and in him there is no division, schism, rent, nor separation; but peace, life, and reconciliation to God and to one another. So in Christ male and female are all one; for whether they are male or female, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, they are all one in Christ. And there can be no schism, rent, or division in him, nor in the worship of God in his holy spirit and truth, nor in the pure and undefiled religion that keeps from the spots of the world, nor in the love of God that bears and endures all things, nor in the word of God's grace, for it is pure and endures for ever. Many, you see, have lost the word of patience, and the word of wisdom, that is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. Then they run into the wisdom that is below, that is "earthly, sensual, and devilish," and not very easy to be entreated. They go from the love of God that bears all things, endures all things, thinks no evil, and does not behave itself unseemly; then they cannot bear, but grow brittle, are easily provoked, run into unseemly things, and are in that, which boasts, is proud, rash, heady, high-minded, and fierce, and become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; but this is contrary to the nature of the love of God. Therefore, dear friends and brethren dwell in the love of God; for those who dwell in love dwell in God, and God in them. Keep in the word of wisdom that is gentle, pure, and peaceable; and in the word of patience that endures and bears all things; which word of patience the devil, and the world, and all his instruments can never wear out. It will wear them all out; for it was before they were, and will be when they are gone; the pure, holy word of God, by which all God's children are born again, and feed on the milk of that, and live and grow by it. My desires are that you may all be of one heart, mind, soul, and spirit, in Christ Jesus, Amen.

George Fox

Soon after this, finding those apostates whom the enemy had drawn into division and separation from Friends continued their uproar and opposition against our Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, it came upon me to write another short epistle to friends to put them in mind of the evidence and seal they had received in themselves by the spirit of the Lord, that those meetings were of the Lord and accepted by him, that they might not be shaken by the adversaries. I wrote as follows:

Dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ.

All you that are gathered in his holy name know that your meetings for worship, your Quarterly Meetings, Monthly Meetings, women's meetings, and Yearly Meetings, are set up by the power and

spirit of the Lord God, and witnessed by his spirit and power in your hearts. And by the spirit and power of the Lord God they are established to you, and in the power and spirit of the Lord God you are established in them. The Lord God has sealed you with his spirit that your meetings are of his ordering and gathering, and he has owned them by honoring you with his blessed presence in them. And you have had great experience of his furnishing you with wisdom, life, and power, and heavenly riches from his treasure and fountain, by which many thanks and praises have been returned in your meetings to his holy, glorious name. He has sealed your meetings by his spirit to you, and that your gathering together has been by the Lord, to Christ his son, and in his name, and not by man. So the Lord has the glory and praise of them and in them, who has upheld you and them by the arm of his power against all opposers and backsliders and their slanderous books and tongues. For the Lord's power and seed reigns over them all, in which he preserves his sons and daughters to his glory, by his eternal arm and power, in his work and service. To be a willing people in the day of his power, without being weary or fainting, but strong in the Lord, and valiant for his glorious name and precious truth, and his pure religion; that you may serve the Lord in Christ Jesus, your rock and foundation, in your age and generation, Amen.

George Fox

London, the 3d of the 11th month, 1687'

A little after it came upon me to write something concerning the state of the church and its true members; as follows:

Concerning the church of Christ being clothed with the sun and having the moon under her feet.

They are living members, living stones, built up as a spiritual household, the children of the promise, and of the seed and flesh of Christ; as the apostle said, "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." They are the good seed, the children of the everlasting kingdom written in heaven, who have put on the Lord Jesus Christ. They sit together in heavenly places in Christ, are clothed with the sun of righteousness, Christ Jesus, and have the moon under their feet. *Rev 12*. So all changeable things that are in the world, all changeable religions, changeable worships, changeable ways, fellowships, churches, and teachers in the world, are as the moon; for the moon changes, but the sun does not change. The sun of righteousness never changes, nor sets, nor goes down; but all the ways, religions, worships, fellowships of the world, and the teachers there, change like the moon. But the true church, which Christ is the head of, which is in God the Father, and is called "the pillar and ground of truth," whose conversation is in heaven; this church is clothed with the sun, Christ Jesus her head, who does not change, and has all changeable things under her feet. These are the living members, born again of the immortal seed by the word of God, who feed upon the immortal milk, and live and grow by it. Such are the new creatures in Christ Jesus, who makes all things new, and sees the old things pass away. His church, his members, which are clothed with the sun, their worship is in the spirit and in the truth, which does not change, which truth the devil, the foul, unclean spirit, is out of, and cannot get into this worship in spirit and truth. Their religion is pure and undefiled before God that keeps from the spots of the world and their way is the new and living way, Christ Jesus. So the church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, that has the moon and all changeable religions and ways under her feet, has an unchangeable worship, religion and way, an unchangeable rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, an unchangeable high priest, and so are children of the New Testament, and in the everlasting covenant of light and life.

All who profess the scriptures both of the New and Old Testament, and are not in Christ Jesus, the apostle tells them they are "reprobates if Christ is not in them." These that are not in Christ cannot be clothed with Christ, the sun of righteousness that never changes. They are under the changeable moon in the world, in the changeable things, the changeable religions, ways, worships, teachers, rocks, and foundations. But Christ, the Son of God and sun of righteousness, does not change; in whom his people are gathered, and sit together in heavenly places in him, clothed with Christ Jesus, the sun, who is the mountain that fills the whole earth with his divine power and light. So all his people see him and feel him both by sea and land. He is in all places of the earth felt and seen by all his. He said to the outward professors, the Jews, "I am from above, you are from below, you are of this world." So their religions, worships, ways, teachers, faiths, beliefs, and creeds, are made by men, and are below, of this world that changes like the moon. You may see their religions, ways, worships, and teachers are all changeable like the moon. But Christ, the sun, with which the church is clothed, does not change, nor his church; for they are spiritually-minded, and their way, worship, and religion is spiritual, from Christ, who is from

above and not of this world. Christ has redeemed you from this world, their changeable rudiments and elements, and old things, and their changeable teachers, and from their changeable faiths and beliefs. For Christ is the author and finisher of his church's faith, who said, "Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light." And it is given them not only to believe, but to suffer for his name. So this faith and belief is above all faiths and beliefs, which change like the moon. God's people are a holy nation, a peculiar people, a spiritual household, and royal priesthood, offering up spiritual sacrifice to God by Jesus Christ. And are zealous of righteousness, godly, good works, and their zeal is for that which is of God against the evil which is not of God. Christ took upon him the seed of Abraham, he does not say the corrupt seed of the Gentiles; so according to the flesh he was of the holy seed of Abraham and David, and his holy body and blood was an offering and a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, as a lamb without blemish, whose flesh saw no corruption. By the one offering of himself in the New Testament or new covenant, he has put an end to all the offerings and sacrifices among the Jews in the Old Testament. Christ, the holy seed, was crucified, dead, and buried according to the flesh, and raised again the third day, and his flesh saw no corruption. Though he was crucified in the flesh, yet raised to life again by the spirit and is alive, and lives for evermore, and has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and reigns over all, and is the one mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. Christ said, "He gave his flesh for the life of the world;" and the apostle said, "His flesh saw no corruption;" so that which saw no corruption he gave for the life of the corrupt world to bring them out of corruption. Christ said again, "He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, dwells in me, and I in him." He that eats not his flesh and drinks not his blood, which is the life of the flesh, has not eternal life. As the apostle said, "All died in Adam;" then are all dead. Now all coming spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ, the second Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and flesh give all the dead in Adam life, and quicken them out of their sins and trespasses in which they were dead. They come to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and are living members of the church of Christ that he is the head of, and are clothed with the sun of righteousness, the Son of God, that never changes, and have the changeable moon under their feet, and all changeable worldly things, inventions, and works of men's hands. These see the people how they change from one worship to another, from one religion to another, from one way to another, and one church to another, yet their hearts are not changed. The letter of the scripture is read by the christians like the Jews, but the mystery is hidden; they have the sheep's clothing, (calling themselves christians) but are inwardly devoured from the spirit, which should bring them into the Lamb's and sheep's nature. The scripture said, "All the uncircumcised must go down into the pit;" therefore all must be circumcised with the spirit of God, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, that came into man and woman by their disobedience and transgressing God's commands. I say, all must be circumcised with the spirit, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, before they come up into Christ, their rest, which never fell, and be clothed with him the sun of righteousness.

George Fox

Towards the latter part of this year I went to my son Rouse's near Kingston. While I was there I wrote a paper concerning the 'falling away,' foretold by the apostle Paul, 2 Thes 2:3 as follows:

The apostle said that there must be "a falling away" first before the wicked one, and man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed, which betrays Christ within, as the son of perdition betrayed Christ without; and those who betray Christ within, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame. Before the apostles deceased, this man of sin and son of perdition was revealed; for they saw antichrist come, the false prophets, false apostles, and deceivers come, having a form of godliness, but denying the power. They saw the wolves dressed in the sheep's clothing, and those who went in Cain's, Korah's, and Balaam's way, and Jezebel's; and the whore of Babylon, the whore of confusion, the mother of harlots, and those who were enemies to the cross of Christ, who served not the Lord Jesus Christ but their own bellies. These Christ saw should come, and said, "If it were possible they should deceive the elect," and commanded his followers not to go after them. The apostle said, "Turn away from such," and Christ and his apostles warned the church of Christ of such. In this day of Christ and his gospel, after the long night of apostasy from the light, grace, truth, life, and spirit of Christ Jesus; the son of perdition, the wicked one, the man of sin is revealed again. And the inwardly devouring wolves in sheep's clothing are seen, and the spirit of Cain, Korah, Balaam, Jezebel, the antichrists, false prophets, and false apostles, and those who are enemies to the cross of Christ. Those serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies, and crucify Christ to themselves, and put him to open shame. This spirit we have seen in this gospel-day of Christ; but Christ will consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy

them with the brightness of his coming. But God's people, whom he has chosen to salvation in Christ from the beginning, through the sanctification of the spirit and the belief of the truth, stand steadfast in Christ Jesus, and are thankful to God by and through his Son, their rock and salvation, their happiness, and eternal inheritance.

The apostle said, "You were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the shepherd and bishop of your souls." So when people return to Christ, their shepherd, they know his voice and follow him, and are returned to the bishop of their souls; then they believe in him and receive wisdom and understanding from him who is from above, heavenly and spiritual. Then they act like spiritual holy men and women, and come to be members of the church of Christ. Then a spiritual care comes upon the elders in Christ, that all the members walk in Christ, in his light, grace, spirit, and truth, that they may adorn the confession and profession of Christ, and see that all walk in the order of the Holy Spirit, and the everlasting gospel of peace, life, and salvation. This order keeps out of confusion; for the gospel of peace, the power of God, was before confusion was. All the heirs of the gospel are heirs of its order, and are in this gospel which brings life and immortality to light in them, by which all men and women may see their work and service in it, to look after the poor widows and fatherless, to see that nothing be lacking, and that all honor the Lord in their lives and conversations.

When the whole house of Israel were in their graves and tombs, and were called "the scattered, dry bones," yet they could speak, and say "their bones were dry, their hope was lost, or they were without hope, and they were cut off." They were alive outwardly, and could speak outwardly. So that which is called christendom may very well be called "the scattered, dry bones," and be said to be in their graves and tombs, dead from the heavenly breath of life, the spirit and word of life, that gathers to God. Though they can speak, and are alive outwardly, yet they remain in the congregations or churches of the dead, which do not have the virtue of the life in Christ. For the Jews, whom God poured his spirit upon and gave them his law, when they rebelled against the spirit of God, and turned from God and his law, they came to be dry scattered bones, and were turned into their graves and tombs. So christendom that is turned from the grace, truth, and light of Christ, and the spirit that God poured upon all flesh, they have become the scattered, dry bones, are in their graves and tombs, and are the congregations or churches of the dead, though they can speak and are alive outwardly.

Christ said, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. He gave his flesh for the life of the world." And he said, "I am the resurrection and the life. I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man comes to the Father but by me." Christ is the quickening spirit. All being dead in Adam are to be quickened and made alive by Christ, the second Adam. And when they are quickened and made alive by him, they meet together in the name of Jesus Christ their Savior, who died for their sins and is risen for their justification, and so was dead and is alive, and lives for evermore. All whom he has quickened and made alive, (even all the living) meet in the name of Jesus who is alive, and he, their living prophet, shepherd, and bishop is in the midst of them, and is their living rock and foundation, and a living mediator between them and the living God. So the living praise the living God through Jesus Christ, through whom they have peace with God. All the living have rest in Christ their life, he is their sanctification, their righteousness, their treasure of wisdom, knowledge and understanding, which is spiritual and heavenly. He is the spiritual tree and root, which all the believers in the light, the life in Christ, that pass from the death in Adam to the life in Christ, and overcome the world, and are born of God, are grafted into Christ, the heavenly tree, who supports all the spiritual branches or grafts. These meet in his name, are gathered in him, and sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, their life, who has quickened and made them alive. So all the living worship the living God in his Holy Spirit and truth, in which they live and walk. Into this worship the foul, unclean spirit, the devil, cannot get; for the Holy Spirit and truth is over him and he is out of it. This is the standing worship which Christ set up in his new covenant. And those who are quickened by Christ are the living stones, living members, and spiritual household and church, or congregation of Christ, who is the living head and husband. Those who are made alive by Christ are a living church, have a living head, and are come from the congregations or churches of the dead in Adam, where death and destruction talk of God, and of his prophets and apostles, in their wisdom that is below, earthly, and devilish, in the knowledge that is brutish, and in the understanding that comes to nothing. For what they know is natural, by their natural tongues, arts, and sciences, in which they corrupt themselves. This is the state of the dead in Adam; but the quickened, that are made alive by Christ, discern between the living and the dead.

While I was at Kingston, I wrote another paper, showing, 'That the Lord in all ages called the righteous from among the wicked, before he destroyed the wicked,' after this manner:

Noah and his family were called into the ark, before the old world was destroyed with the flood. And all the faithful generation, that lived before, were taken away, and died in the faith, before that flood of destruction came upon the wicked old world.

The Lord called Lot out of Sodom, before he destroyed and consumed it, and the wicked there.

Christ said; "it cannot be, that a prophet perish outside of Jerusalem;" and he said; "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which kills the prophets, and stones them that are sent to you, how often would I have gathered your children together, as a hen gathered her brood under her wings! but you would not." Luke 13:33-34. And he said to the Jews, "therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, to the blood of Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation." Luke 11:49-51. And he said to the Jews, "behold, your houses shall be left unto you desolate." Mat 23:38. Christ told his disciples, that the temple at Jerusalem should be thrown down, and there should not be one stone left upon another, that should not be thrown down. Mat 24:52. Also, that he must go to Jerusalem, and "suffer many things of the Jews, elders, and chief priests, and be killed, and raised again the third day." Mat 16:21. And Christ said, "when you shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, the destruction of it is near." He foretold, that the Jews should fall by the edge of the sword, and should be led away "captive into all nations; and Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles." Luke 21:20, 24.

Here you may see how Jerusalem was often warned by Christ, and how often he would have "gathered them, but they would not," before they were scattered over or into all nations, their houses left desolate, and their temple and Jerusalem besieged with armies, destroyed, and thrown down. And though the disciples and apostles of Christ did meet with the elders and church at Jerusalem after Christ was risen, yet Eusebius reported in his Ecclesiastical History that the Christians at Jerusalem had a vision or revelation to depart out of Jerusalem. Being forewarned also by Christ that "when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, its desolation was near; and that the temple should be thrown down, and not one stone left upon another. It is said, the Christians did depart out of bloody Jerusalem, before it and the temple were destroyed by Titus the emperor, who besieged it with his armies. He was of the Gentiles, and destroyed the temple and Jerusalem, as Christ had prophesied to his disciples, because of the wickedness of the Jews, and the innocent blood that they had shed in it. So the Lord called his people out of bloody Jerusalem, before he destroyed it. And it is said, Titus destroyed the temple and Jerusalem about forty two years after Christ was crucified and risen again, and that the destruction was so great, that the Jews never did build again the city of Jerusalem, nor the temple, (as Sodom was never built again, nor the cities of the old world.) But the Jews for more than a thousand years have been, and are a scattered people in all nations to this day; and Christ (whom they crucified) and his doctrine is preached and set over them; and the Gentiles, whom they hated, have received and do receive him and his doctrine and praise God for it through Jesus Christ, Amen.

God called his people out of Egypt, after he had poured out his ten plagues upon the Egyptians. When he had destroyed the first-born of Egypt, then the Lord brought his people out of Egypt. And after the Lord had clearly brought his people out, he destroyed Pharaoh, with all his hosts and chariots.

John said, he heard a voice, saying, "come out of her, my people, (out of Babylon, the false church), that you not be partakers of her sins, and that you do not receive her plagues; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities."

Rev 18:4-5. Here you may see that God called his people out of spiritual Babylon before he destroyed her, and cast her down, to be utterly burnt with fire, verse 8-9, and 21.

Was not Nebuchadnezzar's empire thrown down and ended by Cyrus and Darius, who were of the seed

of the Medes, before Cyrus and Darius gave forth their proclamation for all the Jews to go into their own land out of Babylon's captivity? And was there not a prophecy of Cyrus, "that he should subdue nations, and that the Lord would loose the loins of kings before him, and break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron, and open the two leaved gates; and that the gates should not be shut?" And the Lord said; "this is for Jacob, my servant's sake, and for Israel mine elect." Isaiah 45. Was not this fulfilled in Cyrus' and Darius' time? For did not the Jews go out of captivity into their own land? Ezra 1:2-4, and Ch. 6 and Isa 44:28 and Isa 45:13. Was not this prophecy of Isaiah fulfilled when the children of Israel came out of Babylon? Were not the Assyrians that carried away the ten tribes subdued? And the Babylonians, that carried away the two tribes, were they not subdued in the days of Cyrus and Darius, in whose days the "loins of kings were loosed, and the two leaved gates of brass and iron were opened?" And did not Israel and Jacob have their liberty by them in their days, to go into their own land?

And here in England, was it not observed, that most of the honest and sober people were turned out of the army, and their commissions, offices, and places taken from them, because they could not join with others in their cruelty and persecuting? And others laid down their commissions themselves, and came out from among those persecutors before they were overthrown, and brought to confusion. All who are wise see these things, learning by such examples of God's ways, to avoid such traps. The righteous are safe, who hope in Christ, their everlasting sanctuary that changes not; in whom they have rest and peace with God, Amen.

George Fox

Kingston, the 29th of the 12th month, 1686-7

While I was at Kingston, one day meditating on the things of God, some particular observations arose in my mind concerning the first, and the second or last Adam. As that:

The first man Adam was made on the sixth day of the week;
and Christ, the second Adam, was crucified on the sixth day of the week.

The first Adam was betrayed by the serpent in the garden of Eden;
Christ our Savior, the second Adam, was betrayed by Judas in a garden near Jerusalem.

Christ arose from the dead on the first day of the week; and those who believe in him are entered into Christ their rest: the christians meet together to worship God on the first day of the week; and on the first day of the week it was, that God said, "Let there be light, and there was light."

The Jews' rest was on the seventh day of the week, which was given to them as a sign of the eternal rest of the Lord, sanctifying them, after they came out of the land of Egypt; for before that time the Lord had not given to man and woman his outward Sabbath day to keep, neither in the old world, nor after in Abraham's time, nor in Isaac's, nor in Jacob's time; until the Jews came out of Egypt to mount Sinai in the wilderness. Then the Lord gave the law, and his Sabbath, as a sign in the old covenant, of Christ the eternal rest in the new covenant; and they that believe do enter into Christ their rest.

Adam, the first man, is the root from which we all spring naturally; and Christ is called the last or second Adam, because he is the beginning and root of all that are spiritual.

The first Adam was made a living soul; and Christ the last Adam is a quickening spirit.

Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might all come into favor with God; and that every tongue should confess that "Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

I also wrote a paper there, concerning the two seeds, distinguishing the seed where the blessing is received, from the seed which the curse remains upon. Of which the following is a copy:

The Lord said to Abraham, "In your seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Gen 22:18. "And your seed shall be as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is upon the sea shore, and as the dust of

the earth, that cannot be numbered." Gen 13:16. and Gen 15:5 and Gen 22:17. In this seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed; but not in the seed of evildoers and of falsehood, nor in the seed of adultery and the whore. Isa1:4. and Isa 57:3-4 "For the seed of the wicked shall be cut off, said the Lord." Psalm 37:28. The Lord said to David, "That his seed should endure for ever." Psalm 89:36. And again it is said, Psalm 102:28. "The children of your servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before you." Here is a distinction between the two seeds; for the seed of evildoers, of the adulterer, whore, and of the wicked shall be cut off; so it is not blessed. But Christ bruises the head of the serpent and his seed, which he sows in those who disobey and transgress God's command, and rebel against God's good spirit. This wicked seed of the serpent is cursed, and is an enemy to the seed, in whom all are blessed. But Christ bruises the head of this cursed seed of enmity, and destroys the devil and his works; and in Christ's seed are all blessed, and all are in unity in this seed. All the children of the seed are the children of the kingdom of God and Christ, and are blessed with faithful Abraham. Whoever is of the saving, divine, precious faith are of Abraham; they walk in the steps of the seed and faith of Abraham, and are blessed with him, yes, of all nations, and all the families of the earth.

The Lord said to Abraham, "your seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards shall they (to wit, God's seed) come out with great substance." Ex 12:29-36 . Here you may see that which afflicts God's seed, he will judge and did judge; for he did destroy the first-birth of Pharaoh and overthrew him and his host.

A holy man said; "Except the Lord of Sabbath had left us a seed or remnant, we would have been as Sodom." (that is destroyed). But in the seed, which destroys the devil and his works and bruises the head of the serpent and his seed, are all nations and families of the earth blessed.

Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham and of David; for he took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham; in which seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed. And so they, that are of his seed, are of the generation of Christ; are "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." Now all nations and families of the earth must be in this holy seed, if they have the blessings and are blessed. And "out of the mouth of this seed's seed shall not God's word depart;" but shall remain and abide in the mouth of this seed's seed, in which they are blessed. Isa 59:21. So it is not the first birth's talking of the words of Christ, the seed, in whose mouth the word of God does not abide. The birth which makes an outward profession, like the Jews, that killed and persecute the prophets, and crucified Christ the seed and substance of the law and prophets. The law which the Jews professed in words, but they denied Christ, the seed and life. All christians (so called) that profess the scriptures in words, and are not in the seed Christ, are in the confusion, and are like the Jews. So neither Jews nor christians are blessed, except they be in Christ, the seed of life.

But though Christ is said to be the seed of David and of Abraham, as his generation is declared by Matthew and Luke; yet Christ was not born of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. For he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin, and supposed to be the son of Joseph, but was the son of God. His name was called Jesus, because he would "save his people from their sins;" and Emanuel, "God with us." Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham (as I said before) and so was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." Rom 1:4. So the generation of Christ is a mystery. Christ saw his seed or word grow up in his disciples; and "Christ in you the hope of glory," the apostle calls "the mystery, which has been hid from ages and generations; but now is made manifest to the saints, or sanctified ones." Col 1:26-27. "Whom we preach; warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." Col1:28. For in Christ, the second Adam, all are made perfect and complete; and in Adam in the fall, all are deformed and made imperfect; so outside of Christ all mankind are imperfect and deformed. Let them paint and dress themselves with the sheep's clothing, and with the form of godliness, of the prophets', Christ's and his apostles' words; yet if Christ is not in them, they are incomplete, imperfect, deformed, and reprobates. But the apostle tells the church of Christ. "You are complete in Christ, which is the head of all principality and power." Col 2:10. (For he has "all power in heaven and earth given to him." Mat 28:18.) So all the saints are made perfect and complete in Christ Jesus; blessed be the Lord God over all forever, through Jesus Christ, Amen, Amen.

The Missing Cross to Purity

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After this I quickly returned to London and continued there a month in the service of the Lord; being daily exercised either in public meetings, or more particular services relating to the church of Christ; as visiting such as were sick or afflicted, writing books or papers for the spreading of truth, or refuting of error. As it was a time of general liberty, the Papists appeared more open in their worship than formerly; and with many unsettled people going to view them, there was a great talk of their praying to saints, and by beads, etc. In answer to this I wrote a short paper concerning prayer; as follows:

Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said to them, "When you pray, say, Our Father who is in heaven, hallowed is your name," etc. Christ does not say, they should pray to Mary, the mother of Christ; not does he say, they should pray to angels, or to saints that were dead. Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to sing by outward organs; but the apostle said, he would sing and pray in the spirit; for the spirit itself "makes intercession; and the Lord, that searches the heart, knows the mind of the spirit."

To take counsel of the dead was forbidden by the law of God; they were to take counsel of the Lord. He has given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counselor and a leader to all believers in his light. Men are not to run to the dead for the living; for the law and testimony of God forbids it. Those Jews, who refused the running waters of Shiloh, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity; and those who refuse the waters of Christ, are overflowed with the flood of the world, that lies in wickedness. Those who asked counsel

of wooden idols and stones, were in the spirit of error and whoredom; they were "gone a whoring from God." Hosea 4:12. And those who "joined themselves to Baal Peor, and ate the sacrifices made to the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them" Psa 107:28-29. So here you may see, the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward: for the memory of them is forgotten, Ecc 9:5. "Woe to the rebellious children, said the Lord, that take counsel; but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin."
Isa 30:1.

George Fox

When I had stayed about a month in London, I left town again. Because of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body had grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long, but was glad to go a little into the country, where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son in law, William Mead, to his country house called Gooses in Essex, where I stayed about two weeks; and among other services, that I had there, I wrote the following paper:

A distinction between the true offering and sacrifice, and the false, in the old and new covenant.

The Lord said, "He that sacrifices to any god, other than the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." Ex 22:20. So no god is to be heeded, nor sacrificed to, but the Lord God. It is death to sacrifice to any other god, save the Lord. The Lord said also, "You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread." Ex 23:18. So that sour heavy leaven must not be offered with the Lord's sacrifice. Again, the Lord said; "You shall not build an altar of hewn stone; for if you lift up your tool upon it, you have polluted it." Ex 20:25. Therefore have a care of polluting the altar with your own tools, you who profess to offer the spiritual sacrifice.

Jonah said, "He would sacrifice unto the Lord with the voice of thanksgiving, "when he was in the fish's belly; and there he prayed unto the Lord. Jonah 2. For Jonah in the whale's belly had no lambs, nor rams, nor outward sacrifices to offer.

The Lord forbids his people to sacrifice with harlots. Hosea 4:14. And the Lord forbids his people to offer sacrifice of the blind, lame, sick, or that which was deformed, or had any blemish; as in Mal 1:8 and many other places. So those who offer spiritual sacrifice, must not offer the blind, lame, blemished, or deformed sacrifice to God.

The scribe said to Christ, "To love God with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbor as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices." Mark 12:33. "And when Jesus saw that he answered wisely, he said to him, you are not far from the kingdom of God." verse 34. To love God and their neighbor as themselves, was more than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices in the time of the law; therefore all offerings and sacrifices in the time of the gospel, if there is not love to God and to their neighbor as themselves, are of no benefit.

David said, "Let them sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing." Psa 107:22. These are the sacrifices that the Lord requires of his people, more than outward sacrifices. David said, "Let my prayer be set forth before you as incense; and the lifting up of mine hands as the evening sacrifice." Psa 141:2. Here David looks upon his prayer to the Lord, and the lifting up of his hands to him, to be accepted with the Lord, as much as the outward incense, and the outward evening sacrifice. Again David says, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, you will not despise." Psa 51:17. (see also Isa 57:15. and Isa 66:2.) These are the sacrifices that David said God would accept, and not despise; which are greater than the unbroken spirit, and uncontrite heart, with outward offerings and sacrifices.

