

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
GEORGE FOX

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES, AND LABOUR OF LOVE, IN  
THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF THAT EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT  
OF JESUS CHRIST, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE, IN GREAT PEACE WITH  
THE LORD, THE 13TH OF THE 11TH MONTH, 1690.

SEVENTH EDITION— IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH NOTES—BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL, ETC.

BY

WILSON ARMISTEAD

UNABRIDGED AND UNEDITED — 1852 EDITION

## A NOTE ABOUT THIS VERSION

Since the original publication of *The Journal of George Fox* in 1694, many abridged memoirs and shortened journals have appeared at various times and in various forms. The version you are now reading is the complete, original, two-volume journal (first compiled and edited by Thomas Ellwood), which was divided into chapters, and supplied with numerous historical and biographical footnotes by William Armistead (in 1852). This document has not been abridged or edited in any way, except (as far as I am aware) for slight modernizations of spelling done by Armistead himself. There is, however, a substantial supplement appended to this document, from which I removed the lengthy “Chronological Register of the Places Visited by the Author,” and the “Texts of Scripture Occurring in This Journal.”

This edition is in public domain, and PDF scans of the two volumes are available online. This particular copy was obtained by copying the text from PDFs, pasting into a word processor document, and then formatting the text and fixing the thousands of errors that inevitably result from this process. Most errors have been found and fixed (by comparing them to the text of a printed copy), but there are doubtless some that have been missed.

Volume I and II are combined in this one document.

Jason R. Henderson  
May, 2018

Before beginning, I'd like to recommend to you not to overlook Armistead's interesting and valuable footnotes, and to suggest a quick perusal of the terms defined below.

### Short Glossary of Terms:

**Papist** – Roman Catholic

**Popery** – Roman Catholicism

**Professor** – One who professes faith in Christ. This word has nothing to do with teachers or scholars.

**Want** or **wanting** – Lack or lacking (i.e. “God's manifest love was not wanting.”)

**Principle** – This word is often used to denote the Seed or Word or Measure of Christ's Spirit or Grace sown in the heart of man.

**Suffer** – Often means to allow or permit. (i.e. He would not suffer me to enter.)

**Conversation** – A person's conduct, manner of living.

**Loath** – Reluctant or unwilling (i.e. “He was loath to go with me”)

**To Own** – To acknowledge, approve, recognize (i.e. “We could not own him as one of us”)

**Forms** – Outward ceremonies, structures, ordinances, practices in religion.

**Premunire** – Premunire was a legal judgment designed to disenfranchise those who refused to formally swear allegiance to the King of England. Those under a sentence of premunire were considered traitors to their country. They lost all rights to property and possessions,

were removed from under the kings protection, and were often imprisoned for life.

**Assizes** – Court sessions

**Mittimus** – Court Order

**Apostasy** – falling away, departure, desertion of original Christianity.

**Viz.** – Namely, i.e.

**Physic** – Medicine

**Conventicle** – An unlawful religious gathering

**Naked Rapier** – An unsheathed dagger or sword

**Victuals** – Food

**Writ of *Habeas Corpus*** – A legal recourse in law through which a person can report and possibly be liberated from an unlawful detention or imprisonment.

# VOLUME I

## INTRODUCTION TO THE SEVENTH EDITION

The present re-issue of the *Journal of George Fox* has, in a great measure, resulted from the concern of a Friend lately deceased, who was actively engaged in the last edition, and who provided a handsome sum towards the further republication of this valuable Testimony to the Truth.

Assisted by the above bequest, and prompted by the encouragement of many Friends, the Editor of this Seventh Edition of the Journal has endeavoured to increase its usefulness by issuing it in a manner considerably more adapted, than heretofore, for general usefulness, and calculated, he hopes, to insure a still more extended circulation.

In printing from the last edition (which was collated with the first and third), some further slight improvements in the style have been made, and redundancies omitted, with an occasional transposition in the construction of a sentence, or the omission or insertion of a word to impart clearness to the sense of the author, care being taken in every instance not in the least to misrepresent his meaning. In addition to this, the work has now, for the first time, been divided into chapters; a general table of contents has been supplied; and a considerable number of Notes, chiefly biographical and historical, have been added, which must materially increase its interest.

Though highly approved as a standard work, there is reason to believe that the *Journal of George Fox* has not obtained that attention which its real worth justly demands, even from the members of the Society which the author was so eminently instrumental in forming. Let those who have not perused it be induced to make themselves acquainted with its contents; and may those who are of ability, be stimulated to expend a portion of their means in promoting the circulation of a work recording the labours of so eminent a servant of the Lord, concerning whom the following character was given by one of his contemporaries—not the less truthful and applicable from having been often quoted—that “He was indeed a heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things. He was valiant for the Truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immovable as a rock.”

The many and important truths unfolded in this work, though conveyed in a style not always suited to the taste of the present day, will, if patiently and seriously perused, amply compensate the reader, of whatever denomination, for the time and attention he may bestow upon it. Sir James Mackintosh says, it “is one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world, which no reader of competent judgement can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer;” and Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria* observes: “There exist folios on the human understanding, and the nature of man,

which would have a far juster claim to their high rank and celebrity, if, in the whole huge volume, there could be found as much fulness of heart and intellect, as bursts forth in many a simple page of George Fox.”

In every point of view, George Fox was a character of no ordinary rank. Though a stranger to the polish of human learning, he possessed a truly enlightened mind, connected with sound practical knowledge; and fearlessly inculcated, amongst persons of all ranks, sentiments and views on various points, equally conducive to the immediate comfort, and to the amelioration and advancement of the various classes of civil society. These views, though then rejected by many as visionary, have since met with very general acceptance, and in some cases have even obtained the favourable attention of government.

But what is of still more importance, he was well taught in the school of Christ. He was thoroughly versed in the Holy Scriptures, which, to use his own expression, were “very precious” to him, and he always held them in high estimation. He firmly believed in the Son of God—in the atoning efficacy of his sacrifice upon the cross, and in all his offices and works both *for* us, and *in* us; and, by obedience to the Light of Life, the illuminating, renovating power of the Holy Spirit—to Christ in his spiritual appearance, he realized in himself the benefits conferred upon mankind by the sufferings and death of the Saviour. By a variety of preparatory baptisms, he was, on the one hand, given to see the depths of Satan, and on the other, richly instructed in the mysteries of the everlasting kingdom of God. Thus trained and exercised he became abundantly furnished, and qualified to enter upon the arduous service, to which he believed himself Divinely called; and proved himself to be, as his Journal largely testifies, “a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.”

Contemplating the character of George Fox in this twofold light, the Editor may, in conclusion, say with his predecessors, that he “indulges a hope that the history of the author's life, written by his own hand, unfolding the energy and operation of that grace by which he was what he was, will be found interesting to persons of every class, especially to the really religious of whatever denomination, and still more peculiarly so to those who profess to believe in the same doctrines he was engaged so strenuously in preaching. To the promulgation of these doctrines he steadily devoted upwards of forty years of his life—a life which exhibited throughout 'an example of suffering affliction, and of patience;' evincing him to be, both in principle and in practice, a genuine disciple of his crucified Lord—a real CHRISTIAN.”

WILSON ARMISTEAD

Leeds, 1852.

P. S.—The Editor is also desirous of directing the special attention of the reader to the admirable Preface to this work, by William Penn.

## THE PREFACE

BEING A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE DIVERS 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

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Divers 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, the emblem of himself, as a God on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: 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 jar in the whole frame, 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; yea the air, the earth, the water, and fire worshipped, praised, and exalted his power, wisdom, and goodness! O holy sabbath! O holy day to the Lord.

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity; and so fell below it, lost the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled 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 that made him, had pity on him; for He seeing he was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtilty 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 found out 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; that as by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power; and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, 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 that ever feared God: present with them in their temptations, He followed them in their travels and afflictions,

and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this, Abel's heart excelled Cain's, Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this 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 benighted state of man, after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the Scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, etc. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore 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 built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood, and external rites and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in him, in whom it was Yea and Amen; even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the height of the Mosaical dispensation, and which ended in John's ministry, the forerunner of the Messiah, as John's was finished in him, the fulness of all. And God, that at sundry times and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke then by his Son Christ Jesus, who is heir of all things; being the gospel day, which is the dispensation of sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now, the Spirit, that was 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, or but 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) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now, the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peace-makers, 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 grew out of date, and the New Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped, above other places; for, behold, he is 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 flew away, 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 were expired in and by

Him that is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and appointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's Light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened 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 such "put on Christ," the light of the world, "and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the Light, Spirit, and Grace that comes by Christ, and appears in man, was what the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advised them not to quench the Spirit, but wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God; "born, not of flesh and blood, or 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: the way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles' days, 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 them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time; that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair show in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the Cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw beyond it a more 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 apace into outsides, as days, and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed what they could, 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 the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto 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 voluntary humility. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it: in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in them which they resisted in themselves, viz., the Light, Grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Though Christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature, meek, gentle, and forbearing; and consists of faith, hope, and charity, which no perse-



cutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind or persecute his body for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair. But though she lost her nature, she would keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful; constraining all to receive her mark, either in the forehead, or right hand, publicly or privately: but in deed and in truth she was Mystery, Babylon, the mother of harlots: mother of those that, with all their show and outside of religion, were adulterated and gone from the Spirit, nature, and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, etc., which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary, and lonely state; hidden, and as it were out of sight of men, though not out of the world: which shows that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgement of the Holy Ghost; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return, but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the Reformation, as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation, that had been begun with spiritual weapons; which I have often thought has been one of the greatest reasons the Reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion; for whilst 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 such as, one might reasonably say, should be saved. For they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful under it, being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands, that inflicted their sufferings upon them; and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall by the very same way they took to stand. In doctrine, they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme they ran into another; and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of man than of God. They owned the Spirit, Inspiration, and Revelation indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the Scriptures of Truth; and this was their plea, the Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition, and art, that remained both in praying and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers, especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased among us, to shift from vessel to vessel: and the next remove humbled the

ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechising children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public.

But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple; and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select. They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves of such as could give some account of their 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 recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terror of its judgements and punishments; by which the former party would have terrified people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophesy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor (whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate), if such found anything pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity; persons of any trade, be it never so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches, and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and which was yet worse, turned some of them absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace; which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water—another baptism, as believing they were not scripturally baptized; and hoping to find that presence and power of God in submitting to that' ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people made also profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity but use of all human learning as to the ministry; and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men; and for a time they seemed like John 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 contradiction: but that which others fell by, proved their hurt. For worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them, what they would do if they had more; and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to 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. Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; insomuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a

shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find Him (as their souls desired to know him) whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach, at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do; but waited together in silence, and as anything rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a divine spring, so they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, and circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Banters, from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit, the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending in excuse thereof that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind, and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make sin superabound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness, a securer way of sinning than before; as if Christ came not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss, as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

It was about that very same time, as you may see it in the ensuing annals, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the Word of Light and Life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say, Glory be to the name of the Lord for ever!

For as it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so what people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry found within; where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz., 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 in all, and God's talent to all; a faithful and true witness and just monitor in every bosom; the gift and grace of God to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, and overcome with

blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names or opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestation of God's power and Spirit in man in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians: not unlike those Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas, he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and lesser with rage, and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony strait and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort, and establish, the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven; help only from above: seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand, 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 efficacy upon their souls, than they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power, and with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And truly, they were very many and very great; so that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them; but that 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 Him with whom they had to do." And that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory; insomuch that if ever any people could say in truth, "Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight," these people had right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burthens 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 thereof, what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it; viz., the way to peace with God; inviting them to come and see and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as 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 quicken, convince, and sanctify man; so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for; how they might know it from

their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one; and what it would do for all those, whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world and its lifeless ways and teachers, and 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; giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works; that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness, overrun with briers and thorns, might 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 experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance, and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened; so that 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 the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness; and by the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the Truth through their testimony in ministry and sufferings, insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase; notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumours, calumnies, and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them; so that they seemed indeed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings from professors as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as from the rabble that it may well be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious seed, the seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, the finest, the highest that man's wit can use, but in power; the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rub angels above, and men below; who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned through their ministry from darkness to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way, bringing people to a weighty, serious, and god-like conversation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this secret Divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this generating and begetting power and life, is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries that have been, and are in the world, bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of

this! My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O that they were wise! O 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; the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among the people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric; and to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz., the Light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, Repentance from dead works to serve the living God; which comprehends three operations, first, a sight of sin; secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for it; thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow came amendment of life; which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ, the alone propitiation; and to the sanctification or purgation of the soul from the defiling nature and habits of sin present; which is justification in the complete sense of that 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 hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling of all true Christians, viz., perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of Truth, which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was 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.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth; teaching everywhere, according to their foundation, that unless this work were known, there was no inheriting of the kingdom of God.

Third, to an acknowledgement of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable; who for about forty years have been exceedingly great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases, treated worse than the worst of men, yea, as the refuse and offscouring of all things.

This was the purport 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; that has been long lost by men's departing from that principle and Seed of Life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of; and in and by which only he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and

worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; so that which they pressed, was not notion, but experience, not formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgements, 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 efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples. As,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them. "They will meet, they will help and stick one to another." Whence 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, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised; for they did not only refuse to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as of an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them; of which many and singular instances might be given; endeavouring, through patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian for others to follow.

III. The sufficiency of truth-speaking, according to Christ's own form of words, of Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, among Christians without swearing, both from Christ's express prohibition, "Swear not at all," Matt. v.; and for that they 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 veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking; but offering at the same time, to be punished to the full, for false speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting but suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people; they affirm that Christianity teacheth people "to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to learn war no more, so that 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 on with other weapons. Thus, as truth-speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and truth succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, since if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to the state; nor is it reasonable that

people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do 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 that, not only for fear, but for conscience' sake, where government doth 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 rigour than any other persuasion in this age; whilst 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 part of the character of this people is, they refuse to pay tithes, or maintenance to a national ministry, and that for two reasons; the one is, that they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received, freely give;" at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts; so that it is not matter of humour or sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect; though to virtue and authority they ever made a difference, but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way; well remembering the example of Mordecai and Elihu, but more especially the command of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who forbade his followers to call men Rabbi, which implies lord and master, also the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his fallen estate, might not be indulged but rebuked.

VII. They also used the plain language of Thou and Thee to a single person, whatever was his degree 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 spirit of those they came among; showing their insides and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, "Thou me, thou my dog; if thou thouest me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy 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 indignation for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech?

VIII. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions; they were at a word in dealing; nor could their customers with many words 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 as well as unlawful discourses; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions; nor could they humour the custom of “Good night, Good morrow, 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 are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burthensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is; a practice that is not only unnecessary, but they thought evil in the tendencies of it; being a provocation to drinking more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them; and is a distinguishing practice from all 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 divers credible witnesses, “promising unto each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them.” But, antecedent to all this, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church, where they reside, there declaring their intentions to take one another as man and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions,<sup>1</sup> as in case of parents, or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, etc. The method of the meeting is to take a minute thereof, 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; and make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting; where the same parties are desired to give their attendance.<sup>2</sup> In case it appears they proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting book; and in case the woman is a widow and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans before the said marriage; advising the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and by name promising reciprocally after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in a way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers of the relations, spectators, and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed; which certificate is afterward registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage where it has been disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formality of priest and ring, etc., which ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded, inasmuch as no Scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part of old time, than

<sup>1</sup> Instead of being asked those questions, the present practice is to produce the needful certificates of consent.

<sup>2</sup> This second attendance is not now required.

that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was a-heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews, or primitive Christians. The words of the usual form, as “With my body I thee worship,” etc. are hardly defensible: in short, they are more careful, exact, and regular than any form now used, and it is free from the inconveniences other methods are attended with; their care and checks being so many, and such, that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. 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, who afterward sign a certificate, for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child, or children, which is recorded in a proper book, in the Monthly Meeting, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the corpse of the deceased be near any public meeting place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the ground they bury in, and it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some or other have a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together: after which, the body is borne away by the young men, or those that are of their neighbourhood, or that were most intimate with the deceased party: the corpse being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have anything upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the corpse of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions; neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning,<sup>3</sup> they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that whit mourning is fit for a Christian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which is only sensible of the loss; and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone; and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them turners of the world upside down, as indeed in some sense they were; but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz., to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these, and such like practices of theirs, were not the result of humour, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward

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<sup>3</sup> The collective sense and judgment of the church, herein, remains the same, as manifest by the frequent advices given forth from their yearly and other meetings.

sense, which God, through his fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves; being none of their business, as it was not their interest; no, it was not the result of consultation, or a framed design to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what gratified “the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, ut of the world.” And from thence sprang, in that night of darkness and apostacy, which hath been over people, through their degeneration from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs; which are seen, by the heavenly day of Christ which dawns in the soul, to be, either wrong in their original, or, by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered this people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinions; there was and is more in them than they were aware of. It was not very easy to our primitive Friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it. But herein was the wisdom of God seen in the foolishness of these things; first, that they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their pretences to another; in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom, and ability were unwelcome without them. Secondly, 'it seasonably and profitably divided conversation; for making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude, wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God, their Redeemer, and grew strong in his love, power, and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service; and the 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 upon their own credit and authority), yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance, and account among men.

And also some among them neither wanted for parts, learning, nor estate; though then, as of old, not many wise, nor noble, etc. were called, or at least received the heavenly call; because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity; but neither do parts or learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance' of people about the divine gift that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, expression and enjoyment; words and life; are two things. O! 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 God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. O! that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed; re-created, or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works; that they might live to God and not to themselves; and offer up living prayers and living praises to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this gospel day. O! that they that read me 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 thereof 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 new thy poor servants hear? O! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, in earth as it is in heaven: do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us, for we are thine and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth; from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee." O! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas, the case is otherwise, for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiff-neckedness; because thou wilt not hear and fear, and return to the Rock, even thy Rock, O England! from whence thou wert hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive Him into thy heart; behold at that door it is, He hath stood so long knocking, but thou wilt yet have none of Him. O! be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily doest.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance, to have known his power and kingdom, for which he often knocked within by his grace and Spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses; but thou wouldst not be gathered. 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 hast thou, O land, crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by the laws and magistrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and Spirit of the Lord; in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at naught all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have done. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them; 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 orthodox) believe in him?" prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing severe laws to bring it to pass; by endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroying them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people, the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee were they, and are they lifted up as a standard,

and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; and therefore thy Light, and Life too, if thou wouldst but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. For in the “Light of the Lamb, must the nations of them that are saved walk,” as the Scriptures testify.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the days of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments with which he has pleaded with thee; awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his Word in thy heart, that thou mayest live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this which is come to thy house, O England! For why shouldst thou die, O land that God desires to bless? Be assured it is He that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of thee, and no delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And 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 went not forth, or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God, and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is as Christ said, “like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whether it goeth.” yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to the 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 bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God, regeneration, and holiness; not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off in religion the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part; as all upon a serious reflection must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle by which all that they asserted, preached, and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true; which is a high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry: both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, and its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretended to. They declare of religion, say many things true,

in words of God, Christ, and the Spirit, of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and mend their lives, or they will go to hell, etc. But which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience? or ever directed men to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them indeed have spoken of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and the performance of worship to God; but *where* and *how* to find it, and wait in it to perform this duty, was yet as a mystery reserved for this further degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words more than equally press repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached to a sufficient principle, and told them where it is, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their soul's happiness; which is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministries depend; for here is certainty,—a bottom 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 an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, 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: insomuch that as it hath often happened, where people have under secrecy revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed, in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling the preachers their cases. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried, out of this inward appearance of Christ, “Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.” And those that 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), viz., “it had told them all that ever they had done;” shown them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts; and laid judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can at this day give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom, mercy, and goodness of God herein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this principle fitted, even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service; furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expression, which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, “Is not this such a mechanic's son; how came he by this learning?” As from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, who have had the reputation of learned men for an age past, though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection.

VII. That they came forth, low, and despised, and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the

help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations in part did: but in all things, it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross, in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions, and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

VIII. They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus 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, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits by the good Spirit and power of God, viz., “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, viz., in disobedience to the light in their consciences, and after the vanity of this world, 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 in the light, the blood of Jesus Christ His Son should cleanse them from all sin.”

IX. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it, and that, sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruising, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons. Four of them in New England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people; besides banishments and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to be endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered to them.

X. That they did not only not show any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; showing mercy to those that had none for them.

XI. Their plainness with those in authority; not unlike the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them to their faces of their private and public sins; and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory: also of some national judgments, as of the plague, and fire of London, in express terms, and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them, and which were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, and in time they may be made public for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry, and progress, both their general and particular testimony, by which thou mayest be informed how and upon what foot they sprung, and became so considerable a people. 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. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

This people increasing 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 answer the like occasions. Wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other services in the church, and entrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful that every one that belonged to them, answered their profession in their behaviour among men upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services; and in case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others. And it was rare then, that any one entertained such inclinations to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord, in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; and he felt a holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them; and by his epistles the like was 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 are now practised among this people, are as followeth:—

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting of worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so 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 said meetings, viz., for the Poor; Orphans; Orderly Walking; Integrity to their Profession; Births, Marriages, Burials, Sufferings, etc. And that these monthly meetings should, in each county, 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 tender of determining a matter.

Also these quarterly meetings should digest the reports of the monthly meetings, and prepare one for



the county, against the yearly meeting, in which the quarterly meetings resolve, which is held yearly in London; where the churches in this nation and other nations<sup>4</sup> 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 depending case to edification; also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.<sup>5</sup>

At these meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter; but the mind of each meeting therein represented is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed or chosen for that service.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order and resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number, for that service chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes<sup>6</sup> of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein, to the end that the respective quarterly and monthly meetings may be informed of all proceedings, together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity. Of all which proceedings in yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or that hath 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 as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings for worship.

It is further to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the church's service, there is no one who presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people; Christ only being their president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere 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 here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society, as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and suffering from some tongues, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

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

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4 At present (1836), there are eight Yearly Meetings on the American continent, which correspond with the Yearly Meeting in London, and mutually with each other; they are united in doctrine, and their discipline is similar.

5 They are thus particularised in a more recent publication of the Society:—"This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books; house rent for a clerk, and his wages for keeping records; the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea; and some small incidental charges; but not, as has been falsely supposed, the reimbursement of those who suffer distraint for tithes, and other demands, with which they scruple to comply."

6 This is not now quite correct, A committee still draws up the General Epistle; but the minutes of the transactions of the meeting are made as matters occur during its several sittings.

persons of his disciples, viz., “to oversee, exhort, reprove,” and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, “to disown them, as any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour as one of them until they repent.” The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is first, in relation to common and general practice; and secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz., persecution and libertinism; that is, a coercive power to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates; or leaving all loose and at large, as to practice, unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church power, by such as suffer their passions and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment—a practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society, an unaccountableness in practice and conversation to the terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship (which is never to be done, nor suffered, or submitted unto), and 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. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practice what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession, without rebuke, is their use and limit of church power. They compel none to 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 one who has lapsed or transgressed is this. He is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given 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 proves refractory, 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 a fact, and the party offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if such 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, upbraid 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, and for a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and which 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.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my Preface, viz., the instrumental 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 blesseth God, as it hath often done; and I doubt not, that by the 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 this work in this day of God, 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 sufficient parents, who endeavoured 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 taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shined 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 as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both from its innocency and solitude; and was a just figure of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given, and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth; but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts; and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, 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 neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances, testifying and turning to the Light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that the knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the Light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. "For in the Word was Life, and that Life is the Light of men," Life in the Word, Light in men—and Life in men too, as the Light is obeyed; the children of the Light living in the Life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and forerunning 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 to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the higher parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord; that there might be but one shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound forth his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence 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 exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Naylor, William Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who, after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words), felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the Light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. They suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often put in the stocks, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves

to oppose them, and write 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 pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw and Judge Fell, who were wont to go that circuit in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood, and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off and rooted them out of the country. Especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people; for his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends, not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people, which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family, as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love, and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years at first, till the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern counties, had also opened their houses with their hearts, to the many publishers, that in a short time the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held; to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man; and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converse with his brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:—

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it showed, beyond all contradiction, that God sent him; that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them; so that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration,

and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion; "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes." For many times hath my soul bowed in an 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; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, 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, in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy 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, it greatly confirmed 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 much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, that by bringing them to something that was of God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

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

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true Light, in all that are his through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and which was his own experience, in that which 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 behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck, even strangers, with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony 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, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say, he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word, and doctrine, and discipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order as to church affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his following Journal relates, to the conviction 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 and serviceable, he wrote much, both to them 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 affairs of the church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world, where settled, come upon occasions; which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly<sup>7</sup> held there for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to discharge them, especially in suffering cases, showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires, if he were there.

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 behaviour at Derby, Lichfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, who became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him, as one that 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 ill work, was, in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

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<sup>7</sup> Called the Meeting for Sufferings, and now held monthly, except exigencies require more frequent sittings.

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; and 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 an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, and, which the disaffected also profess 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.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs, for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren. And they were ready to reflect the same things that Dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward (and as I may say) civil part of the church, that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy, even to a prejudice; yet, blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that are yet at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, see the subtilty 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; and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, 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 my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries: and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not fit match for every service or occasion. For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, 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 whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of



useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where. Civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; 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 in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention; recommending to some with him, the despatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before written to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but, above all, Friends, and, of all Friends, 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 Henry Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children, to many 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 speaketh;" 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 wrought by him; for which his memorial is, and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my Preface, 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 men into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of 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, which put us upon the consideration of our latter end, causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, 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, yea, 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, it was in that 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 principle we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, 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 this stood our comfort, service, and edifica-

tion. And as we ran faster, or fell short, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; our services finding in ourselves a rebuke instead of an acceptance, and in lieu of "Well done," "Who has required this at your hands?" In that day we were an exercised 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 had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, 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 that 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 spirits, or after our own wills and affections. They were bowed and brought into subjection, insomuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list, or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour, could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could, pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. 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, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, etc.; but it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed from the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. O 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 became those that profess One Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord!

This being the testimony and example the man of God before mentioned was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same 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 draweth near.

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured 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 that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts or memory, the repetition' of former openings 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, viz., 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 that had lived with Jesus were to stay at Jerusalem till they received it, so must we wait to receive 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, verily, ever so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us, and for our salvation, much more is it the Lord, that must work in us, for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent, when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, that "he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add 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 giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our Guide, nor yet loiter behind him; since he that makes haste may miss his way, and he that stays behind, lose his Guide: for even those that have received the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright; which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one that hath received the word of the Lord, to miss in the division and application of it, which must come from an impatience of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture; and will hardly beget a right-minded, living people to God.

I am earnest in this, above all other considerations, as to public brethren, well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state, and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions, and supplies, of the same life and power, from time to time.

And wherever it is observed that any one does minister more from gifts and parts than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admon-

ished for their preservation, because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency; to forsake Christ the living Fountain, and to hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters; and by degrees to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so to make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that Divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it 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, if we keep not 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 go with what we say; and that must be waited for.

O that we may have no other fountain, treasury, or dependence! that none may presume at any rate to act of themselves for God! because they have long acted from God, that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care, and more liberty in speaking, than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord by his power to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we shall ever 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 defence, 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 speaketh in you.”

And indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God but that which is 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 reached to us. 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 one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent

opportunities, and great place with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it 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 before mentioned, in great measure, when among us, inquire the state of the several churches you visit; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, and if any are unfaithful or obstinate; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects. The afflicted will be comforted by you; the tempted, strengthened; the sick, refreshed; the unfaithful, convicted and restored; and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation: which is clenching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony by that particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travel as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, 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 ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you to the praise of His name that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is *within*. And O that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord!—Never more need since the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that 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 content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within those bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours, and kindred, want to know the Lord and his truth and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand. I do not judge you, there is one that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance; may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world in the face of your enemies. But, O let it 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, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap (if you faint not) the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you entreated, and exhorted 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 feeling of God's power in yourselves. Crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor overrun in your desires, and warmness 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 it is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, to gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, 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, imaginations, 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 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 has 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 all our heads are laid in the dust. O you young men and women, let it not suffice you, 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 but such after the flesh, and could but beget you in the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam by a spiritual generation. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye 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, or the child for the father, but "in the sin thou sinnest, thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou doest, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live;" for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges, above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine, but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of; and you know, you

may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors and forsaken of 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 this holy path. If you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, 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, 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 O, that it may never be so with any of you! The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the rock of your fathers! choose the God of your fathers. There is no other God but he; 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 it not only by education, but judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God in your hearts, by which 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) a generation you may be 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 so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised 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 savour, by which it is come to obtain 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; who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do, that make a profession of it. 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, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me entreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities that your fathers, for 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 the Evangelist 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 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." A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing the form of God's people: so that he, by his light in you, may be said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that

receive him not, which, I pray God, may never be your case and judgment; but 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; and with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice, and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your children's children may bless you, and 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 yet alive, go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their nature but spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this Preface with a few words to those that 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, many and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the image that, through sin, you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you who are called Christians, would receive him into your heart! for there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking, that you should let him in, but you do not open to him; you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly entreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity; if more than a profession, and an historical belief 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?—that divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout, in body, soul, and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable state.

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 entreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is 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. By this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature, new made, new fashioned after God's will and mould; old things are done away, and, behold, all things are become new; new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any



longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one; but it is Christ that liveth in thee; and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain; because thou art assured, that “thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality;” and that thou hast 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 a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. For what communion hath 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 cannot possibly have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy, of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is nevertheless Christ's, because we have it; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption. It is the gift of God. But still, though not Ours, as of or from ourselves, for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him; yet it is ours, and must be ours in possession, efficacy, and enjoyment, to do us any good, or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel, and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

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 tins saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness 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 it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men, but what they look for is in themselves, yet they overlook it. The voice is too still, the Seed too small, and the Light shineth in darkness. They are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil; but the woman that lost her silver, found it at home, after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz., Truth.

The Light of Christ within, who is the Light of the world (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition), leads all that take heed unto it, out of darkness into God's marvellous 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.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, 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, yea, 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. O, it is a travail, a spiritual travail! let the carnal, profane world think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.'

And what does this blessed Light do for you? 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 begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him 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, that the enemy surprise you not 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 neighbours 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 efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that, through the living faith, come to be sprinkled with it 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 of God in this excellent work and service! all which will be more particularly expressed in the ensuing annals of the man of God; which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal, 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 worthy ever to have the glory, honour, 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,

Says one whom God has long since mercifully favoured 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 who knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treasure, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection thy soul's friend,

[For the Testimonies respecting George Fox, which were here inserted in the last edition of this work, see Appendix at the conclusion of Vol. II.]

# JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX.

## CHAPTER I.

*1624-1647.—George Fox's birth and parentage—his gravity and piety in youth. Apprenticed to a shoemaker, who is also a grazier, etc.—his integrity in dealing. Refuses to drink healths—his exercises of mind commence—he lives retired—is tempted to despair. His sorrows continue for some years—has a sense of Christ's sufferings. Confutes a people who held women to be devoid of souls—begins to travel on Truth's account—meets with Elizabeth Hooton—fasts often, and retires to solitary places with his Bible—his exercises intermit. Sees why none but Christ could speak to his condition. Visits a woman who had fasted twenty-two days—first declares the Truth at Duckingfield and Manchester. Preaches at a great meeting at Broughton. His troubles wear off, and he weeps for joy—sees things which cannot be uttered—is reported to have a discerning spirit—overcomes his temptations through the power of Christ.*

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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 unto 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, 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 neighbours 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 stayedness of mind and spirit, not usual in children; insomuch, that when I saw old men behave lightly and wantonly towards each other, I had a dislike thereof raised in my heart, and said within myself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so, nor be so wanton."

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to Yea and Nay 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 Yea and Nay in all things; and that my words should be few and savoury,

seasoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that created them; they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, and sanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld; wherein is unity with the creation.

But people being strangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink to make themselves wanton with the creatures, wasting them upon their own lusts, and living in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation; and all this in the world, in the pollutions thereof, without God: therefore I was to shun all such.

Afterwards, as I grew up, my relations thought to make me a priest; but others persuaded to the contrary: whereupon I was put to a man, a shoemaker by trade, but who dealt in wool, and was a grazier, and sold cattle; and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him, he was blessed; but after I left him he broke, and came to nothing. I never wronged 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 people that knew me, "If George says Verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude people would laugh at me, I let them alone, and went my way; but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honesty. When I came towards nineteen years of age, being upon business at a fair, one of my cousins, whose name was Bradford, a professor, and having another professor with him, came to me and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, and I, being thirsty, went in with them; for I loved any that had a sense of good, or that sought after the Lord. When we had drunk each a glass, they began to drink healths, calling for more, and agreeing together, that he that would not drink should pay all. I was grieved that any who made profession of religion, should do so. They grieved me very much, having never had such a thing put to me before, by any sort of people; wherefore I rose up to go, and putting my hand into my pocket, laid a groat on the table before them, and said, "If it be so, I will leave you." So I went away; and when I had done what business I had to do, I returned home, but did not go to bed that night, nor could I sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said unto me, "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be a stranger unto all."

Then at the command of God, on the ninth day of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young. I passed to Lutterworth, where I stayed some time; and thence to Northampton, where also I made some stay: then to Newportpagnell, whence, after I had stayed a while, I went to Barnet, in the fourth month, called June, in 1644. As I thus travelled through the country, professors took notice, and sought to be acquainted with me; but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed. Now during the time that I was at Barnet, a strong temptation to despair came upon me. Then I saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in; sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the chace,<sup>8</sup> to wait upon the Lord.

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8 Open Fields

I wondered why these things should come to me; and I looked upon myself and said, “Was I ever so before?” Then I thought, because I had forsaken my relations, I had done amiss against them; so I was brought to call to mind all the time that I had thus spent, and to consider whether I had wronged any. But temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almost to despair; and when Satan could not effect his design upon me that way, he laid snares for me, and baits to draw me to commit some sin, whereby he might take advantage to bring me to despair. I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me; and I continued in that condition some years, in great trouble, and fain would have put it from me. I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great misery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great professors of the city, and I saw all was dark and under the chain of darkness. I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist (and they were tender then), yet I could not impart my mind to him, nor join with them; for I saw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me stay, but I was fearful, and returned homewards into Leicestershire again, having a regard upon my mind unto my parents and relations, lest I should grieve them; who, I understood, were troubled at my absence.

When I was come down into Leicestershire, my relations would have had me marry, but I told them I was but a lad, and I must get wisdom. Others would have had me into the auxiliary band among the soldiery, but I refused; and I was grieved that they proffered such things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, till people began to be acquainted with me; for there were many tender people in that town. After some time I went into my own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and troubles, and walked many nights by myself.

Then the priest of Drayton, the town of my birth, whose name was Nathaniel Stevens, came often to me, and I went often to him; and another priest sometimes came with him; and they would give place to me to hear me, and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. And this priest Stevens asked me a question, viz., Why Christ cried out upon the cross, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” and why he said, “If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done?” I told him that at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for, as he was man, but he died not as he was God; and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what he went through. And the priest said, “It was a very good, full answer, and such a one as he had not heard.” At that time he would applaud and speak highly of me to others; and what I said in discourse to him on the week-days, he would preach on the first-days; for which I did not like him. This priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Mancetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition; he bade me take tobacco

and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing; I could not sing. Then he bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, sorrows, and griefs to his servants; which grieved me that I had opened my mind to such a one. I saw they were all miserable comforters; and this brought my troubles more upon me. Then I heard of a priest living about Taji-Worth, who was accounted an experienced man, and I went seven miles to him; but I found him only like an empty hollow cask. I heard also of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to him. I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought 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. Now, as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in a rage, as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head (though they endeavoured to do so), my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, 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 sporting themselves, I looked out poor widows from house to house, and gave them some money. When I was invited to marriages (as I sometimes was), I went to none 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 wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of those who were in need.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going to Coventry, and approaching towards the gate, 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 but such; 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 unto me, "that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ;" and I wondered at it, because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord who had opened this thing unto me that morning. This struck at priest Steven's 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 that which opened in me, I saw struck at the priest's ministry. But my relations were much troubled that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would get into the orchards, or the fields, with my Bible, by myself. I asked them, Did not the apostle say to believers, that "they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them?" And though they knew this was Scripture, and that it was true, yet

they were grieved because I could not be subject in this matter, to go to hear the priest with them. I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be: and I saw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ: what then should I follow such for? So neither these, nor any of the Dissenting people, could I join with, but was a stranger to all, relying wholly 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 a strange word, 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 set up, but in people's hearts: for both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore testimony, that he did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which he had once commanded to be built, since he put an end to it; but that his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them. This opened in me as I walked in the fields to my relations' house. When I came there, they told me that Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, had been there, and told them “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 brethren; but I told not my relations, who though they saw beyond the priests, yet they went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also. But I brought them Scriptures, and told them, there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himself. I had also great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spoke of them, the priests and professors would say that was a sealed book, and would have kept me out of it: but I told them, Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the epistles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

After this, I met with a sort of people that held, women have no souls, (adding in a light manner,) no more than a goose. But I reproved them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, “My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.”

Removing to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams. I told them, except they could distinguish between dream and dream, they would confound all together; for there were three sorts of dreams; multitude of business sometimes caused dreams; and there were whisperings of Satan in man in the night-season; and there were speakings of God to man in dreams. But these people came out of these things, and at last became Friends.

Now though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptation 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 uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth 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 the year 1647, I was moved of the Lord to go into Derbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discourses with them. Then passing further into the Peak-country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty, high notions. Travelling 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;<sup>9</sup> and with these I had some meetings and discourses. But my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations; I fasted much, and walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible, and went and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently, in the night, walked mournfully about by myself: for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the first workings of the Lord in me.

During all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave myself up to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger, in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, more or less in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For which reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes 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 unto me in all my misery. O, the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceedingly great. "Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field; thou bringest down and settest up; thou killest and makest alive; all honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of glory; the knowledge of thee in the Spirit, is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly, works death." While there is this knowledge in the flesh, deceit and self-will conform to anything, and will say yes, yes, to that it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath of what the prophets and apostles spoke, is a fleshly knowledge; and the apostates from the life, in which the prophets and apostles were, have gotten their words, the Holy Scriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor Spirit that gave them forth. So they all lie in confusion, and are making

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9 Elizabeth Hooton was born at Nottingham about the year 1600; was the wife 'of a person who occupied a respectable position in society. In 1647, when George Fox first met with her, she formed one of a company of serious persons, who occasionally met together. Little is known of her, but "the meetings and discourses" she had with George Fox appear to have been the means of convincing her of the spiritual views of Friends. Sewel says in 1650—"From a true experience of the Lord's work in man, she felt herself moved publicly to preach the way of salvation to others." She was therefore not only the first of her sex, but the second individual who appeared in the character of a minister amongst the newly-gathered society. The preaching of women was not at this period considered singular, several being thus engaged among the various religious sects then in England. Elizabeth Hooton had not long publicly testified as a minister, before her sincerity and faithfulness were tested by persecution. Besides suffering in other ways, she endured several imprisonments, sometimes for months together. As a gospel minister, she stood high in the estimation of her friends, and in advanced life performed two religious visits to America and the West Indies, the latter of which occupied her several years. She was one who travelled with George Fox amongst the West India Islands, as related elsewhere in these volumes, being suddenly taken ill in Jamaica, where she died the day following, aged about 71 years, a minister 21 years.

provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof; but not to fulfil the law and command of Christ in his power and Spirit: this, they say, they cannot do; but to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that “to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be 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 forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those esteemed the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men, were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, O! then I heard a voice which said, “There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition;” and when I heard it, my heart did leap 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 concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall hinder it? and 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 not, but by revelation, as He who hath 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 obtain from history or books; and that love let me see myself, as I was without him. 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 had not fellowship with any people, priests or professors, or any sort of separated people, but with Christ, who hath 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 burthen of corruptions. When I myself was in the deep, shut up under all, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me, how He was tempted by the same devil, and overcame him and bruised his head, and that through him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in him; so He it was that opened to me, when I was shut up, and had no hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in; he gave me hope, which he himself revealed in me, and he 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 many times beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found that there were two thirsts in me; the one after the creatures, to get help and strength there; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ. 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 that condition which was my misery; and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord stayed my desires upon himself, from

whom came my help, and my care was cast upon him alone. Therefore, all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatsoever condition you be in; wait in the grace and truth that came by Jesus: for if ye so do, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you. Blessed are all they that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so, praised be the Lord who filleth with it, and satisfieth the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of the spiritual Israel say, "His mercy endureth forever!" It is the great love of God to make a wilderness of that which is pleasant to the outward eye and fleshly mind; and to make a fruitful field of a barren 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, they are changeable, tossed up and down with windy doctrines and thoughts, and 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; and in all my troubles he preserved me by his Spirit and power; praised be his holy name for ever!

Again, I heard a voice which said, "Thou serpent! thou dost seek to destroy the life, but canst not; for the sword which keepeth the tree of life, shall destroy thee." So Christ, the Word of God, that bruised the head of the serpent, the destroyer, preserved me; my inward mind being joined to his good Seed, that bruised the head of this serpent, the destroyer. This inward life sprung 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 I was filled with admiration at the infinitude 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, with his heavenly key, the entrance was given; and I saw death, how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man, and in me; and how I in the seed came forth, and what the promise was to. Yet it was so with me, that there seemed to be two pleading in me; questionings arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies; and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I gave up myself to the Lord still. One day when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, I was wrapped up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love. While I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I saw clearly therein, "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 above him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me." The Lord opened me, that I saw through all these troubles and temptations; my living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ, the life, and my belief was in Him. When at any time my condition was veiled, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are. But, O! 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 manifest and seen in the light. After this, a pure fire appeared in me; then I saw how he sat as a refiner's fire and as fullers' soap;—then the spiritual discerning came into me, by which I did

discern 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 it 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, 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 that which would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ—that which the sword of the Spirit cuts down, and which must die, might not be kept alive. I discerned also 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 Spirit, in which the true sighing is, I saw over the false sighings and groanings. 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 they that were there, were in confusion and deceit, where the false asking and praying is, in deceit, in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, wallows in the Egyptian sea, and asketh, but hath not; for they hate his light and resist the Holy Ghost; turn grace into wantonness, and rebel against the Spirit; and are erred from the faith they should ask in, and from the Spirit they should pray by. He that knoweth these things in the true Spirit, can witness them. The divine light of Christ manifesteth all things; the spiritual fire trieth all things, and severeth all things. Several things did I then see as the Lord opened them to me; for he showed me that which can live in his holy refining fire, and that can live to God under his law. He made me sensible 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 works, which are not perfect, under, by the perfect law; and the law of God that is perfect, answers the perfect principle of God in every one. This law the Jews, and the prophets, and John were to perform and do. None know the giver of this law but by the Spirit of God; neither can any truly read it, or hear its voice, but by the Spirit of God; he that can receive it, let him. John, who was the greatest prophet that was horn of a woman, did bear witness to the light, which Christ, the great heavenly prophet, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal; 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, and 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, 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, and crooked, and mountainous ones. Yet the Lord saith, “O Earth, hear the word of the Lord!” The law of the Spirit crosseth the fleshly mind, spirit, and will, which lives in disobedience, and doth 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 did judge and condemn that, which 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 since been 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, ye will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought into the faith, and through faith from under the law; and abiding in the faith, which Christ is the author of, ye will have peace and access to God. But if ye look out from the faith, and from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleshly things or words, ye will be brought into bondage to flesh again, and to the law, which takes hold upon the flesh and sin, and worketh 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 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 ye, who know the love of God, and the law of his Spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in him, in that divine faith which he is the author of in you; and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the ministry of Christ Jesus, and his teaching, bring into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man, and by man, and which stands in the will of man, bringeth 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, except they be in it; for the Seed of God is a burthensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding that must perish, and in its wisdom that is devilish. And the Spirit of God is grieved, and vexed, and quenched with that which brings into the fleshly bondage; and that which wars against the Spirit of God, must be mortified by it; for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the 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. If therefore ye quench the Spirit, and join to the flesh, and be servants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the Spirit; but if ye join to the Spirit and serve God in it, ye have liberty and victory over the flesh and its works. Therefore keep in the daily cross, the power of God, by which ye 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 victuals for I could have fasted long without murmuring or minding victuals. But I was judged at other times, that I was not contented to be sometimes 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, that had fasted two and twenty days, and I travelled to see her; but when I came to her I saw that she was under a temptation. When I had spoken to her what I had from

the Lord, I left her, her father being one high in profession. Passing on, I went among the professors at Duckingfield and Manchester, where I stayed a while, 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. But the professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection, and could not endure to hear talk of perfection, and 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 Beoughton, in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them; and people of other notions went thither, and I went also. Not many of the Baptists came, but many others were there. The Lord opened my mouth, and the everlasting truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. For in that day the Lord's power began to spring, and I had great openings in the Scriptures. Several were convinced in those parts, and were turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God; and many were raised up to praise God. When I reasoned with professors and other people, some became convinced.

I was still under great temptations sometimes, and my inward sufferings were heavy; but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord showed me that the natures of those things, which were hurtful without, were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked 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 thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?" and the Lord answered, "That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions!" and 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. And as I was walking by the steeple-house,<sup>10</sup> in Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, "That which people trample upon, must be thy food." And as the Lord spoke he opened it to me, that people and professors trampled upon the life, even the life of Christ; they fed upon words, and fed one another with words; but they trampled upon the life; trampled underfoot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life, and lived in their airy notions, talking of him. It seemed strange to me at first, that I should feed on

<sup>10</sup> The term "steeple-house" occurs not unfrequently in this *Journal*, and in the early writings and records of Friends. Though it may sound harsh, and appear to savour of the scurrility and intolerance of that zealous age, yet this, or any other mode of speech adopted by Friends, was by no means taken up for the purpose of opprobrium, but rather significantly to discover the little veneration or distinction they could show for these buildings more than others; believing that the Almighty is equally present everywhere, to bless and to sanctify every place and everything to those that walk uprightly on the earth, his footstool.

One of the chief points of George Fox's ministry was to overturn that insidious reverence for names and things which is too frequently substituted for the worship that is "in spirit and in truth." Few instances more distinctly exhibit this sort of covert idolatry, than the general notion of sanctity which is attached to the building called a "church." The word "church" is, in the Holy Scriptures, never applied to an outward temple or building, but to a company of believers, whether generally or particularly. The use of this term appears to have crept in among Christians, and with it a superstitious consecration of those places, as possessing some latent quality not affecting other works of art or nature. To this Stephen the martyr evidently alluded. when he said, "Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," etc, Acts vii. 48. Clemens of Alexandria says, "Not the place, but the congregation of the elect, I call a church," Stromat, vii, 715 B.

that which the high professors trampled upon; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal Spirit and Power.

Then came people from far and near to see me; but I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak, and open things to them. There was one Brown, who had great prophecies and sights upon his death-bed of me. He spoke only of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he spoke, that they should come to nothing, which was fulfilled on some, who then were something in show. 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 for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Christ, etc, the serpent spoke in them; but this was hard to be borne. Yet the work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infinitude 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; even through that darkness was I brought, which covered over all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in death. The same eternal power of God, which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears. A report went abroad of me, that I was a young man that had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me, from far and near, professors, priests, and people. The Lord's power broke forth; and I had great openings and prophecies; and spoke unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away, and spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter, and set upon me again, charging me, that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; 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, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus, by the power of Christ, I got over that temptation also.

## CHAPTER II

*1618-1649.—Begins to have great meetings—at Mansfield he is moved to pray—the Lord's power so great the house is shaken—cannot pray in his own will—a temptation besets him that there is no God, which is dissipated by an inward voice—he afterwards disputes with and confounds some Atheists—*

*goes to courts and steeple-houses, etc, to warn against oppression and oaths—reproves a notorious 'drunkard, who is reformed—sees who are the greatest deceivers—shows how people read and understand the Scriptures—various mysteries are revealed to him—he is sent to turn people to the Inward Light, Spirit, and Grace, the Divine Spirit which he infallibly knew would not deceive—priests and professors rage at these innovations—he cries for justice in courts and against various wrong things denounces the trade of preaching—is sent to preach freely.*

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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 to go as the crack went; and that after the crack there should be a great shaking: this was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken 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 begun to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was amongst people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

And there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and I went among them. Here they discoursed how Paul said, "He had not known sin, but by the law, which said, Thou shalt not lust:" and they held that to be spoken of the outward law. But I told them, Paul spoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was brought up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but this was the law of God in his mind, which he served, and 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 upon the outward action; but the inward law upon the inward lust.

After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people; here 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: and 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, whose name was Amor Stoddard, came in. They were discoursing of the blood of Christ; and as they were discoursing of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, and said, "Do ye 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 without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddard was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak; hear the youth



“speak;” when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

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

Now, after I had had some service in these parts, I went through Derbyshire into my own county, Leicestershire, again, and several tender people were convinced. Passing thence, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying, and expounding the Scriptures in the fields. They gave the Bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law; and I opened the inward state to them, and the outward state; upon which they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted; but the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute, wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common-prayer-men were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house; and thither I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit; abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, What that birth was, viz., a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever? And 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. Whereupon I was wrapped up, as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up and asked the priest, “Dost thou call this (the steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?” For the woman asking a question, 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 out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts; and they were all on a fire. But I maintained the true church, and the true head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away. One man seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest, in pleading for infants' baptism, though he himself had been a Baptist before; and so left me alone. Howbeit, there were several convinced that day; and the woman that asked the question was convinced, and her family; and the Lord's power and glory shone over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire, 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 amongst them. One morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; but 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

silent, the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sat still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, "There is a living God who made all things." And 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 a notion that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. 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 part of the country. Returning into Nottinghamshire, I found there a company of shattered Baptists, and others; and the Lord's power wrought mightily, and gathered many of them. Afterwards I went to Mansfield and thereaway, where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested both at Mansfield and other neighbouring towns. In Derbyshire the mighty power of God wrought in a wonderful manner. At Eton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of Friends, where there was such a mighty power of God that they were greatly shaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. 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 sitting of the justices about hiring of 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 sat; 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 discourse with them, not thinking that a seasonable time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind, that I could not see. I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to sit that day; and he told me, at a town eight miles off. My sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. When I was come to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which 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 of the Lord therein.

Moreover, I was moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off 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 most wicked men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whore-master, and a rhyme-maker; and I reprov'd him in the dread of the mighty God, for his evil courses. When I had 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, and 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 the darkness to the light, within the compass of these three years, 1646, 1647, and 1648. Divers 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 more and more wonderfully.

Now was I come 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, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened 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 practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of things 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 innocency, 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 creation, and the virtues thereof, 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.

Thus I travelled on in the Lord's service, as the Lord led me. And when I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among Friends. From thence I went to Clawson in Leicestershire, in the Vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God was 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, physic, divinity (so called), and law. He showed me that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and so knew not their virtues, because they were out of the Word of Wisdom; by which they were made. He showed me that the priests were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of; the faith which purifies and gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. He showed me also, that the lawyers were out of the equity, and 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 property of the people. But I saw they were all out of the wisdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things unto me, I felt his power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow unto it. The priests might be reformed, and brought into the true faith, which was 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 neighbour as himself. This lets man see, if he wrongs his neighbour he wrongs himself; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would they should 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 them, and understand their virtues, which the Word of Wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them. Abundance was opened

concerning these things; how all lay 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 hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal, and so 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.