The adversaries of the Jews would have joined with them towards the building of the temple, saying, "Let us build with You, for we seek your God, as you do; and we do sacrifice to him. "But the Jews refused them, and said; "You have nothing to do with us, to build a house to our God." Ezra 4:1-3. Here you may see God's people refused their building with them, and their sacrifice. Solomon said, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord." Pro 15:8. (See also Isa 1:11-20. and Isa 66:3.) Solomon also said, "Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifices with strife." Pro 17:1. Now let all people consider what good your house full of sacrifices does with strife; when a dry morsel, and quietness therein is better? Consider all people, if you live in wickedness, your sacrifice is

an abomination to the Lord.

Again, Solomon speaking of the sacrifice of fools, said, "They consider not, that they do evil." Ecc 5:1. Fools are such as do not walk in the spirit of God, or start in the spirit, and end in the flesh, like the foolish Galatians; for the spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and cannot join with the sacrifices of the dead, nor of the fools, nor of the wicked, whose sacrifice is abominable; who grieve and quench the spirit of God, by which the spiritual and righteous offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

The apostle Paul said, he was the "minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." Rom 15:16. So you may see that all the acceptable offerings and sacrifices to God must be sanctified by the Holy Ghost. The same apostle said to the Corinthians, "you are bought with a price; therefore glorify God, in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." 1 Cor 6:20. And to the Romans, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." Rom 12:1. This is the duty of all true Christians.

Peter also said, in his general epistle to the church of Christ; "you also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." 1 Pet 2:5. So every man and woman must come to the spirit of God in their own hearts, if they offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. For as Christ said, "Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." Mark 9:49. And in the Old Testament you may see, all their outward offerings they were "to season with salt." Lev 2:13. This was a type and figure of Christ, who "gave himself for us, an offering, and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savor." Eph 5:2. Therefore all his people must be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, so that they may be salted with fire, and every sacrifice salted with salt, with the spirit of grace, that is poured upon all; so that they may offer up this spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

Samuel said to king Saul, "Has the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold to obey is better than sacrifice; and to heed, than the fat of rams." 1 Sam 15:22. So you may see all offerings and sacrifices are nothing, if there is not a listening to the Lord in

his spirit, and an obeying of his voice. Christ told the Jews, who were outward sacrificers that he would have mercy and not sacrifice; and bid them "go and learn what that means." Mat 9:13.

George Fox

Gooses, the 28th of the 2d month, 1687

The beginning of the third month I returned to London, and continued there until after the Yearly Meeting, which began the sixteenth, and was very large; since friends had more freedom to come up out of the countries to it, because of the general toleration and liberty now granted. The meeting lasted several days; and at the close, it was upon me to write the following lines, to be dispersed among Friends everywhere, as "a word of counsel and caution to them to walk circumspectly in this time of liberty."

Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,

The Lord by his eternal arm and power having supported you in all your sufferings, great seizing of personal property, and tedious imprisonments, only for serving and worshipping the living God who made you; who gave up wife and children and goods, and endured the seizing of them and imprisonment for his truth and name's sake. The Lord by his infinite power and mercy has been pleased to open the king's heart towards you, by which you are set at liberty from jails, and those who seize your personal property are stopped, so that now you may follow your callings, confess Christ Jesus, and call him Lord by the Holy Ghost in your assemblies, without being cast into jails, or having your property seized. Dear brethren, a great concern lies upon me from the Lord to write to you, "that none may abuse this liberty, nor the mercies of the Lord, but prize them;" for there is great danger in time of liberty of becoming proud, and getting into ease, looseness, and false liberty. And now, since you do not have the outward persecutors to war with in sufferings, use the spiritual weapons to keep down that which would not be subject to Christ; that he, the Holy One, may reign in your hearts. That your lives, conversations, and words may preach righteousness and truth; that you may all show forth good examples of true believers in Christ, in virtue and holiness, answering that which may be known of God in all people, that you are the sons and daughters of God. Stand fast in that righteous, holy, liberty in Christ, the just and Holy One, that has made you free, over the loose or false; shunning the occasions of vain disputes and foolish questions of men of corrupt minds: for the serpent was the first questioner of Eve, who drew her and Adam out of the truth. Therefore as you have received Christ, live and walk in

him, who bruises the serpent's head, who is your safe sanctuary; in whom you have election, reconciliation and peace with God. Therefore live in the peace which you have from Christ, which is not of this world; be at peace one with another, and seek the peace of all men in Christ Jesus: for blessed are the peace-makers. Labor to exercise a good conscience towards God, in obedience to him in what he requires, and in doing to all men the thing that is just and honest; in your conversations and words giving no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of God. So you may be as a city set on God's Zion hill, which cannot be hid; and may be lights to the dark world, that they may see your good fruits, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. For he is glorified in your bringing forth good fruits, as you abide in Christ, the vine, in this his day of life, power, and light, that shines over all. Therefore all that believe in the light, walk in the light, as children of the light and of Christ's everlasting day; that in the light you may have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another; keeping in the unity of his holy spirit, in the bond of his holy peace, in his church, that he is head of. My desire is, that God's wisdom everywhere may be justified of her children, and that it may be showed forth in meekness, and in the fear of the Lord in this his day, Amen.

George Fox

By that time the Yearly Meeting was over, and I was very much wearied and spent, so about a week after, I went out of town to a Friend's house a little beyond Edmonton. I stayed there and at South-street some time, and had meetings among Friends there; (and at Winch more-hill and Berry Street). Having my mind continually exercised in the things of God; the sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to mankind, in visiting them, after they had transgressed and rebelled against him, and providing a way and means for their return to him again, was very much upon me; and in the opening of the spirit of truth, I wrote the following paper on that subject:

God, who made all men and women, though they have transgressed his commands and laws, rebelled against him, hated his light, grieved his spirit, and walked despitely against his spirit of grace; yet he who is merciful, would have all to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. All that come to the knowledge of the truth, must know it in their inward parts. I say: the grace and truth, which comes by Jesus, all that know and find it, must know and find it in their hearts. Such find the hidden man of the heart, the pearl, the leaven, the lost piece of silver, and the kingdom of heaven within. For until all come to the light and truth in their hearts, they have been strangers to these things, in Adam in the fall,

from the image of God, his light, power and spirit, and kingdom. But Christ, that never fell, brings man and woman again, who follow him, to know these things, and to know the truth, him the Savior, and brings them into his image, and his everlasting kingdom.

The devil, who is out of the truth, tempted man and woman to disobey God; and so drew them into the fall from the truth. It is the devil that has stopped men's eyes, ears, and hearts from the truth, who is called the god of the world; who has blinded the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Christ, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, opens men's hearts, eyes, and ears, who is their Savior and Redeemer, and gives life eternal to his people, who obey him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord forever through Jesus Christ, who has tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam; and the atonement for the sins of the whole world, and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified of in due time. For as by Adam's transgression and disobedience death and condemnation came upon all men; so through Christ's obedience to God even to death, justification of life has come upon all men: and "he who believes in Christ has eternal life; but he who does not is condemned already." But God would have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, who is their Savior; and in Christ there is no condemnation.

George Fox

After I had been here awhile; I went to a Monthly Meeting at Enfield, and from there with some Friends to Hertford; where I stayed three or four days, visiting Friends both at their public meetings on first-day, and at their Quarterly Meetings of men and women: and good service for the Lord I had among them. Then passing to Waltham-Abbey, I had a very good meeting with Friends, and the next day went to another place, to mediate a difference, which, for want of a right understanding of each other, had happened between some Friends. I returned to Waltham that night; and the next day went with some Friends to William Mead's house in Essex.

I stayed here for some weeks, yet I was not idle, but often visited meetings in the area; as at Wanstead, Barking, and at John Harding's. Between meetings I wrote many things for spreading truth, and opening people's understandings to receive it. One was a paper, proving from the scriptures that people must repent before they can receive the gospel, and the Holy Spirit, and the kingdom of God, and be baptized:

John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, "Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." [Mat 3:1-2](#). When John the Baptist was cast into prison, Mark says; "That Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the gospel!" [Mark 1:14-15](#). Matthew also says; "From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." [Mat 4:17](#). "And when Christ sent forth his twelve disciples, two by two, they went out and preached that men should repent." [Mark 6:7,12](#). Christ said to the Jews, "Except you repent, you shall all perish." [Luke 13:3, 5](#). When the tax collectors and sinners came to hear Christ, and the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, "This man receives sinners, and eats with them." [Luke 15:1-2](#). Christ reproved them by a parable, and then told them; "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." [Luke 15:7](#). Adding, "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repents." [Luke 15:10](#). Christ, after he was risen, said to his disciples, "That repentance and **remission** of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." [Luke 24:47](#). Peter said to the Jews, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." [Acts 2:38](#). Paul said, "The times of this ignorance God overlooked; but now commands all men everywhere to repent." [Acts 17:30](#). Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it. [Acts 8:22](#). The apostle Paul did preach at Damascus, at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles (turning them from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of satan to God), that they should "repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance." [Acts 26:20](#).

Here you may see people must repent before they believe and are baptized, and before they receive the Holy Ghost and the kingdom of God. They must repent of their vain life and conversation before they receive the gospel, and must be turned from darkness to the light of Christ, from the power of satan to God, before they receive his Holy Spirit and his gospel of life and salvation. The Lord commands all men every where to repent, and do works appropriate of repentance. They must show that their lives, conversations, and tongues are changed, and that they serve God in newness of life, with new tongues and new hearts.

George Fox

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687

Another short paper I wrote about the same time, showing, that God's people should be like. Thus:

God is righteous, and he would have his people to be righteous, and to do righteously. God is holy, and he would have his people holy, and to do holy deeds. God is just, and he would have his people to be just, and to do justly to all. God is light, and his children must walk in his light. God is an eternal, infinite spirit, and his children must walk in the spirit. God is merciful, and he would have his people to be merciful. God's sun shines upon the good and the bad, and he causes the rain to fall upon the evil and the good; so should his people do good to all. God is love, and those who dwell in love dwell in God. Love works no ill to his neighbor, therefore, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." [Rom 13:10](#). The apostle said, "All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, you shall love your neighbor as yourself." [Gal 5:14](#). "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you; continue you in my love." [John 15:9](#). This should be the practice of all God's people.

George Fox

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687

And because most people would confess, that God's people should be like this, but few know how to come to this state, in the openings of the spirit of truth I wrote another short paper, directing to the right way and means people might come to Christ, and so be made like God. Thus:

Christ said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man comes to the Father but by me." [John 14:6](#). And again, "No man can come to me, except the Father which has sent me, draws him." [John 6:44](#). Now, what is the means by which God draws his people to his Son, but by his Holy Spirit, who "pours out of his spirit upon all flesh," that is, all men and women. By this Holy Spirit the holy and righteous God draws people from their unrighteousness and unholiness to Christ, the righteous and holy one, the great prophet in his new covenant and New Testament, whom Moses in the old covenant and Testament said, God would raise up like unto him, whom people should hear in all things; and they that would not hear him should be cut off. Those who do not hear the Son of God, the great prophet, do

not heed the drawing of the Father by his Holy Spirit to his Son; but those who heed the drawings of the good spirit of the Father to his Son, the spirit gives them understanding to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. Then they know that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come to God but by and through his Son, who is their shepherd to feed them in his pastures and springs of life. His sheep know his holy voice, in whom there was no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile, and a hireling they will not hear, for he does not care for the sheep; for they are not the hireling's but Christ's, who has laid down his life for his sheep. He that robs and steals his neighbor's words, climbs up another way, and enters not by the door, is a thief and a robber; but Christ is the door into his sheepfold, for his sheep to enter in by. They know that Christ is the bishop of their souls, to see that they do not go astray from God nor out of his pastures of life. They know that Christ is their mediator, who makes their peace with God. They know that Christ is their high priest, made higher than the heavens, and has died for their sins, and cleanses them with his blood, and is risen for their justification, and is able to save to the utmost all that come to God by him.

George Fox

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687

Before I left this place I wrote another paper, the scope of which was to show, by many instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people talk of as something far in the future and refer to it only as happening after death, is in measure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance into it, other than those who are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following is a copy:

Christ said, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." John 3:3. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit" verse 6. So "except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." verse 5. And John, writing to the seven churches of Asia, calls himself their "brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." Rev 1:9. Here you may see that John was **in** the kingdom, so he was born again; for he did not only see the kingdom but was in it.

And John said, "Behold what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God; therefore the world does not know us, because it did not know him." 1 John 3:1 "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." verse 2. "If you know that he is righteous, you know that everyone that does righteousness is born of him." 1 John 2:29. "Whoever is born of God does not commit sin, for his seed remains in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God." 1 John 3:9. "Let us love one another, for love is of God; and every one that loves is born of God, and knows God. He who does not love, does not know God; for God is love," 1 John 4 :7-8. "Whoever believes that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." 1 John 5:1. "Whoever is born of God overcomes the world: and this is the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith." 1 John 5:4. Are not these, who were born of God, in the kingdom of God, (having overcome the world)? And seeing John says, "Everyone that does righteousness is born of God;" do not those who practice righteousness and stand firm in righteousness see the kingdom of God and enter into it?

Peter, in his first general epistle to the church of Christ, said, "As newborn babes desire the sincere milk of the word, so you may grow by it." 1 Pet 2:2. And he tells them they were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praises of him who had called them out of darkness into his marvelous light." 1Pet 2:9. "And that as lively stones they were built up into a spiritual house, a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." verse 5. Did not these newborn babes, these lively stones, spiritual household, royal priesthood, holy nation, and chosen generation, who were called out of darkness into Christ's marvelous light, see and enter into his holy kingdom; being heirs of the same? Those were "born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God which lives and abides forever." 1 Pet1:23. And did not such have an entrance ministered to them into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ?

James, in his general epistle to the church of Christ, said, "Has not God chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he has promised to them that love him?" James 2:5. The apostle Paul said, "God sent forth his son made of a woman, etc to redeem them that were under the law, that we may receive the adoption of sons; and because you are sons, God has sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father. For which reason you are no more a servant but a son, and if a son then an heir of God through Christ." Gal 4:4-7. The same apostle said, "As many as are led by the spirit of God they are the sons of God;" and tells the saints at Rome, "You have received the spirit

of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The spirit itself bears witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together," (namely with Christ.) Rom 8:14-17. Now since they are the sons of God that are led by the spirit of God, and the spirit bears witness to their spirit that they are the children of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, are not all these children of God heirs of the righteous, glorious kingdom of God? And do they not see it and enter into it?

The Lord said in Hosea 1:10. "Where it was said to them, you are not my people, there it shall be said to them, you are the sons of the living God." Did not this relate to the gospel days of the new covenant? See Rom 9:26. And what the Lord said by the prophet Jeremiah, Ch.31:1. the apostle applies to the gospel days, and says, "Be you separate, said the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, said the Lord Almighty." 2 Cor 6:16. Are not these the children that see and enter into the righteous kingdom of God, that separate from that which is unclean and touch it not?

The Lord said also by Isaiah, "I will say to the north, give up and to the south, keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." Isa 43:6. Then does not he bring them to his kingdom of glory that stands in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost?

The Lord said to Job, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Job 38:7. Where did these sons of God shout for joy? Was it not in his kingdom of glory?

Christ said, "The least in the kingdom of God is greater than John." Luke 7:28. And in Luke 16:16 he says, "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time (viz. since the law, and the prophets, and John), the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presses into it."

The good seed are the children of the kingdom. Mat 13:38. And "the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." Mat 13:43. Christ said to his disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God." Mark 4:11. Christ lifted up his eyes upon his disciples, and said, "Blessed be you poor, for yours **is** the kingdom of God." Luke 6:20. The apostles preached the kingdom of God. These were born again, that saw and knew the kingdom of God and preached it.

Christ said to his disciples, "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Luke 12:32. "I appoint to you a kingdom," said Christ, "as my Father has appointed to me." Luke 22:29. The Lord said, "He that overcomes shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son." Rev 21:7. And John said, "I have written unto you, young men, because you are strong, and the word of God abides in you, and you have overcome the wicked one." 1 John 2:14. "And Christ, by whom are all things, is said to bring many sons to glory." Hbr 2:10

He said, "Woe to you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for you neither go in yourselves, nor do you allow them that are entering to go in." Mat 23:13. "Woe to you, religious lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in you hindered." Luke 11:52. Christ gives to his children the keys of the kingdom, his spirit; but the scribes, pharisees, and lawyers, (great professors) were erred from the spirit, like the great professors in our age. They scoff at the spirit, and draw people from the spirit of God within; these shut up the kingdom from men, and draw people from the key of knowledge, and the key of the kingdom. "For no man knows the things of God but by the spirit of God;" for the things of God are spiritually discerned. The spirit is the key, by which the kingdom of God and the things of God are revealed, discerned, and known, according to 1 Cor 2:10-14. The apostle names some in his epistle to the Colossians, and says, "These are my fellow workers unto the kingdom of God." Col 4:11. And he tells that church, that "God has delivered us from the power of darkness, and has translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." Col 1:13. So you may see these were born again who were translated into the kingdom of Christ, and were fellow workers unto the kingdom of God.

Christ exhorts his disciples to love and to do good, that they might be the children of their Father which is in heaven. Mat 5:45. He bids them be perfect, even as their Father which is in heaven is perfect. verse 48. The apostle said to the church at Philippi, "That you may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without fault, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation;" among whom you shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life, etc. Phil 2:15-16. And writing to the church of the Thessalonians, he puts them in mind how he had exhorted them that they would "walk worthy of God, who had called them into his kingdom and glory."

1 Thes 2:12.

The Lord had promised by the prophet Joel, that he would "pour out of his spirit upon all flesh," and that "sons and daughters should prophesy; old men should dream dreams, and young men see visions," Joel 2:28. The reason that sons and daughters, handmaids, servants, young men, and old men have not these heavenly visions, dreams, and prophecies, is because they are "erred from the spirit of God," which he pours upon them; but as many as are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God.

John said Christ was the true Light, "which lights every man that comes into the world." John 1:9. And that "as many as received him, to them gave he power to *become* the sons of God, verse 12, which were born not of blood, nor of the will of man, but of God." verse 13. The reason why people do not become the sons of God, is because they do not receive Christ. The Jews, the great professors, who had the promises, prophecies, figures, and shadows of him, would not receive him when he came. And now the priests and high professors of Christ are so far from receiving the light of Christ, and believing in it, that they hate the light and scoff at it, calling it a natural conscience, and some, "Jack O lantern." Such are not likely to become the sons of God, nor to see the glorious kingdom of Christ, which stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For the light that shines in the heart gives the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus." 2 Cor 4:6 Those who do not receive Christ Jesus, but hate his light (which is the life in him) and yet profess him in words neither know the children of the light, nor true fellowship in the light, nor the kingdom of God, that stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy ghost; but by the light they are condemned. "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. For everyone that does evil hates the light, neither come to the light, for fear his deeds will be disapproved." **John 3:19-20. But the children of the light, that walk in the light, come to heavenly Jerusalem, to the city of the living God, to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and church of the first born, that are written in heaven, [and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect] Hbr 12:22-23, and can sing Hallelujah.**

George Fox

Gooses, the 2d of the 7th month, 1687

In the Fourth Month, 1687, the King issued an order that the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical matters should be suspended. This would have been more acceptable had it been the action of the King and his Parliament, rather than merely the exercise of his royal prerogative; but the liberty was enjoyed, and, in common with other Dissenters, Friends presented an address to King James expressing their thankfulness. This was favorably received, and at the assembling of the Yearly Meeting in 1687 it was concluded to send an address from that body to the King by the hands of William Penn, who had free access to the royal person. To this address the King returned the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN, - I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know, I am sure you do, Mr. Penn, that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced, and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conscience. And what I have promised in my declaration I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope, - before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason' to alter it."

King James was not to be the instrument of establishing liberty of conscience in England. His power was already tottering, and further steps in this direction caused a great excitement in his Parliament. The English people feared that toleration with him only meant favor to the Roman Catholic religion; and the appointment of those who professed that faith to the highest offices in the state increased the feeling of anxiety. Attention was directed towards the Prince and Princess of Orange, as the hope of the nation at this crisis. The Prince, it will be remembered, was a grandson of Charles I., and his wife a daughter of James II. She had been educated in the Protestant religion by the express orders of Charles II., and their marriage had been arranged by King James to satisfy the growing discontent of his subjects. Mary, the Princess of Orange, was the heir apparent of the crown of England, and it was to her and her husband that the eyes of the English nation were turned in this emergency.

It does not come within the scope of this work to detail the events which placed them upon the throne. It is sufficient to say that James, becoming alarmed for his personal safety, fled to France, and William and Mary were crowned King and Queen of England, in the Fourth Month, 1689.

A PROTESTANT King and Queen being now seated on the throne of England, with a Parliament united with them in the policy of maintaining that form of religion, the first subject claiming their attention was the modification of the laws in relation to Dissenters. An Act of Toleration was prepared "which exempted Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, designed to force them to conformity."

Friends were on the alert to have the act framed so as to include them within its scope. This was very necessary, as the bill had a confession of faith attached to it, which had been drawn up with the idea of exempting the "Quakers" from its provisions, on the plea that they were not christians.

It was not to be expected that our aged veteran, who had so long counseled his brethren, would keep aloof from this conflict. In his journal he says: "Though I was weak in body, and not well able to 'stir about, yet so great a concern was upon my spirit on behalf of truth and

Friends, that I attended continually with many Friends at the Parliament House, laboring with the members that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually."

A confession of faith was drawn up by Friends and presented to Parliament by a committee of their body, who were examined in relation to it. The result of the investigation was that Parliament was convinced that Quakerism was not adverse to christianity.

Their profession of faith may be interesting today.

Question. Do you believe the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God? or that Jesus Christ is truly God and man?

Answer. Yes, we verily believe that Jesus Christ is truly God and man, according as Holy Scriptures testify of Him; God over all blessed forever; the true God, and eternal life; the one Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus.

Question. Do you believe and expect salvation and justification by the righteousness and merits of Jesus Christ, or by your own righteousness and works?

Answer. By Jesus Christ, His righteousness, merits, and works, and not by our own. God is not indebted to us for our anything we deserve, but we to Him for His free grace in Christ Jesus; whereby we are saved through faith in Him, not of ourselves; and by His grace are enabled truly and acceptably to serve and follow Him as He requires. He is our all in all, who works all in us that is well pleasing to God.

Question. Do you believe in the remission of sins and redemption through the sufferings, death, and blood of Christ?

Answer. Yes, through faith in Him, as He suffered and died for all men, gave Himself a ransom for all, and His blood being shed for the remission of sins, do all they who sincerely believe in and obey Him receive the blessed effects of His suffering and dying for them. They, by faith in His name, receive and partake of that eternal redemption which He hath obtained for us, who gave Himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity. He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and" if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleansed us from all sin."

And now the long-looked-for relief had come, and Friends in common with other Dissenters were relieved in some measure from the suffering which had pressed so heavily upon them. They could meet in peace to worship God, and were no longer required to take an oath. Tithes were still demanded, and they suffered the loss of property in that respect, but the cruel imprisonments ceased.

None rejoiced more in this deliverance than George Fox, whose body was now feeling the effects of his earnest labor for his Master, but whose spirit was fresh and strong. Like the beloved disciple of old, love was the prevailing feeling in his heart, and love the burden of his exhortations to the people.

Having been more than a quarter of a year in the country, I returned to London in somewhat better health than formerly, having received much benefit from the country air. And it being a time of general liberty and great openness among the people, I had much service for the Lord in the city,

being almost daily at public meetings, and was frequently busy in visiting Friends that were sick, and in other services of the church. I continued at London about three months; then finding my strength much spent with continual laboring in the work of the Lord, and my body much hindered for want of fresh air, I went to my son Rouse's by Kingston, where I stayed some time, and visited Friends at Kingston. While I was there, it came upon me to write a paper concerning the Jews, showing, "How by their disobedience and rebellion they lost the holy city and land." By which example the professed christians may see what they are to expect, if they continue to disobey and provoke the Lord. The copy here follows:

The Lord gave the Jews in the Old Testament the land of Canaan, and they built the temple at Jerusalem to worship in. It was called "the holy temple," and Jerusalem was called "the holy city," and Canaan "the holy land." But when the Jews rebelled against the good spirit which God gave them to instruct them, and rebelled against his law, and set up idols and images, and defiled the land and the city, the Lord sent his prophets to cry against them. The prophets were to bring them back again to his spirit, and to his law, and so to God, to serve and worship him, that they might not worship images and idols, the works of their own hands. But instead of hearkening to God's prophets, they persecuted them, and at last killed his Son Christ Jesus, and persecuted his apostles. But Christ told the Jews that both their city and temple would be laid waste, and they should be scattered over all nations; and it was so. Titus the Roman emperor came and took Jerusalem, and destroyed the city and temple, which was a day of vengeance upon the Jews for all their idolatries, their wickedness, and for the innocent blood they had shed both in the city and country; and they were driven out of their own city and land, and scattered over all nations. The Jews never had power to get the land since, nor to build Jerusalem nor the temple; but the Turk has both the land of Canaan and that which is called "the city of Jerusalem." Now the Turk neither makes images nor worships images; so it is a just hand of the Lord that he should be over the persecuting, idolatrous Jews, so that they cannot defile the land of Canaan now with images and idols, for the Turk has not, who neither makes images nor idols, nor worships them. The Jews must never hope, believe, nor expect, that they shall ever go again into the land of Canaan, to set up an outward worship at Jerusalem, and there for their priests to offer outward sacrifices of rams, sheep, and heifers, etc for burnt offerings; for Christ, the one offering, has offered himself once for all, and by this one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified. And Christ has changed the priesthood of Aaron, that offered sacrifices, which was made after the power of a worldly commandment; but Christ was made after the power of an endless life, a priest forever, who was holy, harmless, and

separate from sinners, and is a priest made higher than the heavens. This is the priest that gives power to all who receive him to become the sons and daughters of God; and Jerusalem that is above is the mother of all the sons and daughters of God, which is free; but Jerusalem that is below is in bondage with her children. They who are the children of Jerusalem that is above do not look down at Jerusalem that is below; but they look at Jerusalem that is above, which is their mother. Christ said, "Neither at outward Jerusalem, nor in the mountain of Samaria should God be worshipped; but God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth; for he is a spirit, and such he seeks to worship him." John 4:21-23. This is the worship that Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago; therefore the idolatrous Jews must never think to offer their outward offerings and sacrifices, nor set up their outward worship at Jerusalem, in the holy land of Canaan. For Christ, by the offering up of himself once for all, for the sins of the whole world, has ended all the Jews' offerings, and changed the priesthood, and the law by which it was made, and has blotted out the hand writing of ordinances, which commanded both priests and offerings, and triumphed over them. So he is the offering and sacrifice of all the children of the New Testament, new covenant, and heavenly New Jerusalem that is above. He is their prophet that opens to them, their shepherd that feeds them, their bishop that oversees them, and priest that died for their sins and is risen for their justification, who sanctifies and presents them to God. He is the one Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus.