Then I saw concerning the priests, 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 these were not come so far as many of them had come. But the Lord opened to me who the greatest deceivers were, and how far they might come; even such as came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God; and such as came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and to praise God on the banks of the sea-shore; such as could speak by experience of God's miracles and wonders; such as were come as far as Korah and Dathan, and their company; such as were 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 goodliness 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 the Spirit and the Word, and went into the gainsaying; these were, and would be, the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. Likewise among the Christians, such as should preach in Christ's name, and should work miracles, cast out devils, and go as far as a Cain, a Korah, and a Balaam, in the gospel times, these were and would be the great deceivers. They that could speak some experiences of Christ and God, but lived not in the life: these were they that led the world after them, who got the form of godliness, but denied the power; who inwardly ravened from the Spirit, and brought people into the form, 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, Korah, and Balaam have brought the world, since the apostles' days, to be like a sea. And such as these, I saw, might deceive now, as they had in former ages: but it is impossible for them to deceive the elect, who are 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 doth open and reveal to his.

I saw the state of those, both priests and people, who, in reading the Scriptures, cry out much against Cain, Esau, and 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; putting it off from themselves: but when some of these came, with the light and Spirit of truth, to see into themselves, then they came to say, I, I, I, it is I myself, that have been the Ishmael, and the Esau, etc. For thou they came to see the nature of wild Ishmael in themselves; the nature of Cain, of Esau, of Korah, of Balaam, and of the son of perdition in themselves, sitting above all that is called God in them. Thus I saw it was the fallen man that was got up into the Scriptures, and was finding fault with those before mentioned; and, with the backsliding Jews, calling them the sturdy oaks, and tall cedars, and fat bulls of Bashan, wild heifers, vipers, serpents, etc.; and charging them that it was they that closed their eyes, and stopped their ears, and hardened their hearts,

and were dull of hearing: that it was they that hated the light, and rebelled against it; that quenched the Spirit, and vexed, and grieved it; that walked despitefully against the Spirit of grace, and turned the grace of God into wantonness: and that it was they that resisted the Holy Ghost, that got the form of godliness, and turned against the power: and they were the inwardly ravening wolves, that had got the sheep's clothing; they were the wells without water, and clouds without rain, and 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, came to look into themselves, and, with the light of Christ, thoroughly to search themselves, they might see enough of this in themselves; and then the cry could not be, it is he, or they, as before; but I, and we are found in these conditions.

I saw also, 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 and applied them to others, but they did not turn in to find the truth of these things in themselves. As these things came to be opened in me, I saw death reigned over them from Adam to Moses; from the entrance into transgression, till they came to the ministration of condemnation, which restrains people from sin, that brings death. Then, when the ministration 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 ministration prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making straight paths. And as this ministration is passed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlasting kingdom. Thus I saw plainly that none could read Moses aright, without Moses' spirit, by which Moses saw how man was in the image of God in Paradise, and 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 were come into the righteous law that went over the first transgression. Both Moses and the prophets saw through the types and figures, and beyond them, and saw Christ, the great prophet, that was to come to fulfil them. I saw that none could read John's words aright, 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.<sup>11</sup> For by that Spirit their crooked natures might be made straight, and their rough natures smooth, and the exacter and violent doer in them might be cast out; and they that had been hypocrites might come to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and their mountain of sin and earthliness might be laid low, and their valley exalted in them, that there might be a way prepared for the Lord in them: then the least in the kingdom is greater than John. But all must first know the voice crying in their wilderness, in their hearts, which, through transgression, were 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 that Moses, the prophets, and John were in. They could not

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<sup>11</sup> Archbishop Seeker says, "Before any one can peruse the sacred Scriptures to profit, the Lamb must open the seven seals."

know the spiritual meaning of Moses', the prophets', and John's words, nor see their path and travels, much less see through 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 Ghost 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, when I was brought up into his image in righteousness and holiness, and into the paradise of God, He let me see how Adam was made a living soul: and also 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 withal, I found none that could bear to be told that any should come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, that righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell; to be clear and pure without sin, as he was. Therefore, how should they be able to bear being told that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any should come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it is a certain truth, that none can understand their writings aright, without the same Spirit by which they were written.

Now the Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, "that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ;" and 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 aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

But I observed a dulness and drowsy heaviness upon people, which I wondered at: for sometimes, when I would set myself to sleep, my mind went over all to the beginning, in that which 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.

On a certain time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord said unto me: "Thy 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. Then, some time after, the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery, thorny wilderness; and 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 amongst 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 that he would give power to become 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 they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. 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, and their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. I saw that Christ died for all men, and was a propitiation for all; and enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light; and that none could be a true believer, but who believed in it. I saw that the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal. 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, but they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth: and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to 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.

Now, 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; and 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, hear ye 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; which Spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are 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 amongst them that professed the name of Christ. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, and prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power; that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost,

and in the Eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, and sing in the Spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, and 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 doth fall, and his outward sun doth shine on all), which is God's unspeakable love to the world. I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from men's inventions and worldly doctrines, by which they blew the people about this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and from all their beggarly rudiments, 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 and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy-days (so called) and all their vain traditions, which they had instituted since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against: in the dread and authority of which, I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, he forbade me to “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 travelled up and down, I was not to bid people Good morrow, or Good evening; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to 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 sprung from on high, and broke forth apace, by the light of which many came to see where they were.

But O! the rage that then was in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all sorts; but especially in priests and professors! for, though Thou, to a single person, was according to their own learning, their accidence, and grammar rules, and according to the Bible, yet they could not bear to hear it: and as to the hat-honour, 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 honour below, which he would lay in the dust, and stain;—an honour which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honour which came from God only;—an honour invented by men in the fall, and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it were not given them; and yet they would be looked upon as saints, church-members, and great Christians: but Christ saith, “How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?” “And I (saith Christ) receive not honour of men:” showing that men have an honour, which men will receive and give; but Christ will have none of it. This is the honour which Christ will not receive, and which must be laid in the dust. O! the rage and scorn, the heat and fury that arose! O! the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent, for not putting off our hats to men! for that soon tried all men's patience and sobriety what it was. Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account are hard to be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in, of losing our lives for this matter, and that by the great professors of Christianity, who thereby evinced that 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, and 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 their wakes or 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 they had set forth for holy-days were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things.<sup>12</sup> In fairs, also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay; 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 burthened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised, too, with schoolmasters and school-mistresses, warning them to teach their children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. Likewise I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up ha the fear of the Lord; and that they themselves should be therein 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 and the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their servants, yea, the very strangers were to keep the Sabbath amongst them, and be circumcised, before they eat of their sacrifices; so all Christians, and all that made a profession of Christianity, ought to train up 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 train them up in the law of life, the law of the Spirit, the law of love and of faith; 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, that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice, Christ Jesus, that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon but they that are circumcised by the Spirit. Likewise, I was exercised about the star-gazers, who drew people's minds from Christ, the bright and the morning-star; and from the Sun of righteousness, by whom the sun, and moon, and stars, and all things else were made, who is the wisdom of God, and from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

But the earthly spirit of the priests wounded my life; and when I heard the bell toll to call people

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12 By a royal proclamation of James I., issued in 1618 (for Lancashire), these pastimes were made lawful recreations for the First-day of the week, provided they did not interfere with the times appointed for worship. Many of the clergy at first refused to promulgate the proclamation, though by so doing they acted contrary to their canonical obedience, and laid themselves open to penalties. In the seventh year of Charles I., this proclamation, at the instigation of Archbishop Laud, was revived, and extended to the whole nation, and was enjoined to be published and advocated from the pulpit by all ministers, to their disgrace. By the revival of tins offensive proclamation, these disorderly revels had arrived to such a height of licentious depravity, that some well-disposed justices, in the county of Somerset, petitioned the judges on the western circuit, Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice, and Baron Denham, to suppress them. For so doing, they were summoned before the King and Council, by Archbishop Laud, for illegally interfering with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the council rescinded the prohibitions, and cashiered the judges.—(See Fuller's Church Hist. Book x. p. 74; and Book xi. p. 147.)

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. O! the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade they make of selling the Scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What one trade else in the world is comparable to it? notwithstanding the Scriptures were given forth freely, and 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 who renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

### CHAPTER III.

*1649–1650.—George Fox is first imprisoned at Nottingham, where the sheriff is convinced—he is liberated and quiets a distracted woman—many miracles were wrought in those days, beyond what that unbelieving age would receive or bear—he is cruelly treated at Mansfield-Woodhouse—is taken before the magistrates at Derby—acknowledges that he is sanctified—is temptingly asked if he were Christ, which he denies, yet is committed for blasphemy—his mittimus to Derby prison—writes to the priests of Derby against preaching for hire, etc.—also against persecution—to Barton and Bennet, justices, on the same subject—to Justice Bennet against covetousness—to Justice Barton, a preacher and a persecutor—to the mayor of Derby against persecution and oppression—to the court of Derby against oaths and oppression—to the bell-ringers of Derby against vanities and worldly pleasures—his jailer is convinced—Justice Bennet first gives Friends the name of Quakers in derision—writes to Friends and others, to open their understandings, and to direct them to their true Teacher within themselves—to the convinced people, directing them to internal silence and to true obedience—an encouragement to the faithful—to the justices of Derby against persecution, thrice repeated—to the priests of Derby, on the same subject—to the justices of Derby, to prize their time, and to depart from evil—the like to Colonel Barton, justice, and warning of the plagues and vengeance hanging over the oppressor.*

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Now 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 espied the great steeple-house; and the Lord said unto me, “thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein.” I said nothing of this to the Friends that were with me, but went on with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord was amongst us; in which I left Friends sitting in the meeting, and I went away 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, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.” And he told the

people that 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 and say, "O no, it is not the Scriptures;" and I 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. The Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star. They 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 without the Holy Ghost. As I spoke thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison; the smell whereof 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; and when I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power allayed 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 again; 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, and children, and servants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them. I lodged at the sheriff's, 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 amongst them. This sheriff sent for the other sheriff, and for 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, and that 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;" and accordingly he went 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. Hereupon the magistrates grew very angry, and sent for me from the sheriff's house, and committed me to the common prison. When the assize came on, there was one moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body; yea, life also: but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching me to the sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came. At which I understood the judge was somewhat offended, 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; wherefore the governor of the castle sent down soldiers, and dispersed them; and after that they were quiet. But both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful power that broke forth; and several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

Now, after I was released from Nottingham jail, where I had been kept prisoner some time, I travelled 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 all about her ears. He was about to bleed her, she being first bound, and many people being 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 unbound 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. The Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended; and afterwards she received the truth, and continued in it to her death. The Lord's name was honoured; to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifested his power to the astonishment of many, by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities, 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. But blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honoured, and over all exalted and magnified be the arm of his glorious power, by which he hath wrought gloriously; let the honour and praise of all his works be ascribed to him alone.

Now 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 stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, Bibles, and sticks. Then they haled 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 horse-whips, threatening to whip me. After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where 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 scarcely able to move or stand, by reason of the ill usage I had received; yet with considerable effort I got about a mile from the town, and then 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 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 one Oates, who was one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow; and there we discoursed with them. One of them said, "What was not of faith was sin." Whereupon I asked them, What faith was? and how it was wrought 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? for they looked upon the Scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways. But I told them they must find them in their own hearts; which they seemed to wonder at. We asked them who baptized John the Baptist? and 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 sat in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God? and what temple of God that was in which this Son of Perdition sat? and whether he, that betrays Christ within in himself, be not one in nature with that Judas, that betrayed Christ without?" 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 were got in; and the people locked them in, and themselves too, with the priest. But after the priest had done, they opened the door, and we went in also, and had a service for the Lord amongst them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town, amongst several people that were in high notions. Passing from thence, I heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion. And as I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "My Love Was Always To Thee, And Thou Art 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 the 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 vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but 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; and they said, from Scripture. A Bible being at hand, I asked them to point out that Scripture; and they showed me the 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 that Scripture proved 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 that that was nothing to their purpose either. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them, if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow? they said they could not tell. I told them, God could tell. Again, I asked them if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change? and they answered they could not tell. Then said I unto them, God can tell, and God doth 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 clown for the time. After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Banters. I had met with none before; and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me before I went amongst them. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, put forth a paper, or book of 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 priests and people. They were generally pretty quiet; only some few raged, and would have

had my relations to have me bound. I declared largely to them, how that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers to hear his Son. Some were convinced there.

Then I went to Market-Bosworth, and there was a lecture there also. He that preached that day was Nathaniel Stevens, who was priest of the town where I was born. He raged much when I spoke to him and to the people, and told them I was mad. He had said before, to one Colonel Purfoy, that there was never such a plant bred in England; and he bid the people not to hear me. So the people, 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. Howbeit, 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 durst not stand to prove his ministry.

As I travelled through markets, fairs, and divers 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 excise-men. I was moved of the Lord to go to them, 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 by the physicians; and some Friends in the town desired me to go to see 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 entreated, and restored him to health. But when I was come down stairs, into a lower room, and was speaking to the servants, and to some people that were there, a serving-man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and set it just to my side. I looked steadfastly on him, and said, "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon: it is no more to me than a straw." The standers-by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage, and full of wrath. 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 raised up the weak man, who afterwards was very loving to Friends; and 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. And I went to Chesterfield), where one Britland was priest. He saw beyond the common sort of priests, for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of Truth, before he was 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 gainsay. But they had me before the Mayor, and threatened to send me, with some others, to the House of Correction; and kept us in custody till it was late in the night. Then the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to shift as we could. So I bent my course towards Derby, having a friend or two with me. In our way we met with many professors; and at Kidsey-Park many were convinced.

Then coming to Derby, I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced; and so were several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the [steeple-house] 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 of the officers of the army, and priests, and preachers were to be there, and a colonel, that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them; and when they had done I spoke to them what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer and 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 thither; I said, God moved us so to do; and I told them, “God dwells not in temples made with hands.” I told them also, 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 amongst them, and they flew 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 till 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 Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in Me 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, Nay, we were nothing, Christ is all. They said, If a man steal, is it no sin? I answered, All unrighteousness is sin. So 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 appears by the following mittimus:—

*“To the Master of the House of Correction in Derby, greeting.*

“We have sent you herewithal 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 avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to a late act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof 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, he that was 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 to see his mother; and so got his liberty. It was then reported, that he said I had bewitched and deceived him; but my spirit was strengthened when he was gone. The priests and professors, the justices and the jailer, were all in a great rage against me. The jailer watched my

words and actions, and would often ask me questions to ensnare me; and sometimes asked me such silly questions as, Whether the door was latched, or not? thinking to draw some sudden, unadvised answer from me, whence 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 wondered at.

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

“O 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 the apostles have spoken; and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; you have a form of godliness, but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do 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 doth look for fruits. You asked me, If Scripture was my rule? but 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 fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness: see if this be 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 Saviour, 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.”

G. F.

I wrote to the magistrates who committed me to this effect:—

“Friends,

“I am forced, in tender love unto your souls, to write unto 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 calleth for justice, or loveth mercy, or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward, and doth not justice stand afar off? Is not truth silenced in the streets, or can equity enter? And do not they that depart from evil make themselves a prey? Oh! consider what ye do in time, and take heed whom ye imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Now, I entreat you, in time take heed what you do; for surely the Lord will come, and will make manifest both the builders and the work. If it be of man, it will fail; but if it be of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I desire and pray, that you would take heed, and beware what you do, lest ye be found fighters against God.”

G. F.



Now, after I had thus far cleared my conscience to them, I waited in 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, ye 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 ye not me,' saith the Lord, 'and will ye not tremble at my presence?' O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! You that are preachers have the chief place in the assemblies, and are called of men, Master. Such were and are against my Saviour and Maker: they shut up the kingdom of heaven from men, and neither go in themselves, nor suffer others. Therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their steps. You may say, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Christ, you would not have persecuted them; wherefore be ye witnesses against yourselves, that ye are the children of them, seeing ye now persecute the way of truth. O consider, there is a true judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations which the true prophet cried against! O come down, and sit in the dust! The Lord is coming with power, and he will throw down every one that is lifted up, that he alone may be exalted.”

As I had thus written unto them jointly, so, after some time, I wrote to each of them by himself. To Justice Bennet thus:—

“Friend,

“Thou that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou followest him. To take off burthens, to visit them that are in prison, to show mercy, clothe thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments. To relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted of the world; this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and follow covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindedness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloak. Woe be to you, greedy and rich men; weep and howl, for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion; God doth forbid that. Woe be to the man that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. O! do not love that which God forbids. His servant thou art, whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. Think of Lazarus and Dives; the one fared sumptuously every day, the other was a beggar. See if thou be not Dives: be not deceived, God is not mocked with vain words; evil communication corrupteth good manners;

awake to righteousness, and sin not.”

G. F.

That to Justice Barton was in these words:—

“Friend,

“Thou that preachest Christ, and the Scriptures in words, when any come to follow that which thou hast spoken of, and to live the life of the Scriptures, then they that speak the Scriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, persecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and 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 them that lived in the life, which those had backslidden from.”

G. F.

Having written to the justices and to 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,

“Thou art set in place to do justice; but, in imprisoning my body, thou hast done contrary to justice, according to your own law. O 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 ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' O friend, thy envy is not against me, but against the power of truth. I had no envy to you, but love. O 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 cometh, shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts; it shall leave them neither root nor branch.' O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldst love the truth, hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly. The love of God beareth, and suffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would show mercy; but you show forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth show forth its fruit; you do show forth your fruits openly. For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend, mercy, and true judgment, and justice, are cried for in your streets! Oppression, unmercifulness, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleasures, wantonness, and fulness, are in your streets; but the poor are not regarded. O! take heed: 'Woe be to the crown of pride! Woe be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to perish. O! remember Lazarus and Dives! One fared deliciously every day, and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind these things, for they are near; and see whether thou be not in Dives state.'”

I wrote also to the court at Derby thus:—

“I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts, or laying burthens upon poor people, which they cannot bear; and of imposing false oaths, or making them to take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, '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 betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous; and he delighteth in mercy. So love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.”

Likewise to the ringers of 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, and 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 bringeth to loathe all vanities and worldly pleasures. O consider! Time is precious. Fear God, and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.”

While I was in prison, divers professors came to discourse with me; and 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? and they said, Yes. I asked them, In whom? and they said, In Christ. I replied, If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be 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; for they said they could not believe that 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, whilst they pleaded for unholiness. At another time a company of professors came, and they also began to plead for sin. I asked them, Whether they had hope? and they said, Yes: God forbid but we should have hope. I asked them, What hope is it that you have? Is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bid them forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were 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?

Now 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 great terror of mind. 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 ale-houses.” After this, towards the evening, he came up into my chamber, and said to me, “I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling.” And he desired that he might lodge with me; I told him that I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he said nay, he would have my leave, and he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner; and he said “he had been plagued, and his house had been plagued for my sake.” So I suffered him to lodge with me; and 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 that was put into 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 times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, and he had refused to let me, and I had laid the weight thereof 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 rose, and went to the justices, and told them, “that he and his house had been plagued for my sake:” and one of the justices replied (as he reported to me), that the plagues were on 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.<sup>13</sup>

After this the justices gave leave that I should have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and told the jailer if they would show me how far a mile was, I might walk it sometimes; for I believed they thought I would go away. And the jailer confessed afterwards, that they did it with that intent, to have me escape, 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 that we were an innocent people, and did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to them that hated us and she desired them to use kindness towards me.

As my restraint prevented my travelling about, to declare and spread truth through the country, it came upon me to write a paper, and send it forth to be spread abroad both amongst 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 as follows:—

“The Lord doth show unto man his thoughts, and discovereth all the secret workings in man. A 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 he cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within, to the Lord. In this state and condition submit to the Spirit of the Lord, which will discover them, and will bring to wait upon Him, and 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

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<sup>13</sup> The designation “Quakers,” which was at first applied in scorn, has ever since been used by the world to distinguish Friends from other professors of religion. The first use of the term in the records of Parliament, occurs in the journals of the House of Commons in 1654.

the root of lusts, evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived, and bred; then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member doth work. 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; and as he teacheth you, so obey and forsake; else you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Christ, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth meet, what joy there is! Mercy triumphs in 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 beareth all things, and is above the world's judgment; for the world's judgment is but foolishness. Though it is the world's judgment and practice to cast all the world's filthiness that is among themselves upon the saints, yet their judgment is false. Now 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. So the fleshly mind doth mind the flesh, and talketh of the flesh; its knowledge is fleshly and not spiritual; and savours of death and not of the Spirit of life. Some men have the nature of swine wallowing in the mire. Some the nature of dogs to bite both the sheep and one another. Some of lions, to tear, devour, and destroy. Some of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and sheep of Christ; and some men have the nature of the serpent (that old adversary), to sting, envenom, and poison. 'He that hath 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 vapour in their strength, and to be swift in doing evil; and 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 worketh many ways; and whatsoever a man's or woman's nature is addicted to, that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will please his nature and appetite to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from the Creator. O! therefore, let not the mind go forth from God; for if it do, it will be stained, venom, and corrupted. If the mind go 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. O! 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 do appear; for the visible covereth the invisible sight in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, opens 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. O! 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, and not walk in it. The children of the light love the light, and walk in the light; but the children of darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light; and in these the earthly lust, and the carnal mind choke the seed of faith; and this bringeth oppression on the seed and death over themselves. O! therefore, mind the pure Spirit of the everlasting God, which will

teach you to use the creatures in their right place, and which judgeth the evil. 'To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all, visible and invisible! To thee be all praise, who bringest out of the deep, to thyself; O powerful God, who art 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 thou, who hast made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory! In thee is my strength, my refreshment, and life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore!<sup>14</sup> To live and walk in the Spirit of God is joy, and peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now when the mind is got 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 straitness and failings. For then the good is shut up, and the self-righteousness is exalted. Then man doth work in the outward law, though he cannot justify himself by the law, but is condemned by the light; for he cannot get out of that state, but 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; keep therefore in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith in him; and take heed of conforming to the world, and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that bringeth disobedience; and then imaginations and questionings arise to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But the obedience of faith destroyeth imaginations, and questionings, and all the temptations in the flesh, and buffetings, and lookings forth, and fetching up things that are past. By not keeping in the life and light, and not crossing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man, and 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."

G. F.

I wrote another paper about the same time, and sent it forth amongst 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. O! 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 thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind. His voice is sweet and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another. When they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they also sing for joy. O, 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!"

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14 How vain are bonds and imprisonments, or any other human infliction, to the soul thus magnifying the Lord in a strain of thanksgiving, affectingly fervent. To the soul that can thus rejoice in God, its Saviour, there is but one language, "It is well!" 2 Kings iv. 26.

But many that 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, ye 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. O hear! O hearken to the call of the Lord! Come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! Come, sing together, ye 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 home with them; offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby with them in fifty pounds each, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests. So I was had up before the justices; and because I would not consent, that they, or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, 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 hands, crying, “Away with him, jailer, take him away, jailer.” Whereupon I was had again to prison, and there kept, until the time of my commitment for six months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself, which I made use of, as I felt freedom. Sometimes I went into the market, and streets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedness; and so returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes went and visited them in their meetings on first-days.

After I had been before the justices, and they had required sureties for my good behaviour (which I could not consent should be given, to blemish my innocency), it came upon me to write to the justices again; which I did as follows:—

“Friends,

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

Some little time after I wrote to them again:—

“Friends,

“Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all these things; and the love of God hath brought me to loathe all wantonness, blessed be his name! Drunkards, and 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 to no man for my liberty, but to the Lord alone, who hath all men's hearts in his hand.”

And after some time, not finding my spirit clear of them, I wrote to them again, as follows:—

“Friends,

“Had you known who sent me to you, ye would have received me; for the Lord sent me 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 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 ye see what ye have done; ye would not have imprisoned me, had not my Father suffered you; and by his power I shall be loosed; for he openeth and shutteth; 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 had 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 saith, 'receive strangers,' but you imprison such. As you are in authority, take heed of oppression and oaths, of injustice, and gifts or rewards, for God doth loathe 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:—

“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 its fruit; the ministry of Jesus Christ is in mercy and love, to loose them that are bound, to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are in captivity go free. Where is your example, if the Scriptures be your rule, to imprison for religion? Have yon any command for it from Christ? If that were in you, which you profess, you would walk in their steps, who wrote the Scriptures, 'But he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, whose praise is of men; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, 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 dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God. But where envy, pride, and hatred rule, the nature of the world rules, and not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you; but 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; and satisfy not your own minds in the flesh; but prize your time, while you have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God; then you shall not be condemned for that you know not; but for that you do know, and do not obey. Consider betimes, weigh yourselves, and see where you are, and whom you serve. For if ye blaspheme God, and take his name in vain; if ye swear and lie; if ye give way to envy and hatred, to covetousness and greediness, to pleasures and wantonness, or any other vices, be assured that ye do serve the Devil. But if ye fear the Lord, and serve him, ye will loathe all these things. He that loveth God, will not blaspheme his name; but where there is opposing God, and serving the Devil, that profession is sad and miserable. O 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 doth forbid. So consider, and be not deceived; '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 you to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord. O look at the mercies of God, and prize them, and do not turn them into wantonness. O 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 hinted before:—

“Friend,

“Do not cloak and cover thyself; there is a God, who knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee; he seeth thy way. 'Woe be to him that covereth, and not with my Spirit,' saith the Lord. Dost thou do contrary to the law, and then put it from thee? Mercy and true judgment thou neglectest; look what was spoken against such. My Saviour said to such, 'I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in.' And when they said, 'When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee,' etc, he replied, 'Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not to me.' Thou hast imprisoned me for bearing witness to the life and power of truth, and yet thou professest to be a minister of Christ; but if Christ had sent thee, thou wouldst bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and wouldst receive strangers. Thou hast been wanton upon earth, thou hast lived plenteously, and nourished thy heart, as in a day of slaughter; thou hast killed the Just. O look where thou art,

and how thou hast spent thy time! O remember thyself, and now, whilst thou hast time, prize it. Do not slight the free mercy, or despise the long-suffering of God, which is great salvation; but mind that in thee which doth convince, and would not let thee swear, nor lie, nor take God's name in vain. Thou knowest thou shouldst do none of these things; thou hast learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light, which doth convince thee, forsake thy sins, and look at the mercies of God; and prize his love in sparing thee till now. The Lord saith, 'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved; cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils.' Prize thy time, and see whom thou servest; for his servant thou art whom thou dost obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. If thou serve God, and fear him, thou wilt not blaspheme his name, or curse, or swear, or take his name in vain, or follow pleasures and wantonness, whoredom, and drunkenness, or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or rashness, or headiness, pride or gluttony, greediness, oppression, or covetousness, or foolish jestings, or vain songs. God doth forbid these things, and all unrighteousness. If thou profess God, and act any of these things, thou takest him for a cloak, and servest the Devil. Consider with thyself, and do not love that which God hateth. He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments. The Devil will tell thee, 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, saith the Lord, and I will have mercy. 'Turn ye, why will ye die? saith the Lord.'

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

## CHAPTER IV.

*1650-1651.—A trooper visits George Fox from an inward intimation—declines a commission in the army, and is put in the dungeon—confutes one who denied Christ's outward appearance, from whence a slander is raised against Friends—testifies against capital punishments for small matters—writes for more speedy justice to prisoners—intercedes for the life of a young woman, imprisoned for stealing, who is brought to the gallows but reprieved, and afterwards convinced—again refuses to bear arms, and is committed close prisoner—writes to Barton and Bennet, justices, against persecution—addresses the convinced and tender people against hirelings—to the magistrates of Derby against persecution, and foretelling his own enlargement and their recompense—is greatly exercised for the wickedness of Derby—sees the visitation of God's love pass away from the town, and writes a lamentation over it—a great judgment fell upon the town—he is liberated after a year's imprisonment—visits*

*Lichfield—preaches repentance through Doncaster—many dread “the man with leather breeches”—goes to steeple-houses, as the apostles did to the temples, to bring people off from them—is denied entertainment, and ill-treated at some places—refuses to inform against his persecutors—many are convinced in Yorkshire, amongst others, Richard Karnsworth, James Naylor, William Dewsbury, Justice Hotham, and Captain Pursloe.*

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While I was yet in the House of Correction, there came unto me it trooper, and said, as he was sitting in the steeple-house, hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble came upon him; and the voice of the Lord came to him saying, “Dost thou 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; and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst 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 had a spite against him; and at Worcester fight, the year after, when the two armies were lying near one another, two came out from the king's army, and challenged any two of the Parliament army to fight with them; his colonel made choice of him and another to answer the challenge. And when in the encounter his companion was slain, he drove both his enemies within musket-shot out of the town, without firing a pistol at them. This, when he returned, he told me with his own mouth. But when the fight was over, he saw the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers; and being sensible how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him, and seeing also to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

Now the time of my commitment to the house of correction being nearly ended, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers said they would have none but me.<sup>15</sup> So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the marketplace; and there 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 from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, 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. But they courted me to accept their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them, I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said, they offered it in love and kindness to me, because of my virtue; and such like flattering words they used. But I told them, if that was

<sup>15</sup> The English nation at this period was much engrossed with the great subjects of religion and politics, and both were mingled together in strange conjunction. The chief rulers of the Commonwealth, more especially Oliver Cromwell, had contrived to interweave their own views on spiritual matters into the minds of the soldiers; who, in those days, commonly united, with the profession of arms, the profession also of Christianity. The unsettled state of the country caused them to be stationed in considerable numbers in most of the principal towns of the north, where several of them had made acquaintance with George Fox during his imprisonment, and were so much impressed in his favour, that it appears they were desirous, as the time of his release drew near, to engage him in the capacity of their captain.

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 amongst the rogues and felons." So I was had away and put into a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year, unless it were at times; for they would sometimes let me walk in the garden, having a belief that I would not go away. Now when they had got me into Derby dungeon, it was the belief and saying of people that I should never come out; but I had faith in God, and believed I should be delivered 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 noised abroad that I was in Derby dungeon, my relations came to see me again; and they were much troubled that I should be in prison; for they looked upon it to be a great shame to them for me to be imprisoned for religion; and some thought I was mad, because I advocated purity, and righteousness, and perfection.

Among others that came to see, and discourse with me, was a person from Nottingham, a soldier, that had been a Baptist (as I understood), and with him came several others. In discourse he said to me, "Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there never was any such thing." I was exceedingly grieved to hear him say so; and I said to him, "How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem through the professing Jews, and chief priests, and Pilate?" And he denied that ever Christ suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him whether there were not chief priests, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? and when he could not deny that, then 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 slander raised upon us, that the Quakers denied Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem; which was all utterly false, and the least thought of it never entered our hearts; but it was a mere slander cast upon us, and occasioned by this person's words. The same person also said, that never any of the prophets, or apostles, or holy men of God, suffered any thing outwardly; but all their sufferings were inward. But I instanced to him how many of them suffered, and by whom they suffered: and so was the power of the Lord brought over his wicked imaginations.

There came also another company to me, that pretended they were triers of spirits; I asked them what was the first step to peace, and what it was by which a man might see his salvation? and they were presently up in the airy mind, and said I was mad. Thus they came to try spirits, who did not know themselves, nor 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. I was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters; and to show them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time; 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 heavens opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God. So I wrote to the judges as follows:—

“I am moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle or money, etc.; for thieves in the old time were to make restitution; and if they had not wherewith, 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 doth forbid them; they blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin; God hath forbidden it; but that you should judge according to his laws, and show mercy: for he delighteth in true judgment and in mercy. I beseech you to 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 ye do true justice to every man; and see that none be oppressed, or wronged, or any oaths imposed; for the land mourneth because of oaths, and adulteries, and sorceries, and drunkenness, and profaneness. O consider, ye that are men set in authority: be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Show mercy to the fatherless, to the widows, and to the poor; and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they blind the eyes of the wise; the Lord doth loathe all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice, and righteousness, for the Lord delighteth therein. Consider these things in time, and take heed how ye spend your time. Now ye have time, prize it; and show mercy, that ye 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 an hurtful thing it was, that prisoners should lie so long in jail; showing how they learned wickedness one of another in talking of their bad deeds: and 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 conduct towards each other. People admired that I was so preserved and kept; for they could never 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 in prison, there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master of some money. When she was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and to the jury about her, showing them how it was contrary 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 people to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God; and exhorting all to fear the Lord, to avoid all earthly lusts, and to 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 again to prison: and in the prison she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

There was also in the jail, while I was there, a prisoner, a wicked, ungodly man, who was a reputed

conjurer. He threatened how he would talk with me, and what he would do to me; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And once the jailer and he falling out, he threatened that he would raise the Devil, and break his house down, so that he made the jailer afraid. Then I was moved of the Lord to go in his power, and rebuke him, and say unto him, "Come let us see what thou canst do; do thy worst:" and 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.

Now the time of Worcester fight coming on, Justice Bennet sent the constables to press me for a soldier, seeing I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told them that I was brought off from outward wars. They came down again to give me press-money, but I would take none. Then I was brought up to Sergeant Holes, kept there a while, and then taken down again. After a while the constables fetched me up again, and brought me before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier; but I told them that I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them, where envy and hatred are, there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I would not take it: then they were angry, and committed me close prisoner, without bail or mainprize. Whereupon I wrote to them again, directing my letter to Colonel Barton (who was a preacher), and the rest that were concerned in my commitment. I wrote thus:—

"You who are without Christ, and yet use the words which he and his saints have spoken; consider, neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but my Saviour 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 Saviour saith, 'Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you;' for the love of God doth not persecute any, but loveth all where it dwelleth. 'He that hateth 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 am a 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. O 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, ye would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to yon, as to all my fellow-creatures; and that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand, is this written."

About this time I was moved to give forth the following, to go amongst the convinced and tender people, to manifest the deceits 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 ever hated; and the righteous for his sake. Mind who they were that did ever hate them: he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit; and so it is now. Mind who were the chiefest against 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, and 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 burthens upon the people; and the true servants of the Lord spoke against them. Jeremiah spoke against hirelings, and said, It was a horrible thing; What will ye do in the end? for the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul spoke against such as made gain upon the people; and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous men and proud, such as loved pleasures more than God—such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; '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 minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so,' said he, 'do these resist the truth; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest unto all men.' Moses forsook honours 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 honour 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 laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O 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 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; and yet leaned on the Lord, saying, 'Is not the Lord amongst us?' Gifts blind the eyes of the wise. The gift of God was never purchased with money. All the holy servants of God did ever cry against deceit; and where the Lord hath manifested his love, they do loathe it, and that nature which holdeth it up."

Again a concern came upon me to write to the magistrates of Derby; which I did as follows:—

"Friends,

"I desire you to consider in time whom ye do imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But when the Lord doth send his messengers unto you, to warn you of the woes that will come upon you, except you repent, then you persecute them, and 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 knoweth your hearts. He will not be

worshipped with your forms and professions, and shows of religion. Therefore consider, ye that talk of God, how ye are subject to him; for they are his children that do his will. What doth 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 thereof ye oppress the poor. Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your priests teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who seeth all things, will discover all your secrets: and 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 of these things; search the Scriptures, and see whether any of the people of God did ever imprison any for religion. They were themselves imprisoned. I desire you to consider, that it is written, 'When the church is met together, ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted;' and then, 'if anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.' Thus it was in the true church; and thus it ought to be now. But it is not so in your assemblies; 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, 'Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.' I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord; for he is stronger than you. Though ye hold his people fast for a time, yet when he cometh, he will make known who are his; for his coming is like the refiner's fire and like fuller's soap. Then the stone that is set at nought by you builders, shall be the headstone of the corner. O friends, lay these things to heart, and let them not seem light things to you. I write 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 my exercise and travail in spirit, during my imprisonment here, because of the wickedness that was in this town; for though some were convinced, yet the generality were a hardened people; and 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 lamentation for them:—

"O Derby! as the waters run away when the flood-gates are up, so doth the visitation of God's love pass away from thee, O Derby! Therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded; and consider, before thou art utterly forsaken. The Lord moved me twice, before I came to cry against the deceits and vanities that are in thee, and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The woe is against the crown of pride; the woe is against drunkenness and vain pleasures, and against them that make a profession of religion in words, yet are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppression and envy. O Derby! thy profession and preaching stink before the Lord. Ye profess a Sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves in fine apparel; you uphold pride. Thy women go with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, etc, which the true prophet of old cried against. Your assemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is sot up, and bowed down to; covetousness abounds; and he that doeth wickedly is honoured: so deceit bears with deceit; and yet they profess Christ in words. O the deceit that is within thee! it doth even break my heart to see how God is dishonoured in thee, O 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 amongst 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 raged, and ran against the life and Spirit which gave forth the Scriptures, which they professed in words. And so it was, as will appear hereafter.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magistrates were uneasy about it but they could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have me sent up to the parliament; another while they would have banished me to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, and a seducer, and a blasphemer: afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, they said I was an honest, virtuous man. But their good report or bad report, their well speaking or their ill speaking, was 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 a prisoner in Derby almost a year; six months in the House of Correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail and dungeon.

Thus being set at liberty again, I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord, passing through the country, first, into my own country of Leicestershire, and had meetings as I went; and the Lord's Spirit and power accompanied me. Afterwards I went near to Burton-on-trent, where some were convinced; and so to Bushel-house, where I had a meeting. I went up into the country, where there were friendly people; yet an outrageous wicked professor had an intent to do me a mischief, but the Lord prevented him. Blessed be the Lord!

As I was walking along with several Friends, I lifted up my head, and I saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was? and they said, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go thither. Being come to the house we were going to, I wished the Friends that were with me, to walk into the house, saying nothing to them whether I was to go. As soon as they were gone, I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch, till I came within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, there were shepherds 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 unto 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 to and fro 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; but 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 any more, and was at a stand whether I should or not, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do; and then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again. After this a deep consideration came upon me, why, or for what reason, I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it The Bloody City. For though the parliament had the minster one while, and the king another, and much blood had been shed in the town, during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen 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 the 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 hath 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.<sup>16</sup>

Then I passed up and down through the countries, having meetings amongst friendly people in many places; but my relations were offended at me. After some time I returned into Nottinghamshire, to Mansfield, and went into Derbyshire, visiting Friends. Then passing into Yorkshire, I preached repentance through Doncasteb, and several other places; and after came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth<sup>17</sup> and some others were convinced. So travelling through several places, preaching repentance, and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Naylor lived; he and Thomas Goodyear came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewsbury<sup>18</sup> also and his wife, with many more, came to me, who were convinced, and received the truth. From thence I passed through the country towards Captaia Pursloe's house by Selby, and visited John Leek, who had been to visit me in Derby prison, and was convinced. I had a horse, but was fain 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. Thus passing on, I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverley steeple-house, which was then a place of high profession; and being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn,

16 Various constructions have been put upon the act here recorded. It appears to have afforded a feeling of satisfaction to the mind of the actor, in having performed a service which he believed required of him, which may have been a test of his faith and obedience. It certainly affords a striking example of that undaunted courage George Fox evinced on all occasions, where his sense of religious duty called upon him to yield implicit obedience to its injunctions.

17 Richard Farnsworth became an eminent minister, and many were turned to God by him. He was mighty in discourses with priests and professors, and laboured much in the gospel. He was twelve months imprisoned at Banbury in 1655, and after great sufferings and persecutions, he finished his testimony in London, in 1666. A short time before his death, sitting up in bed; he spoke in as much power and strength of spirit as he had done at any time in his health, testifying that he was filled with the love of God more than he was able to express. He published many small works in defence of truth.

18 William Dewsbury, often mentioned in this Journal, became a valiant minister of the gospel, travelling extensively in its advocacy. Whiting says, "he was an extraordinary man many ways, and I thought as exact a pattern of a perfect man as ever I knew." His health became impaired through the sharp persecutions he passed through, consisting of many long imprisonments, beatings, and bruising. In 1688, going up to London to visit the brethren, he was taken ill of a distemper contracted in prison. Returning home, he died shortly after, leaving a heavenly testimony behind him, expressed about a week before he died. This, with other information, is recorded in *Piety Promoted*, vol. i. pp. 163-168, and further particulars in Whiting's *Memoirs*, p. 25, and at pp. 376-387. His works were published in 1 vol. quarto, in 1689,

and as soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house came to the door, and said, "What, is it you? come in," as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed; and in the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had had in the inn, I 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 amongst the people. The mayor came and spoke a few words to me; but none of them had any power to meddle with me. So I passed away 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 unto them, 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 so passed away. The next day I went to Crantsick, to Captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to Justice Hotham's. This Justice Hotham was a tender man, one that 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 publish it abroad to the people. After a while there came a priest to visit him, with whom also I had some discourse concerning Truth. But his mouth was quickly stopped, for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

While I was here, there came a great woman of Beverley to speak to Justice Hotham about some business; and in discourse she told him, that the last Sabbath-day (as she called it) there came an angel or spirit into the church at Beverley, and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came, nor whither it went; but it astonished all, both priest, professors, and magistrates of the town. This relation Justice Hotham gave me afterwards, and then I gave him an account how I had been that day at Beverley steeple-house, and had declared truth to the priest and people there.

There were in the country thereabouts some noted priests and doctors, with whom Justice Hotham was acquainted. He would fain 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 field; and Captain Pursloe coming up 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 both to 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 preached a great high-priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, "Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them, for preaching the Scriptures to them. Mayest thou not blush for 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 ye have received, freely give?'" The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from the 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 unto them.

Having cleared myself amongst the people, I returned to Justice Hotham's house that night, who, when I came in, took me in his arms, and said his house was my house, for he was exceedingly glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed. Then he told me why he went not with me to the steeple-house in the morning, and what reasonings he had in himself about it; for he thought, if he had gone with me to the steeple-house, the officers would have put me to him; and then he should have been so put to it, that he should not have known what to do. But he was glad, he said, when Captain Pursloe came up to go with me; yet neither of them was dressed, nor had his band about his neck. It was a strange thing then to see a man come into a steeple-house without a band; yet Captain Pursloe went in with me without his band, the Lord's power and truth had so affected him that he minded it not.

From hence I passed on through the country, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I bid the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said Thee and Thou to her she looked strangely on me. Then I asked her if she had any milk; and she said, No. I was sensible she spoke falsely, and being willing to try her further, I asked her if she had any cream; she denied that she had any. Now there stood a churn in the room, and a little boy playing about it, put his hands into it, and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifested to be a liar. She was amazed, and blessed herself, and taking up the child, whipped it sorely; but I reprov'd 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 till 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 were several people that were very tender. Upon the First-day of the week following, I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great minster, and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went: and when the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. "Then say on quickly," said a professor that was among them, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them, This was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; but God Almighty

looked for fruits amongst 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 lodgings. 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, and strike them, and make them confess that the groans which broke forth through me did reach them; for my life was burthened 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 looking towards Cleveland, I saw there was a people that had tasted of the power of God. I saw then there was a seed in that country, and that God had an 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 ale-house. The next morning I was moved of the Lord to speak the word of the Lord to this Papist. So I went to his house, and declared against his religion, and all their superstitious ways; and told him that God was come to teach his people himself. This put the Papist into such a rage, that he could not then endure to stay in his own house.

The next day I came to Burraby, where a priest and several friendly people met together. Many of the people were convinced, and have continued faithful ever since; and there is a great meeting of Friends in that town. The priest also was forced to confess to the truth, though he came not into it.

The day following I went into Cleveland, amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God. They had formerly had great meetings, but were then all shattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned Banterers. I told them that after they had 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 amongst them in their meetings, to sit down therein, 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 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 thence came all their loss: for the Lord renews his mercies and his strength to them that wait upon him. The heads of these people came to nothing: but most of them came to be convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

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, that 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 amongst those people.

Though at this time the snow was very deep, I kept travelling; and going through the country, 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 also I met with many professors, and some Ranters. I had large meetings amongst them, and a great convincement there was. Many received the truth; amongst whom, one was a man of an hundred years of age; another was a chief constable; and a third was a priest, whose name was Philip Scafe. Him the Lord, by his free Spirit, did afterwards make a free minister of his free gospel.

The priest of this town was a lofty one, who much oppressed the people for his tithes. If they went a-fishing many leagues off, he would make them pay the tithe-money of what they made of 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 expose the priest. When I had spoken to him, and laid his oppression of the people before him, he fled away. The chief of the parish were very light and vain; so 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 amongst them, remained with some of them; so that at night some of the heads of the parish came to me, and 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 Banters to be stirred; and they sent me word that they would have a dispute with me, both the oppressing priest, and the leaders of the Ranters. A day was fixed, and the Ranter came with his company; and another priest, a Scotchman, came; but not the oppressing priest of Stath. Philip Scafe, who had been a priest, and was convinced, was with me; and a great number of people met. When we were seated, the Ranter, whose name was T. Bushel, told me he had had a vision of me; that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; and he did so: and many other flattering words he spoke. I told him it was his own figure, and said unto him, "Repent, thou beast." He said it was jealousy in me to say so. Then 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 the nature of the beast; and therefore I wished to know of him how that nature came to be bred in him? I told him he should give me an account of the 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 he came not; 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, ranking them 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 for their gain from

their quarter, divining for money, and teaching for filthy lucre. I brought all the prophets, and 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 their inward teacher, Christ Jesus their Saviour; and I preached up Christ in the hearts of his people, when all these mountains were laid low. The people were all quiet, and the gainsayers' mouths were stopped; for though they broiled inwardly, yet the power bound them down, that they could not break out.

After the meeting, this Scotch priest desired me to walk with him on the top of the cliffs; whereupon 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 by to hear what was said, lest the priest, when I was gone, should report anything of me which I did not say. We went together; and as we walked, the priest asked me many things concerning the light, and concerning the soul; to 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 give his head, if I was not knocked down within a month. By this, Friends suspected that his intent was, in desiring me to walk with him alone, either to thrust me down from off the cliff, or to do me some other mischief; and that when he saw himself frustrated in that, by my having one with me, it made him rage. I feared neither his prophecies nor his threats; for I feared God Almighty. But some Friends, through their affection for me, feared much that this priest would do me some mischief, or set on others to do it. Yet after some years this very Scotch priest, and his wife also, came to be convinced of the truth; and about twelve years after this, I was at their house.

After this, there came another priest to a meeting where I was, one that was in repute above all the priests in the country. As I was speaking in the meeting, 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 the 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, that was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himself, took him up and reproved him; so a great dispute arose between them; the convinced priest holding that the gospel was immortal, and the other priest that it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this opposing priest, and stopped his mouth; and many people were convinced, seeing the darkness that was in the opposing priest, and the light that was in the convinced priest.

Then 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 were come, he slipped out of the house, and hid himself under a hedge. The people went to seek him, and found him, but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a steeple-house hard by, where the priest and people were in a great rage: this priest had threatened Friends what he would do; but when I came he fled; for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, 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 unto them, when it was told them, "The

man in leather breeches is come.”<sup>19</sup> At the hearing thereof 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.

From this place we passed to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had some service for the Lord; there are large meetings settled there since. From thence I passed over the Wolds 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 would not come forth; so I had a good opportunity with the people, and the Lord's power came over them. One, who had been a wild, drunken man, was so reached therewith, 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 forth, I was moved to go to the steeple-house; the priest was confounded, and the Lord's power came over all.

On the 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 go to see me hanged: but when she came, she was convinced, and remains a Friend.

Then I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there were; to which more people would have come, but durst not for fear of their relations; for it was thought a strange thing then to preach in houses, and not go to the church, as they called it; so that I was much desired to go and speak in the steeple-houses. One of the priests wrote to me, and invited me to preach in the steeple-house, calling me his brother. Another priest, a noted man, kept a lecture there. Now the Lord had showed me, while I was in Derby prison, that I should speak in steeple-houses, to gather people from thence; and a concern sometimes would come upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests loll'd 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; reckoning that God dwelt there in the outward house. Whereas 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 dwelleth 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 hearers, and the priest was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was in the steeple-house, it was soon filled with people. When the priest that preached that day had done, he sent the other priest that had invited me thither, to bring me up into

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19 The leathern garments worn by George Fox were chosen by him for their simplicity and durability; and though they often subjected their wearer to ridicule and abuse, he had no motive beyond the above-mentioned for choosing such a garb. Many persons have been amused, if not offended at him for having worn such a dress when he was a young man. In those days leathern garments for working men may not have been so singular as some suppose. It is a well authenticated fact, that an eminent merchant of the city of London, about 150 years ago, travelled on foot from Newcastle, in search of a livelihood, clad in a coat of leather. He opened a warehouse in London for the sale of heavy articles of iron, which were manufactured in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. In a few years he became prosperous, accumulated a large fortune, and ranked with the magnates of the city, sharing in all the civic honours of the corporation. The firm which he established still continues to conduct a flourishing business, at a warehouse in Thames Street, which is familiarly known in the trade by “The Leathern Doublet;” a representation of the founder's original dress being fixed as a sign in front of the building.



the pulpit; but I sent word to him, that I needed not to go into the pulpit. Then 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 my saying so, 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. Whereupon I stood up, and desired all to be quiet; and stepping upon a high scat, I declared unto them the marks of the false prophets, and showed that they were already come; and set the true prophets, and Christ, and his apostles over them; and manifested these to' be out of the steps of the true prophets, and of Christ and his apostles. I directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from darkness to the light. And having opened divers 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 in the steeple-house the justices held their sessions, Justice Robinson being chairman. I had a meeting in the school-house 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 priests besides. After the meeting, we went to an inn. Justice Robinson's priest was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner, but I would by no means suffer it. Then he offered that I should have 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 others, to visit Justice Robinson, who met me at his chamber door. I told him, I could not honour him with man's honour. 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, and 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 stood; as that reprobation stood in the first birth, and election stood 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 that was present, 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 at any charge in their country; but they told him that they could not persuade me to take any; and so accepting his kindness, I refused his money.

From thence I passed up into the country, and the priest that called me brother (in whose school-house 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: and they said, for me to preach in the steeplehouse. After some time I felt drawings that way; and as I walked to the steeple-house, I saw the people were gathered together in the

yard. The old priest would have had me to go into the steeple-house; but I said, it was no matter. It was something strange to the people, that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. I stood up in the steeplehouse 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 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 off from that temple, and those synagogues, and from the offerings, and tithes, and covetous priests of that time; that such as came to be convinced of the truth, and converted to it, and believed in Jesus Christ, whom the apostles preached, met together afterwards in dwelling-houses; and that all who preach Christ, the Word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he had 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 dwelleth 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, and Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling 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 voice, nor Christ's voice. Therefore I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, and directed 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 amongst them to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord!

I passed on to another town, where there was another great meeting, the old priest before mentioned going along 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 anon 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 amongst them.

From hence 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 when we were come into it, 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, that the painted beast had a painted house. Then 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 the people 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 themselves 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 Saviour; that believing in him, they might be saved from their sins.

After this we went to one Birdet's house, where I had a great meeting, and this old priest accompanied me still, leaving his steeple-house; for he had been looked upon as a famous priest, above Common-Prayermen, and 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, he bid them distrain his horse for travelling on the Lord's day (as he called it); but Hotham did that only 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 that 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 had been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; because (said he) they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth, said he, overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof; and therefore, he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

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

Thence I went to Oram, to one 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 were assembled together. But the Lord's power was over all; the priests fled away, and much good service I had for the Lord amongst the people. Some of those great professors were convinced, and became honest, faithful Friends, being men of account in the place.