George Fox

Kingston, the 9th of the 10th month, 1687

After this I went to Guilford to visit Friends there, and stayed three days with them, and had a large and very good meeting on first-day. After which I came back to Kingston again, and stayed about two weeks longer, visiting Friends and having meetings among them, both at their public meeting house and in their families. Many things I wrote while I was at Kingston; among which the following was one:

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish, (mark, not perish), but have everlasting life." John 3:16. Again he said, "He that believes on the Son of God has, (mark, *has*), everlasting life." John 3:36. So these believers *have everlasting life while they are upon the earth*. And "he who believes on Christ is not condemned; but he that does not believe is condemned already, and the wrath of God abides on him. He that hears Christ's word, and believes

on God that sent him, has, (mark, *has*), everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death," (the death in the first Adam), "to life," the life in Christ the second Adam. John 5:24. And that meat which Christ gives endures to everlasting life, as in John 6:27. And the water that Christ gives shall be in him that drinks it "a well of water springing up into everlasting life." John 4:14. Christ said to the Jews, "Search the scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me: and you will not come to me, that you might have life." John 5:39-40. Here you may see, the eternal life is to be found in Christ, and not in the scriptures which testify of him, the life. Christ's sheep that hear his voice, know, and follow him; he gives to them eternal life, and they shall not perish; neither shall any pluck them out of his hand. They shall not pluck Christ's sheep, to whom he has given eternal life, out of his eternal hand. Christ said to Martha, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believes in me, though he were dead, (mark, though he were dead), yet shall he live, (mark, live, though he were dead) and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die. Believe you this?" Martha said, "Yes, Lord." John 11:25-27. This is the true substantial belief, which they that believe shall not perish, but have everlasting life. John said, "This is the testimony, that God has given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." 1 John 5:11. "The life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and proclaim to you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and appeared to us." 1 John 1:2. So these were the believers that had eternal life in the Son of God, and showed it to others. "He that has the Son has life," said John, "and he that has not the Son of God has not life." 1 John 5:12. Christ said, "Everyone who has forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake; shall receive a hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Mat 19:29. The wicked that do not receive Christ shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life. The true servants of God have their fruits unto holiness, and their end is everlasting life. For "the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Such have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore I desire that God's people may endure all things that they may obtain this salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory. For Christ, being made perfect, became the author of eternal salvation to all those who obey him. This eternal salvation is above an external salvation; for they come to receive an eternal inheritance, and live in the possession of the everlasting gospel of joy, comfort, peace, and salvation, having everlasting life in Christ Jesus.

George Fox

Kingston, the 6th of the 11th month, 1687

Another paper I wrote concerning the stone spoken of by Daniel, Ch.2:35 which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, showing, that, 'thereby was set forth the kingdom and power of Christ.'

When Christ, the stone that became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, had broken to pieces the head of gold, the breast of silver, the belly of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet part iron part clay, which were the four monarchies, the Babylonian and Mede, the Grecian and the Roman, and had ended the outward Jews' typical kingdom, Daniel said, "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." Dan 2:44. Christ said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." Mat 28:18. And "my kingdom is not of this world." John 18:36 "Christ is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." Col 1:16-17. Here you may see all things consist by Jesus Christ, and all things were created by Christ and for him, whether they are things in heaven or things on earth, visible or invisible; yes, thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers, these were all created by him and for him. Christ is "King of kings and Lord of lords." Rev19:16. The "Prince of the kings of the earth." Rev 1:5. Out of his mouth goes a sharp sword, with which he shall smite the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessel of a potter shall they be dashed in pieces who do not obey him, the "King of kings and Lord of lords." This is Christ, who said, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last;" so he is over all nations, and above them all. We must understand this rod of iron, by which Christ does rule the nations, is a figurative speech of Christ who is ascended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God. All power in heaven and earth is given to him, and all things were created by him and for him: so then they are Christ's, and he has power over all things; for all are his. So, as the scripture said, "By me kings reign and princes decree justice." Pro 8:15. But if they abuse his power and do not do justice, as is decreed by Christ, the "King of kings and Lord of lords, the first and the last," they must feel the weight of his rod of iron, by which he will rule such as abuse his power. That is decreed by him, who has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in the kingdoms of men.

George Fox

Kingston, the 11th month, 1687

Several other things I wrote while I was at Kingston; for my spirit being continually exercised towards God, I had many precious openings of divine matters; and various places of scripture, both in the Old Testament and in the New, relating to the state of regeneration and sanctification, etc were brought to my remembrance by the Holy Spirit; some of which I committed to writing, as follows:

Those who touched the dead were unclean, and were to be cleansed by the water of purification. Num19:11-13. And those who touch the dead doctrines or faiths, and let them in, burden the pure; defile and make themselves unclean, until the spring of the water of the word arises and washes and cleans them. For all the dead in Adam in the fall are unclean, and they must be washed by Christ, in his blood and water of life, who quickens and makes alive.

A dwarf might not come near to offer upon God's altar; but he might eat of the holy bread, that he might grow. Lev 21:20-21. So the new born babes may eat of the milk of the word, that they may grow thereby and increase. He that had any blemish might not come near to offer upon God's altar; neither might anything be offered upon God's altar that had any blemish, or was unclean. Lev 21:21 And it is said, "The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." Psalm 1:5. But "God stands in the congregation of the mighty." Psalm 82:1

The camp of God was to be kept clean and holy. That which was unclean, or defiled, was to be kept out of God's camp in the Old Testament. And in the New Testament, all that is defiled and unclean must be kept out of God's kingdom, the new and heavenly Jerusalem that is from above. All was to pass through the fire (all those things that would bear the fire) and to be purified by fire and water, before the people might come into God's camp. Num 31:23 So all must be circumcised, and baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire, cleansed with the blood of Christ, and washed with the water of the word, before they come into the kingdom of God, into heavenly Jerusalem.

The apostle Paul said, "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, that mortality might

be swallowed up by life." 2 Cor5:1-4. Here is ("We in the earthly house of this tabernacle;") which (We) as those who have received Christ, have become the sons of God, new creatures, and children of the light, that believe in Christ's light; who have an eternal house in the heavens, where mortality is swallowed up of life, in which house from heaven they will not groan.

Peter said, "I think it proper, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has showed me." 2 Pet 1:13-14. Peter knew he must put off this tabernacle shortly; but as long as he was in it, he stirred up the saints to their duty in holiness, that they might remember it after he was deceased.

Paul said, "The first man is of the earth, earthly." (Mark, earthly) 1 Cor 15:47. "And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." (Mark, the heavenly) verse 49. And "we have this treasure in earthen vessels," etc.

2 Cor 4:7 "And I live," said he, "yet not I, but Christ lives in me." Gal 2:20 who is the life of all God's people.

Christ said to the Jews, "That the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he called the Lord, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; for he is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to him." Luke 20:37-38. So "none of us lives to himself, and no man dies to himself; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." Rom 14:7-9. For all died in Adam; and Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might come out of the death in Adam to the eternal life in Jesus Christ: who is also a quickening spirit; for as in Adam all died, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. So Christ who died and rose again, is Lord both of the living and of the dead; for the living live to the Lord, and die in him, and are blessed.

All Christendom say, that they believe in God and in Christ, and that they believe Moses and the prophets, and preach Christ, Moses, and the prophets; so their words and writings are preached and printed, and you say you believe them. But what life do you live? Are you through the law dead to the law, that you may live to God? Are you crucified with Christ? Does Christ live in you? Is the life that you now live in the flesh by the faith of the Son of God, and you do not live, but Christ lives in you, who

gave himself for you? Is this your present life? for "the just live by faith" which Christ is the author and finisher of; by which holy, divine, precious faith they have victory over that which is vile, unholy, and not divine; and in this faith they please God, and have access to God and his Son, who fulfills the law and the prophets. For the law and the prophets were until John, and since that the kingdom of God has been preached, and men strive to press into it; and the least in the kingdom of God is greater than John, though he was the greatest prophet born of a woman. See whether you are in the kingdom that stands in peace and righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost, or not. Christ, the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature, was before any creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers. "All things were created by him and for him, and he was before all things, and by him all things consist; and he is the head of the body, the church, and is the beginning, the first born from the dead." Here you may see that all things were made by Christ Jesus, and all things were created for Christ Jesus, and by him all things consist and have their being, who is the first born from the dead, and dies no more. It pleased the Father that in him all fullness should dwell, and by Christ to reconcile all things to himself, whether they be things in heaven or things in the earth. "In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," who is the head of all principality and power; for "all power in heaven and earth is given to him," the first born of every creature, and the first born from the dead, who lives forevermore in his power over all, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." While the world's spirit rules in men's hearts, they do not know Christ, nor the beginning nor ending of the work of God. Christ was outwardly crucified and slain without the gates of Jerusalem by the disobedient Jews; and they that hate the light of Christ, disobey his gospel, quench his spirit, and are erred from his faith, "crucify to themselves Christ afresh." So Adam and Eve, and their children who disobeyed God, killed the Lamb; the blind Jews, who disobeyed God, crucified Christ Jesus; and the outward christians, who do not live and walk in Christ, but live in sin and evil, (though they make an outward profession of Christ), crucify to themselves Christ afresh. As to Christ himself, he is "ascended far above all principalities, thrones, powers, and dominions;" so that they cannot put him to death, or crucify him anymore, as to himself: but what the killers, crucifiers, and persecutors do now upon the earth, is against Christ in themselves, and in his members; as Christ said to Saul, "Why do you persecute me?" Acts 9:4. For what is done to his members, Christ takes as done to himself. Mat 25:40, and Mat 25:45. And they that did not visit Christ, but persecuted him in his members, persecuted Christ in themselves first.

The serpent, that enemy to man and woman, the destroyer, the god of the world, and prince of the air, who rules in the hearts of the disobedient, got in by disobedience. But Christ bruises his head, breaks his power to pieces, and destroys the devil and his works; and through death destroys death, and the devil, the power of death. So Christ, the light and life, has all power in heaven and earth; and opens the prison doors, and the eyes of the blind, and takes captive him that has led into captivity, and gives gifts to men. So Christ binds the strong man of sin, and spoils his goods, and casts him out; Hallelujah! For the strong man of sin is the god of the world, and his house is the whole world which lies in wickedness. And this god of the world has kept his house, and his goods have been in the peace of the world; until a stronger than he come, and bind, and cast him out: and then destroy him and his goods. So Christ, the Son of God, who is stronger than the devil, having destroyed the devil and his works, sets up his own house. All believers in the light are the children of light, are of the Son of God's spiritual house, and the Son of God is over his house forevermore; glory to God in the highest, through Jesus Christ, Amen!

God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets concerning Christ Jesus, his son, the Holy One: so they were holy men, and not unholy, that God spoke by. All that name the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are to depart from iniquity.

George Fox

Kingston upon Thames, the 1h month, 1687

I returned to London towards the latter end of the eleventh month 1687, visiting Friends on the way at Chiswick and Hammersmith, where I had two meetings, one upon a feast day, and the other on occasion of a marriage; at which were many people of other denominations, among whom I had a very seasonable opportunity of opening the way of truth.

When I came to London, I visited meetings in and about the city, as the Lord led, me! In whose service I continued laboring until the middle of the first month 1687-8. At which time I went towards Enfield, and visited Friends there and near by; and at Barnet, Waltham-abbey, and other places; where I had many meetings, and very good service in which I spent several weeks. I then returned to London, where

I continued laboring in the work of the gospel until after the Yearly Meeting, which this year was about the beginning of the fourth month. A precious meeting it was. A very refreshing season Friends had together, the Lord honoring our assemblies with his living glorious presence in a very plentiful manner. At the conclusion of the meeting I felt a concern upon my spirit to give forth the following paper, to be dispersed among Friends.

All you believers in the light, who have become children of the light, walk as children of the light, and of the day of Christ, as a city set on a hill that cannot be hid. Let your light so shine, that people may see your good works, and glorify your Father, which is in heaven. For a good tree brings forth good fruit; therefore be trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, having fruits unto holiness; and then your end will be everlasting life. Such are the wells and cisterns that hold the living water which springs up in them to eternal life. You may all drink water out of your own cisterns, running water out of your own wells; and eat everyone of his own fig tree, and of his own vine; having salt everyone in yourselves, to season everyone's sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; likewise virgins, who have oil in their lamps, follow the Lamb, and enter in with the bridegroom. Now is the time to labor, while it is day (yes, the day of Christ) to stir up everyone's pure mind, the gift of God that is in them; and to improve your talents, that Christ has afforded you, that you may profit; and to walk everyone according to the measure that Christ has given you; for "the manifestation of the spirit of God is given to everyone with which to profit." Consider what you have profited in spiritual and heavenly things, with the heavenly spirit of God. Be not like the wicked and slothful, (who hid his talent; from whom it was taken), and be cast into utter darkness: A dwarf, or one that had any blemish, was not to come near to offer upon God's altar; therefore mind the word of wisdom, to keep you out of that which will corrupt and blemish you; and that you may grow in grace, in faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ; and feeding upon the milk of the word, may grow by it, that you may not be dwarfs; and so offer your spiritual sacrifice upon God's holy altar. For the field or vineyard of the slothful grows over with thorns and nettles, and his walls go down. Such are those who are not diligent in the spirit of God, and the power, which is the wall, a sure fence. The spirit of God will weed out all thorns, thistles, and nettles out of the vineyard of the heart. And you that are keepers of others vineyards, see that you keep your own vineyards clean with the spirit and power of Christ. Sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the Lord in your heart, that you may be a holy people to the Lord, who said; "be you holy, for I am holy;" that you may be the holy members of the church of Christ, who is clothed with the sun, and has the moon under her feet; the changeable world, with all her changeable worships, religions, churches, and teachers. Be

you new and heavenly Jerusalem's children; for new and heavenly Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of all the children of light who are born of the spirit. These are those who have been persecuted, and have suffered by the false church, mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots.

And now all heavenly Jerusalem's and Zion's children, that are from above, labor in the gospel, the power of God, the seed in which all nations, and all the families of the earth are blessed; which seed, Christ, bruises the serpent's head, destroys the devil and his works, and overcomes the whore, the false church, the beast, and the false prophet. He takes away the curse, and the veil that is spread over all nations, and over all the families of the earth, and brings the blessing upon all, (if they will receive it), saying, "In your seed shall all nations and all the families of the earth be blessed." This is the gospel of God preached to Abraham, before Moses wrote his five books; and was preached in the apostles' days, and is now preached again; which brings life and immortality to light; and is the gospel of peace, life, and salvation to every one that believes it. So all nations, all the families of the earth must be in Christ, the seed, if they be blessed, and be partakers of the blessing in the seed. This gospel was revealed by Christ to his apostles, who preached it; which is not of man, nor from man. Now, God and Christ have revealed the same gospel to me, and many others in this age. I say the gospel, and the seed, in which all nations and families of the earth are blessed; in which gospel I have labored, and do labor, that all may come into this blessed seed, Christ, who bruises the head of the serpent, that in it they might have peace with God. This everlasting gospel is preached again to those who dwell upon the earth; and those who believe it, and receive the blessing, the peace, joy, and comfort of it, the stability in it, and the life and immortality which it brings to light in them and to them: such can praise the everlasting God in his everlasting gospel.

And Friends, all seek the peace and good of all in Christ: for truth makes no Cains, Korahs, Balaams, nor Judases, for they come to be such, who go out of the peaceable truth. Therefore, walk in the peaceable truth, and speak the truth in the love of it, as it is in Jesus.

George Fox



Some time after the Yearly Meeting I went to my son Mead's, in Essex, and stayed at his home for a number of weeks; often visiting Friends' meeting near, and sometimes at Barking. After I had been there awhile, I went to visit Friends at Waltham-Abby, Hodsdon, Enfield, South-street, Ford-green, and Winchmorehill; where I had several very serviceable meetings; the Lord opening many deep and weighty things through me, for the informing the understandings of inquirers, and building up those that were gathered into the truth, and establishing them in it.

In the seventh month I returned to London, having been almost three months in the country for my health's sake, which was very much impaired; I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time, and often after a meeting was happy to lie down upon a bed. Yet my weakness of body did not take me from the service of the Lord; but I continued to labor in and out of the meetings in the work of the Lord, as he gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been in London long when a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great agitations, troubles, revolution and change which occurred soon after. In the sense of these troubles and in the leadings of the spirit of the Lord, I wrote "A general epistle to Friends, to forewarn them of the approaching storm; that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom safety is," as follows:

My dear Friends and Brethren everywhere: who have received the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom he has given the power to become his sons and daughters. In him you have life and peace, and in his everlasting kingdom, that is an established kingdom which cannot be shaken. Your kingdom is over all the world and stands in his power, and in righteousness and joy in the holy ghost; into which no unrighteousness, nor the foul unclean spirit of the devil in his instruments can enter. Dear friends and brethren, everyone in the faith of Jesus, stand in his power. He who has all power in heaven and earth given to him will "rule the nations with his rod of iron and dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel," those who are not subject and obedient to his power. His voice will shake the heavens, and the earth, so that what may be shaken may be removed, and that which cannot be shaken may appear. Stand in him; and all things shall work together for good to those that love him.

And now, dear friends and brethren, though these waves, storms, and tempests are in the world, you may all appear as the harmless and innocent lambs of Christ walking in his peaceable truth, and keeping in the word of power, wisdom, and patience. His word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations that are coming upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. For the word of God was before the world, and all things were made by it; it is a tried word, which gave God's people in all ages, wisdom, power, and patience. Therefore, make sure your dwelling and walking is in Christ Jesus, who is called the word of God; and in his power, which is over all. Set you affections on things that are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, (mark), on those things which are above, where Christ sits; not those things that are below, which will change and pass away. Blessed be the Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power has gathered a people to himself, and has preserved his faithful to himself through many troubles, trials, and temptations. His power and seed, Christ, is over all, and in him you have life and peace with God. Therefore, in him all bow and see your salvation, who is first and last, and the Amen. God Almighty preserve and keep you all in him, your ark and sanctuary; for in him you are safe over all floods, storms; and tempests; for he was before they were, and will be when they are all gone.

London, the 17th of the 8th month, 1688.

About this time great exercise and weights came upon me, (as had usually done before great revolutions and change of government), and my strength departed from me; so that I reeled, and was ready to fall as I went along the streets; and at length I could not go abroad at all, I was so weak for a quite a while; until I felt the power of the Lord to spring over all, and had received an assurance from him, that he would preserve his faithful people to himself through all. In the time that I kept within, I wrote a paper, showing, "Moses, as a servant, was faithful in all his house, in the Old Testament; and Christ, as a Son, is over his house, in the New Testament."

The house of Israel was called God's vineyard, in Isa 5:7. and all the Israelites were called the house of Israel. Israel signifies, "a prince with God, and a one who is predominant with men." Gen 32:28. When Peter preached Christ to the house of Israel he said; "let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God has made the same Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Christ."

Acts 2 :36. So they were all called the house of Israel. And it is said, 'Moses was faithful in all his house (to wit, this house of Israel), as a servant; for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ, as a Son over his own house; which house we are, if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.' Hbr 3:5-6. Here it is shown that Moses was faithful in all his house, as a servant, that is, in the house of Israel, in the Old Testament; but Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is over his house in his New Testament and covenant; and all his true believers are of his house. The apostle tells the Ephesians, (who were a church of Christ), they were "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." Eph 2:19. And the saints were called "the household of faith" Gal 7:10. Peter, in his general epistle, tells the church of Christ, they were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." 1 Pet 2:9. And that as lively stones, they were built up "a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." verse 5. The apostle said to the church of Christ at Corinth; "If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." 2 Cor 5:1. And Christ said to his disciples, "Let not your hearts be troubled; you believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; (a mansion is a dwelling or abiding place), if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; so that where I am, there you may be also." John 14:1-3. The Psalmist said; "Those that are planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God: they shall bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing." Psalm 92:13-14. Again; "Holiness becomes your house, O Lord, forever." Psalm 93:5. Isaiah also said by way of prophecy; "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." Isa 2:2. Is not that a great house? Is not this mountain Christ, who is over his house in the New Testament and new covenant? To this mountain and house all the children of the New Testament or new covenant flow in these latter days; so that it is come to pass, which was prophesied of by Isaiah. For he said; "Many people shall go and say, come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Oh house of Jacob, come and let us walk in the light of the Lord." Isa 2:3-5. Here you may see, they that come to the mountain of the house of God and to God's teaching, must walk in the light of the Lord; yes, the house of Jacob. Jacob signifies a supplanter; he supplanted obscene Esau, who is hated, and Jacob is loved. Now these two births must be known, within; they that walk in the light of the Lord, and come to Christ, the mountain of the house of the Lord, established above all mountains and hills, break their swords into plow shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; and in Christ, this mountain and house of the Lord, there are no spears nor swords to hurt one another with. Christ, the Son of God, is over his house and great family, the children of the light that believe in the light, and walk in it, the children of the day of Christ, his holy and royal priesthood, that offer up spiritual sacrifice to God by him. All such are of Christ's, (the spiritual man's) house; who are born of God, and led by his spirit; they are of the Lord of

lords' and King of kings' house and family, which he is over; and are of the household of the holy, divine, pure, and precious faith, which Christ is the author and finisher of. And they that be of the Son's house, are pure, righteous, and holy, and can do nothing against the truth, but for it, in their words, lives, and conversations; and so are a chosen generation, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praise of him who has called them out of darkness into his marvelous light. These are Christ's lively stones that build up a spiritual house which he (Christ the spiritual man, the King of kings, and Lord of lords) is over.

George Fox

London, the 10th month, 1688

Some time after this, my body continuing to be weak, I went with my son Mead to his house in Essex; where I stayed some weeks. In which time I wrote many things relating to the service of truth, some were printed soon after; others were spread abroad in manuscript; and among other things, a few lines to this purpose:

That, while men are contending for thrones here below, Christ is on his throne, and all his holy angels are about him, who is the beginning and the ending, the first and last, over all. And that the Lord will make way and room for himself, and for them that were born of his spirit, which are heavenly Jerusalem's children, to come home to their free mother.

A few words also I wrote concerning the world's teachers and the emptiness of their teaching, which were as follows:

Do not those called Christianity live in talking of Christ's, of the apostles', and prophets' words, and the letter of the scriptures? And do not their priests minister the letter (read the Bible), with their own conceptions of the what the words mean, for money, though the holy scriptures were freely given from God, Christ, the prophets, and apostles? Yet the apostle said, "The letter kills, but the spirit gives life." 2 Cor 3:6. The true ministers of the New Testament are not ministers of the letter, but of the spirit, and they sow to the spirit, and of the spirit reap life eternal. But people's spending time about old authors, and talking of them, and of the outward letter, does not feed their souls. **For talking about food and clothing does not clothe the body, nor feed it.** No more are their souls and spirits fed and clothed, except they have the bread and water of life from heaven to feed them, and the righteousness of Christ to clothe them. **Talking of outward things and spiritual things, and not possessing them, may starve both their bodies and their souls.** Therefore quench not the spirit of God, which will lead you to be diligent in all things.

With this I wrote another short paper, showing, 'The hurt they did, and the danger they run into, who turned people from the inward manifestation of Christ in the heart.'

The Jews were commanded by the law of God, "not to remove the outward landmark." Deu 19:14. They that did so, or that caused the blind to wander, were cursed in the old covenant. Deu 27:17. In the new covenant the apostle said; "Let him be cursed who preaches any gospel other than the one he preached." Gal 1:8. "The gospel that he preached was the power of God leading to salvation, to everyone that believes." Rom 1:16. And the gospel that was preached to Abraham was that in his "seed all nations, and all the families of the earth should be blessed." In order to bring men to this blessed state, God pours out of his spirit upon all flesh; and Christ enlightens everyone that comes into the world, and the grace of God, which brings salvation, has appeared unto all men, and teaches Christians, the true believers in Christ, and God does write his law in the true Christians' hearts, and puts it in their minds, that they may "all know the Lord, from the greatest to the least;" and he gives his word in their hearts to obey and do, and the anointing within them; so that they need not any man to teach them, but as the anointing does teach them. Now all such as turn people from the light, spirit, grace, word, and anointing within, remove them from the heavenly landmark of their eternal inheritance, and make them blind, and cause the blind to wander from the living way to their eternal house in the heavens, and from the new and

heavenly Jerusalem. So they are cursed that cause the blind to wander out of their way, and remove them from their heavenly landmark.

George Fox

I wrote also a paper to show, by instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that "many of the holy men and prophets of God, and of the apostles of Christ, were husbandmen and tradesmen:" by which people might see how the world's teachers are now so different from them.

Righteous Abel was a shepherd, "a keeper of sheep." Gen 4:2. Noah was a husbandman, and he was a "just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God." Gen 9:20 and Gen 6:9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a husbandman and had great flocks of cattle; just Lot was a husbandman, and had great flocks and herds. Gen 13:5 Isaac was a husbandman, and had great "flocks and herds of cattle, and store of corn." Gen 26:12-14. And the promise was with Isaac: for the Lord said to Abraham. "In Isaac shall your seed be called." Gen 21:12. Jacob was a husbandman and his sons "keepers of flocks of cattle." Gen 46:32-34. And God loved Jacob. Moses kept sheep. Ex 3:1. The Lord spoke to him, when he was keeping sheep. Ex 3:4 and sent him to Pharaoh, to bring God's people, or sheep out of Egypt. And by the hand and power of the Lord, he, and Aaron his brother brought them out of Egypt, a land of anguish, bondage, darkness, and perplexity. And Moses kept the Lord's people, or sheep, forty years in the wilderness: a meek shepherd of God he was, and kept his great flock of sheep; though some of them were scabbed with the leprosy of contention and murmuring, and were destroyed in the wilderness.

David, (though he afterwards came to be a king), was a keeper of his father's sheep in the wilderness. 1 Sam 17:15 and 17:28. The Lord called him from the sheep pens to feed His sheep, the house of Israel, and to defend them from the spiritual wolves, bears, and lions; and he did it to the end he intended, establishing a man after God's own heart.

Elisha was a plowman. 1 Kings 19:19. He was called from the plow, to teach God's people, the children of Israel, to plow up the fallow ground of their hearts, that they might produce seed and fruits to God their Creator.

'The word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the herdsmen of Tekoa. Amos 1:1. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, said to Amos, 'Prophesy not again any more at Bethel: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court.' Amos 7:13. Amos answered "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son: but I was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit; and the Lord took me as I followed the flock. And the Lord said unto me, go, prophesy unto my people Israel." Amos 7:14-15. Here you may see, the Lord made use of a poor man, and called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering of outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to following his people or flock, the children of Israel.

Christ called Peter, and Andrew his brother, when casting their net into the sea, (for they were fishermen), and he said unto them, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." Mat 4:18-19. Christ likewise called James, and John his brother, when they were in a ship, with Zebedee their father, "mending their nets; and they immediately left the ship, and their father and followed him," Mat 4:21,22. He gave them power (a net that will hold, and not need mending) and made them fishers of men, to fish them out of the great sea, the world of wickedness. We read that when Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, the sons of Zebedee, and other disciples went fishing together; and that night they caught nothing; in the morning Jesus appeared, and said, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and you shall be successful." They did so, and caught so many fish that they were not able to pull into the boat. Then when one of the other disciples said to Peter, "It is the Lord;" Peter, hearing that, "girded his fisher's coat unto him and jumped into the sea to go to Jesus." John 21:2-7. This was after Christ had risen. So here you may see, Peter had not laid aside his fisher's coat all the while that he had been preaching before Christ's death.

Jesus saw Matthew "sitting in the customs receiving taxes, and he said unto him, "follow me. And he arose and followed him." Mat 9:9. And Christ employed Matthew to gather his people, that were scattered from God; another manner of treasure than the outward custom of the Romans. Luke was a

physician, whom Christ made a spiritual physician; which was better than the outward physician.

Paul was a tent-maker; and being of the same craft with Aquila and Priscilla, "he lived with them at Corinth and worked for his living; for their occupation was tent-makers," Acts18:3.