The next day, Friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. One day, I came towards night into a town called Patrington; and as I walked along the town, I warned both priest 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. Then I desired them to let me have a little meat, or milk, and I would pay them for it; but they would

not. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed me, and asked me, what news? I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I had gone some distance, I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat and drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. Then 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 discerned a ditch, and got a little water and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch, and being weary with travelling, sat down among the furze-bushes till it was day. About break of day I got up and passed over the fields. A man came after me with a great pike-staff, 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 amongst 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 pikes, staves, and halberds. Now when I was come back to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and people were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongst them, and 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, not having eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice. When I was come near his house, a man came riding after us, and asked me whether I was the man that was apprehended? I asked him wherefore he asked? He said, for no hurt; and I told him I was; so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said, It was well 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 Thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me, whether I was not mazed or fond; but the man told him, no, it was my principle. Then 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 to return to Christ Jesus whilst he had time; and that whilst he had time, he should prize it. "Ay, ay," said he, "the light, that is spoken of in the third of John." I desired him that 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 parlour 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 that I had no letters. He said, He is not a vagrant by his linen; and then he set me at liberty. I went back to Patrington, with the man that had ridden before me to the justice; for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me 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; which he did, that they might say, they had seen me in a bed, or upon a bed; for a report had been raised that I would not lie on any bed, because at that time I lay many times out of doors. Now when the First-day of the week 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. Presently 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 of it to this day. They were exceedingly grieved that they did not receive me, nor give me lodging, when I was there before.

From hence I travelled through the country, even to the furthest part thereof, warning people, in towns

and villages, to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus, their teacher.

On the First-day of the week I came to one Colonel Overton's house, 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.

Then I returned to Patrington again, and visited those Friends that were convinced there; by whom I understood that a tailor, and some wild blades in that town, had occasioned my being carried before the justice. The tailor came to ask my forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the steeple-house at Oram not long before, there came a professor, who gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bid me get out of the church; "Alas, poor man!" said I, "dost thou call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people, whom God hath 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 Hotham had asked me before, whether any people had meddled with me, or abused me; but I was not at liberty to tell him anything of that kind, but was to forgive all.

## CHAPTER V.

*1652.—George Fox visits great men's houses, warning them to repent—is accused of calling himself Christ—refutes the charge, and tells the accuser that Judas's end would be his, which shortly came to pass; hence a slander is raised against Friends—is stoned at Doncaster—a scoffing priest made to tremble at the Lord's power—a slandering priest cut off in his wickedness—a murderous man seeks George Fox, but misses him—he lays in a wood all night—the influence of one man or woman, who lives in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in, is to be felt within a circuit of ten miles—*

*George Fox ascends Pendle Hill, whence he sees the place of a great gathering of people—on descending, refreshes himself at a spring of water; having taken little sustenance for several days—foresees a great people in white raiment about Wensleydale and Sedbergh—a wicked man designs to injure him, but is prevented—many are convinced in Dent, and a meeting is settled at Sedbergh, where he had seen a people in white raiment—preaches for several hours in the steeple-house yard there—preaches on a rock, near Firbank chapel, to 1000 people, for three hours—the family of Judge Fell convinced, and a meeting settled at his house, and continued for forty years—preaches through Lancaster streets—at a meeting of priests at Ulverstone he speaks in great power, so that one of them said, "the church shook"—disputes with priest Lampitt—Justice Sawrey is the first persecutor in the north—forty priests appear against George Fox at Lancaster Sessions for speaking blasphemy; they are confounded, and he is cleared of the charge—James Naylor's account of George Fox's trial at*

*Lancaster Sessions—priest Jackus is reproved from the bench for his blasphemy—these priests are reproved by the populace—Col. West defends and protects George Fox against the machinations of the priests, and the design of Judge Windham, at the risk of losing his place.*

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From Patrington I went to several great men's houses, warning them to repent. Some received me lovingly, and some slighted me. Thus I passed on, and at night 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 unto them the day of their visitation, and directed them to the light of Christ and Spirit of God, that they might come to know salvation, I passed away; and the people were something tendered, and troubled afterwards. When it grew dark, I spied a hay-stack, and went and sat under it all night, till 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 travelling on foot so far.

Afterwards, I came to Balby, and visited 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. And on the First-day of the week I went to a steeple-house on this side of Trent; and in the afternoon to one 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, and a priest, and many professors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their ways 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 had said, I was Christ; which was utterly false. And 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 all the people, that I had said, I was Christ, and he had got witnesses to prove it. This set the people into such a rage, that they had much to do to keep their hands off me. Then was I moved of the Lord God to stand up on the table, and, in the eternal power of God, to 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 himself, a professor, and his own false-witnesses. I called the accuser Judas, and was moved to tell him, that Judas's end would be his; and that that was the word of the Lord and of Christ, through me, to him. So the Lord's power came over all, and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But this Judas went away, and 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. But notwithstanding this wicked slander, by which the adversary designed to defame us, and turn people's minds against the truth we held forth, many in Lincolnshire received the gospel, being convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, and sat down therein under the Lord's heavenly teaching.

After this I passed, in the Lord's power, into Yorkshire, came to Warmsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the forenoon,<sup>20</sup> but they shut the door against me; yet after a while 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 was in the priest's sight, he discontinued preaching, though I said nothing to him, 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 any thing amongst 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, and thrust me out of the steeple-house again, and locked the door on me. As soon as they had done their service, and were come forth, the people ran upon me, and 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. But 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 steeplehouse, but the priest had done before I got thither; so I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward teacher, Jesus Christ.

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20 The circumstance of Friends entering the public places of worship in the times of the Commonwealth, is one which has been much misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. For these acts of dedication they have been calumniated as disturbers of religious congregations, and as outraging the peace and order of the churches. This estimate, doubtless, has been formed with reference to usages of more modern date; but to decide upon the conduct of Friends in this particular, from a consideration of present circumstances, would be exceedingly erroneous. In preaching in the national places of worship, they did but avail themselves of a common liberty, in a period of extraordinary excitement on religious things. There were numerous other religious meetings held in those times, but into none of these did Friends obtrude themselves. Some probably will argue, that the fact of their being so severely punished for persisting in this practice, may be adduced in support of its irregularity; but it may be answered, that the preaching of Friends almost everywhere, at that time, whether in steeple-houses or private houses, in-doors or out of doors, equally called down the rigour of ecclesiastical vengeance. It was not, in fact, because Friends preached in these places so much as for what they preached that they suffered. When George Fox was committed to Derby prison in 1650, after preaching in the steeple-house at "a great lecture," the mittimus states his offence was, for "uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions." In 1659, Gilbert Latey went to Duustan's steeple-house in the west, where the noted Dr. Manton preached. At the conclusion of the sermon, Gilbert Latey addressed the assembly relative to some errors in Manton's sermon, for which he was seized by a constable and taken before a magistrate; who, however, gave G. Latey leave to speak for himself. The statement he made satisfied the justice, and he replied, that he had heard the people called Quakers, were a sort of mad, whimsical folks; "but," said he, "for this man, he talks very rationally, and I think, for my part, you should not have brought him before me." To which the constable replied, "Sir, I think so too." This occurred eleven years after G. Fox first visited a steeple-house, and, during that time, Friends had suffered very much for speaking in them, yet now a magistrate declares, that speaking rationally after the preacher had finished in a steeple-house, is not an offence for which a man ought to be brought before him. But the ministry of Friends struck at the very foundation of all hierarchical systems, and the discovery of this circumstance prompted the priests to call in the aid of the civil power, to suppress the promulgation of views so opposed to ecclesiastical domination.

From hence I went to Balby, and so to 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 had 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 amongst 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 forbear." After a while they put us out (for some Friends were with me) among the rude multitude, and they stoned us down the street. An innkeeper, that was a bailiff, came and took us into his house; and they broke his head, that the blood ran down his face, with the stones that they threw at us. We stayed a while in his house, and showed the more sober people the priest's fruits. Then we went to Balby, about a mile off, and 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, whither the Friends of that side gathered together, and in the meeting a mighty brokenness by the power of God was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house; and when I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel. So I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; and the clerk took up his Bible, as I was speaking, and struck me on the face with it, so that it gushed out with blood, and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. Then the people cried, "Let us have him out of the church;" and when they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, and threw me down, and over a hedge; and afterwards they dragged me through a house into the street, stoning and beating me as they drew me along, so that I was besmeared all over with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never obtained again. Yet when I was got upon my legs again, I declared to them the word of life, and showed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonoured Christianity. After a while I got into the meeting again amongst Friends; and the priest and people coming by the house, I went forth with Friends into the yard, and there I 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 began 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; insomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came, and sat at the town, to hear and examine the business. And 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 of the West-Biding of Yorkshire, against the truth and Friends; insomuch that the priest of Warmsworth procured a warrant from the justices against me and Thomas Aldam, to be executed in any part of the West-Biding 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 Aldam twenty miles towards York: and the constable had the warrant for me also, and said, "he saw me, but he was loath to trouble men that were strangers; but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour." So the Lord's power restrained him, that he had not power to meddle with me. We came to Lieutenant Roper's, where we had a great meeting of many considerable men; and the truth was powerfully declared amongst them, and the Scriptures wonderfully opened, and the parables and sayings of Christ were expounded, and the state of the church in the apostles' days was plainly set forth, and the apostacy since from that state discovered. The truth had great dominion that day, so that those great men that were 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,<sup>21</sup> and William Dewsbury, who had been convinced the year before; and Richard Farnsworth also. And the constable stayed with Thomas Aldam till the meeting was over, and then went towards York prison; but did not meddle with me.

From hence I went to Wakefield; and on the First-day after, 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 done, the people called upon me to come up 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 suddenly, 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 restrained them, that they were not suffered to put me in. So I passed away to the meeting, where were a great many professors and friendly people gathered, and a great conviction there was that day; for the people were mightily satisfied that they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves. Here we got some lodging; for four of us had lain 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 high priest, and declared the word of truth unto the people; and a great service he had amongst 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 Marshall, raised many wicked slanders about me, as, "that I carried bottles with me, and made people drink of them, which made them follow me;" and, "that I rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon it in one hour, and at the same hour in another country threescore miles off;" and, "that I would give a fellow money to follow me, when I was on my black horse." With these lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I was then travelling on foot, and had no horse at that time; which the people generally knew. The Lord soon after cut off this envious priest in his wickedness.

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21 Thomas Goodyear became a faithful minister, and suffered much persecution and imprisonment. 'When in Oxford jail (for refusing to swear), the jailer put irons on his legs, which being too small hurt him, and besides other abuse, would not let him and other Friends have straw to lie on. The jailer also told the other prisoners if they wanted coats, they might take those of the Friends off their backs; but one of the prisoners answered he would go naked first.

Thomas Goodyear was the author of *A Plain Testimony to the Ancient Truth and Work of God*. He died at Selby, in 1693.

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; and the people gathered together, and we declared the truth to them, and had some service for the Lord amongst them; they passed away again peaceably. But there was a widow woman, named Green, who, being filled with envy, went to one that was 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 queries 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 up to the house where we were, and told us that this murdering man had sharpened a pike to stab us, and was coming up with his sword by his side. We were just passing away, and so missed him. But we were no sooner gone, than 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 exceedingly. In the morning I was moved to return to the town, when they gave us a full relation of this wicked man.

From hence we passed to Bradford, where we met with Richard Farnsworth again, 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 thence.

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a town on the market-day. There was a lecture there that day; and I went into the steeple-house, where were many priests, professors, and people. The priest that preached, took for his text those words of Jeremiah, chap. v. ver. 31: "My people love to have it so," leaving out the foregoing words, viz., "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." So I showed the people his deceit, and directed them to Christ, the true teacher within; declaring, "that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all 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 thence 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 amongst them.

The next day we passed on; for the Lord had said unto me, "If but one man or woman were raised up 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 that same light, and power, and Spirit, which they were in that gave forth the Scriptures; and so they neither knew God, nor 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 people, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

As we travelled we came near a very great hill, called Pendle-hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with difficulty, 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 eaten or drunk but little for several days before.<sup>22</sup>

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 Saviour of all them that believed in him.” The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was 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; and the place that I saw them in was about Wensleydale and Sedbergh.

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or brackens to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Parnsworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wensleydale, and at the market-town in that Dale, there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people, warning them to turn from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive his teaching, who teacheth freely. Largely and freely did I declare the word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there. Afterwards I passed up the Dales, warning people to fear God, and preaching the everlasting gospel to them. In my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was mad, and had run away from my relations; and that they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay; but I was not to stay there. Then 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 passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck me with their clubs; but I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I 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 I perceived he had a knife; and therefore I kept off 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. The next morning I went on through other Dales, warning and exhorting people everywhere as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord: and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, 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.

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<sup>22</sup> The spring here alluded to is called George Fox's well to this day.

As I travelled through the Dales, I came to a 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; and he was convinced, and his family, and lived and died in the truth. Thence I came to Major Bousfield's, who received me, as did also several others; and some that were then convinced have stood faithful ever since. I went also through Grisdale, and several others of those Dales, in which some were convinced. And I went into Dent, where 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 I had seen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced, and continue a largo meeting still of Friends near Sedbergh; which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.

In the same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired; and I 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 thither to me, and 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 all the 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 them that were of old condemned by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles. 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: but at last a captain said, "Why will you not go into the church? this is not a fit place to preach in." I told him, I denied their church. Then stood up one Francis Howgill, who was a preacher to a congregation: he had not seen me before, yet he undertook to answer that captain, and soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill 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 house was not the church, but the people, whom Christ is the head of. After a while the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad, and so they turned away. But many people were convinced there that day, and were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was one 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 Westmorland, where Francis Howgill, before named, and John Audland,<sup>23</sup> had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many

23 Francis Howgill and John Audland were both religiously inclined, and were convinced during the present year. They became eminent ministers, travelling in the gospel, and suffering fines and imprisonments for its sake, turning many to God. Howgill, for refusing to swear, was sent to Appleby jail, the following sentence being passed against him:—"You are put out of the king's protection and the benefit of the law; your lands are confiscated to the king during your life, and your goods and chattels for ever; and you to be a prisoner during your life." He praised God for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshments he received on his prison bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all. His end was in great peace, in 1676. See *Piety Promoted*, i. 64-67.

could not get in. Francis Howgill 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 abundance stayed till they came again. Now 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 should or not (though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them), but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings. While the others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook and got a little water; and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people; amongst whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and largely, for about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God *in* themselves, that they might be turned from darkness to the light, and believe in it, that they might become the children of it; and might be turned from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, and of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor 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 heavenly life, I explained unto 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 hid, showing the intent and scope of the apostles' writings, and that their epistles were written to the elect. When I had opened that state, I showed also the state of the apostacy since the apostles' days; that the priests have got the Scriptures, but are not in that Spirit which gave them forth, and have put them into chapter and verse, to make a trade of holy men's words; and 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 his apostles cried out against, and so are judged and condemned by the Spirit of the true prophets, and of Christ, and of his apostles; and that none, who are in that Spirit, and guided by it now, can own them<sup>24</sup>

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Audland also laboured much in the gospel, for which he suffered persecution and imprisonments. In his last sickness he was exceedingly filled with high praises to God, being overcome with a sense of his love and joy. When he grew weaker he was helped on his knees, and upon his bed fervently supplicated the Lord on behalf of all his people that they might be preserved in the truth out of the evil of the world. See *Piety Promoted*, i. 41-44; and *Memoirs of F. Howgill*, by James Backhouse.

- 24 If these remarks appear harsh and unqualified, we must bear in mind, that one of the strongest features of this period was a time-serving spirit amongst the priesthood; a trait in the character of too many of them, which was curiously exhibited by the fact that several veered round with all the changes of those inconstant times; being Episcopalians with the first Charles and his bishops; Presbyterians with Oliver and the Parliament; again on the side of the Episcopacy at the Restoration; and probably would have been as ready to unite with the Papists, if Charles II. had established Popery instead of Protestantism. Some of these instances are recorded in Neale's History of the Puritans. After the Restoration of Charles II. so general was the flood of riotous dissipation spread over the land, that Bishop Burnet complains of the unworthy lives of many of the clergy; and states that in Scotland more particularly, their conduct was so flagrantly bad, that they were even despised by the drunken and licentious troopers, who, under their orders, spread rapine and distress throughout the western provinces of that country. One of their commanders, Sir John Turner, "confessed it often went against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company, as the clergy generally were."—Burnet's Own Times.

Now there were many old people, who went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to open to 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 amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and that all should now hearken unto him; for he said, 'Learn of me;' and God said of him, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.' I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had been instituted since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power the apostles were in." Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached 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.

After the meeting was over I went to John Audland's, and from thence to Preston-patrick chapel, where a great meeting was appointed; to which I went, and had a large opportunity amongst the people to preach the everlasting gospel, opening to them (as to others on the like occasion), 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 amongst the people, showing them how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and 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 a while 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, for people then were much given to smoking: I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco.

From thence I went to Underbarrow, to one Miles Bateman's; and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough.<sup>25</sup> At night the priest and many

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25 Edward Burrough was a religious and promising young man, had left the Episcopal church, for which he had been educated as a minister, and joined the Presbyterians, with whom he was a preacher of great account. After several discussions with George Fox, he became fully convinced, and joined Friends, to the great displeasure of his parents and relatives. He became a most active and zealous gospel labourer, being both a great writer, and a powerful and awakening preacher. In 1662, he was taken from a meeting in London, and for "testifying to the name of the Lord Jesus," was committed to prison, where he lay with above 100 of his friends imprisoned on the same account, being shut up among felons in nasty places, so that, for want of room, many of them sickened and died. Amongst these was Edward Burrough, whose sickness increased daily. He was heard often in prayer, day and night, not forgetting to intercede for his persecutors. The morning before he died, he said, "Now my soul and spirit is entered into its own being with God, and this

professors came to the house, and much disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them, but 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 it, and some against it. In the morning I went out, after I had spoken again to them concerning the meeting; and as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor people, travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; so, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Meanwhile some of them that were in the house, coming out again, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; 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 came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, 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 a while 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; whereupon 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 unto them.

From hence I went along with an aged 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.

I came the next day to James Taylor's, of Newton, in Cartmell, in Lancashire. And on the First-day of the week I went to the chapel, where one priest Camelford used to preach; and after he had done I began to speak the word of life to the people. But this priest was in such a rage, and was so peevish, that he had no patience to hear; but stirred up the rude multitude, who haled me out, struck and punched me, and threw me headlong over a stone wall; yet, blessed be the Lord, his power preserved me. He that did this violence to me was a wicked man, one John Knipe, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. There was a youth in the chapel, writing after 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 Braithwaite.

Then went I up to an ale-house, to which many people resorted between the time of their morning and afternoon preaching. I had much reasoning with the people there, declaring to them, that "God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all false teachers, such as the prophets,

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form of person must return from whence it was taken." His works were collected and printed in 1672, and have recently been republished.

Christ, and the apostles cried against.” Many received the word of life at that time, and abode in it.

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to another steeplehouse 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. Wherefore I reproved him for his lightness, and for his jesting, telling him it was not seemly in a great professor, as he was. He told me he had a son, who upon his death-bed had also reproved him for it, and warned him of it. But he neither regarded the admonition of his dying son, nor the reproofs of God's Spirit in himself.

From hence I went to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore to Judge Fell's; whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who was a high notionist. With him I had much reasoning; for he talked of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said, he was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him, “Death reigned from Adam to Moses, that he was under death, and knew not 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 corruption; 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 were in the same Spirit that they were in.” Margaret Fell had been absent in the day-time; and at night her children told her, that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed; which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had much reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had much discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Soon after a day was to be observed for a humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she was not wholly come off from them; 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 matter they sung so unsuitable to their 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 outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly, whose praise is not of man, but of God.” Then, as the Lord opened further, I showed them, “that God was 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 with other men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which they were in who gave them forth.” Then cried out one, called Justice Sawrey, “Take him away;” but Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, “Let him alone, why may not he speak as well as any other?” Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, “Let him speak.” So at length, when I had declared some time, Justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I



spoke to the people in the grave-yard.

The First-day after, I was moved to go to Aldenham steeple-house; and when the priest had done, 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 thence I passed to Rampside, where was a chapel, in which Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was an eminent priest. He very lovingly acquainted his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon; by which means very many people were gathered together. When I came, I saw there was no place so convenient as the chapel; so I went into it, and all was quiet. Thomas Lawson went not 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 largely declared, which reached and entered into the hearts of 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 cast scandals upon him, and thought to have done him a mischief; but he was preserved over all, grew in the wisdom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

I returned to Swarthmore again, and on the next First-day went to Dalton steeple-house; where, after the priest had done, 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 thence I went into the island of Walney; and after the priest had done, I spoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were rude. I went to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen. The people said he went to hide himself in the haymow; and they went to look for him there, but could not find him. Then they said he was 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 thence I returned to SwarthMore, where the Lord's power came upon Margaret Fell and 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 fain have put some other to converse with me; but I bid them fear the Lord, and not in a light way talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice. I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his Spirit in their hearts, which would discover to them all the evil thoughts, words and actions, they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour, Christ Jesus, to save them from their sins. This, I told them, was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the light that showed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see how 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 Saviour, and their way to God."

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaston, which was built, but no priest had ever preached in it. Thither the country people came, and a quiet, peaceable meeting it was, in which the word of life was declared, and many were convinced of the truth about Gleaston.

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

I passed on to John Audland's and Gervase Benson's, and had great meetings amongst those people that had been convinced before; then to John Blakelin's<sup>26</sup> and Richard Robinson's, and had mighty meetings there; and so up towards Grisdale.

Soon after, Judge Pell being come home, Margaret Fell his wife sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and, feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, I went back to Swarthmore. I found the priests and professors, and that envious 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. He asked me if I was that George Fox, whom Justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation of amongst many of the parliament men. I told him, I had been with Justice Robinson, and with Justice Hotham in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me, and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God, that the principle which I bore testimony to, was the truth, and they saw over and 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 some time 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 Saviour. He sometimes wished that I were a while with Judge Bradshaw to discourse with him. There came to Judge Fell's, Captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incense the judge against me; for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me; and yet he could speak high things, and 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 other people 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 Judge Fell, being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all

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26 John Blakelin, mentioned elsewhere in this Journal, became a faithful minister of the gospel, travelling much on truth's account, for which he also suffered imprisonments, and great loss of goods. He died without sigh or groan, in 1705, aged about 80. He expressed, in his old age, "the comfort he had in the Lord's peace and presence with him, that his day's work was nigh done, and his reward and rest with God sure." See *Piety Promoted*, a., 42-46.

their opposition, suffered the meeting to be kept at his house; and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which continued near forty years, until the year 1690, that a new meeting-house was erected near it.

After I had stayed a while, and the meeting there was well settled, I went to Underbarrow, where I had a great meeting. From thence to Kellet, and had a great meeting at Robert Widders's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York; and many were convinced there. 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 merchandize. I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which they should all follow after, and walk and live in; directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto. After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, whither 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, amongst the soldiers and people, unto whom I declared the word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them, "that all the traditions they had lived in, and 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 they were in who gave forth the Scriptures. 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 with Christ, receive him for their teacher, and know his kingdom set up in them."

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

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, who was so full of envy, that he said he could find in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he should be hung 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 people were convinced thereabouts, 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 Westmorland, and spoke through Kendal, on a market-day. So dreadful was the power of God 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 was now come to teach his people himself. When some opposed, many others took my part, insomuch, that at last some of the people fell to fighting about me; but I went and spoke to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced.

On the First-day after I had a very large meeting in Underbarrow, at Miles Bateman's house, where I was moved to declare, "that all people in the fall were gone from the image of God, righteousness, and holiness, and were become as 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, and of serpents, and of tall cedars, and of oaks, and of bulls, and of heifers: so that they might read the natures of these creatures within, as the prophet 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 wild asses and horses, snuffing up the wind; and some like mountains and rooks, and crooked and rough ways. Wherefore I exhorted them to read these things within, in their own natures, as well as without; and that, when they read without of the wandering stars, they should look within, and see how they 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. Now 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 thereof." Many more such things were declared to them, and they were turned to the light of Christ, by which they might come to know Christ, to receive him, and to witness him to be their substance and their way, their salvation and true teacher. Many were convinced at that time.

After I had travelled up and down in those countries, and had had great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again. And when I had visited Friends 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 as a hammer, and as a fire amongst 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 thereof, that priest Bennett said "the church shook," insomuch that he was afraid and trembled. And when he had spoken a few confused words, he hastened out, for fear it should fall on his head. Many priests got together there; but they had no power as yet to persecute.

When I had cleared my conscience towards them, I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came four or five of the priests. Coming to discourse, I asked them, "whether any one 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 durst say he had; but one of them burst out 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 done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, "could any of them say he had ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time?" but none of them could say so. Then I told them, the false prophets, the false apostles, and antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, the true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew or heard the voice of God

or Christ; and such as they might obtain the good words and experiences of others; this puzzled them much, and laid them open. At another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, "whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare his word or message unto them?" for any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the Scriptures. Hereupon Thomas Taylor,<sup>27</sup> an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess 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 the persuasion he had, "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 travelled with me into Westmorland. Coming to Cross-land steeple-house, we found the people gathered together; and the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth (though he was convinced but the day before), so that he declared amongst them, "how he had been before he was convinced;" and like the good scribe that was 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 tormented the priest. Some little discourse I had with them, but they fled away; and a precious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's power was over all; and 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 I passed on, visiting Friends, and had very large meetings in Westmorland.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could, to stir up persecution. James Naylor and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby jail, at the instigation of the malicious priests; some of whom prophesied "that within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing." But, blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, the work of the Lord went on and prospered. For about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm,<sup>28</sup> Edward Burrough,

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27 Thomas Taylor, born in 1616, was educated at Oxford university, and became a preacher among the Puritans, at or near Skipton, and also at Richmond. He discontinued preaching for hire, and joined Friends, becoming a valiant minister of Christ. He also wrote much in support of the truth. He suffered many imprisonments, but the Lord was with him, and upheld him by his mighty power, in the hardships and opposition he met with for truth's sake. He died in peace at Stafford, in 1681.

28 John Camm, after joining Friends, became an eminent minister, travelling in the service of truth. He was a man of weak constitution, but richly furnished with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, clear in judgment, and a sharp reprove of wickedness. His ministry was deep and weighty. Having an estate of his own, he suffered the spoiling of his goods joyfully. He often called his children together, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and would wonderfully praise God for his goodness, counting his bodily weakness a happiness, saying, "How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond many, I have such a large time of preparation for death, being daily dying, that I may live forever with my God, in that kingdom that is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives and mounts upwards, towards its place and habitation in the heavens." See *Piety Promoted*, i., 3-6.

Richard Hubberthorn,<sup>29</sup> Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead,<sup>30</sup> with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein, travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord. Amongst these, Christopher Taylor<sup>31</sup> was one, brother to Thomas Taylor before-mentioned; and who had been a preacher to a people as well as his brother; but after they had received a knowledge of the truth, they soon came into obedience thereunto, 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 in markets; and great sufferers they were.

After I had visited friends in Westmorland, I returned into Lancashire, and went to Ulverstone, where W. Lampitt was priest; who, though he had preached of a people that should own the teachings of God, and had said, “that men and women should come to declare the gospel;” yet afterwards, when it came to be fulfilled, he persecuted both it and them. To this priest's house I went, where abundance of priests and professors were got together after their lecture, with whom I had great disputings concerning Christ and the Scriptures; for they were loath to let their trade go down, which they made of preaching Christ's, and the apostles' and prophets' words. But the Lord's power went over the heads of them all, and his word of life went forth amongst them; though many of them were exceedingly envious and devilish. Yet after this many priests and professors came to me from far and near; of whom, they that were innocent and simple-minded were satisfied, and went away refreshed; but the fat and full were fed with judgment, and sent empty away: for that was the word of the Lord to be divided to them.

Now when meetings were set up, and we met in private houses, Lampitt the priest began to rage; and he said, “we forsook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves' houses;” so that many professors began to see how he had declined from that which he had formerly held and preached. Hereupon the case of Jeroboam's calves was opened to the professors, priests, and people; and it was manifested unto them,

29 Richard Hubberthorn, who is frequently mentioned in this Journal, and whose name often occurs in the early part of the history of Friends, became an able gospel minister, and patient sufferer for the truth. He was a native of Lancashire, the only son of a yeoman of good repute. In his youth he obtained a post in the Parliamentary army, which, on his embracing the truth, he quitted, and testified publicly against it; becoming a valiant soldier under the banner of the Prince of peace. After passing through many inward probations, he became qualified to direct others in their way to the kingdom of heaven, and was one of the first of our Society who travelled in the work of the ministry.

Richard Hubberthorn was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness, clear in judgment, and quick of understanding; and, although he was of low stature, and had an infirm constitution and weak voice, he was a powerful and successful minister, and great numbers were convinced by him, and brought over to the faith and practice which he preached. He travelled in the exercise of his gift nine years, and shared at different times in the sufferings to which the early Friends were exposed. In 1662, he was violently haled from a meeting in London, and taken before that implacable persecutor, Alderman Brown, who, after abusing him with his own hands, committed him to Newgate. Here the throng was so great, and the air so impure, that he soon fell sick. His disorder increased upon him, and, within two months from the time of his commitment, with an unclouded prospect of a resting place “where the wicked cease from troubling,” he was released by death. He wrote many treatises, which were collected and published in 1 vol. quarto, in 1663.

30 This is the only mention of Miles Halhead in this Journal. His name occurs frequently in Sewell's *History*, from which it appears he travelled largely and suffered much on Truth's account, being the first of the Quakers imprisoned at Kendal.

31 Christopher Taylor, after writing and preaching much on Truth's account, removed to America about the year 1683, and died at Philadelphia in 1686. See account of him in Whiting's *Memoirs*, pp. 352-55.

“that their houses (which they called churches) were more like Jeroboam's calves' houses, even the old mass-houses which were set up in the darkness of Popery; and which they, who called themselves Protestants, and professed to be more enlightened than the Papists, did still hold up; although God had never commanded them: whereas that temple, which God had commanded at Jerusalem, Christ came to end the service of; and they that received and believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God, and of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, to dwell in them, and to walk in them. And all 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 they that were thus gathered met together in several dwelling-houses, which were not called the temple, nor the church; but their bodies were the temples of God, and the believers were the church, which Christ was the head of. 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 and sanctify, and redeem with his blood, an old house, which they called their church, but the people of whom he is the head.” Much work I had in those days with priests and people, concerning their old mass-houses, which they called their churches; for the priests had persuaded the people that it was the house of God; whereas the apostle says, “whose house we are,” etc. Heb. iii. 6. So the people are God's house, in whom he dwells. And the apostle saith, “Christ purchased his church with his own blood;” and Christ calls his church his spouse, his bride, and 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.

After this, 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 up near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching; and 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 wondered at his speaking so to me, for I did speak according to the Scriptures, and I told him, “I should 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, contradicting himself who 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. Suddenly 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; and 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 of my collar, and some by my arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me along. Many friendly people being come to the market, and some of them to the steeple-house to hear me, divers of these they knocked down also, and broke their heads, so that the blood ran down from several of them; and Judge Pell's son 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.” Now when they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude of people following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow-rods, and so thrust me among the rude multitude, who,

having furnished themselves, some with staves, some with hedge-stakes, and others with holm or holly-bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had deprived me of sense; so that I fell down upon the wet common. When I recovered again, and 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 refreshed me, so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the Eternal God; and stretching out my arms amongst 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; he 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 unto me again; so that some of the people cried out, "he hath 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 a while 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, and 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 to them 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 he offered to assist me in what he could. But I told him the Lord's power was over all; so I walked through the people in the market, and none of them had power to touch me then. But some of the market-people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned me about and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier, whereupon I ran in amongst them, and catching hold of his hand that his rapier was in, I 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. And 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, the priest. My body and arms were yellow, black, and blue, with the blows and bruises I received amongst them that day. Now began the priests to prophesy again, that within half a year we should be all put down and gone.<sup>32</sup>

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32 The priests reckoned wrong in this, for, as Sewell justly observed, it fared with the early Friends as with trees, which grow best when most lopped. "*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus, per damna, per caedes, ab ipso, ducit opes animumque ferre.*"

"As by the lopping axe, the sturdy oak  
Improves her shade, and thrives beneath the stroke;  
Tho' present loss-and wounds severe she feel,  
She draws fresh vigour from the invading steel.



About two weeks after this I went into Walney island, and James Naylor went 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 a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out 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 the power of the Lord, 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 endeavouring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would have knocked me down in it, I went up into the midst of them; but they laid at me again, and 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 James Lancaster was lying over me, to keep the blows and the stones off one. For the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband; and had promised her, that if she would let them know when I came thither, they would be my death. And having got 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 up on my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into it, 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 the time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Naylor; for whilst they had been beating me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was 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 churchyard." So after they had abused me, they drove me some distance out of the town, and there left me. Then went James Lancaster back to look after James Naylor; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had besmeared my face, hands, and clothes, with miry dirt), I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced. When I came in, I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Naylor; so they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Tell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but so sore I was with bruises, I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain. When I was come 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 forth 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 evils she

had done me; and so did others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, 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 light 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 was recovered, I went to Yelland, where there was a great meeting. In the evening there came a priest to the house, with a pistol in his hand, under pretence to light a pipe of tobacco. The maid of the house seeing the pistol, told her master; who, clapping his hands on the door-posts, told him he should not come in there. While he stood there, keeping the door-way, he looked up, and spied over the wall a company of men coming, some armed with staves, and one with a musket. But the Lord God prevented their bloody design; so that seeing themselves discovered, they went their way, and did no harm.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with Judge Fell; who on the way told me, he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, 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 false accusations; so he might do with me. Being come to Lancaster, Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions; where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshall, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; 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 sat, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me; their orator Marshall, sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them; but the witnesses were so confounded, that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it."

There were then in court several people who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spoke those blasphemous words, which the priests accused me of; and these being 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 part of the country, that were 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. And then, turning

himself to me, he said in the open sessions, “George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it.” I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshall, the orator for the rest of the priests, went away. That which 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 the apostles learnt; 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 of God must be in all them that come to understand the Scriptures; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Son, and with the Father, and with the Scriptures, and with one another; and without this Spirit they can know neither God nor Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowship one with another.” I had no sooner spoken these words, than about half a dozen priests that stood behind me, burst out into a passion; and one of them, named Jackus, amongst other things that he spoke against the truth, said, that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, “then every one that hath the letter hath 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, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me. And after Judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and showed them the errors thereof, he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus was I cleared in open sessions of all those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge; and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson<sup>33</sup> of Westmorland, was convinced; and Major Ripan, mayor of Lancaster, also. It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, and the free teacher, was exalted and set up, and his everlasting gospel was preached and the word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such money-preachers. 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 people were convinced that day, amongst whom was Thomas Briggs, who before had been averse to Friends and truth, insomuch that discoursing with John Lawson, a Friend, concerning perfection, Thomas Briggs said to him, “dost thou hold perfection?” at the same time lifting up his hand to give the Friend a box on the ear. But this Thomas Briggs, being convinced of the truth that day, declared against his own priest, Jackus; and afterwards became a faithful minister of

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33 Gervase Benson, once a colonel in the army, and, at this date, a Justice of the peace, appears, from the burial register of Friends, to have been resident at Kendal. He died in 1679. In *Barclay's Letters, etc, of Early Friends*, is a letter from him to George Fox and James Naylor. It is dated at London, 11th Month, 29th, 1653. He appears to have gone up to that city under a sense of duty. “Pray to the Lord for me,” he writes, “that I may be kept in all faithfulness, with boldness to bear witness to the truth, against all deceits as they are made manifest in me, to the praise of his free grace and love to me, which I find daily flowing into my sold, to the refreshing thereof.”

the gospel, and stood so to the end of his days.<sup>34</sup>

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

“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 whom alone be everlasting praise and honour for evermore! Dear friends, the Lord doth much manifest his love and power in these parts. On the Second-day of last week, my brother George and I were at Lancaster; there were abundance of Friends from all parts: and a high sort, which sided with the priests, giving out, they now hoped to see a stop put to that great work which had gone on so fast, and with such power, that their kingdom is much shaken. We were called before Judge Pell, Colonel West, Justice Sawrey, etc, to answer what was charged against George. There were three witnesses to eight particulars, but they were much confused in themselves; which gave much light to the truth; whereby the justices did plainly see that it was envy; and they many times told them so. One of the witnesses was a young priest, who confessed he should not have meddled, had not another priest sent for him, and set him to work. The other witnesses were two priests' sons: it was proved there by many that heard one of them say, 'if he had power he would make George deny his profession, and that he would take away his life.' This was a single witness to one of the greatest untruths that was charged against George; and the justices told him, that they saw, because he could not take away his life, he went about to take away his liberty. There was one priest chosen out of the whole number, as an orator to plead against us; who spared no pains to show forth his envy against the truth: and when he could not prevail, he went down in a rage; and there came up a number of them into the room, among whom was one Jackus. George was then speaking in the room, one of the justices having desired him, if he had anything to say, he would speak, at which priest Jackus was in such a rage, that he broke forth into many high expressions against the truth spoken by my dear brother George; amongst which this was one that the letter and the Spirit were inseparable. Hereupon the justices stood up, and bid him prove that, before he went any further. Then seeing himself caught, he would have denied it; and when he could not get off so, the rest of the priests would have helped him to a meaning for his words; but the justices would admit no other meaning than the plain sense of the words, and told him he had laid down a position, and it was fit he should prove it; pressing the matter close upon him. Whereupon the priests, being put to silence, went down in a greater

34 Thomas Briggs, from being a persecutor and an opposer, became an eminent minister amongst Friends, and his name occurs frequently in *Sewell's History*, and in *Whiting's Memoirs*, to which the reader is referred for some account of his labours. He was very instrumental in turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Not only did he suffer personally, by imprisonment and violence, but was fined five times, for having meetings in his house, to the extent of £50. He travelled much in Wales, and other places, often accompanying George Fox. He went with him to the West Indies in 1671. A short time before his death, he wrote to George Fox, in which he signified his perseverance in godliness. He bore a large testimony the First-day before his decease, being aged about seventy-five; a minister thirty-two years.

rage than before; and some of them, after they were gone down, being asked what they had done, lied and said, they could not get into the room; thereby to hide their shame, and keep the people in blindness. The justices, Judge Fell and Colonel West, were much convinced of the truth, and set up justice and equity; and have much silenced the rage of the people. Many bitter spirits were at Lancaster to see the event, but went home and cried the priests had lost the day: everlasting praises be to him who fought the battle for us, who is our King for ever! There were others called, whom 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 durst rely 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 in 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 neighbour and neighbour. They are not pleased with the law, because it is not in the statute to imprison us, as the priest that pleaded against us said. The justices bid him put it into the statute, if he could; he said, it should want no will of his. They are much afraid that they shall lose all; they are much discontented in these parts; and some of them cry, all is gone.” 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 opposeth the work; but rest in the will of the Lord, that so ye may be furnished with patience, both to do and to suffer what ye shall be called unto; 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 honoured in all things, the light advanced in you, and the judgment set up, which must give sentence against all that opposeth 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, wherein consisteth the kingdom of the Father; to whom be all praise for ever! Dear Friends, meet often together; and take heed of what exalteth itself above its brother; but 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.”

J. N.

Written from Kellet, the 30th 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 weighty upon me, was accomplished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully exalted, and gave truth and Friends dominion therein over all, to his glory. This 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; and the rude and baser sort of people plotted together to draw me out of the house, and to throw me over Lancaster bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another mischief, which was tins: after a meeting at Lancaster they brought down a distracted man, and another with him with bundles of birchen rods, bound together like besoms, 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 made them calm and quiet. Then I bid him throw his rods into the fire, and burn them; and he did so. Thus 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. Whereupon the judge made a speech against me in open court; and commanded Colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue forth a warrant for the apprehending of me: but Colonel West told the judge of my innocence, and spoke boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or go off from his seat: then he told the judge plainly 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. That same night I came into Lancaster, it being the assize time, 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 on me; and Colonel West said, "What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?" I stayed in town till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one meddled 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 maketh war against the saints, yet the Lamb hath got, and will get, the victory.

## CHAPTER VI.

*1652-1653.—George Fox is branded by the priests as a witch—writes to Justice Sawrey, prophesying of the judgments impending over him—warning to priest Lampitt—exhortation to the people of Ulverstouc—to the followers of Lampitt, against a hireling ministry, etc.—a rebuke to Adam Sands for his wickedness—to priest Tatham, against his hireling ministry and his suing for tithes—foretells the dissolution of the Long Parliament—fasts ten days—James Milner and Richard Myer create a schism, which is soon healed—the latter is miraculously healed of his lameness, but afterwards disobeys the Lord, and dies not long after—Anthony Pearson, an opposer, is convinced—the priests are shown to be Antichrist—George Fox preaches at John Wilkinson's steeple-house three hours—admonishes a professor for praising him—reproves Wilkinson for speaking against his conscience—many hundreds are convinced—discerns an unclean spirit in a woman, and speaks sharply to her—the like of some other women—speaks sharply to an envious Baptist—preaches in the steeple-house at Carlisle, where the Lord's power was such that the people trembled—committed to Carlisle prison as a blasphemer, heretic, and seducer—the priests who come to see him are exceedingly rude—Anthony Pearson's remonstrance to the Judges of assize against the unjust imprisonment and detention of George Yen—he is put in the dungeon, a filthy place, where a woman is found eaten to death with vermin—here James*

*Parnell visits him—a challenge to professors to declare their objections to George Fox's ministry—it being reported that George Fox was to die for religion, the Little Parliament write to the sheriff respecting him—he himself expostulates with Justices Craston and Studholm on their imprisoning him—A. Pearson and the governor visit the prison, blame the magistrates, require sureties of the jailer, and put the under-jailer in the dungeon for his cruelty to George Fox, who is soon after liberated—George Fox has great meetings, and thousands are convinced—visits Gilsland, a noted country for thieving—has a glorious meeting of many thousands, near Langlands, on the top of a hill—great convincement in the six northern counties.*

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From Lancaster I returned to Robert Widders's, and from thence 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 Widders's again. No sooner was I gone than there came a company of disguised men to Thomas Leper's, with swords and pistols; who suddenly entering the house put out the candles, and swung their swords about amongst the people of the house, who held up the chairs before them to save themselves from being cut and wounded. At length they drove all the people out of the house, and then searched it for me; who, it seems, was the only person they looked for: for they had laid wait before on the highway, by which I should have gone had I rode to Robert Widders's. And not meeting with me on the way, they thought to find me in the house, but the Lord prevented them. Soon after I was come to Robert Widders's, some friends came from the town where Thomas Leper lived, and gave us a relation of this wicked attempt: and they were afraid lest they should come and search Robert Widders's house also for me, and do me a mischief; but the Lord restrained them that they came not. Though these men were in disguise the friends perceived some of them to be Frenchmen, and supposed them to be servants belonging to one called Sir Robert Bindlas; for some of them had said, that in their nation they used to tie the Protestants to trees, and whip and destroy them. His servants used often to abuse Friends, both in their meetings, and going to and from them. They once took Richard Hubberthorn and several others out of one, and carried them a good way off into the fields; and there bound them, and left them bound in the Winter season. At another time one of his servants came to Francis Fleming's house, and thrust his naked rapier in at the door and windows; but there being at the house a kinsman of Francis Fleming's, one who was not a Friend, he came with a cudgel in his hand, and bid the serving-man put up his rapier; which when the other would not, but vapoured at him with it, and was rude, he knocked him down with his cudgel, and took his rapier from him; and had it not been for Friends, he would have run him through with it. So the Friends preserved the life of him that would have destroyed theirs.

From Robert Widders's I went to visit Justice West, Richard Hubberthorn accompanying me. Not knowing the way, or the danger of the sands, we rode where, as we were afterwards told, no man ever rode before, swimming our horses over a very dangerous place. When we were come in, Justice West asked us if we did not see two men riding over the sands: "I shall have their clothes anon," said he, "for they cannot escape drowning, and I am the coroner." But when we told him that we were the men, he

was astonished, and wondered how we escaped drowning. Upon this the envious priests and professors raised a slanderous report concerning me, that neither water could drown me, nor could they draw blood of me; and that therefore surely I was a witch; indeed, sometimes when they beat me with great staves, they did not much draw my blood, though they bruised my body oftentimes very sorely. But all these slanders were nothing to me with respect to myself, though I was concerned on the truth's behalf, which, I saw, they endeavoured by these means to prejudice people against; for 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 seed. 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 several letters to the magistrates, priests, and professors, thereabouts, who had raised persecution before; that which I sent to Justice Sawrey was after this manner:—

“Friend,

“Thou wast the first beginner of all the persecution in the North; thou wast the beginner and the maker of the people tumultuous. Thou wast the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seed, and against the truth of God; the first strengthener of the hands of evil-doers against the innocent and harmless; and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrer up of strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers, and prisoners in the North, and of revilers, slanderers, railers, and false accusers. This was thy work, and this thou stirredst up! so thy fruits declare thy spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious, and envious, and taken hand with the wicked. Thou hast made the people's minds envious up and down the country; this was thy work. But God hath shortened thy days, and limited thee; hath set thy bounds, and broken thy jaws; discovered thy religion to the simple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! How is thy beauty lost, and thy glory withered! How hast thou showed thy evil, that thou hast served God but with thy lips, thy heart being far from him, and thou in hypocrisy! How hath the form of thy teaching declared itself to be the mark of the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wise men turned backward! View thy ways, and take notice with whom thou hast taken part. That of God in thy conscience will tell thee; the Ancient of Days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal of a persecutor, which Christ and his apostles forbade Christians to follow! How hast thou strengthened the hands of evil-doers, and been a praise to them, and not to them that do well! How like a madman and blind man, didst thou turn thy sword backward against the saints, against whom there is no law! How wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou shalt feel the flame and have the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for pain, because of the plagues! Thou shalt have thy reward according to thy works.



Thou canst not escape; the Lord's righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witness of God in thy conscience shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen to blaspheme, gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand and hand with the wicked! How is thy latter end worse than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf, to devour the lambs! How hast thou discovered thyself 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 wast thou exalted and puffed up with pride! and now art thou fallen down with shame, that thou comest to be covered with that which thou stirredst up and broughtest forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth till he be reformed; let him not take his name into his mouth till he depart 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 hath 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 talk at your feasts. Thy ill savour, John Sawrey, the country about have smelled, and of thy unchristian carriage all that fear God have been ashamed; and to them thou hast been a grief; in the day of account thou shalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou wast mounted up, and hadst set thy nest on high, but never gottest higher than the fowls of the air. Now thou art run amongst the beasts of prey, and art fallen into the earth; so that earthliness and covetousness have swallowed thee up. Thy conceitedness would not carry thee through, in whom was found the selfish principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back must be bowed down always; for thy table is already become thy snare.”

G. F.

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 thee, O Lampitt! who art a deceiver, surfeited and drunk with the earthly spirit, rambling up and down in the Scriptures, and blending thy spirit amongst the saints' conditions; who hadst a prophecy, as thy father Balaam had, but art erred from it, as thy father did; one whose fruit hath withered (of which I am a witness), and many who have known thy fruit, have seen the end of it, that it is withered, and do see where thou art in the blind world, a blind leader of the blind; as 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 for condemnation. Thou art in the seat of the Pharisees, art called of men master, standest praying in the synagogues, and hast the chief seat in the assemblies; a right hypocrite in the steps of the Pharisees, and in the way of thy fathers, the hypocrites, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. Such with the light thou art seen to be, and by the light art comprehended; which is thy condemnation, who hatest it, and will be so eternally, except thou repent. To thee this is the word of God; for in Christ's way thou art not, but in the Pharisees', as thou mayest read, Matt. xxiii., and all that own

Christ's words may see thee there. Christ, who died at Jerusalem, cried woe against such as thou art; and Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The woe remains upon thee, and from under it thou canst never come, but through judgment, condemnation, and true repentance. To thee this is the word of God; to that of God in thy conscience I do speak, which will witness the truth of what I write, and will condemn thee. And when thou art in thy torment (though now thou swellest in thy vanity, and livest in wickedness), remember thou wast warned in thy lifetime. When the eternal condemnation is stretched over thee, thou shalt witness this to be the word of the Lord God unto thee; and if ever thy eye shall see repentance, thou wilt witness me to have been a friend of thy soul."

G. F.

Having thus cleared my conscience to the justice, and to 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, O 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 you might find your teacher; that your minds might be staid alone upon God, and you might not gad abroad without you for a teacher; for the Lord God alone will teach his people; and he is coming to teach them, and to gather them from idols' temples, and from the customary worships, which all the world is trained up in. God hath given to every one of yon a measure of his Spirit, according to your capacity; liars, drunkards, whoremongers, and thieves, and who follow filthy pleasures, you all have this measure in you. This is the measure of the Spirit of God, that shows you sin, and evil, and deceit; which lets you see that lying is sin; and theft, drunkenness, and uncleanness, all 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, lest the time come that you say with sorrow, we had time, but it is past. O! why will ye die? why will ye choose your own ways? why will ye follow the course of the world? and why will ye follow envy, malice, drunkenness, and foolish pleasures? know ye not in your consciences that all these are evil and sin? and that they who act such things, shall never enter into the kingdom of God? O! that ye would consider, and see how you have spent your time, and mind how ye do spend it, and observe whom you serve; for 'the wages of sin is death.' Do not ye know, that whatsoever is more than yea and nay, cometh of evil? O! ye drunkards, who live in drunkenness, do ye think to escape the fire and the judgment of God? Though ye swell in venom, and live in lust for a while, yet God will find you out, and bring you to judgment. Therefore love the light, which Christ hath enlightened you withal, who saith, 'I am the light of the world,' and who doth enlighten every one that cometh 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. Thou that hatest this light, thou hast it; thou knowest that lying drunkenness, swearing, whoredom, theft, all ungodli-

ness, and all unrighteousness, are evil. Christ Jesus hath given thee light enough to let thee see these are evil. This light, if thou lovest it, will teach thee holiness and righteousness, without which none shall see God; but if thou hatest this light, it is thy 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 means; such shepherds as hold up such things; who are called of men masters, and have the chiefest place in the assemblies, whom Christ cried woe against, Matt. xxiii.; 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 they who love the light, are taught of God; and the Lord is coming to teach his people himself, and to gather his own from the hirelings, and from such as seek for their gain from their quarter, and from such as bear rule by their means. The Lord is opening the eyes of people, that they may see such as bear rule 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 ye love your own souls, consider the love of God to your souls, while ye have time, and do not turn the grace of God into wantonness. That which shows you ungodliness and worldly lusts, should and would be your teacher, if ye would hearken 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. Ye that are not sober, this grace of God hath appeared unto you, but you turn it into wantonness, and so set up teachers, 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. God Almighty direct your minds (such of you especially who love honesty and sincerity), that you may receive mercy in the time of need. Your teacher is *within you*; look not forth; it will teach you both lying in bed, and going abroad, to shun all occasion of sin and evil."