George Fox

Gooses, the first month, 1688

It was now a time of much gossip, and people were too much busy in their minds, and spent their time in hearing and telling news. To show them the vanity of this and to draw them from it, I wrote the following lines:

In the low region, in the trifling life, all news is uncertain; there is nothing stable; but in the higher region, in the kingdom of Christ, all things are stable and sure, and the news always good and certain. For Christ, who has all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, rules in the kingdoms of men: and he, who does inherit the heathen, and possess the far reaches of the earth with his divine power and light, rules all nations with his rod of iron, and "dashes them to pieces like a potter's vessels," the vessels of dishonor, and the leaky vessels that will not hold his living water of life: and he preserves his elect vessels of mercy and honor. His power is certain and does not change, by which he removes the mountains and hills, and shakes the heavens and the earth. Leaky, dishonorable vessels, the hills and mountains, and the old heavens and the earth, are all to be shaken, removed, and broken to pieces, though they do not see it happening or see him that does it; but the elect and faithful both see it, and know him and his power that cannot be shaken, and does not change.

George Fox

The 5th of the 1st month, 1688-9

About the middle of the 1st month, 1688-9, I went to London, the parliament then sitting, and being then about the *Bill of Indulgence*. Although I was weak in body and could not easily move around the city, I had such a great concern on my spirit in behalf of truth and Friends that I attended continually for many days, with others, at the House of Parliament laboring with the members, that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually.

In this and other services I continued until towards the end of the second month, when being much spent with continual labor, I got out of town for a little while, as far as Southgate and thereabouts. While I was there I wrote a letter to Peter Hendricks, a Friend, at Amsterdam, in which I enclosed an epistle to Friends at Dantzic, Poland, who at this time were under great persecution. And I wrote to them to encourage and strengthen them in their testimony, and to comfort them in their sufferings for the truth. I also wrote a paper to their persecutors, the magistrates of Dantzic, laying before them the evil of persecution, persuading them to christian moderation, and 'to do unto others in matters of religion, as they would be done unto.'

To Peter Hendricks at Amsterdam; and to Friends at Dantzic, who are under persecution.

Dear Friends, P. H. with my love to you and your wife, J. Claus, and J. Roeloffs, and all the rest of Friends everywhere in Christ Jesus, who reigns over all. I am glad to hear Friends are well in all those provinces and places everywhere, except Dantzic, and that you were so diligent in spreading my papers to the strengthening of Friends. I have lately printed the life of William Caton, but have not made a collection of his books. I think I will send some of them to you, which you may translate and print if you will; they may be serviceable among Friends, especially them that knew him.

Concerning Friends at Dantzic, whom the Lord has supported with his eternal arm and power to this day, I hope by the same arm and power he will support them, and in it they will feel his blessed presence

with them in all their sufferings; who is over the cruelty of their persecutors, who will hardly let them breathe outwardly or inwardly, in the common air of their native soil. Which shows their immortality, inhumanity, and unchristian behavior, and that they want the counsel of a Gamaliel among them; whose actions are below the law of God, "to do unto others as they would have others do unto them;" God will not bless the doings of such. However I desire that Friends may mind the Lord's power that is over all, be valiant for his truth, and keep upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, that stands sure in the time of the heat of persecution which is so intense upon you, that they will not allow you your houses to work and sleep in, or to meet in or serve God in. The Lord beholds all such pretenders and their pretension. Therefore look over all to him, who is able to deal with them, and reward them according to their works. God Almighty preserve you all in Christ Jesus, in whom you have rest, life, and peace, Amen.

George Fox

Southgate, the 28th of the 2d month, 1689

To the magistrates of Dantzic:

Christian Shroder, president of the council, Emanuel Dilger, N. Gadecken, and N. Fraterus, deputy of the council, and the rest of the magistrates and priests.

We have seen your order, and your breathing out persecution against that little flock, the lambs of Christ, that live under your jurisdiction in the city of Dantzic, and that you have imprisoned and banished two by the hangman out of the government of your city; and others you threaten to do the same to, with great punishment if they return. Likewise you threaten those with punishment who rent houses to the lambs, if they let them have their houses either to live in, or meet in to serve and worship the Lord that made them. Truly, I have heartfelt sorrow for both your magistrates and priests that go under the name of Christians and show such immoral, inhuman, unchristian actions. Actions that are below the royal law of God which is: "to do to others as you would have them do unto you." Would you think it was moral, humane, or Christian, or according to the law of God, if the king of Poland, who is of another religion than you, should banish you out of your city by the hangman and call you murderers of souls? Could you say this was not according to the law of God, "to do unto you as you would have done unto others?" If you say, you have the sword, the horn, and the power; blessed be the Lord that has shortened your sword, your power, and your horn, that it reaches no further than your jurisdiction of Dantzic; and you do not know how long God may tolerate you to have your horn, your power, and your sword. We are sure you do not have the mind or spirit of Christ; and the apostle said, "They who do not have the spirit of Christ are none of his." *Rom 8:9*. And Christ bids Peter "put up your sword ;" they that draw the sword for him, to defend him and his worship and faith, should perish with the sword. After that (which time was before the Spirit was given Peter) Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword, but said their weapons were spiritual not carnal, and they did not wrestle with flesh and blood. Christ never gave any such command, that they should banish any by the hangman who were not of their religion or would not receive it. Are not you worse than the Turks, who let many religions be in their country, yes, Christians, and to meet peaceably? Yes, the Turkish officials let our friends that were captives meet together at Algiers, and said, "It was good to do so. " You are worse than those barbarous people at Salee, who do not profess christianity; for you profess Christ in words, but in actions you deny him. Did you ever find, either in scripture or history, that any persecutors prospered long? You are worse than they are in the Mogul's country, who they say permits sixty religions in his dominions; and many others might be mentioned of which you are worse than them all in your cruelty and persecution of God's people only for meeting together in the name of Jesus, and serving and worshipping God, their Creator. No, they must not breathe in their natural air, either natural or spiritual, in your dominions. I pray, where did you get these commands from; either from Christ or his apostles? Do you not profess the scriptures of the New Testament to be your rule? But I pray you, what scripture have you for this practice? It is good for you to be humble, to do justice, love mercy, call home your banished, and love and cherish them; yes, though they were your enemies, you are to obey the command of Christ, and love them. I wonder how you and your wives and families can sleep quietly in your beds, that do such cruel actions, without worrying that the "Lord may do to you the same!" You cannot be without sense and

feeling, except you are abandoned by God, and your consciences seared with a hot iron. But Christian charity does hope that you are not all in that state; that there still may be some relenting or some reconsideration of your actions among some of you, either according to the law of God or his gospel.

From him that desires your temporal and eternal good and salvation, and not destruction, Amen.

George Fox

Middlesex, the 28th of the 2d month, 1689

Peter, you may translate this into High Dutch, and send the letter to them; and you may print it, if you wish, and send it abroad. Translate that part of the letter that is to Friends into High Dutch and send it to them.

Having stayed in the country about three weeks, I returned to London a little before the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month this year; it was a very solemn, weighty meeting; the Lord, as formerly, visiting his people, and honoring the assembly with his glorious presence, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends. After the business of the meeting was over, it was upon me to add a few lines to the epistle, which went from the meeting to Friends, after this manner:

Dear Friends and Brethren,

Who have known the Lord's eternal arm and power, that has preserved you upon the heavenly rock and foundation, and have built your house upon the heavenly rock; you have known many winds, tempests, and storms that have risen out of the sea, where the beast rose, and many raging storms that have risen by apostates of several sorts. But the seed that bruises the serpent's head, and is the foundation of God's people, stands sure. Dear friends and brethren, though there are great shakings in the world, the Lord's power is over all, and his kingdom cannot be shaken. Therefore, all you children of God, children of the light, and heirs of his kingdom, keep in your joyful, peaceable habitation. Keep out of all the passions, contentions, and disputes about the things of the world. "Lay hands on no man, or anything suddenly," to avoid that they should be puffed up with a temporary spirit which fades, and so they come to loss; but mind the Lord's power that keeps open your heavenly eye, to see things in the present and in the future, and in that you will see and handle the word of life. Dear friends everywhere, have power over your own spirits. As God has blessed you with his outward things, beware of putting your trust in them or falling into dispute with one another about these outward things that are below, which will all pass away. But all live in the love of God, and in that live in peace with God, and one with another. Follow the works of love, and overcome the evil with the good to all; for what good have all the tinklers, (people who fix pots and pans and clang them to draw attention), done, with their cymbals and sounding brass? They have always bred confusion, and never did good in any age: tinkling with their cymbals and sounding with their brass, to draw out the simple to follow them. (loud and elegant speech makers?) It is good for all the children of God to keep in their possessions of life, and in the love of God that is everlasting. As for all the tumults of the world, and the apostates from the truth, the Lord's power is over them all, Christ reigns, and the Lord said, "No weapon that is formed against you shall prosper." Isa 54:17. Friends, you are not insensible how many weapons have been formed against us who are sons and daughters of God, and the Lord has restrained them according to his promise; they "have not prospered." The Lord said, "Every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against you, you shall condemn;" So God has given such a power to his children to condemn all the tongues that shall rise up in judgment against them, and this is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, "Their righteousness is of me," said the Lord. You are not insensible of the many tongues that have risen up against us in judgment, yes of apostates and those irreverent; but in and with the truth, the power of God, according to the promise of God, "Every tongue that rises against you, you shall condemn." It is not one tongue only you shall condemn; but every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against you, you shall condemn. The Lord gives this power to his servants and children to judge the evil tongues, and he restrains the weapons formed against them, so that they shall not prosper against his children that he has begotten. Praises and honor be to his holy name forever! Amen!

George Fox

Soon after this the Yearly Meeting began at York. For several years it had been held there because of the largeness of that county, and for the convenience of Friends in the northern parts. And because as there had been some damage done in that place by some that had run out of the unity of Friends, it was upon me to write a few lines to that meeting to 'exhort them to keep in pure heavenly love, which brings into and keeps in the true unity.' Which was as follows:

Dear Friends and Brethren in Christ Jesus

Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power has preserved to this day: all walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over all, in love and unity; for love overcomes, builds up, and unites all the members of Christ to him the head. Love keeps out of all strife, and is of God. Love, or charity, never fails, but keeps the mind above all outward things, and strife about outward things. It overcomes evil and casts out all false fears. It is of God, and unites all the hearts of his people together in the heavenly joy, harmony, and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom you have all peace with God. So walk in him that you may be ordered in his peaceable heavenly wisdom to the glory of God and to the comfort one of another, Amen.

George Fox

London, the 27th of the 3d month, 1689

Being very weary and exhausted with many large meetings and a lot of business with Friends during the time of the Yearly Meeting, and finding my health much impaired, I went out of town with my daughter Rouse to their country house near Kingston, and stayed there most of the remaining part of the summer. During this time I sometimes visited Friends at Kingston, and wrote several things for the service of truth and Friends. One was an epistle to Friends at Barbados; as follows:

To all Friends in Barbados that are convinced of God's truth.

My desires are that you may live and walk in his peaceable truth, and show evidence that you are children of the light and of the truth; for the heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom is justified of her children. But debate, strife, willfulness, laying open one another's nakedness and weakness, is not the practice of heavenly wisdom's children, (but of Ham's), nor from the spirit of Christ; neither such as bite and tear one another; that is from a devouring spirit, not the spirit of Jesus, which covers that which is not proper, and can forgive. My friends, you profess that truth which is beyond all the world's ways, therefore, see that you excel them in the heavenly gentle wisdom, that is easy to be entreated; for the wisdom of the world is not easy to be plead with, and sometimes will not be pleaded with at all. Pray see you excel the world in wisdom, in virtue, in kindness, in love that is over hatred, in meekness, humility, sobriety, civility, and modesty, in temperance, and patience, and in all morality and humanity, which will not act anything below men nor unmanly. Show forth true Christianity, and that you are the converted and translated believers in Christ, dwelling in the love of God that tolerates all things, endures all things, is not prideful, and does not envy. For they that are out of this love of God, and Christian love for each other, are nothing but as a tinkling cymbal and as sounding brass, and are discontented, murmurers and complainers, full of doubts, questions, and false jealousies. Keep that spirit out of the camp of God. For do not you read in the scriptures, both of the New and Old Testament, that the end of such was misery? Therefore, in the love of God, build up one another; for love edifies the body of Christ, and he commands his believers to love enemies and to love one another; by this they are known to be the disciples of Christ. But to live in envy, strife, and hatred, is a mark that they are no disciples of Christ; "for he that doesn't love his brother lives in death, and whoever hates his brother is a murderer, and you know that no murderer has eternal life abiding in him. But they that love their fellow believers have passed from death to life." 1 John 3:14-15. And, "If a man say, I love God, and hates his brother, he is a liar; for he that doesn't love his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom

he has not seen? And this commandment have we from God, that he who loves God loves his brother also." 1 John 4:20-21. Therefore, "love one another;" for love is of God; and hatred is of the devil, and everyone that loves is born of God, and knows God. All are children of God by creation, therefore in that state they are to love their neighbors as themselves, and "to do unto all men as they would have them do unto them." Secondly, God having poured his spirit upon all flesh, (or all men and women), and all that are led by the spirit of God, are the sons of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, and are in fellowship in the everlasting gospel, and in unity in the spirit, the bond of peace. They that go out of this unity, out of the bond of peace, and do not keep it, break the King of kings' peace; but they that keep in the unity and **fellowship in the spirit, and walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, and with the Father and the Son.** It is not everyone that talks of the light of the world, of righteousness, of Christ, and of God, but he "that does the will of God." Therefore, my friends strive to excel one another in love, in virtue, in good life and conversation; and strive all to be of one mind, heart, and judgment in the spirit of God; for in Christ all are one, and are in peace with him. The Lord God Almighty preserve you in him, your rock and foundation, that is heavenly and stands sure; that you may be valiant for the truth upon earth; for the Lord and his glorious name; that you may all serve him in your generation, and in his new creation in Christ Jesus, Amen.

And now that you have come into so much favor with the magistrates and powers that they let you serve as a constable, etc., without swearing or taking any oaths; here Christ's doctrine and command and his apostle's is observed and lived. I therefore desire that you may double your diligence in your offices, in doing that which is just, true, and righteous; so that you may excel and exceed all that are tied or bound by oaths to perform their offices: and you can do it upon your yes and no; so say and so do, according to Christ's doctrine and command. For Adam and Eve, by disobeying the command of God, fell under condemnation; and they that disobey the command of Christ, in taking oaths and swearing, go into evil, and fall into condemnation. [Mat 5:34.](#) and [James 5:12.](#) My love in the Lord is to you all.

George Fox

Kingston upon Thames, the 10th of the 5th month, 1688.

I stayed at Kingston until the beginning of the seventh month, where not only Friends came to visit me, but some considerable people of the world, with whom I had discussions about the things of God. Then leaving Kingston, I went to London by water, visiting Friends as I went, and stopping at the Hammersmith-meeting on my way. Having recovered some strength by being in the country, when I came to London I went from meeting to meeting, laboring diligently in the work of the Lord, and opening the divine mysteries of the heavenly things, as God in his spirit opened them to me. But I found my body would not long bear the city; therefore, when I had traveled among Friends there about a month, I went to Tottenham-High-Cross, and from there to Edward Man's country house near Winchmore-hill, and to Enfield; spending three weeks among Friends in the area having meetings at all those places. Then, being a little refreshed in the country, I returned to London, where I stayed while laboring in the work of the ministry until the middle of the ninth month. At which time I went with my son Mead to his house in Essex, and lived there all the winter. During this time I didn't get out much unless it was to go to the meeting that my family attended, which was about half a mile from there; but I often had meetings in the house with the family and those Friends that came there. I also wrote many things while I was there, some of which follow. One was an epistle to the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, New England, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, Carolina, and other plantations in America. Which was as follows:

My dear Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,

Who, by believing in his light, are become children of his light and of his day; my desires are, that you may all walk in the light and in the day, and keep the feast of Christ, our passover, who is sacrificed for us, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but let all that be purged out, that you may be a new lump, keeping the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Let no leavened bread be found in your houses, nor in your meetings, nor in the camp of God, or household of faith, which are the household of Christ; but all that sour, old leaven,

which makes people's hearts sour, and burn one against another, must be purged out of the camp of God, and kept out. For the feast of Christ, our passover, must be kept in the new covenant with his heavenly unleavened bread of life. The Jews' feast in the Old Testament was kept with outward unleavened bread; and now in the New Testament, in the gospel day, our feast is to be kept with the heavenly unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Therefore friends, I desire you seriously to consider, and to keep this feast which the apostle directed the church of Christ to keep. Do not you see Christianity, (so called), keep their feasts with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness? Which malice makes them so sour, and their hearts to burn one against another, that they have destroyed, and do destroy one another about religion. Therefore all live in the love of God, which keeps above the love of the world; so that none of your hearts may be choked or gorged and sickened with these outward things, or with the cares of the world which will pass away; but mind the world and the life that is without end, that you may be heirs of it. And, friends, you should strive to excel all, both professor and irreverent, in morality, humanity, and Christianity, modesty, sobriety, and moderation, and in a good, godly, righteous life and conversation; showing forth the fruits of the spirit of God and that you are the children of the living God, children of light and of day, and not of the night. And serve God in newness of life; for it is the life, and a living and walking in the truth, that must answer the witness of God in all people, "that they, seeing our good works, may glorify our Father which is in heaven." Therefore be valiant for God's holy pure truth, and spread it abroad among both professors and irreverent, and the Indians. And you should write over once a year, from all your Yearly Meetings, to the Yearly Meeting here, concerning your diligence in the truth, and of its spreading, and of people's receiving it, both professors and profane, and the Indians; and concerning the peace of the church of Christ among yourselves. For, blessed be the Lord, truth does get ground in these parts, many are made very loving to Friends, and the Lord's power and seed is over all; in which God Almighty keep all his people to his glory, Amen.

George Fox

Gooses, the 28th of the 11th month, 1689

While I was in the city I had a concern upon my spirit with respect to a twofold danger that attended some who professed truth; one was of young people's running into the fashions of the world, and the other was of old people's going into the earth. And that concern coming now again weightily upon me, I was moved to give forth the following as a reproof to such, and an exhortation and warning to all Friends to beware of and keep out of those snares.

To all that profess the truth of God

My desires are that you walk humbly in it; for when the Lord first called me forth, he let me see that young people grew up together in vanity and the fashions of the world, and old people went downwards into the earth, raking it together; and to both of these I was to be a stranger. And now, Friends, I do see too many young people that profess the truth grow up into the fashions of the world, and too many parents indulge them; and among the elder some are declining downwards and raking after the earth. Therefore, take heed that you are not making your graves while you are alive outwardly, and loading yourselves with thick clay. Hab 2:6. For if you have not power over the earthly spirit, and that that leads into a vain mind, and the fashions of the world, and into the earth; though you have often had the rain fall upon your fields, you will only bring forth thistles, briars, and thorns, which are for the fire. Such will become brittle, peevish, fretful spirits, that will not abide the heavenly doctrine, the admonitions, exhortations, and reproofs of the holy ghost, or heavenly spirit of God; which would bring you to be conformable to the death of Christ, and to his image, that you might have fellowship with him in his resurrection. Therefore it is good for all to bow to the name of Jesus, their Savior, that all may confess him to the glory of God the Father. For I have had a concern upon me, in a sense of the danger of young people's going into the fashions of the world, and old people's going into the earth, and many going into a loose and false liberty, until at last they go quite out into the spirit of the world as some have done. The house of such has been built upon the sand on the sea shore, not upon Christ the rock; that are so soon in the world again, under a pretense of liberty of conscience. But it is not a pure conscience, nor in the spirit of God, nor in Christ Jesus; for in the liberty in the spirit there is the unity, which is the bond of peace; and all are one in Christ Jesus, in whom is the true liberty: and this is not of the world, for he

is not of the world. Therefore all are to stand fast in him, as they have received him; for in him there is peace, who is the Prince of peace, but in the world there is trouble. For the spirit of the world is a troublesome spirit, but the spirit of Christ is a peaceable spirit: in which God Almighty preserve all the faithful, Amen.

George Fox

Gooses, the 1st of the 2nd month, 1690

I wrote another letter while I was here concerning the ensign which Isaiah prophesied the Lord should set up for the Gentiles, which I showed was Christ. Of which follows a copy:

The Lord said, "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." *Isa*11:9. "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious." *Isa* 11:10. "And he shall reign over the Gentiles, and in him shall the Gentiles trust." *Rom* 15:12. This ensign is Christ, who was prophesied of by the prophet; which prophecy the apostle, "who was a minister to the Gentiles, shows was fulfilled in the New Testament. In this day of Christ, Isaiah said, "The Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria and from Egypt, etc. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." *Isa* 11:12. This is in the day of Christ, and his gospel of life and salvation, which is preached to every creature under heaven, who "enlightens every man and woman in the world," both Jews and Gentiles, that by his heavenly divine light they may see Christ, their ensign and captain of their salvation; so Christ is one ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles. Isaiah said, "The Redeemer shall come to Zion." *Isa* 59:20. And, "This is my covenant with them, said the Lord, my spirit that is upon you (Christ) and my words, which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, nor out of the mouth of your seed, nor out of the mouth of your seed's seed, said the Lord, from this point on and forever." *Isa* 59:21. "Arise, shine, for your light has come, and the glory of the Lord has risen on you." *Isa* 60:1 and the Gentiles shall come to your light." *verse* 3 "And the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto you." *verse* 5. (the sea is the world.) "The lord shall be your everlasting light." *verse* 20 And, "You shall call your walls, salvation, and your gates, praise." *verse* 18 And the Lord said, "I will make the place of my feet glorious," *verse* 13 "Heaven is his throne, and earth is his footstool," *chapter* 66:1 "And he that puts his trust in me, said the Lord, shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain." *chapter* 57:13. Which mountain is established above all the mountains and hills. *Isa* 2:2 The Lord said (speaking of Christ) "I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles." *Isa* 42:1. "I will give you for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness, out of prison. I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images. *verses* 6-8 So Christ the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen, and the Gentiles are come to the light of Christ. This prophecy of Isaiah concerning Christ, many of the Gentiles witness fulfilled, that "salvation is come to the Gentiles." *Rom* 11:11 God gave his glory to his son: and Christ said, "the glory which you gave me, I have given them (namely, his believers and followers) that they may be one, even as we are one." *John* 17:22. Here you may see the promises and prophecies are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, whom God has given for an ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and as the captain of their salvation. And he does enlighten all men and women in the world: that with his heavenly divine light they might see Christ, the Lord from heaven, their captain and ensign, and trust in him, their conqueror; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works: and Christ and his followers overcome the dragon, beast, and false prophet. Therefore all Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, that come to believe in Christ, are to stand to their ensign, Christ, who is also the captain of their salvation, above all ensigns and captains below, for he is from above; therefore all are to trust in him, for he is certain and able to save to the utmost. He is the same ensign and captain today as he was yesterday, and so forever, the first and last, the beginning and ending, the Lord of lords, and King of all kings upon the earth; and there is nothing certain to be trusted in below Christ Jesus, who is from above. You see in the scriptures, there were many ways and religions among the Heathen, as there were many sects among the Jews when Christ came; and now there are many sects or religions among the christians, who believe from the

scriptures "that he is come," as the Jews believed "he was to come." But they that close their eyes, and stop their ears to the light of Christ, are not like to see Christ who has enlightened them, to be their ensign and the captain of their salvation, that see not with the heavenly eye, nor hear with the heavenly ear, to see and hear their heavenly ensign and captain of their salvation, to convert and heal them; that they might follow him, and be of his holy camp, his heavenly soldiers, to whom he gives spiritual arms and armor, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of light, and the shield of faith, (which will quench all the fiery darts of satan and give victory) and the sword of the spirit, the word of God, which shall cut, hammer down, and burn up all the strong holds of satan. Also he clothes his soldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his righteousness, and shoes them with the everlasting gospel of peace, the power of God: which clothes and shoes will never wax old. And all that are shod with the everlasting gospel, the power of God, will never wax old (wear out); but will stand all storms and tempests in the world. They that are shod with the gospel, the power of God, can in it tread upon serpents, vipers, and scorpions, and all the venomous beasts upon the earth, and all the thorns, briars, brambles, thistles, sharp rocks, and mountains, and never be hurt, nor ever wear out their shoes; for their feet were always beautiful upon the mountains. Moses, a captain, the servant of the Lord, said unto the people of Israel, "I have led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes have not worn out upon you, and your shoe is not worn out upon your foot." Deu 29:5 Here you may see, the Jews in the Old Testament, their clothes and their shoes did not grow old and wear out. And they, who are Christ's followers, whom he shoes with his everlasting gospel of peace, and clothes with his fine linen, his righteousness, and arms with his armor; are clothed, shod, and armed, with that which will never decay, wax old, canker, rust, corrupt, nor grow blunt. Now all (whether christians, or Jews, or Gentiles), that hate the light of Christ, close their eyes, and stop their ears to it, are not like to see Christ their ensign and captain of their salvation, but are blind. As no outward captain would enlist a company of blind and deaf men, and clothe and arm them with outward armor; so such as are blind and deaf, whose eyes are closed, and ears stopped to the heavenly light of Christ, he is not like to clothe with his fine linen, and arm with his heavenly and spiritual armor. Nor are they likely to be spiritually and heavenly disciplined, and to see and know his holy spiritual, living camp, not to follow him while they are deaf and blind, and hate his light, which is the life in Christ. For it is the light that shines in the heart, which gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus; who is the ensign and captain of men's salvations, and who has brought, and does bring many sons unto glory; praise, Honor and glory be unto the Lord over all, who lives forever! Amen.

George Fox

Gooses, the 14th of the 2d month, 1690

A week after this I returned to London; and after a little stay there, I went to visit Friends at Kingston, where I did not stay long. I came back to London and remained in the Lord's work until after the Yearly Meeting which was in the fourth month that year. The accustomed goodness of the Lord was witnessed in the meeting, his blessed presence was enjoyed, and his heavenly power lovingly felt. His power opened the hearts of his people to him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom in and to them. By which many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of Friends, and to the honor and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated and unanimously concluded.

After the meeting I wrote the following paper to Friends, to be added to the epistle, which from the Yearly Meeting wall sent into the several counties.

All Friends everywhere that are alive to God through Jesus Christ and are living members of Christ the holy head; be still and stand still in the Lord's camp of holiness and righteousness, and in it see the salvation of God and your eternal life, rest and peace. In it you may feel and see the Lord's power is over all; and how the Lord is at work in his power, ruling the nations with his rod of iron, and breaking (in the nations) the old leaky vessels and cisterns to pieces, like the potter's vessels, that will not hold his living water of life, who are erred from the spirit. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, who by his eternal arm and power has settled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that stands sure; whom he has drawn by his spirit to his Son, and gathered into the name of Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, full of grace and truth; who has all power in heaven and earth given to him. Whose

name is above every name under the whole heaven, and all his living members know, there is no salvation given by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; and he, their Salvation, and their living head, is felt in the midst of them in his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, and his word of patience, wisdom, and power; who is his people's prophet, that God has raised up, in his New Testament and covenant, to open to them; and their living shepherd, that has purchased, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood. Christ, the living one, feeds his living sheep in his living pastures of life, and his living sheep know their living shepherd's voice, with his living bread and water, and follow him; and will not follow any of the world's hirelings, nor thieves, nor robbers, nor climbers that are outside Christ, the door. Likewise Christ's living children know Christ, the bishop of their souls, to oversee them with his heavenly and spiritual eye, that they may be preserved in his fold of life, and go no more forth. Also they know Christ their holy priest, that by the grace of God tasted death for them, and for every man, and is a propitiation for their sins; and not for theirs only, but for the sins of the whole world: and by the one offering up of himself he has perfected forever them that are sanctified. Such a high priest becomes Christ's sheep in his new covenant and testament, who is holy harmless, and separate from sinners, and is made higher than the heavens. Who is not made a priest after the order of Aaron with his tithes and offerings, but he makes an end of all those things, having abolished them, and is made a high priest after the power of an endless life, who ever lives to make intercession for his people; and is able to save completely, all that come to God through him. He is the one holy mediator between God and man, who sanctifies his people, his church that he is head of and presents them to God without spot, or wrinkle, or blemish, or any such thing; and makes them a holy, royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual, holy sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, who is King of all kings, and Lord of all lords in the earth. So a holy, heavenly king who has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in all the hearts of his sheep and lambs by his holy, divine, precious faith, that is held in all the pure consciences of his people: which holy faith, Christ, the holy one is the author and finisher of. By this holy faith all the just live, in which holy, divine, precious faith all the just and holy ones have unity; and by it quench all the fiery darts of satan; and have access to the pure God, in which they please him. Christ, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, in his New Testament and new covenant, is the minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord has pitched, and not man. Therefore, all the lambs and sheep of Christ must feel this holy minister in their temple and sanctuary, who ministers spiritual, holy, and heavenly things to them in their sanctuary and tabernacle. For all the tabernacles and sanctuaries, that are built or pitched by man, men make ministers for them; and such ministers are of men and by men, with their worldly sanctuaries and tabernacles of men's pitching, by men's hands.

And now, dear Friends and brethren everywhere, that are of the flock of Christ; Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore, let us all keep this heavenly feast of our passover in his New Testament and covenant, not with old leaven, neither of malice nor wickedness; but let all that be purged out, with the sour old leavened bread, that all may become a new lump: and so keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen.

George Fox

I stayed in town between three weeks and a month, after the Yearly Meeting, and then went to Tottenham-High-Cross, where was a meeting on first-day, which I attended; and then I went to Edward Man's at FordGreen near Winchmore-Hill: and the first-day following to the meeting at Enfield, where the Lord gave me many precious openings to declare to the people. Afterwards moving back and forth among Friends in the area, I frequently visited the meetings at Chesshunt, Waltham-Abbey, Enfield, Tottenham, and Winchmore-Hill. The Lord was with me and opened many deep and weighty truths; divine and heavenly mysteries to his people through me, to their great refreshment, and my joy. After some time I went to Hertford, to visit Friends there; and was at their meeting on a first-day. And having something more particular upon me to the ancient Friends of that place, I had a meeting with some of them the next day, and imparted to them what the Lord had given me for them. Then passing to Ware, I made a little stay among Friends there, and was at their meeting. After which, I returned among Friends about Edmonton side and Tottenham and attended meetings as I went back to London in the end of the seventh month.

I remained at London until the beginning of the ninth month, being continually exercised in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of truth to people, and building up and establishing Friends in it, or in other services relating to the church of God. For the parliament was now in session, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends did attend the house, to get those bills so worded, that they might not be hurtful to Friends. In this service I also assisted, attending on the parliament and discussing the matter with several of the members.

Having stayed more than a month in London and exhausted myself in these services, I went to Tottenham, and some time after to FordGreen. At which places I continued several weeks, visiting Friends' meetings round about at Tottenham, Enfield, and Winchmore-Hill. In this time several things came upon me to write; one of which was an epistle 'to Friends in the ministry' as follows:

All Friends in the ministry everywhere, to whom God has given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the gift of the ministry, do not "hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel, nor load yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world." For the natural soldiers are not to load themselves with the affairs of world; much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world; but are to mind the riches and glory of the world that is everlasting. Therefore stir up the gift of God in you, improve it, and do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world that will have an end; for fear you become idolaters. Be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the day light of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of that, and have received it and preached it; which "stands in righteousness and peace, and joy in the holy ghost;" as able ministers of the spirit sow to the spirit, that of the spirit you may reap life everlasting. Go on in the spirit, plowing with it in the purifying hope; and threshing, with the power and spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. For he that looks back from the spiritual plow into the world, is not fit for the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of God; and is not like to press into it, as the faithful do. Therefore, you that are awakened to righteousness, and to the knowledge of the truth, keep yourselves awakened in it; then the enemy cannot sow his tares in your field; for truth and righteousness are over him, and before he was. My desires are, that all may fulfill their ministry, that the Lord Jesus Christ has committed to them; and then by the blood (or life), and testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it, within and without. All you that preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love; and all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of him, he gives them the power and authority to become the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ; whom he calls brothers; and he gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing up to eternal life; that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. So that all may be spiritual planters, and spiritual waterers; and may see with the spiritual eye the everlasting, eternal God over all to give the increase, who is the infinite fountain. My desires are, that you may be kept out of all the worthless elements of the world, which is below the spiritual region, to Christ the head; and may hold him, who bruises the head of enmity, and was before enmity was; that you may all be united together in love, in your head, Christ, and be ordered by his heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom to the glory of God. For all that are in Christ, are in love, peace, and unity. In him they are strong, and in a full persuasion; and in him, who is the first and last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honor and glory, Amen.

From him, who is translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, with all his saints, a heavenly salutation. And salute one another with a holy kiss of love, that never fails.

George Fox

Ford-Green, the 25th of the 9th month, 1690



<1> <2> <3> <4>

Another epistle I wrote soon after, more particularly to the Friends in the ministry, that were gone into America after this manner:

Dear Friends and brethren, ministers, exhorters, and admonishers that are gone into America and the Caribbean islands. Stir up the gift of God in you and the pure mind, and improve your talents; that you may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hidden. Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks and the whites; that you may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign, that God has set up, Christ Jesus. For from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, "incense shall be offered up to God's name." And have salt in yourselves, that you may be the salt of the earth, that you may salt it; that it may be preserved from corruption and putrefaction; so that all sacrifices offered up to the Lord may be seasoned, and be a good savor to God. All grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that you may not be like dwarfs; for a dwarf shall not come near to offer upon God's altar; though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by it. And Friends, be not negligent but keep up your negroes' meetings and your family meetings; and have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects everywhere, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth; for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol, which makes too many go out of the sense and fear of God; so that some have lost morality, humanity, and true Christian love. Oh therefore be awakened to righteousness and keep awakened; for the enemy sows his weeds while men and women sleep in carelessness and security. Therefore, so many slothful ones go in their filthy rags and have not the fine linen the righteousness of Christ; but are struggling and plowing with their ox and their ass in their woolen and linen garments; mixed stuff, feeding upon torn food, and that dies of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating of the sour, leavened bread, which makes their hearts burn one against another. But all are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. This unleavened bread of life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's spirit, which is the bond of (the Lord of lords', and the King of kings') peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth to spread it abroad in doctrine, good life, and conversation, Amen.

All the members of Christ have need one of another. For the foot has need of the hand, and the hand has need of the foot; the ear has need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all the members are serviceable in the body which Christ is the head of; and the head sees their service. Therefore let none look down on the least member.

Have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that plunders and covets after the riches and things of this world; to avoid you falling into the low region, like the Gentiles or Heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God that is everlasting; but seek the kingdom of God first; and God knows what you have need of, who takes care for all both in heaven and in the earth; thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gifts, both temporal and spiritual!

George Fox

Tottenham, the 11th of the 10th month, 1690

Not long after, I returned to London and was with Friends at meetings almost daily. When I had been in town for nearly two weeks, the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings that Friends had been and were under in Ireland came upon me with great weight, and I was moved to write the following epistle, as a word of consolation unto them:

Dear Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power has upheld through your great sufferings, exercises, trials, and hardships (more, I believe, than can be uttered) up and down that nation, which I am very sensible of; and the rest of faithful Friends that have been partakers with you in your sufferings; who cannot but suffer with the Lord's people that suffer. My confidence has been in the Lord, that he would and will support you in all your sufferings; and that he would preserve all the faithful in his wisdom, that they might give no just occasion to anyone to make them suffer; and if you did suffer wrongfully or unjustly, that the righteous God would assist and uphold you; and reward them according to their works, that oppressed or wronged you. And now my desire is unto the Lord, that in the same holy and heavenly wisdom of God you may all be preserved to the end of your days, to the glory of God, minding his supporting hand and power; who is God all sufficient to strengthen, help, and refresh in time of need. Let none forget the Lord's mercies and kindnesses, which endure forever: but always live in the sense of them. And truly, Friends, when I consider the thing, it is the great mercy of the Lord that you have not been all swallowed up, seeing with what spirits you have been compassed about. But the Lord carries his lambs in his arms, and they are as tender to him as the apple of his eye; and his power is his hedge about his vineyard of heavenly plants. Therefore it is good for all his children to be given up to the Lord with their minds and souls, hearts and spirits, who is a faithful keeper, that never slumbers nor sleeps; but is able to preserve and keep you, and to save to the utmost, and none can hurt so much as a hair of your heads, except he suffer it, to try you; for he upholds all things in heaven and earth, by the word of his power; all things were made by Christ, and by him all things consist (mark, consist) whether they be visible or invisible. So he has power over all; for all power in heaven and earth is given to him; and to you that have received him, he has given the power and authority to become the sons and daughters of God; so living members of Christ, the living head, grafted into him in whom you have eternal life. Christ the seed reigns, and his power is over all; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and was before he was. So all of you live and walk in Christ Jesus; that nothing may be between you and God, but Christ, in whom you have salvation, life, rest, and peace with God.

As for the affairs of truth in this land and abroad, I hear, that in Holland and Germany, and that section of the world that Friends are in love, unity, and peace: and in Jamaica, Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, Maryland, and New England I hear nothing except that Friends are in unity and peace. The Lord preserve them all out of the world (in which there is trouble) in Christ Jesus, in whom there is peace, life, love, and unity, Amen. My love in the Lord Jesus Christ to all Friends everywhere in your land, as though I named them.

George Fox

London, the 10th of the 11th month, 1690

DEATH AND BURIAL

Thus, reader, you have had some account of the life and travels, labors, sufferings, and manifold trials and exercises of this holy man of God, from his youth to almost the time of his death; of which himself kept a journal; where the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains, that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial; which was thus:

The next day, after he had written the previous epistle to Friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was large because it was the First-day, and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's, (a Friend's house in White-hart Court, near the meeting-house), and some Friends going with him, he told them, 'he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting;' yet added, 'I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear.' As soon as those Friends were withdrawn, he laid down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again; and in a little time laid down again, complaining still of cold. And his strength sensibly decaying, he was was glad soon

to be in the bed; here he lay in much contentment and peace, and he very sensible to the last. **And as in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way truth and righteousness to the nations and people in distant locations;** so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that; and he sent for some particular friends, to whom he expressed his mind, and **desire for the spreading of Friends' books, and therefore truth in the world.** Many Friends came to visit him in his illness, with whom he said 'all is well; the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though,' he said, 'I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.' Thus lying in a heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength; and on the third day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had lovingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his day in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good will to all men, on the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age. (George Fox died on January 13, 1691, which was the 11th month of 1690 by the then used Julien calendar, and was interred in the Quaker Burying Ground at Bunhill Fields in London. He was 66 years of age.)

Upon the 16th of the same month (being the sixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral) a very great concourse of Friends, and other people of divers sorts, assembled together at the meetinghouse in White-hart court near Gracechurch-street, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed presence and glorious power; in which divers living testimonies were delivered, from a lively remembrance and sense of the blessed ministry of this dear and ancient servant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord's work at the breaking forth of this gospel day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labors of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; the manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions, with which he met for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and from false brethren; and his preservations, deliverances, and dominion in, out of, and over them all, by the power of God: to whom the glory and honor always was by him, and is and always ought to be by all ascribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was carried by Friends and accompanied by very great numbers to the Friends' burying-ground near Bunhill-fields; where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies born, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine spirit and power by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported and preserved to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.

(Note: The letter of Margaret Fell below was not in the 1831 Journal, and Thomas Elwood's testimony is a repeat portion of his Introduction to this Journal.)

Addition from Margaret Fell's book, *Undaunted Zeal, the Letters of Margaret Fell*, Letter Number 157:

To Friends and Sisters, November 19, 1691

"And now he is entered into his Celestial Rest and Glory, where he lives for evermore; and his Spirit lives with us."

George Fox died in London on January 13, 1691. He was surrounded by Friends, including William Penn, who immediately wrote to Margaret:

"I am to be the teller to you of sorrowful tidings .. that your dear husband and my beloved and dear friend, George Fox has finished his glorious testimony."

There was heavy mourning among Friends, as as the leader of the Quakers were preparing for the funeral, the 'session was interrupted by the tears and groans of men of stature of Penn and Whitehead, people whose emotions were usually under tighter control.' Over four thousand people attended the

funeral service itself, and it took more than two hours of funeral procession to walk the one mile to Bunhill Fields, the Quaker burial ground. (Ingle, pp. 844-285) .

Margaret Fell's letter to friends/Friends in London demonstrates the close connections that bound together the women of the movement. Margaret expresses her thanks for their care of her husband and for their love and kindness to her, "my very dear adn tender love in the Lord, is deary remembered to you, as if I named you, one, by one."

Swarthmore the: 16 of the 9th: month, 1691:

Dear Friends and Sisters in the Lord.

In that which was in the beginning, now is: and shall be everlastingly for ever: - in the senses" Therefore do I write these few line unto you, acknowledging your tender love and care to me, and my dear husband, when he was with you, in his service and travels for the Lord. As for you tender care and love unto him, you will have an everlasting reward. Now he is entered into his celestial rest and glory, where he lives for evermore! and his spirit lives with us. Dear Friends, as we keep in his eternal testimony, that he published to the world, we shall live unto God. Many thousands are gathered to God by this testimony, and shall be to the end of the world. I received you kind and dear letter, and am vry much comforted and satisfied with your love therein. I trust in the Almighty God that as we keep in the same spirit, life, and power, and abide in it, we shall be preserved and kept unto God, to the end, and in the end. Now my dear Friends, may very dear and tender love in the Lord, is dearly remembered unto your, as if I named you, one by one. Your tender love and kindness, when I was with you, I cannot forget. The Lord continue his mutual love among us, that not any of us wax cold; but that we may live in the heat of the Son of Righteousness, and there we shall grow, and bring forth fruit to God, and be unto him trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified, in us and through us.

Dear Friends, I am not unsensible of you great care and service for the Lord, and his eternal truth. Therefore I counsel you, in the power of the Lord, to continue in it and to give up freely to it, in the strength and wisdom of God. You are sure to have comfort and satisfaction at the present, and in the end, and everlasting and eternal reward. Now I let you know that I am well in the Lord, in every way, praised and honored be his holy name. Both my son and daughters, their children and families, are all well. And their dear love is remembered dearly unto you all, as we are all engaged to you, for your dear love and kindness to you, for your dear love and kindness to us. - From

Your dear Friend and sister in the Lord,

Margaret Fox

From Thomas Elwood's Introduction And Appropriate Tribute to George Fox

He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in laboring in it, steady in his testimony to it; immovable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprovor of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care. For indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace of which he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God, beloved of God's people; and, (which was not the least part of his honor), the common butt of all apostates' envy, whose good notwithstanding he earnestly sought.

He lived to see the desire of his soul, the spreading of that blessed principle of divine light through many of the European nations, and not a few of the American islands and provinces, and the gathering of

many thousands to an establishment therein; which the Lord gave him the honor to be the first effectual publisher in this latter day world. And having a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith, his righteous soul, freed from the earthly tabernacle, in which he had led an exemplary life of holiness, was translated into those heavenly mansions, where Christ our Lord went prepare a place for him; there to possess that glorious crown of righteousness which is laid up for, and shall be given by the Lord the righteous judge, to all them that love his appearance. Ages to come in people left unborn shall call him blessed, and bless the Lord for raising him up, and blessed shall we also be, if we so walk as we had him for an example: for whom this testimony lives in my heart, He lived and died the SERVANT of the LORD.

(Thomas Elwood was a fellow Quaker, friend of John Milton, (author of *Paradise Lost*), and the principal charged by Fox while still alive with the preparation of the Journal from Fox's written diary and letters.)

AN EPISTLE OF DEAR GEORGE FOX'S,

Written with his own hand, and left sealed up with this superscription, 'Not to be opened before the time;' which after his decease being opened, was thought suitable to be printed.

For the Yearly and second-day's meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world.

By and from George Fox

This for all the children of God everywhere, who are led by his spirit, and walk in his light, in which ***they have life, unity, and fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another.***

Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, you that are gathered in his name by his light, grace, truth, power, and spirit; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

And now Friends, all your meetings, both men's and women's, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly, were set up by the power, spirit, and wisdom of God; and in them you know that you have felt his power, and spirit, and wisdom, and blessed refreshing presence among you and in you, to his praise and glory and your comfort; so that you have been a "city set on a hill, that cannot be hidden."

And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen at times to oppose you and them, in print and other ways, you have seen how they have come to nothing. The Lord has blasted them and brought their deeds to light, and made them seen to be trees without fruit, wells without water, wandering stars from the firmament of God's power, and raging waves of the sea, casting up their mire and dirt; and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit and the sow that was washed and then turned again to the mire. God and his people know this has been the condition of many!

Therefore all stand steadfast in Christ your head, in whom you are all one, male and female, and know his government, the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end. But there will be an end of the devil's government and of all that are out of Christ, who oppose his government and him, whose judgment does not linger, and their damnation does not slumber. Therefore in God's and Christ's light, life, spirit, and power live and walk, that is over all (and the seed of it) in love, in innocence, and simplicity. In righteousness and holiness dwell, and dwell in his power and in the holy spirit, in which God's kingdom stands. All children of the new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy spiritual children; keep your eyes on her.

As for this spirit of rebellion and opposition that has risen in the past and now again: it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jerusalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words, and works. Therefore Friends are to live and walk in the power and spirit of God that is over it, and in the seed that will bruise and break it to pieces. In which seed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and spirit of God, that does judge it;

all God's witnesses in his tabernacle go out against it, and always have and will.

Let no man live to self, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and seek the peace of the church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him; for "blessed are the peacemakers." Dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wisdom of God, that is gentle and easy to be entreated, that is full of mercy; all striving to be of one mind, heart, soul, and judgment in Christ, having his mind and spirit dwelling in you, building up one another with the love of God, which edifies the body of Christ, his church; he, who is the holy head of it. Glory to God through Christ, in this age and in all other ages; who is the rock and foundation, the Emanuel, God with us, Amen. He is over all, and is the beginning and the ending. In him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in him you will feel me, and I will feel you.

All children of New Jerusalem,
that descends from above,
the holy city,
which the Lord and the Lamb is the light of,
and is the temple;
in it they are born again of the spirit:
so Jerusalem that is above,
is the mother of them that are born of the spirit.
These that come and are come to heavenly Jerusalem, receive Christ;
and he gives them power to become the sons of God,
and they are born again of the spirit;
so Jerusalem that is above,
is their mother.
Such come to heavenly mount Zion,
and the innumerable company of angels,
to the spirits of just men made perfect;
and to the church of the living God written in heaven,
and have the name of God written upon them.
So here is a new mother,
that brings forth a heavenly and spiritual generation.

There is no schism, or division, no contention,
nor strife in heavenly Jerusalem,
nor in the body of Christ,
which is made up of living stones,
a spiritual house,
Christ is not divided,
for in him there is peace.
Christ said, "In me you have peace."
And he is from above,
and not of this world;
but in the world below,
in the spirit of it there is trouble;
therefore keep in Christ,
and walk in him,
Amen.

George Fox

Jerusalem was the mother of all true Christians before the apostasy; and since the outward christians are broken into many sects, they have gotten many mothers; but all those that have come out of the apostasy by the power and spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above is their mother (and none below her); who does nourish all her spiritual children.

George Fox

Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, 1691.

Reader please note, that these following papers and epistles (some of which being mentioned in the Journal, vol 2 p. 258 and there omitted) are found meet to be here inserted; and are as follows:

A narrative of the spreading of truth, and of the opposition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year 1676.

The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650; in Yorkshire in 1651, in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland in 1653, in London and most of the other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1654.

In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up, and in 1656 it broke forth in America and many other places.

In the authority of this divine truth, Friends stood all the cruelties and sufferings that were inflicted upon them by the long parliament; to the seizing of personal property, imprisonment, and death, and over all reproaches, lies, and slanders; as well as those in Oliver Cromwell's time, and all the acts made by him and his parliament; his son Richard after him, and the committee of safety; and after withstood and outlasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660, when the king came in.

Friends never feared their acts, prisons, jails, houses of correction, banishment, nor seizure of personal property; no, nor the loss of life itself; nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw how it would result in good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, except it was for the bringing multitudes out of prison; though they who imprisoned the truth, and quenched the spirit in themselves, would imprison and quench it without them; so that there was a time when so many were in prison, that it became as a by-word, "**truth is scarce any where to be found but in jails.**"

And after the king came in, many Friends suffered much, because they would not drink his health, and say, "God bless the king;" so that many Friends were in danger of their lives from rude persons, who were ready to run them through with their swords for refusing it, until the king gave forth a proclamation against drinking "healths;" for we were and are against drinking any "healths," and all excess, both before his coming in and after; and we desire the king's good, and that the blessing of God might come upon him and all his subjects, and all people upon the face of the earth; but we did desire people not to drink the king's health, but let him have his health, and all people else; and to drink for their own health and necessity only; for that way of drinking "healths," and to excess, was not for the king's health, nor their own, nor any others'; which excess often brought forth quarrelling with and destruction of one another. For they destroyed the creation and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health, nor honor, but might grieve him to have the creatures and his subjects destroyed; and so the Lord's power gave us dominion over that also, and all our other sufferings. But, Oh! The number of sufferers in the commonwealth's and Oliver Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were drug before the courts for not paying tithes, refusing to swear on their juries, not putting off their hats, and for going to meetings on the first-days; under pretense of breaking the sabbath; and to meetings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meetings and on the highways.

Oh! How great were the sufferings then which we sustained for these actions! For sometimes they would drive Friends by droves in the prison-houses like sheep into their holds, confine them on the first-day, and take their horses from them, and keep them for pretended breach of their sabbath, though they would ride in their coaches and upon their fat horses to the steeple-houses themselves, and yet punish others. And many Friends were turned out of their homes and customary apartments, because in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle, they could not swear; and as they went to meetings, they have been stoned through the streets, and otherwise cruelly abused. Many were fined with great fines, and laid long in prison for not taking off their hats, which fines Friends could never pay, though they kept them in prison until they had satisfied their own wills; and at last turned them out, after keeping them a year or more in prison.

Many books I have published against tithes, showing how the priesthood was changed that took them;

and that Christ sent forth his twelve, and afterwards seventy disciples, saying unto them, "Freely you have received, freely give." So all who do not obey the doctrine and command of Christ as stated, we cannot receive them.

I was also moved to publish several books against swearing, and that our yes and no might be taken instead of an oath, which if we broke our word, let us suffer the same punishment as they who broke their oaths. And in Jamaica the governor and the assembly granted the thing; it is also granted in some other places; and several of the members of parliament in England have acknowledged the reasonableness of it. When the moderate of the magistrates saw our faithfulness in yes and no, both before and since the king came in, they would put Friends into offices without an oath. But the cruel and envious magistrates would fine Friends to get money from them, though they could not pay them any by conscience.

Thus the Lord's power has carried us through all, and over all to his everlasting glory and praise; for God's power has been our hedge, our wall and our keeper (the preserver of his plants and vineyard), who have not had the magistrates' sword and staff to help us, nor ever trusted in the arm of flesh, but have gone without these, or Judas' money bag, to preach the word of life, which was in the beginning before they were; which word reconciles to God. And thousands have received this word of reconciliation, and are born again of the immortal seed, by the word of God; and are feeding upon the milk of the word, which lives and abides for ever.

Many have suffered death for their testimony, in England and beyond the seas, both before and since the king came in; which may be seen in an account given to the king and both houses of parliament; being a brief, plain, and true relation of the late and sad sufferings of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping and exercising a good conscience towards God and man.

For which reason eighty-nine have suffered until death, thirty-two of which died before the king came into England, and fifty-seven since, by hard imprisonment and cruel usage. Forty-three have died in the city of London and Southwark since the act made against meetings, about 1661, of which a more particular account was given, with the names of the sufferers to the king and parliament, about 1663.

And though many laws were designed against us, yet none of them could ever justly touch us, being twisted and misapplied in their execution by our adversaries, which some have been made to acknowledge. All those laws that were made, and the oath for which they imprisoned us (because, in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, we could not swear at all), were not originally intended against us; and yet we suffered by the several powers, and their laws, both seizure of personal property and imprisonment, even to death. And the governor of Dover castle, when the king asked him if he had dispersed all the sectaries' meetings? said, that he had; but the Quakers' meetings the devil himself could not; for if he imprisoned them, and broke up their meetings, they would meet again; and if he beat them or knocked them down, or killed some of them, all as one they would meet, and not resist again. Thus the Lord's power did support and keep them over their persecutors, and made them to justify our patience and lamb-like nature. This was about 1671.

Since the king came in, three acts have been made against us, besides the proclamations, by which many have suffered imprisonment and banishment, and many to death. And yet for all these acts and proclamations, persecutions, sufferings, and banishments; faithful Friends are as fresh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant for his name and truth.

When the king came in, some were weak and took the oath; but after they had done so, they were very troubled for disobeying the command of Christ and the apostle James; and so went to the magistrates, condemned themselves, and offered to go to prison.

Thus the Lord, in his everlasting power, has been the support and stay of his people; and still his seed reigns, his truth is over all, and exceedingly spreads unto this year, 1676.

A warning to the magistrates and people of the city of Oldenburgh:

Friends, Have you seen and felt the judgments of God upon your city, the Lord sending lightning from heaven, that destroyed and burnt it? As I passed through your city on a first-day of the week, which you

call your sabbath, I saw some drinking, soldiers playing at shovelboard, and others with their shops open, and trading, when they should have been waiting upon God, and worshipping him; and your people were light and vain, without any sense of God's judgments, or repentance. Oh, therefore repent, for fear that the all-seeing God who sees all your actions, and is over all, brings swift judgment upon you in his wrath, fury, and indignation. Repent and lay aside all manner of evil, wickedness, ungodliness, and unrighteousness; for the day of the Lord will come upon all that do evil, all the workers of iniquity. This mighty day of the Lord will find them all out, and will burn as an oven; burn up all the proud and wicked, and neither leave them root nor branch. Therefore all you magistrates, priests, and people, search in yourselves to find out the cause, and what evil you have committed, that has brought the wrath, vengeance, and judgments of God upon you and your city, in the burning of it. All return, and come to the light of Christ in your hearts, to God's spirit, to the grace and truth in your hearts, that comes by Jesus Christ; that with it you may search your hearts. Do not grieve, or vex, or quench God's good spirit in your hearts; do not walk spitefully against the spirit of grace, or turn from it into wantonness; and yet make a profession of God and Christ in words, when your hearts are far off, living in pleasures, and wantonly upon the earth, sporting yourselves, killing the just, crucifying to yourselves Christ afresh, and putting him to open shame so dishonoring God, Christ, and Christianity, yet making a profession and a trade of the scriptures; keeping people always learning, (never arriving at the truth) that they may always be paying.

Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and look unto the Lord, all you ends of the earth, and be saved; for the Lord God of heaven and earth is come to teach the people himself by his light, spirit, grace, and truth, and to bring them off all the world's teachers. God has raised up Christ Jesus his prophet, whom people should hear; and said, "This is my beloved Son, hear you him." And Christ said, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life; and no man comes to the Father, but by me." There is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus, who said, "I am the good shepherd and have laid down my life for my sheep, and my sheep hear my voice and follow me, and will not follow the hireling;" for Christ feeds them in the pastures of life, that will never wither. God has anointed Christ Jesus to preach, if you will hear him; and God has given Christ for a counselor and a leader, if you will be led and counseled by him; and God has given Christ for a bishop to oversee you, and a king to rule you if you will be overseen and ruled by him. You that will not have Christ to rule over you, who never sinned, nor was guile found in his mouth, you may read his sentence in the New Testament upon such. Is not Christ a sufficient teacher, whose blood was shed for you, and tasted death for every man? Does not Christ say to his ministers, "Freely you have received, freely give?" And the apostle said, "We covet no man's gold, silver, or apparel." They labored with their hands, and kept the gospel without charge. Have they that are called ministers among you, done the same, and kept this command of Christ Jesus? Let them be examined, and examine themselves. Have you not washed your outsides? But look within with the light and spirit of Christ Jesus, and see if your insides are not black and foul. For Christ Jesus, who enlightens every man and woman in the world with the life in himself, said, "Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light." With the light you may see all the evil and ungodly deeds that you have committed, all your ungodly words you have spoken, and all your ungodly thoughts you think; that you may turn from them to Christ, from whom the light comes; who is your Savior and Redeemer, who has given you a light to see your sin, and that you are dead in Adam; that with the same light you may see Christ, the quickening spirit, who makes you alive to God, and saves you from your sin. But if you hate the light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of life; and love the darkness and the prince of darkness more than the light or the life in Christ, because it will reprove you; Christ tells you, "this light will be your condemnation." John 3:19-21 Therefore be warned now in your day. While you have time, turn to the Lord. Do not quench the spirit of the Father, by which he draws to the Son; nor hate the light of Christ; for if you do, you hate the life in Christ, and so remain under condemnation from God and Christ with the light, who now speaks to his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days. The same God, that was the speaker by the prophets to the fathers, and speaker to Adam and Eve in paradise; and happy had Adam and Eve, and the Jews, and all christians been, if they had kept to this speaker, and not have followed the serpent, that false speaker, and his instruments. And now God is the true speaker by his Son, who bruises the head of the serpent, the false teacher, the head of all false ways, false prophets, false churches, and false religions and worships. So God in Christ is bringing people to the pure undefiled religion, that will keep them from the spots of the world, into the new and living way Christ Jesus; and to the church in God, which Christ is the head of, as he was in the apostles' days; and to worship God in the spirit and truth, which worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. Therefore must all people come to the grace and spirit of truth in their own hearts, to know the God of truth, who is a spirit, and in the spirit and truth to worship, serve, honor, and glorify the living God, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed for evermore, Amen!

You magistrates and officers, read this in all your assemblies, and cause all your priests to read it in their churches; that they and you and all people may hear and fear the God of heaven, as you will answer it at the great and terrible day of judgment, and vengeance of the Lord God Almighty. This is in love to your souls, and for your temporal and eternal good.

George Fox

Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th month, 1677

An epistle concerning true fasting, true prayer, true honor, and against persecution, and for the true liberty in Christ Jesus; that all may have a care that the apostle has not bestowed his labor in vain upon you in your observing of days, months, times, feasts, and years, and of coming under the impoverished tenets of the world, and the yoke of bondage again, and of bringing and forcing people into them.

Where did ever Christ or his apostles command any believers or christians to observe holy days (holidays) or feast-days? Let us see where it is written in the New Testament, in the four evangelists, the epistles, or the Revelation, that ever Christ or his apostles commanded Christians to observe the time called Christmas, or a day for Christ's birth? or to observe the time called Easter, or Whitsun tide, or Peter's, Paul's, Mark's, or Luke's, or any other saint's day?

You, that profess yourselves to be reformed churches from the Papists, Jews, and Heathens, and the scriptures to be your rule, and are professors of the new covenant, where do you prove out of the New Testament, that the apostles and the primitive church practiced or forced any such thing, or that Christ and his apostles gave any such command to the churches, that they should practice and observe any such days? Let us see where this command is written. Did not the apostle say to the Galatians in the fourth chapter, "But now, after that you have known God, or rather you are known of God, how can you turn again to the weak and impoverished tenets of the world, to which you desire again to be in bondage? You observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid for you, I fear that I have given you may labor to no benefit." And in the third of Galatians it is said, "Oh foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth." And in the fifth of Galatians, the apostle exhorts them to "stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made them free;" and moreover said, "do not get entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

Does not this show there were some teachers that were drawing the church of the Galatians into these impoverished tenets of the world, and bringing them again into bondage, in observing of days, months, times, and years? It was the apostle's work to bring them out of those bondages and impoverished tenets of the world; therefore, when they were going back again into observing days, months, times, and years, he was afraid that he had "bestowed his labor upon them in vain;" and he exhorts them to "stand fast in the liberty with which Christ Jesus has made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage;" and again signifies, "that they had been once entangled with that yoke of bondage and impoverished tenets of the world." But Oh how are people called christians, since the apostles' days, gone again under this yoke of bondage, and these impoverished tenets of the world, in observing days, months, times, and years; let their practice declare. No, do not both Papists and Protestants force people to observe days, months, and times? And therefore, is not the apostle's labor and painful exercise given to Christendom in vain, which was to bring people from under such impoverished tenets of the world and that yoke of bondage, (which the law did require), so they could "stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage?" It was and is Christ that has made and does make his people free from these impoverished tenets of the world (beggarly elements); therefore, the redeemed are to "stand fast in that liberty with which Christ has made them free." All true Christians are to stand fast in this liberty. They are made free by Christ, and not by man; for man, without the spirit and mind of Christ, seeks to force and compel Christ's followers, such as he has made free from the yoke of bondage, to outward things that the law commanded; to the observing of days, months, times, feasts, and years. From such weak, impoverished tenets of the world, those that know God, or are known of God and Christ, are to stand fast in their liberty, and not come under nor be entangled with the yoke of bondage again, seeing that he has made them free. For they that are in such things, and would force others into them, are gone from that which gives the knowledge of God, and have not stood fast in the liberty with which

Christ has made and makes free.

Concerning prayer, we never read that ever Christ or his apostles sought by force to compel any to fast or pray with them. But Christ taught them how they should pray, and to be distinct from the hypocrites. His words are as follow: "When you pray, don't be like the hypocrites who love to stand praying in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men, ... But when you pray, go into your closet, and when you have shut the door, pray to your Father privately, and your Father, who sees your private prayer, will reward you openly. But when you pray, do not use vain repetitions of prayer, as the Heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their volume of speaking. Do not pray like them; for your Father knows what things you have need of before you ask him." As the apostles and saints did, so we do; we pray in secret, and we pray in public, as the spirit gives us utterance, which helps our infirmities, as the apostles and true Christians prayed; after this manner we pray for ourselves, and for all men both high and low.

Concerning fasting, Christ said, "Moreover when you fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. But when you fast, be joyful, and wash your face, so you do not appear to be fasting to men; to men you fast in secret, so that only your Father knows; and your Father who sees all, shall reward you openly."

You may see in Isaiah 58,v6 what the true fast the Lord requires is, where it is said to the prophet, "Cry aloud, and spare not, lift up your voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins; yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching to God. Why have we fasted, say they, and you don't see us? Why have we afflicted our soul, and you don't know of it? Behold, in the day of your fast you find pleasure, and exact all your labors. Behold, you fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; you shall not fast as you do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Will you call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, said the Lord; to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that you break every yoke" So this fast that the Lord requires, is not to lay yokes, to oppress, and lay heavy burdens, and to make fast the bands of wickedness; but to loose and break such things.

Further, concerning the true fast the Lord requires, "Is it not to deal your bread to the hungry, and that you bring the poor that are cast out to your house? When you see the naked, that you cover him, and that you hide not yourself from your own flesh? (Do you keep this true fast?) Then shall your light break forth as the morning, and your health shall spring forth speedily: and your righteousness shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your reward. Then shall you call, and the Lord shall answer; you shall cry, and he shall say, here I am; If you take away from the midst of you the yokes, stop making accusations, and speaking vanity; and if you draw out your soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall your light arise out of obscurity, and your darkness be as the noon day. And the Lord shall guide you continually, and satisfy your soul in drought, and make fat your bones; and you shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not."

Here is the practice of the true fast the Lord requires of his people; and to them that observe this fast, the Lord said, "When they call, he will answer." You may see what glorious and happy comforts they receive from the Lord that keep this true fast; but such as fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fists of wickedness, "to make their voices to be heard on high, to afflict their souls for a day, to bow down their head as a bulrush, and loose not the bands of wickedness, nor undo every heavy burden, break off every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, who does not deal his bread to the hungry, clothe the naked, and bring the poor to his house, but hides himself from his own flesh;" such fasts and fasters the Lord does not accept, neither has he chosen them. These appear to men with their disfigured faces, hanging down their heads as a bulrush for a day, like the hypocrites, to fast, as Christ speaks of in Mat 6:16-18

Is it not the command of Christ, that in their fast they should not appear unto men to fast? And now you, that would force us to shut up our shops on fasting days, or for a day, does not this fast appear to men? And is not this the fast that the Lord said in Isaiah, "he does not accept?" for he said, "Is this the fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul, and bow down his head as a bulrush. Will you

Therefore, all God's people are to keep the true fast of the Lord from debate and strife and the fists of wickedness; that "fast that breaks the bands of wickedness, undoes every heavy burden, breaks every yoke, lets the oppressed go free, deals bread to the hungry, clothes the naked, and brings the poor that are cast out to his house." Everyone that keeps this true fast, their health shall grow; and when they call, the Lord will hear them; "he will be their guide continually, satisfy their souls in drought, make their bones fat, and they shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not." Now you, who keep not this true fast, when you call upon the Lord on your own fasting-days, does the Lord answer you, and say, "Here I am?" Does the Lord guide you continually? Are your bones made fat by him, and your souls satisfied in drought? Are you like a watered garden and like a spring whose waters fail not? You that keep not this true fast, do you not want these waters which fail not? So your souls are not satisfied in drought, but your bones are lean, and you hear not the voice of the Lord, who said, "Here I am;" so you lose the heritage of Jacob, and ride not upon the high places there; but come under. Therefore, every man and woman shut your hearts against all manner of evil whatsoever and trade not with Babylon's merchants of confusion; but keep the supernatural 'day of Christ, that is sprung from on high, that is kept by believing and walking in the light of Christ, and being grafted into him.' This will bring you to the true fast, from feeding upon any evil, and to the true praying in the spirit, as Christ and the apostles have taught. The fruit of the spirit is love, peace, joy, etc.

The birth of the spirit is not a persecuting birth; but he that is born of the flesh will persecute him that is born of the spirit, because he will not follow the birth of the flesh, with its weak, impoverished tenets of the world, that entangle with its yoke of bondage, and its observing of days, months, times, fasts, feasts, and years; which the birth of the spirit is to stand fast against in the liberty with which Christ has made it free.

Do you not know that the Turks keep their sabbath on the sixth day, the Jews upon the seventh day, and the Christians meet together on the first day of the week? And that day which the Turks keep, the Jews' and Christians' shops are open; and that day the Jews keep, Christians' and Turks' shops are open; and the first-days, that the Christians keep both Jews' and Turks' shops are open? The Turk does not force the Jews or the Christians to shut up their shops on their meeting days, but lets them have their liberty in Turkey. And where do you read that ever the Turks forced any Christians to observe any of their holy days, fasts, or feasts? If not, should not Christians be beyond the Turks in giving liberty to all tender consciences to serve God, seeing Christ and the apostles command not nor do they force people to observe holy days, or times, or months, or years, but should pray always in the spirit, and fast always from strife and debate, from all manner of sin and evil; and that will keep down the fist of wickedness, and the bond of iniquity? Why should not people of a tender conscience have their liberty to exercise their consciences towards God, that they may have a "good conscience always, towards God and man," to perform that which God requires, and "to do unto all men as they would have them to do unto them, and to love their neighbors as themselves;" seeing so many debauched, evil and seared consciences, (as though done with hot iron), have liberty in their loose lives and conversations, and in their loose words, whose tongues are at liberty to swear and curse, and their spirits at liberty in drunkenness and uncleanness? Let the magistrates look and see how this evil seared conscience has its liberty to be exercised in all manner of evil things throughout christianity; which is a great shame and dishonor to God, Christ, and Christianity, yes, and humanity. Therefore why should not God's people have liberty to exercise their good and tender consciences towards God and man? The mystery of faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of, is held in a pure conscience; and should not the work of the true Christian magistrate be to encourage the exercise of this pure conscience towards God and man, and to discourage the exercise of this evil seared conscience that dishonors both God and Christ, and true Christianity? If not, how are the magistrates a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evildoers?

Concerning not taking off our hats in respect to men: many, under the name of Christians, have taken offence at us because we could not take off our hats, and bow down to them; which we find no command from Christ or his apostles for, but rather to the contrary. For Christ said, "I receive not honor of men," (mark, he did not receive honor of men;) and further, "How can you believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that comes from God only?" Now Christ declares it to be a mark of unbelievers, that seek "honor one of another," and seek not that "honor that comes from God only;" and is not the putting off the hat, and bowing with it, an honor to men, which they

seek one of another, and are offended if they have it not? Do not the very Turks mock at the christians in their proverb, saying, "The christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads to one another?" Should not those be beyond Turks, that bear the noble name of Christian, and be above seeking honor one of another, and persecuting them that will not give it, when all true believing christians should seek the honor that comes from God only? This is the duty of all true believers in Christ Jesus, for they do not seek to honor men, nor seek men to honor them. And, "he that believes on the Son of God has everlasting life; and he that believes not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides upon him." John 3,v36 Is not the Turks' proverb a reproach to the christians, who say, "That the christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads one to another?" Have you not fined and imprisoned many, because they would not put off their hats to you, and show you their bare heads? In many of your courts they shall not have right and justice; nor liberty and freedom in cities or states, though they have truly served their time, and are honest and civil men, unless they will put off their hats, and show you their bare heads? Have you not made a law against such, that they must forfeit two guilders if they do it not? Do not you seek to compel and force them to do it, and fine such as do not, as at Lansmeer in Waterland? Is not this the honor that you seek one of another? Did not the Pharisees and Jews do the same?

As for your saying, "the apostle commands believers to honor all men; and such as rule well are worthy of double honor:" if this "honoring all men" were to put off their hats to all men, and show all men their bare heads, then this command you break yourselves, for you do not do this to all men generally; and if they that rule well, must have double honor, then for them hats must be taken off twice, their bare heads must be shown twice. If this hat-honor, and showing the bare head, is an invention of men, and not from God, (and you cannot prove it by scripture, still you say, "it is our rule,") then you act besides the rule, and compel people to act contrary to your rule. For where did ever the prophets, Christ, or the apostles command any such thing? Let us see a command, a practice, and an example for it. Nebuchadnezzar, who was a persecutor, and cast the three children of Israel into the fire with their hose, cloaks, and hats, we do not read that he was offended at them because they did not put off their hats, and show him their bare heads; but because they would not bow to his image. And is it not said in the margin of the bible, where it is said, "honor all men," "have all men in esteem?" Then they that rule well, are worthy of double esteem; and this esteem must be truly in the heart, without any envy, malice or hatred. As all men are the workmanship of God, they are to be esteemed in the heart with the spirit of God; and they that rule well are worthy of double esteem: here is true honor from the heart, both to God and man, his workmanship. For people may put off their hats and show their bare heads one to another once, or twice to the officers and magistrates, and yet be full of envy, malice, hatred, and murder in their hearts one against another; and give them that honor, as you call it, and yet speak or wish evil towards them, when they have turned their backs on them. The true honor or esteem in the heart to all men, as they are God's creation, is without any evil wish or thought in the heart to any, and they that rule well have the double esteem, whom God has placed over people. There is no evil in the heart that gives this respect, esteem, or honor, and brings them to love their neighbors as themselves, and to "do unto all men as they would have them do unto them," in that they esteem all men, and have a double esteem for them that rule well. This is beyond all the honor of putting off the hats once to all men, and twice to them that are worthy of the double honor, as you may call it. But we would ask christians, that practice this hat-honor, and showing one another their bare heads, who invented this honor, seeing they cannot prove that ever Christ or the apostles did command or practice any such thing, or Moses in the time of the law? Do not say or think that we had this practice of not putting off our hats from the Turk; for we were moved by the spirit of the Lord, before ever we heard of the Turks' proverb and practice, to leave the honor that is below, and seek the honor that comes from above, when we came to be true believers in Christ Jesus.

Concerning persecuting, imprisoning, and banishing God's people, in whom Christ is manifest, and dwells in their hearts, does not Christ tell you, that in so doing you imprison him? Then do you not banish him, and persecute him out of your cities and corporations? And how can you enter into and have a share in his kingdom, though you may profess him in words? Are not such to go into everlasting punishment, that do not visit Christ in prison? Then what will become of you, that banish and imprison him, where he is manifest in his members, nor suffer them to meet together to enjoy him among them, according to his promise? Therefore you, that will not let Christ reign in his people, and have his liberty in them in your cities and countries, to exercise his offices, you will not have your liberty in heaven. You that will not let Christ reign in your hearts, nor suffer him to reign in his people here upon the earth, in this world, in your kingdoms, you will not reign with Christ in heaven, in his kingdom, nor in the world without end.

You, that banish the truth out of your cities, or countries, or his people for its sake, you banish the truth and Christ out of your heart from ruling there; so you yourselves are not the temples of God. When you have banished Christ and his truth out of your own hearts, you banish such, in whom he rules, out of your estates and country; then see what judgments the Lord does bring upon you, when you are left to yourselves; yes, fears and troubles, one judgment after another, comes upon you, until you are even filled with them. But the banished and the sufferers for truth and Christ's sake have a peaceable habitation in the truth, which the devil is out of and cannot get into; which habitation will outlast all the habitations of the wicked and persecutors, though they be never so full of words without life and truth. The life and the truth will outlast all lofty doctrines; and Christ the Lamb, and his patient seed, will overcome the devourer with his impatient seed; and they that have the garment, the righteousness of Christ, which is the fine linen, will find it to outlast all the rags and inventions of men. Christ said to his learners, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world, the persecuting world." He also said to his disciples, "Do not be amazed that the world hates you, for it hated me before you." Therefore let all that profess themselves christians, lay aside persecution about religion, churches or worship, fasting or praying days; for you have no command from Christ and his apostles to persecute any. Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, when they called him a deceiver, blasphemed him, and said, "He had a devil," did not persecute any of them for it, nor force or compel any to hear and believe him, nor the apostles after him; but he told them, that would have been plucking up the weeds, "let the weeds and the wheat grow together until the harvest." So you have no command from Christ or his apostles to persecute, imprison, banish, or spoil the goods of any for matter of pure conscience and religion, worship, faith, and church in the gospel-times.

George Fox

Harlingen in Friesland the 11th of the 6th month, 1677

A warning to the magistrates, priests, and people of the city of Hamburg, to humble themselves before the Lord, and not to be high-minded.

Friends, You have painted and garnished the inside of your outward houses and high places; but look within your hearts with the light of Christ, with which he has enlightened you and every man and woman in the world, and with it you may see how foul your hearts and insides are with sin and evil, which Christ tells you should make clean; who told the Pharisees how they "painted the sepulchers of the righteous," and they themselves were full of rottenness and corruption. Therefore look into yourselves and your own hearts, what you are full of. To paint the sepulchers of the righteous apostles, and make a trade and a profession of their words, without the same Holy Spirit, power, light, and truth which they were in, will not stand the day of God's vengeance. Therefore repent while you have time, turn to the Lord with your whole hearts, and do not think yourselves secure without a sense of his immediate almighty protection. For it is not all your works, nor all your own strength, power, and defense that can protect you. It is not for you to look at them, and think yourselves secure, and to sit down in your security, and let your hearts be merry, and at rest, and at ease. When the Lord brings a scourge upon you, that you are filled with terrors and fears, remember you were warned, that you were at ease, but not in the true rest. Then all your own strength and force will be of no benefit; you will acknowledge that God must protect you. Therefore take warning; for your priests and people are too high, are swallowed up too much in this world. The vanities of it carry your minds away from God; your care is more for the world than for God, and more after the riches of this world than after the riches of the world that has no end. Do you not know that all your heaps of outward treasure must have an end, and that you must leave them all behind you? Therefore I am to warn and advise you, both high and low, priests and people, to come to the grace, light, and truth that comes by Jesus Christ; to the manifestation of the good spirit of God, which is given you for profit; that with this grace, truth, light, and spirit of Christ, you may turn to him from whom it comes, who said, "Learn of me;" and God said, "This is my beloved Son, listen to him." So all the children of the new covenant, that walk in the new and living way, do hear Christ their prophet, that God has raised up, and anointed to be their teacher and priest. So now, God does speak to his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days. The Lord is come to teach his people himself by his grace, light, truth, and spirit, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers, made by men since the apostles' days; who have kept people always learning, that they may always be paying of them. And he is come to bring them off all the world's religions, to the religion that he set up in the apostles' days in the new covenant, which is pure and undefiled before God in his sight, and keeps from the spots of the world. And the Lord is come to bring them off all the

world's churches, to the church in God, which Christ the heavenly man is head of; and to bring them off all the world's worships, to worship God in spirit and in truth, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. So all men and women must come to the spirit and truth in their hearts, by which they must know the God of truth who is a spirit: and then in the spirit and truth they will worship him, and know what and whom they worship. Also the Lord has come to bring his people off all the world's temples, that with the spirit they may know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Spirit. And the Lord is come to bring his people off all the world's crosses, pictures, images, and likenesses; to know that the power of God is the cross of Christ, which crucifies them to the world, and brings them up into the likeness and image of God man and woman were in before they fell; and so to Christ that never fell. This work must all know in their hearts by the light of Christ Jesus, who "is the true light that lights every man that comes into the world." It is called the light in man and woman, and the life in Christ the word; who said, "Believe in the light, that you may become children of the light." And the light lets you see all your evil actions that you have committed, your ungodly ways you have walked in, and your ungodly words and thoughts. If you hate this light, and love the darkness, and the prince of it, more than this light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of life, and will not come to it, because your deeds be evil, and it will reprove you, Christ tells you, "this light is your condemnation." Then what is all your profession good for, when you remain under the condemnation of the true light, in which you should believe, and so become children of light, and out of condemnation? Therefore, everyone must believe in the light, if they receive Christ Jesus; and to as many as receive him, he gives "power to become the sons of God." He that has the Son of God, has life; they that have not the Son of God, have not life; and if you have not life, what good does all your profession of the scriptures from Genesis to Revelation do you, any more than the Jews, scribes, and pharisees, that would not receive Christ the life, upon whom God brought his overflowing scourge. Therefore do you take heed, for your strength will be no better than theirs, if you have not God and Christ's supporting power, when God's scourge comes upon you, and you are filled with horrors and fears. My desires are, that you may all repent, from the highest to the lowest, and not grieve, nor quench, nor vex, nor rebel against God's good spirit in you, nor "walk despitefully against the spirit of grace," nor turn from it unto unrestrained behavior; which grace would teach you, and bring your salvation. If you do walk despitefully, how can you escape the overflowing scourge of the Almighty, and the wrath of the Lamb? My desires are, that you may all obey God's good spirit of truth, which will lead you out of all evil into all truth, and reprove you for your own righteousness, and for your own judgment and sin, and bring you to cleave to that which is good, to forsake that which is evil, and to turn to the Lord, who will receive you in his mercy and kindness: by which means you may escape the overflowing scourge in the day of vengeance, which dreadful day is coming upon all evildoers. This is a warning to you, both for your temporal and eternal good; for you to read in your assemblies, and your priests in their churches; so that all people may hear and fear, as you will answer it at the terrible and dreadful day of judgment.

George Fox

Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th month, 1677

For the ambassadors that are met to treat for peace at the city of Nimeguen in the States' dominions.

Christ Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Mat 5:9. So all Christian men are to forsake evil and do good, to seek peace and follow it, if they will "love life, and see good days." 1 Pet 3:11. God has called all true Christians unto peace, 1 Cor 7:15. Therefore, all Christians ought to follow this peace, which God calls them to. They should let the peace of God rule in all their hearts; which is above the peace of this world that is so soon broken. For the apostle commands the Christians to let the peace of God rule in their hearts; to which all Christians should be subject. The practice of this should be among all that profess Christianity; and this peace is above that which Christ takes from the earth. Rev 6:4. which is the peace of the wicked. The apostle said to Christians, "Be at peace among yourselves." 1 Thes 5:13. All Christians should obey this command, and be as peace among themselves; not in wars and strife. Further, the apostle exhorts Christians to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." So this unity, this bond of peace should be kept (and not broken) by all that bear that noble name, Christian. They should keep the unity of the spirit of Christ in the bond of the Prince of princes', King of kings', and Lord of lords' peace, which is the duty of all true Christians. With this they may honor Christ, in bringing forth the fruits of peace, which are love and charity. For the apostle tells you, "The fruits of the good spirit are love, joy; and peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, etc." Gal 5:22.

The apostle exhorts Christians, "If it be possible, as much as lies in you, live peaceably with all men." This should be the endeavor of all Christians. For it is no honor to Christ, that Christians should war and destroy one another that profess the name of Christ, who said, "He came to save men's lives, not to destroy them." Christians have enemies enough abroad without them, and therefore they should love one another, as Christ commands, who said, "By this you shall be known to be my disciples, if you love one another." Christians are commanded to love enemies, much more one another. And Christ said, "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you: continue you in my love." *John 15:9*. "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another." *John 13:35*. But if Christians war and destroy one another, this will make Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens say, you are not disciples of Christ. Therefore, as you love God, and Christ, and Christianity, and its peace, all make peace, as far as you have power among Christians, that you may have the blessing. You read, Christians were called the household of faith, the household of God, a holy nation, a peculiar people; and they are commanded to be "zealous for good works," not for bad. Christians are also commanded not to bite and devour one another, so that they will not be consumed one of another.

Is it not a sad thing for Christians to be biting and consuming one another in the sight of the Turk, Tartars, Jews, and Heathens, when they should "love one another, and do unto all men as they would have men do unto them?" Such devouring work as this will open the mouths of Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens to blaspheme the name of Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and cause them to speak evil of Christianity, for them to see how the unity of the spirit is broken among such as profess Christ and Christ's peace. All Christians are to mind God's and Christ's teaching, who teach Christians to love one another, yes, even enemies; and persuade kings and princes to give liberty to all tender consciences in matters of religion and worship, they living peaceably under every government; so that for the time to come there may be no more imprisonment and persecution among Christians for tender consciences about matters of faith, worship, and religion; that the Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens may not see how Christians are persecuting one another for religion. Seeing from Christ and the apostles Christians have no such command, but, on the contrary, to love one another; and knowing that Christ said to such as would have been plucking up weeds, "Let the weeds and the wheat grow together until the harvest (which is the end of the world) for fear they plucked up the wheat;" and at the end of the world Christ would send forth his angels, and they should sever the wheat from the weeds. So Christ tells you, it is the angels' work at the end of the world, and not men's work before the harvest at the end of the world. Has not all this persecution, banishing, imprisoning, and putting to death concerning religion, been the pretence of plucking up weeds? And has not all this been before the harvest, before the end of the world? Have not all these been actors against the express command of Christ, the King of heaven? All kings and rulers, especially those that call themselves Christians, should obey their Lord and Savior's command; "Let the weeds and the wheat grow together until the harvest;" and the harvest is the end of the world. Also, Christ told some of his disciples, that would have had "fire to come down from heaven, to destroy such as would not receive him (in their zeal) that they did not know what spirit they were of;" and rebuked them, saying, "He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Have all such as have destroyed men's lives concerning religion, and the worship of God, known what spirit they have been of? Have they not done that they should not do? That which Christ did forbid, who said, "for fear that you should pluck up the wheat with the weeds," and said, "It is the angels' work at the end of the world;" has not God showed unto man what is good, and his duty, "to love mercy, to do justly, and to walk humbly with his God?" which man is to mind.