G. F.

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. To these I wrote thus:—

"The word of the Lord God to all the people that follow priest Lampitt, who is a blind guide. Ye are such as are turned from the light of Christ within, which he hath enlightened you withal; ye are such as follow that which Christ cried woe against, that go not in Christ's way, but in the Pharisees' way, as ye may read, Matt. xxiii., which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever: but him ye own not, while ye follow such as he cried woe against; though under a colour ye make a profession, 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 of Moses's words. "Woe was unto them who had not the life, so woe is unto you who have not the life that gave forth the Scriptures, as your fruits have made manifest. For

when the Lord hath moved some to come amongst you to preach the truth freely, you have knocked them down, beat, and punched, and haled them out of your assemblies. Such a people serve thee, O Lampitt, to make a prey upon, and these are thy fruits. O! let shame, shame, strike thee and you all in the faces, who make a profession of Christ's words, and yet are stoners, and strikers, and mockers, and scoffers. Let all see, if this be not a cage of unclean birds, spoken of in the Scriptures, by those who had the life of the Scriptures. Such a company of people thou deceivest, and feedest them with thy fancies; thou makest a trade of the Scriptures, and takest them for thy cloak. But thou art manifest to all the children of light; for that cloak will not cover thee; thy skirts are seen, and thy nakedness appears. The Lord made one to go naked among you, a figure of thy nakedness, and of your nakedness, and as a sign amongst you, before your destruction cometh; that you might see that you were naked, and not covered with the truth. To the light in all your consciences I speak, which Christ Jesus doth enlighten you withal. It will show you the time yon 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, ye were warned in your lifetime. If ever your eye come 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 will you own your condemnation; which you must all own, before you can come into that blessed life, of which there is no end. But ye, who hate the light, because your deeds are evil, this light is your condemnation. O! that ye would love this light, and hearken to it! It would teach you, both in your daily occupations, 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 condemnation thereof upon yourselves. To you this is the word of God, from under which you can never pass, nor ever escape the terror of the Lord, in the state you are in, who hate the light."

G. F.

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

"Adam Sands,

"To the light in thy conscience I appeal, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of righteousness; the Lord will strike thee down, though now for a while in thy wickedness thou mayest reign. The plagues of God are due to thee, who hardenest thyself in thy wickedness against the pure truth of God. With the pure truth of God, which thou hast resisted and persecuted, thou art to be thrashed down, which is eternal, and doth comprehend thee; and with the light, which thou despisest, thou art seen; and it is thy condemnation. Thou as one brutish, and thy wife as an hypocrite, and you both as murderers of the just, in that which is eternal, are seen and compre-

hended; and your hearts searched, and tried, and condemned by the light. The light in thy conscience will witness the truth of what I write to thee; and will let thee see that thou art not born of God, but art from the truth, in the beastly nature. If ever thy eye see repentance, thou wilt witness me a friend of thy soul, and a seeker of thy eternal good.”

G. F.

This Adam Sands afterwards died miserably.

I was moved also to write to priest Tatham.

“The word of the Lord to thee, priest Tatham, who art found out of the doctrine of Christ; having the chiefest place in the assembly, being called of men, master, and standing praying in the synagogue in the steps of the Pharisees, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. In his way thou art not, but in the way of the scribes and Pharisees, as thou mayest read, Matt. xxiii. There Christ's words judge thee, and the Scriptures of truth condemn thee. For thou art such a one as sues men at the law for tithes, and yet professest thyself 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 thee in the presence of the living God, to be out of their doctrine; and that as one of those evil beasts the Scripture speaks of, thou mindest earthly things, which the life of the Scriptures is against. Thou art for destruction in the state wherein thou standest; and it will be thy portion eternally, if thou dost not repent. To that of God in thy conscience I speak, which will witness the truth of what I say. Thou goest in Cain's way, in envy, an enemy to God, and from the command of God. Thou goest in Balaam's way, from the Spirit of God, for gifts and rewards, the wages of unrighteousness. Thou son of Balaam, thou art worse than thy father, for though he loved the wages of unrighteousness, yet he durst not take them; but thou not only takest them, but suest men at the law if they will not give them thee, which no true minister of Jesus Christ ever did; therefore stop thy mouth for ever, and never make mention of them, or profess thyself one of them. With the light thou art seen and comprehended, who art light and vain, and speakest a divination of thy own brain, and deceivest the people. That in thy conscience will witness what I say, and will condemn thee, who art one of those that bear rule by their means, which the Lord sent Jeremiah to cry against, Jer. v.; and so thou boldest up 'the horrible and filthy thing that is committed in the land.' They that do not tremble at the word of the Lord, are the foolish people that hold thee up; they are sottish children, and have no understanding; they are wise to do evil, but not to do good, who are deceived by thee. Thou art one of those that seek their gain from their quarter; a greedy dumb dog, that never hath enough, as thy practice makes manifest, which the Lord sent Isaiah to cry against, Isa. lvi. 11,12. And thou art such a one as the Lord sent Ezekiel to cry against, who feedest of the fat, and clothest with the wool, and makest a prey of the people. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from thy mouth, that to thee they shall be a prey no longer. Thou enemy of God, here this prophecy is fulfilled upon thee, Ezek. xxxiv., and thou art one of them; I charge it upon thee in the presence of the living

God; a hireling thou art, and they that put not into thy mouth, thou preparest war against them. Thou hatest the good, and lovest the evil, which the Lord sent Micah to cry against, Mic. iii. Cover thy lips, and stop thy mouth for ever, thou child of darkness; for with the light thou art comprehended, and seen to be among them which the holy men of God cried woe against; and by the Spirit of the Living God thou art judged. In the light, which is thy condemnation, thou art comprehended; thy race is seen, and thy compass known, who art out of the commands of Christ, and out of the doctrine and life of the apostles. Thou art proved and tried: to thee this is the word of the Lord, to thee it shall be as a hammer, a fire, and a sword, and from under it thou shalt never come, unless thou repent; who art with the light to be condemned in that state wherein thou standest: and if ever thy eye see repentance, this thy condemnation thou must own.”

G. F.

I wrote also to Burton, priest of Sedbergh, much to the same purpose, he being in the same evil ground, nature, and practice. Many other epistles also and papers I wrote about that time, as the Lord moved me thereunto, which I sent among the priests, professors, and people of all sorts, for the laying their evil ways open before them, that they might see and forsake them; and opening the way of truth unto them, that they might come to walk therein; which are too many and large to be inserted in this place.

After I had cleared my conscience at that time to the priests and people near Swarthmore, I went again into Westmorland. A company of men with pikes and staves laid wait 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 any one.

I went from the meeting to Grayrigg, and had a meeting there at Alexander Dixon's house, to which the priest (who was a Baptist, and a chapel priest) came to oppose; but the Lord confounded him by his power. Some of the priest's people tumbled down some milk-pails which stood upon the side of the house, which was much crowded; whereupon the priest, after he and his company were gone away, raised a slander, “that the Devil frightened him, and took away a side of the house while he was in the meeting.” And though this was a known falsehood, yet it served the priests and professors to feed on for a while; and so shameless they were, that they printed and published it.

Another time this priest came to a meeting, and fell to jangling. First he said, “the Scriptures were the word of God.” I told him they were the words of God, but were not Christ, who is the Word; and bid him prove by Scripture what he said. Then he said it was not the Scripture that was the word; and setting his foot upon the Bible, he said it was but copies bound up together. Many unsavoury words came from him, but after he was gone we had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's power and presence was preciousely manifested and felt amongst us. Soon after he sent me a challenge to meet me at Kendal. I sent him word he need not go so far as Kendal, for I would meet him in his own parish. The hour being fixed, we met, and abundance of rude people gathered together, besides the baptized people

who were his own members; and they had intended to do mischief, but God prevented them. When we were met, I declared the day of the Lord to them, and directed them to Christ Jesus. Then the priest out with 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, 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 said, and what 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 said he would have me anon; but in going about to prove that one error, he ran into many. And when at length he saw he could not prove it, then he said he would prove it to be a God: so he toiled himself afresh, till he perspired again, but could not prove what he had affirmed. And he and his company were full of wrath; for I kept his assertions on the head of him and them all, and told them 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 being confounded went away. The Lord disappointed their mischievous intentions against me; and Friends were established in Christ, and many of the priest's followers saw the folly of their teacher.

After this, priest Bennet, of Cartmel, sent a challenge to dispute with me. Hereupon I came to his steeple-house on a First-day, and found him preaching. When he had done, I spoke to him and his people; but the priest would not stand the trial, but went his way. After he was gone, I had much discourse with the people; and when I was come out into the steeple-house yard, and was discoursing further with the professors, and declaring truth unto them, one of them set his foot behind me, and two of them ran against my breast, and threw me down backwards against a grave-stone, wickedly and maliciously seeking to hurt me; but I got up again, and was moved of the Lord to speak to them. Then I went up to the priest's house, and desired him to come forth that I might discourse with him, seeing he had challenged me; but he would not be seen. So the Lord's power came over them all, which was greatly manifested at that time. Amongst the priest's hearers was one Richard Roper, one of the bitterest professors the priest had: he was very fierce and hot in his contention; but afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, became a minister thereof, and continued faithful to his death.

It was now about the beginning of the year 1653, when I returned to Swarthmore; and going to a meeting at Gleaston, a professor challenged a dispute with me. I went to the house where he was, and called him to come forth; but the Lord's power was over him, so that he durst not meddle. Then I departed thence, and visited the meetings of Friends in Lancashire, and came back to Swarthmore. Great openings I had from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things, relating to the civil government. For being one day in Swarthmore-hall, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news, and of the parliament then sitting, which was called the Long Parliament, I was moved to tell them, that before that day two weeks the parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair. And that day two weeks Justice Benson coming thither 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 account; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This

James Milner and some of his company, had true openings at first; but getting into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go, and show them their outgoings: 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 Arn-side, where Richard Myer was, who had been long lame of one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to say unto him, amongst all the people, "Stand up on thy 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 unto you, all people, that this day I am healed." Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, they had him aside, took off his doublet, and then saw it was true. He came soon after to Swarthmore meeting, and then declared how that the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from him, but he disobeyed the Lord; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three-quarters of a year after.

Now were great threatenings given forth in Cumberland, that if ever I came there again, they would take away my life. When I heard it, I was drawn to go into Cumberland, and went to Miles Wennington's, in the same parish, from which those threatenings came; but they had not power to touch me.

About this time Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of Friends.<sup>35</sup> He came over 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, so that many were cast into prison. I went again into Cumberland, and Anthony Pearson and his wife, and several Friends, went with me to Bootle, where Anthony Pearson left me, and went to Carlisle sessions; for he was a Justice of the peace in three counties. On a First-day, I went into the steeple-house at Bootle; and when the priest had done, I began to speak. But the people were exceeding rude, and struck and beat me in the 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 desirous to keep the peace, and would have set some of them by the heels that struck me, if I would have given way to it. After my service amongst them was over, I went to Joseph Nicolson's house,<sup>36</sup> and the constable went a little way with us, to keep off the rude multitude. In the afternoon I went again; and then the priest had got another priest to help him, that came from London, and was highly accounted of. Before I went into the steeple-house, I sat a little upon the Cross, and Friends with me; but the Friends were moved to go into the steeplehouse, 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, and antichrists, and deceivers, and threw them upon us: but when

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35 Justice Pearson, who was convinced as he sat on the bench," became the author of an approved work, *The Great Case of Tithes*. A striking letter from him, dated in 1653, respecting his religious state, is inserted in *Letters of Early Friends*, pages 10-12.

36 Joseph Nicholson was one of those who, with his wife, suffered in the New England persecution, being imprisoned there and laid in irons. He was also immured within the walls of Dover Castle in 1661. See Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, vol. i., pp. 203-206, and 208, etc.



he had done I recollected all those Scriptures, and' brought them back upon himself. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the constable charged them to keep the peace, and so 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, that spoke of the false prophets, and antichrists, and deceivers, described them and their generation, and belonged to them who were found walking in their steps, and bringing forth their fruits; and not unto 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 it was they of whom those Scriptures spoke, and not we. 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 out, the priests were both of them in such a 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, and said, "This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him; and now," said he, "he comes here to do the same." Then said I unto him, "What wilt thou have left? and what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if it be the honest that receive the truth, and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art." Some also of the priest's people began to plead for their priest, and for tithes; but I told them it were better for them to plead for Christ, who had ended the tithing-priesthood and tithes, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So the Lord's power came over them all, put them to silence, and restrained the rude people, 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 was not cut through my doublet, for the Lord had prevented their mischief. And the next day a rude wicked man 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 John Wilkinson's steeple-house near Cockermouth, who was a preacher in great repute, and had three parishes under him; wherefore I stayed at Millom-in-Bootle till he came back again. In the meantime some of those called 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 it. They came with the boy to Joseph Nicholson's house to seek me; but the Lord had so ordered it, that I was gone into the fields. They met with James Lancaster, but did not much abuse him; and not finding me in the house, after a while they 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. The next day we came to the steeple-house, where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve soldiers and their wives, who were come thither from Carlisle; and the country people came in, as if it had been to a fair. I lay at a house a short distance from the place, so that many Friends were there before me. When I came, I found James Lancaster speaking under a yew tree; which was so full of people that I feared they would break it down. I looked about for a place to stand upon, to speak to the people; for they lay all up and down like people at a leaguer. After I was discovered, a professor came to me, and asked, if I would not go into the church; seeing no place convenient to speak to the people from, I told him, "Yes;"

whereupon the people rushed in; so that when I came in, the house and even the pulpit was so full of people, that I had much ado to get in; and they that could not get in, stood about the walls. When the people were settled, I stood up on a scat; and the Lord opened my mouth to declare his everlasting truth, and his everlasting day; and to lay open all their teachers, their rudiments, traditions, and inventions, that they had been in, in the night of apostacy 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 therein. I opened Christ's parables unto them, and directed them to the Spirit of God *in* themselves, that would open the Scriptures unto them. And I showed them, how all might come to know their Saviour, and sit under his teaching;—might come to be heirs of the kingdom of God, and know both the voice of God and of Christ, 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.” So when I had largely declared the word of life unto them, for about three hours, I walked from amongst the people, and they passed away very 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 were got together on the way who came after the meeting was over), said to me, “Sir, why do you judge so; you must not judge.” But I turned to him and said, “Friend, dost not thou discern an exhortation from a judgment? I admonished him to fear God; and dost thou say I judge him?” So this priest and I falling into discourse, I manifested him to be amongst the false prophets and covetous hirelings. And several people being moved to speak to him, he and two others of the priests soon got away. When they were gone, John Wilkinson, who was preacher of that parish, and of two other parishes in Cumberland, began to dispute against his own conscience for several hours, till 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, and received the Lord Jesus Christ, and his free teaching, with gladness; of whom some have died in the truth, and many stand faithful witnesses thereof. The soldiers also were convinced, and their wives, and continued with me till First-day.

On First-day I went to the steeple-house at Cockermouth, where priest Larkham lived. When he had done, 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 the priest went his way, and said, “He calls me hireling;” which was true enough, and all the people knew it. Then some of the great men of the town came to me, and 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, and directed them to Christ their teacher, who had died for them, and bought them with his blood.

When I had done, I went about two miles to another great steeplehouse of John Wilkinson's, called Brigham; where the people, having been at the other meeting, were mightily affected, and would have put my horse into the steeple-house yard; but I said, “No, the priest claims that; take him to an inn.” When I came into the steeple-house yard, I saw the people coming in great companies, as to a fair; and

abundance were already gathered in the lanes, and about 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 again, I met Wilkinson, who as I passed by him said, "Sir, will you preach to-day? If you will," said he, "I will not oppose you in word or thought." I replied, "Oppose if thou wilt; I have something to speak to the people." "And," said I, "thou carriedst thyself foolishly the other day, and spoke against thy conscience and reason; insomuch that thy hearers cried out against thee." So I left him, and went on; for he saw it was in vain to oppose, the people were so affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the steeplehouse yard, a professor came to me, and asked, if I would not go into the church, as he called it. And I seeing no convenient place to stand to speak to the people from, went in, and stood up on a seat, after they were settled. 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 of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, and the Scriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowship in the Spirit. I declared to them, that every one that cometh into the world, was enlightened by Christ the life; by which light they might see their sins, and Christ, who was come to save them from their sins, and died for them. And, if they came to walk in this light, they might therein see Christ to be the author of their faith, and the finisher thereof; their Shepherd to feed them, their Priest to teach them, and their great Prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, and to be always present with them. I explained also unto them, in the openings of the Lord, the first covenant, explaining to them the types, and the substance of those figures; and so bringing them on to Christ, the new covenant. I also manifested unto them, that there had been a night of apostacy 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 was come, and Christ was come to teach his people himself by his light, grace, power, and Spirit." A fine opportunity the Lord gave me to preach truth among the people 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 hearers, that I had broken them and overthrown them.

After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. As I was sitting in a house full of people, declaring the word of life unto them, I cast mine eye upon a woman, and discerned an unclean spirit in her. And I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her, and told her she was under the influence of an unclean spirit; whereupon she went out of the room. Now, I being a stranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered at it, and told me afterwards that I had discovered a great thing; for all the country looked upon her to be a wicked person. The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. For not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and I discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions. At another time there came one into Swarthmore-hall in the meeting time; and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was under the power of an evil spirit; and the people said afterwards she was generally accounted so. There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, "Thou hast been an

harlot;" for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. The woman answered and said, 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 came the outward. This woman came afterwards to be convinced of God's truth, and became a Friend.

From the aforesaid village we came up to Thomas Bewley's, near Coldbeck; and from thence, having had some service for the Lord there, I passed to a town, where I had a meeting at the Cross; and all was pretty quiet. When I had declared the truth unto them, and directed them to Christ their teacher, some received the truth. We had another meeting upon 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 amongst them, some received the truth there also.

From thence we came to Carlisle, and the pastor of the Baptists, with most of his hearers, came to me to the abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongst them; and many of the Baptists, and of the soldiers, were convinced. After the meeting, the pastor of the Baptists, a high notionist, and a flashy man, came to me, and 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 reprobation, so that he said he never heard the like in his life. He also came afterwards to be convinced.

Then I went up to the castle among the soldiers, who beat a drum, and called the garrison together. I preached the truth amongst 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 the 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 up into the market to the market-cross. Now the magistrates had both threatened and sent their Sergeants; and the magistrates' wives had said that if I came there, they would pluck the hair off my head; and that the Sergeants should take me up. Nevertheless I obeyed the Lord God, and went upon the Cross, and there declared unto them, "that the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize; and that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yea and nay, 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, the throng being so great that the Sergeants could not get to me, nor the magistrates' wives come at me, I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some Baptists, that were bitter contenders; amongst whom one of their deacons, being an envious man, and finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon 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 thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me."

On the First-day following I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongst them. The priest got away, and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them, "I came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them." The power of the Lord was dreadful amongst them in the steeple-house, so that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple-house shook; and some of them feared it would fall down on their heads. The magistrates' wives were in a rage, and strove mightily to be at 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. Whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house, to appease the tumult, and commanded all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and said they would have me along with them. When we came forth into the street, the city was in an uproar, and the governor came down; and some of those soldiers were put in prison for standing by me, and for me, against the town's-people. A lieutenant, that had been convinced, came, and brought me to his house, where there was a Baptists' meeting, and thither came Friends also, and 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 being gathered in the townhall, they granted a warrant against me, and sent for me to come before them. I was then gone to a Baptist's house; but hearing of it I went up to the hall to them, where many rude people were; some of whom had sworn strange, false things against me. I had much discourse with the magistrates, wherein I laid open the fruits of their priests' preaching, and showed them how void they were of Christianity; and that, though they were such great professors (for they were Independents and Presbyterians) they were without the possession of that which they professed. After a large examination they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer; though they could not justly charge any such thing against me. The jail at Carlisle had two jailers, an upper and an under, who looked like two great bear-wards. Now when I was brought in, the upper jailer had me up into a great chamber, and told me, I should have what I would in that room. But I told him, he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room; where after a while, I got something to lie upon. There I lay till the assizes came; and then all the talk was, that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, whose name was Wilfred Lawson, stirred them much up to take away my life; and said, he would guard me to my execution himself. They were in a great rage, and set three musketeers for a guard upon me; one at my chamber door, another at the stairs' foot, and a third at the street door; and they would let none come at me, except one sometimes, to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, sometimes as late as the tenth hour; who were exceedingly rude and devilish. There was a company of bitter Scotch priests, Presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed; 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 both the judge, justices, and sheriff, were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their design by an unexpected way; for the judge's clerk (as I was informed) started a question among them, which confounded

all their counsels; so that after that they had not power to call me before the judge.

Anthony Pearson being then in Carlisle, and perceiving that they did not intend to bring me, as was expected, upon my trial, wrote a letter to the judges, directed 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 doth evil, and to encourage him that doth 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, till he should be delivered by due course of law; and it was expected he should have been proceeded against in the common-law course at this assizes. The informations against him were delivered into court; and the act allows and appoints that way of trial. How hardly and unchristianly he hath been hitherto dealt with, I shall not now mention; but you may consider, that nothing he is accused of is nice and difficult. And, to my knowledge, he utterly abhors and detests every particular, which by the act against blasphemous opinions, is appointed to be punished; and differs as much from those people against whom the law was made, as light from darkness. Though he is committed, judgment is not given against him; nor have his accusers been face to face, to affirm before him what they have informed against him; nor was he heard as to the particulars of their accusations; nor doth it appear, that any word they charge against him, is within the act. But, indeed, I could not yet so much as see the information, no, not in court, though I desired it, both of the clerk of the assizes and of the magistrates' clerk; nor hath he had a copy of them. This is very hard; and that he should be so closely 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 hath neither professed nor avowed them.”

Anthony Pearson.

Notwithstanding this letter, the judges were resolved not to suffer 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. Whereupon (though I had been kept up so close in the jailer's house that Friends were not suffered to visit me, and Colonel Benson and Justice Pearson were denied 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 dungeon among the mosstroopers,<sup>37</sup> thieves, and murderers,

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<sup>37</sup> Moss-troopers were the remnant of a kind of freebooters, who infested the borders of England and Scotland in feudal times, making incursions on each other, less for the purpose of contention in arms, than for committing depredations on

which accordingly he did. A filthy nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and not even a house of convenience to it; and the prisoners so lousy that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice. 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 publicans and harlots were of old; so that they were able to confound any priest, that might come to the grates to dispute. But the jailer was very cruel, and the under-jailer very abusive to me and to Friends that came to see me; for he would beat Friends with a great cudgel, that did but come 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. One time he came in a great rage, and beat me with a great cudgel, 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 enough from it. While he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power; and that made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; 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, and 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 dungeon 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 suffered to go out, when the time of her travail was come; so she was delivered of her child in the prison. She was an honest, tender woman, and continued faithful to the truth until she died.

Whilst I was in the dungeon at Carlisle, James Parnell, a little lad of about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced: and the Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him, though he lived not long: for, travelling 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, 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, to draw up his victuals in, the inhuman jailer would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope, to fetch his victuals, (which for a long time he did) or else he might have famished in the hole. At length, his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being constrained to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope, and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was exceedingly wounded in his head and arms, and his body was so much bruised, that he died in a short time after.<sup>38</sup> When he was dead, the

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cattle and property.

38 James Parnell, according to the historian Sewell, was trained up in the schools of literature. Though young, he became a valiant soldier of the Lamb; "*In age a stripling, but in service old*;" and died a true martyr in a dungeon's gloom. Particulars of his barbarous treatment, and consequent death in jail, may be found in Sewell's *History*, vol. i., under date 1655; and fuller information in his *Life* by Callaway. In Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends* is one from James Parnell, written from Colchester Castle, wherein he says, "They have laboured to make my bonds grievous, but my strength the Phil-

wicked professors, to cover their own cruelty, wrote a book of him, and said, “he fasted himself to death,” which was an abominable falsehood, and was manifested so to be by another book, which was written in answer to that, and was called “The Lamb's Defence against Lies.”

Now when I saw that I was not likely to be brought to a public hearing and trial (although I had before 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 belied the truth and me behind my back, to come forth and make good their charge:—

“If any in Westmorland, or Cumberland, or elsewhere, that profess Christianity, and pretend to love God and Christ, are not satisfied concerning the things of God, which I, who am called George Fox, have spoken and declared, let them declare and publish their dissatisfaction in writing, and not back-bite, nor lie, nor persecute, in secret: this I demand of you all in the presence of the living God, as ye will answer it to him. For the exaltation of the truth, and the confounding of deceit, is this given forth. To that of God in your consciences I speak; declare or write your dissatisfaction to any of them, whom you call Quakers, that truth may be exalted, and all may come to the light, with which Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh 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 the light of Christ may be tried. This am I moved of the Lord to write, and send forth to be set upon the marketcrosses in Westmorland, 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 know not; nor act contrary to the light, that gave forth the Scriptures; lest you be found fighters against God, and the hand of the Lord be turned against you.”

G. F.

While I thus lay in the dungeon at Carlisle, the report raised at the time of the assize, “that I should be put to death,” was gone far and near; insomuch that the parliament then sitting, which, I think, was called the Little Parliament, hearing, that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, caused a letter to be sent to the sheriff and magistrates concerning me. About the same time I wrote also to the justices at Carlisle, that had cast me into prison, and that persecuted Friends at the instigation of the priests for tithes; expostulating the matter with them thus:—

“Friends, Thomas Craston and Cuthbert Studholm,

“Your noise is gone up to London before the sober people: what imprisoning, what gagging, what havoc and spoiling of the goods of people have you made within these few years! Unlike men; 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; and is this the end of your church, and of your profession of Christianity? you have shamed it by your folly, your madness, and blind zeal.

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istines know not: I am kept and nourished in the midst of mine enemies; glory be to God the Highest, who hath counted me worthy to bear the bonds of the gospel.”