And the apostle exhorts Christians to "follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." *Heb 12:14*. Why should Christians war and strive one with another, seeing they all own in words one King, and Lord and Savior Christ Jesus, whose command is, that they should "love one another;" which is a mark that they shall be known by, to be Christ's disciples, as I said before. And Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, said, "As I have loved you, so love one another." *John 15:12*. and *John 13:34*. And the apostle said, "Christians ought to be patient towards all men." *1 Thes 5:14*.

From him who is a lover of truth, righteousness, and peace, and desires your temporal and eternal good; and that in the wisdom of God, that is pure, gentle, and peaceable from above, you may be ordered, and order all things God has committed to you to his glory, and stop those things among Christians, so far as you have power, which dishonor God, Christ and Christianity!



Preface

You may find interesting three exhibits, also available on this site:

a photograph of one page of the 1911 Cambridge printed Journal -
itself being a curiosity and a bit difficult to understand.

a photograph of a page of the original manuscript,
giving you an idea of the difficulty in creating a readable Journal,
for which both Ellwood and Penney are to be congratulated and thanked.

a copy of George Fox's signature

[Click Here to See the Exhibits.](#)

INTRODUCTION

(Including the History of the Journal)

TO

THE "CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL "

In Two Volumes

Edited from the Manuscripts

by

Norman Penney, F.S.A.

Cambridge :

at the University Press

1911

(Site Editors Note: The Cambridge Journal is different from the official Journal of George Fox, published since 1694. This Journal, published in 1911, is a reconstruction from the original handwritten manuscripts of George Fox, leaving nothing out. This Introduction highlights the major omissions. When you see a reference to a changed or deleted text with (ii. 43) after it, that means Volume 2, page 43 of the Cambridge Journal. Realize, all the below speculations as to why text was

omitted, are exactly that: speculations - guesses, which are inconclusive. We have added the missing text, and where referenced in the Introduction, links to the text referenced take you directly to the text in context within the Journal, by clicking on the light blue color of text, for example, (i. 183). We also are in the process of reviewing the entire *Cambridge Journal* to include pertinent information, not referenced below, but important enough for addition to the Journal on this site. As you read the Journal on this site, text that had been omitted, but found in the *Cambridge Journal*, is included in braces {i.e., if text had been found that was omitted}. Thus, the Journal on this site is unique.

When George Fox breathed his last in the house of Henry Gouldney, the good Gracechurch Street merchant, the Quaker Society which had started on its voyage amidst the storm of persecution was already passing into quieter waters: the penalties of the old penal laws had disappeared with the Act of Toleration, and the new peace was welcome to men who had grown grey in constant imprisonments. Old critics remained active and new ones joined them: Faldo, Leslie and Bugg were writing fierce diatribes to prove convincingly that the Quakers were no Christians, but it would seem that this was no longer the generally received opinion. The mantle of respectability that has so often stifled the spirit of prophecy was already beginning to be wrapped around the Society of Friends.

Partly to guard against the danger of enthusiasm unchecked by any other than an individual sense of responsibility, partly to express the collective relationship of the Quaker Community to its preachers or "Public Friends," the practice had grown up that all printed literature of a religious character issued by Quaker writers should be first submitted to the judgment of their fellows for counsel and, if need be, for correction, by being brought before a meeting consisting of the Quaker ministers and elders able to attend it. This was held at regular intervals on the second day of the week and was known as "the Second day morning meeting" or "the morning meeting."

This body, whose minutes from its origin are still extant at Devonshire House, though possessing only a moral authority, came to exercise before long a very careful censorship over Quaker literature, and not infrequently tracts offered to it for printing, (in many cases doubtless at the general expense), were returned to their authors for correction, or after perusal by a committee were judged unsuited for publication and laid aside.

To this Meeting naturally fell the important task of editing for the press the numerous papers which George Fox left behind him, many of which he had expressly desired should be published, and chief among them the "*Great Journall*" which he had prepared with the object of giving a faithful record of his public ministry and religious experience.

There can be little doubt that the quiet years from 1675 to 1677 which he spent at Swarthmore Hall were largely utilized for gathering together scattered manuscripts, and for completing up to date this unique religious autobiography, which is supposed to have been begun during his last long imprisonment in Worcester jail in 1673-74, when his son-in-law and fellow prisoner Thomas Lower acted as his scribe. The fact that full notes of Fox's two trials at Lancaster, based on verbatim reports, occur in *The Journal*, corroborates the view that it was compiled in its present form at Swarthmore Hall.

The tradition that *The Journal* was originally dictated in Worcester jail is supported by the large number of documents relative to George Fox's trial and imprisonment there which are included in the original manuscripts.

The Journal proper ceases shortly afterwards, leaving Fox at Swarthmore Hall, and in one of the papers which follow occurs the phrase, "and still the Lord's truth is over all and His seed reigns and His truth exceedingly spreads, unto this year 1676." There were doubtless a number of short notes and letters which Fox's editor afterwards made use of, in preparing *The Journal* for the press, which have not been preserved, but it is to be regretted that for the sake of uniformity he considered it desirable to throw the record of Fox's later years into the form of narrative written in the first person, as he had done in the case of the documents from which the part of *The Journal* dealing with Fox's visit to America is compiled. Readers of the printed *Journal* must almost always have observed the marked falling off of interest in the last part of the second volume; and have felt the absence of the little vivid touches which light up the earlier pages. We now see that this later portion is not Fox's own work in the sense

that the earlier pages are, though it gives a useful summary of the activities of his later life: *The Journal* proper closes in 1675^a. It is a matter for great regret that the manuscript as we now have it lacks the opening pages, giving the account of George Fox's earlier years, and it is not too much to hope that some day these may yet be recovered; but in spite of this loss the new material provided by the portions of the manuscript omitted in previous editions is of great interest.

^a It may also be noted that the *Short Journal* closes in 1664, when Fox had been about a year in Lancaster jail.

It must not be supposed that *The Journal* as we know it from previous printed editions was prepared without much forethought, and extant records show how great was the care taken in its first publication.

It was needful that the material which George Fox had provided should be carefully edited, for the various manuscripts contained a certain amount of repetitions, while here and there persons were referred to, the mention of whose names might cause offence to living people. In 1685 Fox himself had made careful provision for the editing of his papers and for the putting together of his "*Great Journal*" and other works, noting that there were "many errors and mistakes in the printing and writing," which might be amended. By subsequent dispositions he made further provision for carrying out this intention, bequeathing his books and papers to his stepchildren William and Sarah Mead and Thomas Lower.

Site Editors Note: The author below quotes the Quakers writings back in the 17th Century with their then different than current spellings. For interest, I have retained the few of them below. You will notice that the word *the* is spelled y^e; and *them* is spelled, y^m, *that* is y^t, and *G. Fox* is spelled *G. ffox*. There are other spellings used for words, but you should be able to sound them out to recognize them. Now that you are forewarned, you will not be alarmed at the apparent typos.

The Morning Meeting had been charged by a posthumous letter of George Fox with the duty of carrying on his correspondence on religious matters with Friends in different parts of the world, and this doubtless gave it additional influence in other ways. Soon after his death the Meeting began to prepare a collection of letters and testimonies concerning Fox and to collect his letters and manuscripts from different parts of the country. On the 14th of 1 mo. 1691/2 a memorandum is entered on the minutes of the Meeting, "That it be considered and enquired into what is done and is to be done relating unto G. ffox's books and Papers." The Meeting had evidently already arranged for the editing of these, as at the next sitting (4. ii. 1692) occurs in the minutes thusly: "Steven Crisp is desired to write unto Thomas Ellwood to have an Answer from him agst ye next Meeting how ye Case of G. F.'s papers stand. And Whether a part may not be sent up for "friends here to peruse and put in print while y^e other is doing." The following week appears the entry: "Two Letters from Tho. Ellwood to Steven Crisp relateing to dear G. ffox's Journall giving an Account he hath Transcribed about 200 sheets and hath spent more time in perusall and comparing then writing, by reason whereof he hath gott no further then 1666, And desires to know whether he shall bring up what is done now or at y^e Yearly Meeting. Ye latter is agreed to because he cannot goe forward if he send y^m up. S. Crisp is desired to answer him and request him to be here some dayes before the Yearly Meeting and bring up with him by Coach or otherwise the writings."

Thus we learn that the main work of transcribing and preparing for the press the various manuscripts of which the printed *Journal* is composed had already been entrusted to Thomas Ellwood, doubtless with the concurrences of George Fox's legatees. The choice was a wise one; one of Milton's old pupil and friend was a man of considerable learning, and at his country home at Hungerhill, near Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire, he was able to give his time uninterruptedly to his task. It was no light work, involving as it did the perusal of a mass of papers and the piecing together of the disjointed documents out of which the later part of *The Journal* is composed. The Morning Meeting decided on the title of the work on the 6th of 4 mo. 1692, when it was entered in the minutes, the entry being as follows:

"The History of G. F.'s Journall and Progress in y^e Lord's Work -- Entitled the Everlasting Gospell Preacht Again And Truth's Progress in the latter dayes Powerfully Witnessed -- In The great

Labours Travells Tryalls and Sufferings, of the Antient ffaithful Servant and Minister of Christ, George ffox the Elder who departed this Life in Peace, y^e 13th day of the 11th mo. 1690/1."

Then the following Scripture text quoted on the printed title page and entry concludes, "Agreed to be put to the Press as soon as Conveniently may be."

The year 1694 came and still the work was not ready for the printed; the Meeting minutes its concern at the delay, and Friends are deputed to communicate with William Mead to urge the need of greater expedition; Mead was apparently unwilling to have the sheets read by the Meeting until his brother-in-law, Thomas Lower, should be in London; possibly wishing Lower, as Fox's original amanuensis, to have the last word in deciding the final form of the transcript ^a. At length the work was ready for perusal, and on 12th of 4 mo. 1693 we find the entry:

"The ffrriends desired by G. ff. to View his Journall are desired to meet this Afternoon at this place about fourth hour to prepare it for the view of this 2^d dayes meeting."

Then follows: 26th of 4 mo. 1693---" The Reading of G. ffox's Journall to be begun about 8th hour in the forenoon next 5th day and this Meeting Adjourns till then for the said Service."

^aThe numerous manuscripts corrections in Lower's handwriting show the care and interest with which he revised the manuscripts of *The Journal*.

Details of the revision are not recorded but doubtless many changes in the text were made by or after consulting the Morning Meeting or its committee, as is shown by the care subsequently taken by the Meeting to omit the inaccurate passage relating a narrative of Ellen Fretwell's which was printed in the earlier issues of the first edition, and for which another leaf omitting the incident was substituted in all copies which the Meeting was able to control.

On the 8th of 11 mo. 1693/4 George Whitehead reports to the Meeting that the perusal of *The Journal* for the press is complete. William Mead, who conducts the negotiations with the printer, advancing the necessary money to commence the work, is however dissatisfied with William Penn's preface, and a special meeting has to be summoned to which he and Thomas Lower are invited, to read the preface and decide whether it is to be printed with *The Journal*, or with a subsequent volume of Fox's works. After several attempts at conference however the committee had to report: "W^m Meade Refuses to hear it Read being Resolved it shall not be printed with the Journall If he can help it. It's therefore agreed to deliver it to the Author and Informe him it may be printed w^{ch} was the Agree^{mt} of this meeting formerly."

William Mead continued to be somewhat difficult to deal with, for when in a month or two's time difficulty arose as to the inaccuracy of the narrative of Ellen Fretwell and it seemed desirable to reprint the page containing it, he said he did not consider it his duty to do any more and would leave it to Friends to do as they wished.

It is probably due to his objection to the printing of Penn's preface with *The Journal* that a number of printed copies lack that noble introduction, which gives us perhaps the most striking and attractive picture of Fox left us by any of his contemporaries.

Note: Clicking on the light blue-green text, will take you to the text in the Journal, to see the omitted text in context.

It will be seen from these records that a series of editorial committees were concerned in the issue of *The Journal*, but the later minutes of the Morning Meeting show much more elaborate provision for the collection and revision of George Fox's doctrinal works and epistles which were later issued as two volumes supplementary to *The Journal*. In their case the responsibility is apparently much more widely shared, the main editorial work of *The Journal* having clearly lain with Ellwood alone. In comparing, as we are now able to do, the largest section of the original manuscript with the first printed edition, it is possible for us to realize how difficult and responsible the task was that fell to Ellwood's pen. Compression and abbreviation were a necessary part of that task, and on the whole

well carried out: the portrait which the manuscript *Journal* gives us is essentially the same as that of the printed edition, yet, in comparing the two, one is sensible that here and there the cautious care of the editor has removed some rough vigorous touch; the whole is quieter, a shade less naive, a shade nearer the conventional. Sometimes some picturesque detail which Fox had recorded disappears as unnecessary, sometimes some incident or saying which contemporaries might misunderstand is omitted; occasionally some obvious slip is corrected, and in other cases fear of political or theological misunderstanding has led to longer passages being omitted. Ellwood was evidently anxious to avoid giving occasion of attack to opponents and accordingly omits various details which might be taken to be proofs of fanaticism; instances of this are the mention of James Nayler being "under a fast fourteen days" (i. 51), Richard Hubberthorne's great fast (i. 105), Fox's "Sounding the day of the Lord" alone on the top of Pendle Hill (i. 40), and on another occasion lying out in the fields all night (i. 114), and again Solomon Eccles fasting for seven days on the voyage to America (ii. 184).¹

¹ *Site Editors Note:* If fasting is evidence of *fanaticism*, the Paul, Jesus, and Moses are guilty of fanaticism. Apparently, fasting was strange to the Mr. Harvey, (and possibly Penney in collaboration), of this preface. This indicates their spiritual immaturity and should be kept in mind as they speculate on the reasons text passages might have been omitted or changed.

Probably a like desire to avoid offence led to the omission of such a passage as Fox's severe comment on the contrast between the conduct of the Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians at their first rise and after they came into a position of authority during the Commonwealth (ii. 1).

Ellwood's Quaker caution showed itself in frequently omitting references to the continued faith of converts which it might not have been easy to verify: such phrases as "and they died in the truth," "was convinced and stands to this day," "who remains a Friend to this day," accordingly were removed by him from his printed version, and for similar reasons he omits the report of the manner of the death of John Love at Rome at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities (i. 183). A similar prudent judgment probably is accountable for the omission of several records of "Judgments" upon opponents, such as the persecuting Lord Mayor of whom George Fox wrote "and his name became a stink and the Lord cut him off" (ii. 162), or his occasional severe comments on the Puritans' abuse of their opportunities "in what they called their gospel times" (i. 237), and his belief that they would renew their persecutions if they had the power, though he gleefully adds, "But old Cain's sword and arms were taken out of his hand and Judas had lost his bag" (i. 390).

Ellwood was, it may be, too cautious in omitting more than one interesting passage which might be thought to savor of superstition, some of which may be considered evidence of an abnormal imagination, but one or two of which are surely instances of the remarkable psychic powers of spiritual insight and sympathy which we find elsewhere at work in George Fox's life. The most striking of all these passages is perhaps what follows his outburst of indignation, when a prisoner in Derby jail in 1651 at the way in which men were put to death for thefts of cattle and money: "and two men suffered for small things: and I was moved to admonish them for their theft, to encourage them concerning their suffering, it being contrary to the law of God; and a little after they had suffered their spirits appeared to me as I was walking, and I saw the men were well."

It is interesting to note that as *The Journal* was first written the words "to admonish them for their theft" were not part of the narrative; they were doubtless added later to avoid a misunderstanding of the encouragement Fox had given to these poor victims of the law. Sometimes the insight given to George Fox was more painful in character, as when he, "saw a dog like nature" in the Scottish clergyman near Staithes (i. 24), or when, as he was returning across the channel from Ireland where he had narrowly escaped arrest, he says, "but I felt the power of darkness 20 miles afterwards, as I was at sea" (ii. 47). It was more cheering "When on his American Journeyings, as he spied from his coasting vessel a strange sail which filled the sailors with alarm," he was able to say, "I felt from the Lord she was not an enemy and would do us no hurt" (ii. 247), and so too on the voyage home was cheered by a vision and intimation of like purport (ii. 254).

At another time the premonition was a warning of coming danger, as when he records upon a journey in 1656: "I then felt and saw I was a prisoner about 10 miles before I came to Ives where we was

taken" (i. 208). Sometimes the premonition concerned the public good rather than his own, as when he notes that in the year 1657 he "saw General Monk that he was as a man that bowed under O: P: [Oliver, Protector] and had a covering over him; and take away that covering and then he was the man as he was before: as he did fulfill it in a few years after" (i. 302, 303).

If Ellwood felt it wisest to omit such passages we cannot be surprised that he should have done the same with one or two curious dreams or visions recorded by Fox; his vision of the spiritual nature of the New Jerusalem during his long illness in 1671, with his warning vision during the same illness: "So in my deep misery I saw things beyond words to utter, and I saw a black coffin, but I passed over it" (ii. 169), and the still more curious dream or vision about the same period, of the woman buried in a vault with treasure beside her (ii. 175). We note that several cases of healing following Fox's ministrations are omitted by Ellwood, amongst them two cases of mad women brought back to sanity (i. 140), and another of a child "grown almost double" restored to normal life (i. 140, 141). One curious popular belief which Fox records, his editor also omitted: "and it was a noted thing generally amongst people that when I came still I brought rain, and it had been so for many years," ... "and the like observation and expectation they have beyond the seas: when there is a drought they generally look for the Quakers' general meetings for then they know they shall have rain: and as they receive the truth and become fruitful unto God they receive from Him their fruitful seasons also" (i. 273) .

Several of the most interesting passages in the manuscript *Journal* omitted in the printed editions have been made known by the remarkable series of etchings to illustrate them made by Mr. Robert Spence, the present owner of the manuscript.

In a number of cases somewhat naive records of the effect produced by Fox upon his hearers are suppressed by his editor: instances of this are such an exclamation as "this man is a pearl" (i. 340), or the trooper's statement, "here is more people flock after him than are about my Lord Protector's Court" (i. 355), or the outcry of the people as Fox is arrested in Gracechurch Street: "have a care of him, he is a princely man" (ii. 156); the statement of the old Justice in Barbados that "George Fox was a very famous man" (ii. 233); the woman who called out "he is a worthy man and worthy to be heard" (ii. 238), and Elizabeth Trelawney who said with a loud voice, "George is over all" (i. 204). Beside these passages we may also place the outcry of the crowd of hostile undergraduates at Cambridge as Fox rode unhurt through them: "O said they, he shines, he glisters" (i. 190).

At an earlier page Fox had noted: "and as I was walking I heard old people and work people to say: he is such a man as never was, he knows people's thoughts" (i. 50); as later he records of the progress of Quakerism in Monmouthshire: "the very Justices said never such a man came into their country, that had reconciled neighbor to neighbor and husband to wife, and turned many people from their loose lives" (ii. 120).

Possibly Ellwood may have felt that in passages like these an opponent would see something of egotism, and it may have been a like feeling which made him omit Fox's description of the book confiscated by the authorities while in the printer's hands: "It was such a teaching book as hardly was ever given forth" (ii. 7), or his record of Edward Burrough having said upon his death bed: "If he had been but an hour with me he should have been well" (ii. 9).

Elsewhere Ellwood's hand has smoothed away some trait of what looked like hardness, as when Fox had written "my natural father" (i. 157) or "my father in the flesh," which Ellwood simply prints as "my father" in both cases.

Site Editors Note: This is a strange editorial change, because Fox has a letter specifically to his mother and father "in the flesh," subsequently widely published also in this two volume *Epistles of George Fox*.

Opponents had scoffed at Fox's leathern dress, and probably on this account Ellwood omitted such passages as that in which a captain asked Fox in jest where his leathern breeches were: "and I let the man run on awhile, and at last I held up my coat and said here is my leather breeches which frightens

all priests and professors" (i. 52), or where again he says: "sometimes they would turn up my coat and see for my leather breeches and then they would be in a rage" (i. 170).

The account given by Fox of the reason for his marriage to Margaret Fell (ii. 154), and of the "jumble in some minds about it," may well have been omitted out of respect for her feelings, and possibly some thought of avoiding misunderstanding led the good editor also to omit the reference to Margaret Fell and her daughters joining Fox on his journey for a short time in 1663 (ii. 34), and her daughters Sarah and Susanna meeting him on another journey in 1669 (ii. 135).

For many omissions there appears to have been no other reason than the desire of abbreviation, though this sometimes involved the loss of a picturesque touch, as when the jailer at Carlisle beats Friends "as if he had been beating a pack of wool" (i. 126), or where the informer in 1670 would not tell his name when challenged, "but began to gnaw his fingers ends" (ii. 157), or again the outcry of opponents of silent Quaker meetings: "look at these people sets mumming and dunning." (ii.28)

On the other hand Ellwood had necessarily to omit many letters, some of which though of much interest were neither written by or to Fox, but to Margaret Fell by various hands, thus incidentally providing further evidence of *The Journal* having been compiled at Swarthmore Hall. Of the omitted letters by Fox the chief interest attaches to those written to Cromwell, which were probably passed over by Ellwood on political grounds; indeed the reader would probably have been content had the editor sacrificed many of the letters which he actually printed, and given us in exchange such brief incidents as that in which George Fox, who did not take tobacco, showed his "unity with the creation" by putting to his mouth the young smoker's pipe (i. 44); or where the bailiff's son at Scarborough came to dispute and spoke Hebrew to him at which, not the least daunted, Fox "spoke in Welsh to him and bid him fear God," adding for us the information "who after "became a pretty Friend." Or again such a curious incident as the omen of the owl, preceding the death of the Droitwich informer (ii. 168), or the story of the encounter between the Quaker youth and the drunken Sir Geoffrey 'Shakerley (ii. 135, 136).

There remain to be dealt with certain passages which were probably omitted by Ellwood to avoid political or theological misunderstandings and controversies.

Amongst the former may perhaps be included the interview between Fox and Sir Harry Vane at Raby Castle in 1657 (i. 312-316), which shows that Fox recognized that Vane's views at an earlier date had been more in harmony with his own (i. 313). But the most interesting are undoubtedly the series of references to Oliver Cromwell which Ellwood felt it best to omit. These passages make it quite clear that George Fox looked to Cromwell in the Protector's early years with trust and sympathy, as sent in the Providence of God for the good of the nation, and that this earlier trust was replaced by a feeling of disappointment and estrangement.

Possibly the letter immediately following that addressed "to the heads and general of the army from G. F. 1652," which begins, "Friend of the truth of God and owner and lover of it, whom God hath enlightened," was addressed to Cromwell: it is without endorsement, but its contents and the context both point to this destination.

In 1654 we find Fox sending Cromwell a brief note warning him of danger from seeming friends (i. 160): followed by the remarkable "testimony" against carnal weapons which to orthodox readers both in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries seemed proof of a disordered mind or of a claim which they deemed blasphemous (i. 161, 162). The confidence which Fox at this time set in Cromwell is shown by another letter of the same year in which he addresses him as "Dear Friend," giving him spiritual counsel and holding forth the prospect that the Protector shall "have to throw down the rubbish and quell all the bad spirits under" his "dominion," while Cromwell is promised the abiding blessing of the peace of God if he will obey the Divine guidance (i. 163-165). A little later came the interview with the Protector which Ellwood printed almost without abridgement, though he omitted the subsequent comment of Captain Drury to Fox, "and my Lord says, he says, you are not a fool; and said he never saw such a paper in his life as I had sent him before by him" (i. 168).

When George Fox writes 'again to Cromwell in 1656, "concerning doffing hats," the changed feeling

is evident: he still speaks with reverence of Cromwell's position, as he bids him "come down to the witness of God in thee," but he is now addressed not as "Dear Friend" but simply as "Friend" (i. 217-219). Fox's subsequent letter "to Oliver Cromwell and the Parliament" of 1656 contains no suggestion that their power did not rest upon a just foundation, but is a prolonged appeal to them to judge aright and to avoid persecution (i. 263-266). The tone of the letter however is one of warning, and Fox records before he inserts it "and then O: P: began to harden and several friends was turned out of their offices of Justices and turned out of the army."

The original *Journal* gives in fuller detail than Ellwood's edition does the account of Fox's warning to Cromwell not to accept the offer of the crown (" and I met him in the park and told him that they that would put him on a crown would take away his life: and he asked me, what did I say: and I said again that they that sought to put him on a crown would take away his life, and bid him mind the crown that was immortal: and he thanked me and bid me go to his house," (i. 267).

One further reference to Cromwell of a sadder nature is the passage in which Fox tells how, after the Restoration, he stood by the dishonored corpse of the great Protector at Tyburn and recalled the words of a vow of Oliver's at the time of Dunbar fight, of which we appear as yet to have no other record, that if the Lord gave him the victory he would take away tithes, "or else let him be rolled into his grave with infamy." There is little trace of George Fox's earlier feelings towards Cromwell in his grim record of the barbarous revenge of the Cavaliers: "But when the King 'Came in they took him up and hanged him: and buried him under Tyburn where he was rolled into his grave with infamy. And when I saw him hanging there I saw his word justly come upon him" (i. 385). It is a sad close to the hopes of earlier days and one cannot help feeling that the bitter memories of continual imprisonments and of the hardships suffered in a hundred jails by Quaker prisoners for conscience sake made Fox somewhat too severe on the failure of Cromwell and the Puritan leaders, though one is glad to read his words in another passage: "For we did not seek any of their places, gifts nor honors but their salvation and eternal good, both in this nation and elsewhere."

There remain to be dealt with the passages which were omitted by Ellwood to avoid theological controversy: amongst these should be also included perhaps the testimony to Cromwell already referred to, in which Fox speaks of himself as he "whom the world calls George Fox, who is the son of God, who is sent to stand a witness against all violence ... " (i. 161).

Site Editors Note: Fox's referring to himself as "*the son of God*" is the controversy: but this is just the way the Bible refers as well. (Rom 8:14, 1 John 3:2, and Phil 2:15). If am one of John Smith's five sons, and if I describe myself as "*the son of John Smith*," my description does not say I am the exclusive son of John Smith - such faulty logic being used by the critics of George Fox. Fox's other statement, "whom the world calls George Fox," is a reference to the new name that everyone is given when they enter the Kingdom of God. But to those not very familiar with the Bible, (particularly not understanding that the Kingdom, with a new name given, is possible before physical death), Fox's words can be misinterpreted. Cromwell was a great student of the Bible, and he found no offence in Fox's words, rather he raved about them, as reported by Cromwell's Captain Drury above : "and my Lord says, he says, you are not a fool; and said he never saw such a paper in his life as I had sent him before by him."

Two years earlier than this remarkable testimony of 1654 is the account of Fox's examination before Judge Fell and the Justices of Lancaster Quarter Sessions, now first published. The account was taken as Fox tells us from "an old torn book" (i. 62), which possibly may have belonged to Judge Fell himself: it was unfortunately imperfect when Fox incorporated it among the manuscripts of *The Journal* and has since then been still more injured, but in spite of this, it forms, with the document which follows it, a contribution of the highest importance to our knowledge of early Quakerism. It is clearly a transcript of verbatim shorthand notes of the examination of Fox on the charge of blasphemy, giving us a vivid picture of the bench of justices divided amongst themselves, Judge Fell and Colonel West friendly disposed to Fox and examining critically into the inconsistencies of the witnesses, or criticizing the legality of the charges brought against him, Sawrey and Dr Marshall eager to secure his conviction (i. 63-68). The importance of the whole document in casting light on the religious views of Fox during this formative period of Quaker history is the greater in that it represents a contemporary transcript of

his words and not merely his recollection of what happened twenty three years before, written down when his views had matured and the theological position of the Quakers had become more clearly defined. The leaf which immediately follows (i. 68-70) is in Fox's own hand throughout and appears to be a contemporary answer to the charges of blasphemy brought against him.

Site Editors Note: I starting including the above referenced trial transcript, but just as the controversy was heating up, the succeeding page was torn and gone, leaving the entire dialogue grossly incomplete. For that reason, I have not included it in the web version of the Journal. But I do reference Fox's controversial statements, with explanation below.

It is interesting to note that James Nayler, who takes part in the dialogue in Court, appears to be endeavoring to insist on the reality of the divine communion with the believer in a way which foreshadows those later developments which caused such bitter trouble to himself and his friends. The danger which showed itself in James Nayler's sad story had as yet clearly not been perceived by Fox; and although he does not tell us in his Journal of his own attitude having been altered by seeing the unhappy error of his friend, it is evident that he must have been profoundly affected by it. It is hardly possible to imagine him in later years using the language of the "Testimony" of 16.52, or of this examination. It is no easy task to examine today in the dry light of scientific theology the rude and artless utterances of an intense spiritual conviction which strove to give expression to a deep inward experience. Fox was no theologian trained to analyze, to explain in scientific terms these great realities of which he was conscious. He was not primarily concerned in the intellectual expression of truth, but in its realization in practical life. His words must not be taken as an accurate intelligible symbol of his thought, but rather as flashes revealing imperfectly depths that the theologian may describe but cannot fathom. We may well imagine the horror felt by the orthodox divines of George Fox's day at this new theology, which was in fact no theology at all but the imperfect attempt to express the untranslatable spiritual truths which had taken hold of his life. Some theologians may venture to step in and boldly ascend those spiritual heights where the human and Divine meet together: others will rather fence about the slopes of Sinai, and take off their shoes from their feet, knowing that they are very near to holy ground.

It remains for the future historian of the Quaker movement to take note of these landmarks in George Fox's life, reading them in connection with the large mass of contemporary correspondence preserved in the Swarthmore manuscripts now at Devonshire House.^a From these documents it is clear that many of the early Quakers, among them Margaret Fell and her family, thought and wrote of Fox at this time in a way which would hardly have been possible to themselves or other members of the Society of Friends at a somewhat later date, when the painful experience of James Nayler had taught them the danger of forgetting that the vessel in which the Heavenly Light shone was an earthen one, and fragile. "Friends keep low" became an injunction that is right and needful to accompany the exhortation to "dwell in the Light."

^aThe letter of Humphrey Norton to Fox in 1656 printed in this volume (i. 245), is an instance less strong than many in the papers here referred to of the intense and almost idolizing affection of his friends for Fox.

Site Editors Note: I think many thousands of people have grossly underestimated the measure of Christ's spirit that dwelled within Fox. There are many letters, (but very few published), which show that Fox was held in esteem by many others that I can only imagine having for Christ himself; yet the very level-headed Margaret Fell and her children held him in an esteem that I would describe as *revered*. Additionally, I would submit that though Edward Burrough was a giant among Quakers, on his death-bed, he said: "*if George Fox had been with me but one hour, I would be well;*" and in letter to Margaret Fell, another giant, Francis Howgill said this: "Salute us dearly to George Fox; one hour with him would be great joy to us." This furthers evidences that Fox's measure of Christ was beyond any of the other Quakers. What people, respected, revered, and adored was not George Fox himself, but rather the measure of Christ that walked in his body, which has been grossly underestimated by those unable to witness it themselves; believing such measure to be impossible - particularly those of swelled pride, who cannot accept the possibility of their state being so much lower than Fox's. (Or as the authors of this Introduction do, equating him with James Naylor, whose failure so greatly damaged the Quakers). So, to explain the phenomenon, Fox critics either conclude his admirers were deluded, or that Fox had some evil power to fool everyone, imagining him to be an English version of

Rasputin. Most of Fox's major writings are on this site; several of his great admirers have writings on this site: Margaret Fell, William Penn, (see his trial also), Francis Howgill, George Whitehead, Thomas Ellwood, and Edward Burrough; read and judge for yourself.

Before turning from this subject one other passage of importance should also be noticed in the account of Fox's trial at Lancaster in 1664. After the words, which Ellwood prints, " before I came to the bar [of court] I was moved to pray that the Lord would confound their wickedness and envy and set His truth over all and exalt His seed," Fox continues, " The thundering Voice said: I have glorified thee and will glorify thee again: and I was so filled full of glory that my head and ears was filled full of glory: and then when the trumpets and judges came up again they all appeared as dead men under me" (ii. 76). Evidently this was an experience which meant much more to Fox than the mere recollection of the words in the Fourth Gospel (*John xii. 28, 29*) applied to his own circumstances.

The last passage of this category is perhaps one which occurs in the account of the homeward voyage from America in 1673: Fox had noticed the sailors' dread of strange ships and prayed that they might see no more till they came to England, and adds: "and the Lord God said, 'into thy hand and power I have given thee the ship, and Paul's words came into my mind and all that is in it, that it should come safe: and I told the company that I believed in God; and when we came near home the Lord God said unto me, after he had given the ship into my hand 'canst thou give up thyself, ship and all that is in it now to be taken by the pirates, so that all the ships that are behind in Virginia and Maryland might come safe to England?' and I freely did it. And in the twinkling of an eye, it was given again and the blessed God brought us well and safe home" (ii. 254). To be captured by Algerian pirates was the fate which only too frequently befell the seventeenth century voyager; it was characteristic of the width of heart of Fox that he was ready to meet this himself, if thereby he might save from the dreaded disaster the company of unknown travelers and seamen upon the ships behind him.

The manuscript now reproduced for the first time in its entirety through the action of the authorities of the Cambridge University Press was doubtless regarded by George Fox rather as the rough material than the final form of the work to be printed after his death, but we cannot but be grateful that through the liberality of the Syndics and the loving care of its present editor it is possible for the reader to possess an exact transcript of the original work, with all its errors uncorrected. We are able thus to form an estimate of the character of George Fox and of the history of the Society of Friends during his lifetime, which no incomplete edition would give us.

Especial importance attaches to the light thrown on the earlier years of the Quaker movement by the new material now published for the first time. It has been already remarked that the deep spiritual experience through which the early Quaker preachers passed was one to which they were unable to give an adequate intellectual expression. The opposition which they encountered from the scandalized orthodoxy, which knew of no direct revelation to the individual, but could only speak of the experience of the saints in the past, was indeed inevitable, yet it was rendered stronger by the rough and imperfect language of Fox and his friends, which their opponents failed to understand.

An unprejudiced mind like that of Judge Fell might be able to discern the essential sanity of Fox, where a clerical opponent like Dr Marshall might only see madness or blasphemy;^a but we cannot wonder that there was misunderstanding. Indeed the early Quakers seem sometimes almost to have delighted, when engaged in controversy, in putting intellectual obstacles in the path of their adversaries. In the earlier years of his ministry Fox on at least two occasions asserted the Divine sonship of the believer in a way which must have given offence when left unexplained. At a later period when confronted with the danger of misconceptions as to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as held by Friends he was willing to explain with elaborate care his theological position, as his letter to the Governor of Barbados demonstrates.

^a **Site Editors Note:** In this trial, Fox had been accused by one person of saying he was equal with God, which Fox denied saying: "*That was not spoken by me that I was equal with God. He that sanctifies is one with he who is sanctified, are all of one. They are one in the father and the son, of his flesh and of his bone; and this the scripture does witness, and 'you are the sons of God,' and 'the father and the Son are one.'*"

Yet there is no sign that he disapproved of his earlier position when he came to compile his Journal, and had he done so we can scarcely imagine that he would have incorporated in it his "testimony" to Cromwell and the account of his trial before the Lancaster Justices without adding some word of explanation.

Site Editors Note: Since Fox was in the Kingdom at the time he spoke the original words, and since he said many, many times that he spoke "the Word of the Lord," it is hardly surprising that Fox did **not** subsequently modify his original words, for God, nor those who truly speak words from God, do not speak inaccurately so that their statements need later modification. Mr. Harvey, the author of this Introduction, clearly does not grasp the possibility of someone on this earth being in the Kingdom of God, being one with Christ and the Father, being in the recognized presence of God, hearing God's words, and then speaking the Word of God to those around him; yet this is exactly what the Apostles did, and Fox consistently and repeatedly claimed to be in the same spirit as the Apostles.

In conclusion we may ask ourselves how far The Journal as we now possess it enables us to form an accurate portrait of Fox as a man. We gain many little details which hitherto were lacking; here and there we may regret a certain note of seeming harshness, or what appears to be too great an insistence on Fox's personal part in the story. But this is more than counterbalanced by the intense reality of all the narrative: it is instinct with a sense of truthfulness. Fox was not one of those great souls who do not realize their strength; he was too sincere to hide what he saw and did in any cloak of mock humility, and there is no trace of this in his Journal. But that he was truly humble of heart when face to face with the eternal realities we can realize as we read Penn's memorable words: "***Above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fullness of his words have often struck, even strangers, with admiration The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer.***" Nor was this inward attitude without its reflection in the ordinary intercourse of George Fox with his fellows, of which Penn wrote: "***He was of an innocent life, no busy body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical. . . So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company.***"

In one other most important respect the portrait of George Fox given us in his Journal is incomplete and must be supplemented by contemporary correspondence and the evidence of those who knew him. We realize, as we read his narrative, something of the magnetic power which attracted his hearers, but only here and there have we a glimpse of that tender side of his nature of which we read elsewhere. "Dear George" he was to a wide circle of friends, both before and after his death, and even the cold minutes of the Morning Meeting use the words "dear George Fox" to express the feeling which intuitively came to men's minds at the thought of their dear elder. Hardly more than a hint is given in The Journal of his strong family affection. His mother, to whose sickbed he was journeying in 1673 when he was arrested and thrown into Worcester jail, 'was so closely bound to her son that she did not survive the shock of the news,' (a fact which we now learn for the first time); his stepdaughters and their husbands all loved and revered him, habitually writing of him as their father; his wife's deep affection for him is well known, while The Journal scarcely alludes to their married life, and we have to turn to private letters and papers which still survive amongst the Swarthmore manuscripts and elsewhere, for a record of the warm love which united husband and wife. We may regret that Ellwood only quotes a few of the letters written by Fox to his "Dear Heart," as he called her, and that he could find no place for any other record of their happy family life. But this was indeed inevitable from the nature of The Journal, which was never intended to be an autobiography in the full sense of the word. Yet if the picture which The Journal gives is necessarily incomplete, it is more living and convincing than many a fuller portrait of themselves which other writers have left. As we read its pages there stands out clearly before us the great, strong personality of its writer, with all his shrewdness and simplicity, his untiring devotion to his message and his power of passing it on to others. The prophet's fire, the wise man's counsel, stirring record of hardships bravely borne, quaint and homely touches of human kindness, all are here.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

1. HISTORY.

The various documents reduced to print in the following pages originally formed part of the collection of manuscript accumulated and preserved at Swarthmoor Hall, in Furness, North Lancashire, the home of the Fell family and also of George Fox after his marriage with Margaret Fell.

From the beginning of her connection with the Quaker movement, Margaret Fell carried on an extensive correspondence with the traveling ministers and others who needed advice or who desired to inform her of the progress of their work, and, fortunately for the historian, large numbers of these letters and of other documents were carefully laid by in the muniment [a fortified strong room] room at the Hall. At the death of Margaret Fox (formerly Fell), these Swarthmoor Papers were safeguarded by the youngest daughter, Rachel, and her husband, Daniel Abraham, who resided at Swarthmoor, and, later, they came into the possession of John Abraham, their only surviving child.

At the sale of the Swarthmoor estate in 1759, the Papers were dispersed among various members of the family; portions of the collection are still in the possession of John Abraham's descendants and others of the family.

3. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

It has generally been stated that The Journal was written in Worcester Jail, during the imprisonment of George Fox and Thomas Lower, between Tenth Month, 1673, and Twelfth Month, 1674/5. Charles J. Spence writes, "There can be little doubt that the Journal was dictated by George Fox to his son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and there is some evidence in its arrangement which would show that it was one of the many writings undertaken during the long imprisonment at Worcester, where Thomas Lower was his constant companion" (Essayist and Friends' Review, 1893). We know that the Worcester imprisonment was a time of active literary work (see ii. 311, 485). Lower wrote to his wife from Worcester, xi. 1673 (Jan. 1673/4), "It is much as I can do to get a little spare time ... by reason of the many visitors we have, and the many papers to write" (Webb, Fells, 1865, p. 287). From internal evidence (i. 41. 2), The Journal could not have been written before August, 1674, which leaves three months only between that time and the date of Lower's departure shortly before Fox's liberation in the following February. Fox states that he was sent forth to preach the gospel "& have continued in it this 27 yeere" (i. 250), which would place the date of this writing in 1674 or early in 1675, if we reckon 1647 as the opening year of his ministry.

It is quite possible that some preparatory work may have been done at Worcester, but, from the internal evidence, it is clear that The Journal could not have been completed before Fox's release in 1674/5.

(a) ii. 105. 3-Barbara Fleming died in April, 1675.

(b) i. 111. 2, 292-John Wilkinson died xi. 1675.

(c) ii. 312-In the margin of a numbered page appears the date 1676, written, apparently, at the same time as the rest of the page.

(d) ii. 325-" now 1676." The Annals for the years 1649 to 1657 are written on pages numbered on, following the close of the narrative portion, but the style of Lower's hand is somewhat different.

(e) ii. 338. 3-This survey of the rise and progress of Truth appears to have been written about the same time as the narrative (the watermark of the paper is the same), and it closes with "this yeere 1676."

(f) ii. 312-The latest date of the tracts referred to here on numbered pages as written at Swarthmoor is Seventh Month, 1676 (but see ii. 312. 15).

There is no evidence of a break which might indicate a change of locale. It is not likely that Fox would have with him in Worcester the various papers referred to in the earlier portion of the narrative (i. 62, 116, 163) as then at hand. It seems, therefore, more probable, in default of any known external evidence, that the whole of the narrative portion was written at Swarthmoor during the leisure of Fox's visit there from iv. 1675 to i. 1677, when surrounded by many important personal and literary helps and in harmony with his own statement, "As many things lay upon me to Write, both for publick and private Service, I did not stir much abroad ... but when Friends were not with me spent pretty much time in writing Books and Papers for Truth's service" (printed editions).

Site Editors Addendum : I also understand that Fox, long before his death, had already selected Ellwood to be his Journal's editor and that Ellwood was one of those who spent several months with Fox in close consultation at Swarthmore. Fox is also recorded as staying at Ellwood's residence in his travels. This would account for the many letters and the statements not in the handwritten Journal, but which were provided by Ellwood for publication.

This series of manuscripts has, according to the historical account before given, been preserved in its present condition for many years. C. J. Spence writes, "The Journal proper has only once been opened to the printer since it was originally edited for the first folio of 1694. This was in the course of a controversy which divided the Society in the former half of the present century [the Beaconite Controversy, 1836]. Access to the manuscripts was then allowed to some of the disputants, and careful search was made for any matter calculated to impair the authority of the early Friends" (Essayist and Friends' Review, 1893). One of the above "disputants" was Elisha Bates, of Ohio, U.S.A., who issued An Appeal to the Society of Friends, in 1836 (i. 425). In an introduction to this pamphlet by Robert Benson, he states: "That they [The Journal MSS.] are genuine is a fact which admits of no doubt They carry with them undeniable evidence to this effect, both internal and external."

4. AUTHENTICITY.

There is no doubt that the narrative portions of the manuscripts (with the exception of p. 17 to the middle of p. 20 and, perhaps, also of the lost sixteen pages) were written by Thomas Lower (1633-1720), stepson-in-law of George Fox. They are in the same hand as in many papers and letters signed by him, extant in D. and elsewhere, and it is well known that he was with George Fox in Worcester and also at Swarthmoor, near which latter place he had a residence.

The writer of the first few pages is not known, but the paper used has the same water-mark as that on which Lower continues and Lower has added to and corrected these pages. The writing on the numbered sheets was probably done at fairly consecutive periods, bearing evidence of hurry as if the matter was dictated, and then, later, these sheets received correction and addition by Lower, in a smaller and more upright style. Except in about a dozen places, by at most two contemporary hands (i. 135 n., 137 n., 182 n., 285 n., 288n., 299n.; ii. 1 n., 36n., 80n., 130n., 165n., 170n.), Lower's work has not been altered; many of the addenda documents are endorsed by Lower, and there are evidences in many of them of his corrections and additions (see e.g. i. 1. 2, 2. 1, 68. 3, 72. 1, 75. 1, 299. 1, 357. 2, 367. 1, 375. 1, 381. 5; ii. 48. 1, 85.1, 105. 1, 170. 3, 187.1, 288.2).

Contrary to general expectation, there is very little of Fox's own writing in his Journal. One paper only was completely written' by him (i. 68. 3) and only occasionally do a few words of his appear (i. 343. 1; ii. 105. 1, 159. 1, 288. 4), but many papers and letters received his endorsement (see e.g. i. 5. 1, 68. 3, 77. 1, 116. 2, 120. 1, 178. 1, 206. 1, 239. 1, 263. 3, 301. 1, 372. 3; ii. 20. 1, 43. 1, 57. 1, 72. 1, 102. 1, 2, 159. 1, 196. 2, 256. 1, 265. 5, 268. 2, 296. 2, 309. 1, 327. 2). The only place where the handwriting of both Fox and Lower appears on the same sheet (except in endorsements) is ii. 105. 1.

Excluding autograph letters and the testamentary papers, it is computed that the two volumes contain about fifty different hand writings (thirty in one and twenty in the other). Among the writers identified are Sarah Fell, Bridget Fell, Ellis Hookes, Gervase Benson, John Stubbs, Richard Richardson, Mark Swanner. There is no appearance of modern handwriting on any of The Journal manuscripts

The Journal as here printed bears little, if any, evidence of having been preceded by any form of diary, regularly written up, although Ellwood states that Fox "himself kept a Journal" (Ellwood edition at end), but when dictating his life history Fox was, doubtless, able to avail himself of notes of travel and other documents including original letters. Memoranda in Fox's writing are preserved in D., but most of these refer to events later than 1675 and include the "Little Journall Books" mentioned, (ii. 348). Numerous documents and letters are found among The Journal manuscripts, which were referred to in the compilation of The Journal (see i. 63, 67, 68, 160, 299, 367, 375, 378; ii. 43, 48, 57, 60, 72, 85-89, 102, 137, 159, 176, etc.).

In addition to the above sources, there is, in D., a manuscript endorsed by Fox, and usually known as the Short Journal, which contains an orderly record of his work and suffering to the year 1664. William C. Braithwaite, in his forthcoming work, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, cites some passages from it and notes the similarity between these and passages in the "Great Journall."

5. PREPARATION FOR THE PRESS.

In his testamentary dispositions George Fox makes mention of "ye *great Journall* of my Life, Sufferings, Travells, and Imprisonments" (ii. 347), doubtless in reference to the preceding dictated narrative, and he appoints certain Friends to attend to the printing of the same. In the minutes of the Morning Meeting (the body of Friends appointed to examine MSS. [manuscripts] and approve or disapprove of the printing of the same), soon after Fox's death, we learn that the work of transcription for the press was undertaken by Thomas Ellwood, and in Second Month, 1692, Ellwood states that he "hath Transcribed about 200 sheets" and "gott no further then 1666." Two months later a minute recites the proposed title for the work—"The History of G. F.'s Journall and Progress in ye Lord's Work-Entituled The Everlasting Gospell Preacht Againe And Truth's Progress in these latter dayes Powerfully Witnessed-In The great Labours Travells Tryalls and Sufferings, of The Antient ffaithfull Servant and Minister of Christ George ffox the Elder, who departed this Life in Peace, ye 13th day of the 11th mo. 1690/1." There were many delays, however; the transcription took a longer time to finish than was anticipated and before the "copy" was committed to the printer, it was carefully read and re-read in order, as Ellwood writes, "That nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor any thing inserted fit to be left out" (Barclay, *Letters*, p. 213; see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1902), so that, as William Penn put it, "It might not sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears." One object of the present work is to present The Journal as first written, not as smoothed and modified by Ellwood and the editorial committees. "The native greatness of Fox asserts itself convincingly through all the ruggedness of the Great Journal and if there are touches of self-importance and extravagant mystical language, we feel that they too, under the conditions of the age, are a natural part, such as we should expect to find, of his commanding personality." (W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*).

Further evidence that the Spence manuscripts formed the basis of the Ellwood edition is to be found in the change of style noticeable in the latter at about the year 1675, when the "Great Journall" closes, there being from that time a preponderance of epistolary matter and mere itinerary, as to which Ellwood writes, "So five years remain still to be digested, yet being the latter part of his time they will yield less matter than the former years have done" (Barclay, *op. cit.* p. 213).

6. PRINTED EDITIONS.

The Journal thus edited, appeared in 1694 (see thereon ii. 109. 4, 349. 2).

Subsequent editions were brought out in England in 1709, 1765, 1827, 1836, 1852 and 1891 (with reprints in 1901 and 1902) and in America in 1800, 1808, 1831 and 1833, but the original manuscripts do not appear to have been consulted in the preparation of any of these later editions.

7. COLLATION WITH PRINTED EDITIONS.

Considerable care has been exercised in the collation of the manuscript Journal with the Ellwood version, and an attempt has been made to distinguish the matter omitted from the latter, and

therefore printed for the first time, by enclosing it within brackets.

A study of these omissions enables us to classify them roughly, as follows:

Personal references to Fox, mostly laudatory: i. 1, 2, 13, 15, 20, 26, 41, 43, 50, 52, 61, 62, 107, 114, 125, 140, 162, 168, 185, 190, 204, 208, 267, 273, 274, 276, 307, 340, 355; ii. 7, 9, 22, 27, 76, 78, 98, 112, 120, 132, 147, 154, 156, 165-167, 169, 175, 222, 230, 232, 233, 238, 310.

Statements made, but doubted or disproved later: i. 9, 14, 39, 107, 149, 180, 181, 184, 187, 189, 190, 194, 196, 200, 201, 205, 210, 231, 242, 243, 255, 269, 308, 310, 353; ii. 33, 284

Curious customs, superstitions, statements, etc.: i. 17, 38, 108, 126, 260; ii. 9, 166, 168, 170.

Difficult readings: i. 21, 90, 157, 248, 343; ii. 104, 210, 293.

Omission of names, in some cases those of ex-Friends: i. 10, 40, 44, 56, 198, 245, 291, 308, 357, 386; ii. 3, 124, 125, 133, 156, 158, 162, 169, 176, 197, 212, 262, 312.

Omission of dates: i. 2, 24, 55, 139, 148, 160, 165, 180, 182, 211, 261, 317, 348, 389; ii. 10, 72, 91, 119, 222-239, 284, 285, 310.

Statements regarding persons for various reasons undesirable to print: i. 29, 41, 44, 51, 79, 166, 2, 181, 183, 231, 245, 302, 343, 360, 384; ii. 1, 4, 8, 42, 162, 163, 284.

References to documents omitted from Ellwood Edition : i. 62, 79, 360; ii. 19, 24, 56, 57, 80, 84, 102, 106, 176, 262, 284 ..

References to contemporary literature: i. 197, 208, 214; ii. 3, 196, 313.

Lengthy omissions from narrative portion: i. 140 f., 285 ff., 312 ff.; ii. 135 f., 153 ff.

It must be borne in mind by those who use this edition of *The Journal of George Fox* that it is the reproduction in print of a certain collection of manuscripts and is not based upon editions of *The Journal* previously printed, and especially that the text of this edition covers the period of Fox's life from 1650 to 1675 only.

8. NOTE RESPECTING THE CALENDAR.

It may be well to mention that, until the year 1752, what is known as the Julian Calendar, under which the year began on the 25th of March, was in use in the British Isles, while other nations of Western Europe computed the year according to the Gregorian Calendar, which made the year begin on the 1st of January. For more than a century before the latter Calendar was introduced, the dates from 1 January to 24 March inclusive were often given according to both Calendars, thus-16 January, 1656/7. (But the Quakers would write 1st mo. 1656/7, leaving out the month name of the pagan god.)

Those writers who discarded the names of the months some of which had a pagan origin, and who described the months by number, began the year with March and called the whole of that month First Month, although, according to the Julian reckoning, only the last seven days formed part of the new year. Friends followed the lead of some other nonconforming bodies, hence the right understanding of this method of reckoning is essential to the student of the first hundred years of Quaker history.

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<To William Penn's Introduction>

The Missing Cross to Purity

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EXHIBITS

In y^e Quakerswritings of y^e17th Century, they used older spellinge conventions.

You will notice that the word *the* is spelled y^e ; and *them* is spelled, y^m, *that* is y^t ,
and *G. Fox* is spelled *G. ffox*.

There are other spellings used for words, but you should be able to sound them out to recognize them.
Below is a printed page from Penney's *Cambridge Journal*.

1652]

Major Bousfield

41

they gott mee Into ye house & I declared ye truth to y^m
& askinge y^m questions about there religions & worshipps: &
they had mee Into a parlor & lockt mee in: & saide I was
a younge man y^t was madd & was gott away from my rela-
tions & they woulde keepe mee till they coulde sende to my
relations but I convinced y^m of y^t & they lett mee foorth:
& they woulde have had mee to have stayde: but I was not

& they would have had mee to have stayde. but I was not to stay: but admonished y^m & turned y^m to ye light of Christ by which they might come to see there salvation.

Soe in ye night I came to a litle alehouse where there was {a company} drinkeinge & because I woulde not drinke with y^m they gott uppe Clubbs & was strikeinge att mee in a rage: & when I had cooled y^m & warned y^m I walkt out upon ye common in ye night & one of ye fellows came out with [a bacch of] knives [by his syde] & under pretence y^t hee woulde have whisperd with mee: but I kept him off & warned him to repent: soe ye Lord preserved mee by his power from him & hee went Into ye house againe & ye next morninge I passt away: & came through other dales & warned & exhorted people to repent & turne to ye Lorde & severall was convinct {& I came to one house a kinsman of Jo: Blayklinges & hee woulde have given mee money but I woulde not receive it}.

Soe I came through ye dales to Major Bosfeilds¹ where hee & severall more received mee there & some was convinced {& stands to this day: & I passed through Grysdale & severall other of those dales: where some was convinct}.

But before I came to Major Bosfeilds I came to a mans house one Tennants² & I was moved to speake to y^m & as I

house one Tennants² & I was moved to speake to y^m & as I was turninge away from y^m I was moved againe to turne againe & to declare Gods everlastinge truth to him & hee was convinct & his family & lived dyed in ye truth: & after this I went Into Dent where many was convinct {alsoe}.

And from Major Bosfeilds I came to Rich: Robinsons: [& as I was passinge alonge ye way I askt a man which was Rich: Robinsons: & hee askt mee from whence I came & I tolde him from ye Lorde] & soe when I came in to Rich. Robinsons I declared ye everlastinge truth to him [& yett a {dark} Jealosye risse uppe in him after I was gonne to bed y^t I might bee some body y^t was come to robbe his house {& hee lockt all his doores fast}].

Exhibit 1.

Vol I, Page 41, of the 1911 Cambridge Journal

(Note: Fox above, even declines an unsolicited gift of money, evidently having no need of it; further evidence of his faithfulness to Jesus' command: freely you have received, freely give.)

Below is a photograph of a page from George Fox's original

handwritten Journal.

The notations to the side are Chapter and Verse of the Bible, which supported his recordings.

1
1 Cor 16 16
2 Peter 1 4
John 3 31
1 John 6 3 5
2 Cor 10 16
1 Cor 10 16
Hebrews 11 3
1 Peter 3 0

1
2
3
a
b
c

Specimen of the Writing of George Fox. (See I. 68.)

Exhibit 2.

A Photograph of Page of the Original Handwritten Manuscript of George Fox.

He was careful to never contradict scripture and to reference scripture as the validity of his message.



Exhibit 3.
A Sample of George Fox's Very Beautiful Signature