Was it not always the work of the blind guides, watchmen, leaders, and false prophets, to prepare war against them that would not put into their mouths? And have not you been the priests' pack-horses and executioners? When they spur you up, to bear the sword against the just, do not you run on against the creatures, that cannot hold up such as the Scriptures did always testify against? Yet will you lift up your unholy hands, and call upon God with your polluted lips, and pretend a fast, who are full of strife and debate. Did your hearts 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 loving of enemies? Where is your entertaining of strangers? Where is your overcoming evil with good? Where are your teachers that can stop the mouths of gainsayers, and can convince gainsayers and such as oppose themselves? Have you no ministers of the Spirit, no soldiers with spiritual weapons displaying Christ's colours? But all the dragon's, 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, and kill, and persecute? Whose weapons are you bearing? doth not the false church, the whore, make merchandize of cattle, corn, wine, and oil, even to the very souls of men? And hath not all this been since the true church went into the wilderness? Read Revelations the xiith, with the xviiiith: do you not read and see what a spirit you are of, and what a bottomless pit you are in? And have not you dishonoured 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! Doth not the Lord, think you, behold your actions? How many have you wronged? how many have you imprisoned and persecuted, and put out of your synagogues? Are you they that must fulfil the prophecy of Christ, Matt. xxiii. John xvi.? Read the Scriptures, and see how unlike you are to the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and what a visage you have, like unto them that persecuted the prophets, Christ and the apostles. You are found in their steps, wrestling with flesh and blood, and not with principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness, and your teachers imprisoning and persecuting for outward things, you being their executioners; the like whereof hath not been in all the nations. The havoc that hath been made, the spoiling of the goods of people, taking away their oxen and fatted beeves, their sheep, corn, wool, and household goods, and giving them to the priests, that have done no work for them; more like moss-troopers than ministers of the gospel, they take them from Friends; sueing them in your courts, and fining them, because they will not break the commands of Christ; that is, because they will not swear. Thus you act against them that do not lift up a hand against you; and as much as you turn against them, you turn against Christ. But he is risen that will plead their cause, and you cannot be hid; for your works are come to light, and the end of your ministry is seen, what it is for—for means. You have dishonoured the truth, the gospel, and are they that make it chargeable? You have lost your glory. You have dishonoured yourselves. Persecution was ever blind and mad. Read the apostle, what he saith of himself, when he was in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your lifting up yourselves, hath brought you to this; not

being humble, not doing justice, not loving mercy. When such as have been beaten and bruised by your rude company, to whom you are a praise and encouragement, have come, and laid things before you, that you might do justice, preserve and keep peace, you, knowing they could not swear, have put an oath to them. This hath been your trick and cover, that ye might not do justice to the just; but by this means you have gone on still further to encourage the evil-doer. But the Lord sees your hearts! If ye were not men past feeling, ye 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, for reproving sin in the gate, are become your prey, you will feel the heavy hand of God, and his judgments at the last. This is from a lover of the truth, and 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 that persecuted the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' life; who will persecute them, that will not hold you up, and put into your mouths, and give you means. 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 got up. Now Christ, who is come to end the law, and to end war, redeems men out of the tenths 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 set up by the Papists, and by them that went forth from the apostles into the world; so set up by the false church, that made merchandize of people, since the true church went into the wilderness. But now is the judgment of the great whore come, and 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 is Christ come, who will make war in righteousness, and destroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and inventions, that have got up, and 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, and kindreds, and tongues, in this the Lamb's day, before whom you shall appear to judgment. You have no way to escape. For he hath appeared, who is 'the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, the Alpha and the Omega; he that was dead, is alive again, and lives for evermore!'"

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; which was thus:—

“Him, who is called George Fox, who is persecuted by rulers and magistrates, by justices, by priests, and by people, and who suffers imprisonment of his body at this present, as a blasphemer, and a heretic, and a seducer, him do we witness, who in measure are made partakers of the same life, that 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 hath opened the blind eyes, hath unstopped the deaf ears, hath let the oppressed go free, and hath raised up 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 doth fallen man (rulers, priests, and people) persecute him. Because he lives up out of the fall, and testifies against the works of the world, that the deeds thereof are evil he suffers by you magistrates; not as an evil-doer. For 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 burthensome 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 till it hath cut down all corrupt judges, justices, magistrates, priests, and professors; till he hath 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, ye judges, justices, commanders, priests, and people; ye 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 counsellors, as at the beginning. And all persecutors shall partake of the plagues of the whore, who hath made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk with the wine of her fornications, and hath drunk the blood of the saints; and therefore shall you be partakers of her plagues. We are not suffered to see our friend in prison, whom we witness to be a messenger of the living God. Now, all people, consider whether this be 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, said he, '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 ye will not suffer his brethren to visit him, ye must depart, ye workers of iniquity, into the lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to thrash 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 with 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 contemned and despised of the world, and scornfully called Quakers. You are worse than the heathens, that 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. Ye are made manifest to the saints, to be of the same generation that put Christ to death, and that put the apostles in prison on the same pretence that 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, ye 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 ye have time prize it, and remember what is written Isa. liv. 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 previous, the governor, and Anthony Pearson, came down into the dungeon to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. They found the place so bad, and the savour so ill, that they cried shame on the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things. They called for the jailers into the dungeon, and required them to find sureties for their good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the dungeon with me, amongst the moss-troopers.

After I was set at liberty, I went to Thomas Bewley's, where came a Baptist teacher to oppose me; but he was convinced. Robert Widders being with me, was moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house, and the Baptist teacher went along with him the same day. The people fell upon them, and 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 a while, he was set at liberty again.<sup>39</sup> William Dewsbury also went to another steeple-house hard by, and the people almost killed him, they beat him so; but the Lord's power was over all, and healed him again. In that day many Friends went to the steeplehouses, 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, and thousands were turned to tile Lord Jesus Christ, and to his teaching. Several that had taken tithes, as impropriators, denied the receiving of them any longer, and delivered them up freely to the parishioners. Passing on into Westmorland, I had many great meetings. At Strickland-head I had a large meeting, where a justice of peace out of Bishoprick, whose name was Henry Draper, came, and many contenders were there. The priests and magistrates were in a great rage against me in Westmorland, and had a warrant to apprehend me, which they renewed from time to time, for a long time; yet the Lord did not suffer them to serve it upon me. I travelled on amongst Friends, visiting the meetings till I came to Swarthmore, where I heard that the Baptists and professors in Scotland had sent to have a dispute with me. I sent them word, that I would meet them in Cumberland, at 'Thomas Bewley's house, whither accordingly I went, but none of them came. Some dangers at this time I underwent in my

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<sup>39</sup> Robert Widders is often mentioned in this Journal, having travelled with George Fox in Scotland, as also in many parts of America. They went through great perils by sea and land, in the wilderness and in woods, in danger of wild beasts; yet, through all the Lord supported him, and kept him faithful to the end. He was valiant for God's truth, establishing many in the faith. He was a great sufferer from persecutors; once, at Coldbeck, he was thrown down on the ground, and kicked and beaten so cruelly, that blood gushed out of his mouth, and he was supposed to be dead. At Lamplugh, his clothes were torn on his back, and the hair from off his head; and, at Bishop-Auckland, he was stoned and sorely bruised. His cattle, corn, and household goods were also swept away by wholesale, yet he was not at all dejected or concerned, knowing well for what he suffered. He was much resigned during his last sickness, i often saying on his death-bed, "his heart was filled with the love of God;" and he departed this life in great peace in 1686, aged sixty-eight years.

travels; for at one time, as we were passing from a meeting, and going through Wigton on a market-day, the people of the town had set a guard with pitch-forks; and although some of their own neighbours were with us, they kept us out of the town, and would not let us pass through it, under the pretence of preventing the sickness; though there was no occasion for any such thing. However, they fell upon us, and had like to have spoiled us and our horses; but the Lord restrained them, that they did not much hurt; and we passed away. Another time, as I was passing between two Friends' houses, some rude fellows lay in wait in a lane, and exceedingly stoned and abused us; but at last, through the Lord's assistance, we got through them, and had not much hurt. But this showed the fruits of the priest's teaching, which shamed their profession of Christianity.

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

In Northumberland many came to dispute, of whom some pleaded against perfection; unto 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, that came to destroy the Devil, said, 'Be ye 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." But I showed him his mistake, and let him see, "that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against Job; for Job stood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they were called miserable comforters." Then these professors said, the outward body was the body of death and sin. I showed them their mistake in that also; for "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 bodies, 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." So they ceased at that time from opposing further; and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

Then we passed on to Hexham, where we had a great meeting at the top of a hill. The priest threatened he would come, and oppose us, but he came not; so that all was quiet; and the everlasting day, and renowned truth of the everliving God was sounded over those dark countries, and his Son exalted over all. It was proclaimed amongst 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." And it was further declared, that "he that had the Son of God, had life eternal; but that 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 not life." After all were directed to the light of Christ, by which they might see him and receive him, and know where their true teacher was; and the everlasting truth had been largely declared amongst them, we passed away through Hexham peaceably, and came to Gilsland, a country noted for thieving.

Here a Friend seeing the priest, went to speak to him; whereupon the latter came down to our inn, and the town's-people gathered about 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 a while came out again, and brought some broken sentences of Scripture, that mention “the doctrines and commandments of men, etc, and, touch not, taste not, etc, for they perish with the using.” All which, poor man! was his own condition; whereas we were persecuted, because we would not taste, nor touch, nor handle their doctrines and traditions, which we knew perished with the using. I asked him what he called the steeple-house? “O,” said he, “the dreadful house of God, the temple of God.” Then 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 got away; and afterwards the people appeared as if they feared we would take their purses, or steal their horses; judging us like themselves, who are naturally given to thieving.

The next day we came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of many thousands of people at the top 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 well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were fixed on Christ their teacher; and they came to sit under their own vine; insomuch 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 whereof, he sat down amongst them, without speaking anything. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; and the plants of God grew, and flourished, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them, so that many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise; yea, to babes and sucklings he ordained strength.

## CHAPTER VII.

*1653-1654.—George Fox disputes most of the day with priest Wilkinson—many Friends lose their business for declining the world's salutations, but afterwards their tried faithfulness and integrity procure them more than their neighbours.—George Fox issues an address to Friends everywhere—two persecuting justices at Carlisle are cut off, and a third disgraced—George Fox passes through Halifax, a rude town of professors—at Synderhill-Green he has a mighty meeting of some thousands, and there was a general convincement—about sixty ministers are now raised up in the north, to travel towards the south, the east, and the west, in Truth's service—George Fox's address to Friends in the ministry—Rice Jones and many other false prophets rise up against Friends and are blasted—a wicked man binds himself with an oath to kill George Fox, but is prevented—great convincement in Lincolnshire—at Swannington George Fox has much controversy with professors—has a great dispute with priest Stevens, and seven other priests at Drayton—his father being present was convinced, and said, “Truly I*

*see he that will but stand to the truth it will carry him out.”—Priest Stevens propagates lies respecting George Fox, which the Lord swept away—is taken before Col. Hacker, who sends him to the Protector—speaks prophetically to the Colonel—has a friendly conference with the Protector—is dismissed by him very friendly refuses his entertainment—Captain Drury scoffs at trembling, but is made to tremble in a remarkable manner—George Fox prays with some officers, who are greatly shaken by the Lord's power—priests and professors greatly disturbed because many of their people are convinced, and moved to declare against the rest.*

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After my release from Carlisle prison, I was moved to go to priest Wilkinson's steeple-house again at Brigham; and being got in before him, when he came in, I was declaring the truth to the people, though they were but few; for the most and the best of his hearers were turned to Christ's free teaching; and we had a meeting of Friends hard by, where Thomas Stubbs was declaring the word of life amongst them. As soon as the priest came in, he opposed me; and there we stayed most part of the day; for when I began, he opposed me; so if any law was broken, he broke it. When his people would be haling me out, I manifested his fruits to be such, as Christ spoke of, when he said, “they shall hale you out of their synagogues;” and then he would be ashamed, and they would let me alone. There he stood till it was almost night, jangling and opposing me, and would not go to his dinner; for he thought to weary me out. But at last, the Lord's power and truth came so over him, that he packed away with his people. When he was gone, I went to the meeting of Friends, who were turned to the Lord, and by his power established on Christ, the rock and foundation of the true prophets and apostles, but not of the false.

About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before, that we should be destroyed within a month; and after that, they prolonged the time to half a year; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth, that we would eat out one another. For often after meetings, many tender people having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in; so that some have lain on the hay-mows; hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people. For they were afraid, that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and be chargeable to them. But after a while, 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 falseness of all their prophecies against us; and that it was in vain to curse, where God had blessed. At the first convincement, when Friends could not put off their hats to people, or say You to a single person, but Thou and Thee;—when they could not bow, or use flattering words in salutations, or adopt the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their customers at first; for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some Friends could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea, and their nay was nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if

they sent a child to their shops for anything, they were as well used as if they had come themselves; the lives and conversation of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, “where is there a draper, or shopkeeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?” Insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, “if we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.” This has been the Lord's doing to and for his people! which my desire is, that all, who profess his holy truth, may be kept truly sensible of, and that all may be preserved, in and by his power and Spirit, faithful to God and man; first to God, in obeying him in all things; and then in doing unto all men, that which is just and righteous, to all men and women, in all things, that they have to do or deal with them in; that the Lord God may be glorified in their practising truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness, amongst people in all their lives and conversation.

Friends being now grown very numerous in the northern parts of the nation, and many young-convinced ones coming daily in among us, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it forth amongst them, in order to stir up the pure mind, and raise a holy care and watchfulness in them over themselves, and one another, for the honour of truth:—

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

“In the measure of the life of God, wait for wisdom from God, even from Him, from whom it comes. And all ye, who are children of God, wait for living food from the living God, to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes; that ye may all be guided and walk in order; servants in your places, young men and women in your places, and rulers of families; that every one, 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 whom it comes, that ye may be a sweet savour to God, and in wisdom ye may all be ordered and ruled;—that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no strife, bitterness, or self-will, may appear amongst you; but with the Light, in which is unity, all these may be condemned. And that every one in particular, may see to, and take care of, the ordering and ruling of his own family; that in righteousness and wisdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord being set in every one's heart; that the secrets of the Lord every one may come to receive; that stewards of his grace you may come to be, to dispense it to every one as they have need; and so in savouring and right-discerning you may all be kept; that nothing, that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may be judged by it; so that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live, and all that is contrary to the light, and life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light condemned. And that no fruitless trees be among you; but all cut down and condemned by the light, and cast into the fire; so that every one may bear and bring forth fruit unto 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 amongst you boast yourselves above your measure; for if you do, out of God's kingdom you are excluded; for in that boasting part gets up the pride, and the strife, which is contrary to the light, that leads to the kingdom of God, and gives an entrance thereinto, and an understanding to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. There the light and life of man every one receives, even Him who was, before the world was, by whom it was made, who is the righteousness of God, and his wisdom; to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praise belong, who is God blessed for ever. Let no image or likeness be made; but wait in the light, which will bring condemnation on that part that would make the images; for that prisons the just. So to the lust yield not the eye, nor the flesh; for the pride of life stands in that which keeps out the love of the Father; and upon which his judgments and wrath remain, where the love of the world is sought after, and a crown that is mortal. 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 is by the light condemned. There the earth is, which must be removed; by the light it is seen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its place it is shaken; to which the thunders utter their voices, before the mysteries of God be opened, and Jesus revealed. Therefore all ye, whose minds are turned to this light, wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown that is immortal, and that fadeth not away."

G. F.

"This is to be sent amongst all Friends in tie truth, the flock of God, to be read at their meetings."

While Friends abode in the northern parts, a priest of Wrexham, in Wales, whose name was Morgan Floyd, having heard reports concerning us, sent two of his congregation into the North to inquire concerning us, to try us, and bring him an account of us. But when these triers came down amongst us, the power of the Lord overcame them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they stayed some time with us, and then returned into Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his conviction; but the other, whose name was John-ap-John, abode in the truth, and received a part in the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

Now were the priests greatly disturbed at Newcastle, at Kendal, and in most of the northern counties. There being one Gilpin, that had sometimes come amongst us at Kendal, and soon run out from the truth into vain imaginations, the priests made what evil use they could of him against us; but the Lord's power confounded them all. And the Lord God cut off two of the persecuting justices at Carlisle; and the other, after a time, was turned out of his place, and left the town.

About this time the oath or engagement to Oliver Cromwell was tendered to the soldiers; many of whom were disbanded, because, in obedience to Christ, they could not swear. John Stubbs was one, who was convinced when I was in Carlisle prison, and became a good soldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful minister of Christ Jesus, travelling much in the service of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scot-

land, Italy, Egypt, and America. And the Lord's power preserved him out of the hands of the Papists, though many times he was in great danger of the Inquisition. But some of the soldiers who had been convinced in their judgments, but had not come into obedience to the truth, took Cromwell's oath; and going afterwards into Scotland, and coming before a garrison there, the garrison thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, and killed many of them; which was a sad event.

When the churches were settled in the North, and Friends were sat down under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shone over them, I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster (about the beginning of the year 1654) and so through the counties, visiting Friends till I came to Synderhill-green, where a meeting was appointed three weeks before; leaving the North fresh and green, under Christ their teacher. But before I came to Synderhill-Green, we passed through Halifax, a rude town of professors, and came to one Thomas Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with some janglers; but the Lord's power was over all; for I travelled in the motion of God's power. When I came to Synderhill-Green, there was a mighty meeting, some thousands of people (as it was supposed). Many persons of note were there, as captains and other officers; and there was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth was over all, and there was no opposition.

About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many, whom he had raised up, and sent forth to labour 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; as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead<sup>40</sup> towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes<sup>41</sup> into Wales, and others different ways; for above sixty ministers had the Lord raised up, and now sent abroad out of the North country. The sense of their service being very weighty upon me, I was moved to give forth the following paper:—

*“To Friends in the Ministry.*

“All Friends everywhere, Know the Seed of God, which bruiseth the seed of the serpent, and is above the seed of the serpent; which Seed sins not, but bruiseth the serpent's head, that doth sin, and tempts to sin; which Seed God's promise and God's blessing is to; and which is one in the male and in the female. Where it is head, and hath bruised the head of the other, to the beginning you are come; and the younger is known, and he that is servant to the younger. And the

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40 George Whitehead, who was convinced when about seventeen years old, became a valiant minister for about sixty-eight years, till the time of his decease, which took place, in great peace, after an illness of some weeks. He waited, patiently resigned to the will of God, desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ; saying, “he felt the sting of death to be taken away.” He was a preacher of the gospel in life and power, and turned many from darkness to light, being a chief instrument in gathering a people to the Lord in and about Norwich. At one meeting he had in those parts, it is recorded that “nearly the whole congregation was convinced by the mighty power of God, through his lively and piercing testimony and prayer.” He suffered great hardships, long and sore imprisonments, and severe whipping for his testimony to the truth, much of which is recorded in his published Journal, with his travels and other services, to which the reader is referred.

41 Thomas Holmes was serviceable in his day and generation, suffering imprisonment on Truth's account. In 1656, he was in jail, at Chester, with seven or eight other Friends. Some of his services in Wales are related, in a letter from him (probably to George Fox), in Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 232.

promise of God, which is to the Seed, is fulfilled and fulfilling; the Scriptures come to be opened and owned; the flesh of Christ known, who took upon him the seed of Abraham according to the flesh; and the everlasting priesthood known, the everlasting covenant. Christ takes upon him the seed of Abraham, and is a priest after the order of Melchizedek; without father, without mother, without beginning of days (mark) or end of life; this is the priest that ever lives; the covenant of life, of light, and peace. And the everlasting offering here is known once 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 for ever them that are sanctified; which offering blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances, triumphs over them, and ascends above all principalities and powers. Now he that hath the Spirit of Jesus, sees this; and here is the love of God received, that doth 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 them that are saved. You, that know the power, and feel the power, you feel the cross of Christ, you feel the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Now, he that believes in the light, believes in the everlasting covenant, in the one offering; comes to the life of the prophets and Moses; comes to see Christ the hope, the mystery, which hope perisheth not, but lets you see the hope that perisheth, which is not that mystery; and the expectation in that perishing hope 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 perisheth not; but the other hope, and the other expectation perisheth. So all of you, know the perishing of the other, and the failing of the expectation therein; and know that which perisheth not; that you may be ready to give a reason of this hope with meekness and fear, to every man that asketh you. Christ the hope, the mystery, that perisheth not; the end of all perishing things, the end of all changeable things, the end of the decaying covenant, the end of that which waxeth old and doth decay; the end of the first covenant, of Moses, and of the prophets; the righteousness of God, Christ Jesus the Son; his throne ye will know, heirs with him ye 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 the doer of 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 come every one to witness the light that shines in your hearts, which light will give you the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. With which light you will see him reign, who is the prince of life and of peace; which light turns from Mm, that is out of the truth, and abode not in it; where the true peace is not.

“Friends, be not hasty; for he that believes in the light, makes not haste. Here the grace is received, by which you come to be saved; the election is known, which obtains the promise; the

will is seen that wills; the mind is known that runs and obtains not, but stops and becomes dull. Now, that with the light being seen, and judged, and stopped, the patience is here known which obtains the crown, and the immortality is come to light. So all they now that act contrary to the light, and do not believe in it, do not come to justification. And, all Friends, if you go from the light, from wanting to have the promise of God fulfilled to the Seed, whereby you may know Christ to reign, you thereby bring on yourselves changeable garments, and come to wear the changeable garments, and the strange flesh, which leads to adultery, which the law goes upon, which shuts out of the kingdom: and out of this will doth proceed the work or building, that is for the fire; whereby you may come to suffer loss. Therefore love the light, which doth condemn that, and receive the power from the Lord, with which you stand over that, and condemn it; feeling and seeing that which gives you the victory over the world, and to see out of time, to before time. Again, Friends, know Abraham, that must obey the voice of Sarah, that bears seed; which casts forth the bond-woman and her son: do not go forth, there will the wilderness lodge. Know that which bears 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 now you come to witness stand above all, yea, 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 this to all the seed of God, the church, that it you all may 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 to the Father presented out of all that defiles; which is the pillar and ground of truth. None come to this, but such as 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, which hath 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 lighteth every one of you; which faith gives the victory. Now 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, till they all come in the unity of the faith unto a perfect man. This is the word of the Lord God to you all; every one 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 for ever! All keep in the light and life, that judgeth 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, even him who lighteth every man that cometh into the world: by whom the world was made; that men, who are come into the world, might believe. He that believeth not the light condemns him: he that believeth, cometh out of condemnation. So this light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and which they that hate it stumble at, is 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. This sows to the Spirit, which is in prison, and of the Spirit reaps life; and the other sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. And this you may see all the world over, amongst these seeds-men, what may be reaped in the field, that is, the world. Therefore in the Spirit of the Lord God wait, which cuts down and casts out all this, the root and branches of it. In that 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 fathoms it; which, believed in, gives you victory over the world. And 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, which Christ enlightens every man that cometh into the world withal: 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 maketh merry over the witness of God: and there is that which maketh merry in the Lord; which rejoiceth over that which hath made merry over it: of that take notice, you who are in the light. Such the Lord doth beautify, whose trust is in his strength: and the Lord doth see such, and them that are in his light. But such as are from the light, whose eyes are after their abominations and idols, their eyes are to be blinded; and their beautiful idols, and their abominations 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,' saith 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 cometh from him, by whom the world was made, who was, before it was made, Christ Jesus, the Saviour 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 raiseth 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 girdle.”

G. F.

About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a Baptist, and was turned Banter), and his company, began to prophesy against me, giving out, that I was then at the highest, and that after that time I should fall down as fast. He sent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Clawson, and the towns thereabouts, judging Friends for declaring the truth in the markets and in steeple-houses; which papers I answered. But his and his company's 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, truth and Friends have increased, and do increase in the increase of God: and I, by the same power, have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting Seed, that never fell, nor 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 hath blasted

them, and will blast all who rise against the blessed Seed, and me in that. My confidence is in the Lord; for 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 had a large meeting in the daytime; and at night we had a great meeting again in Thomas Stacey's house; for people came from far, and could not soon depart. The high sheriff of the county told Captain Bradford, that he intended to come up with half a dozen of his troopers to the meeting; but the Lord prevented him. When I had attended some meetings thereabouts, I travelled 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 Christ's teaching. At length I came to Captain Bradford's house, whither many Banterers came from York to wrangle; but they were confounded and stopped. Thither came also she who was called the Lady Montague, who was then convinced, and lied and died in the truth.

Then I came again to Thomas Taylor's, within three miles of Halifax, where was a meeting of about two hundred people; amongst which were many rude people, and divers butchers, several of whom had bound themselves with an oath before they came out, that they would kill me (as I was told); one of those butchers had been accused of killing a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great disturbance in the meeting. The meeting being in a field, Thomas Taylor stood up, and said unto them, "If you will be civil, you may stay, but if not, I charge you to be gone from off my ground." But they were the 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 thrust Friends up and down; and Friends being peaceable, the Lord's power came over them. Several times they thrust 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, as I was thrust down. At last I was moved of the Lord to say unto them, "if they would discourse of the things of God, let them come up to me one by one; and if they had anything to say or 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 witness of God in them, that they were bound by the power of God; and a glorious, powerful meeting we had, and his power went over all, and the minds of the people were turned by the Spirit of God 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; and they maliciously answered, that I had so bewitched them, that they could not do it. Thus was the devil chained at that time. Friends told me, that they used to come at other times, and be very rude; and sometimes break their stools and seats, and make frightful work amongst them; but the Lord's power tad now bound them. Shortly after this, the butcher, that had been accused of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of them that had then bound himself by an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was sent to York jail. Another of those rude butchers, who had also sworn to 'kill me, having accustomed himself to thrust his tongue out of his mouth, in derision of Friends, when they passed by him, had it so swollen out of his mouth, that he could never draw it in again, but died so. Several strange and sudden judgments came upon many of these conspirators against me, which would be too large here to declare. 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 to him to deal with them, who is stronger than all; in whose power I was preserved, and carried on to do his work. The Lord hath raised a fine people in these parts, whom he hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name; who feel Christ amongst them, and sit under his teaching.

After this I came to Balby; from whence several Friends went with 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,<sup>42</sup> and several with him, who made great contention and jangling for a time. But at length the Lord's power struck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did several others also that had opposed, and continued among Friends till they died. Great meetings there were, and a large convincement 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. Amongst them that came to our meetings in that country, was one called Sir Richard Wrey, who was convinced; as was also his brother, and his brother's wife, who abode in the truth, and died therein, though he afterwards ran out.

Having visited these countries, I came into Derbyshire; the sheriff of Lincoln, who was lately convinced, being with me. In one meeting we had some opposition, but the Lord's glorious power gave dominion over all. At night there came a company of bailiffs and serving-men, and called me out. I went out to them, having some Friends with me. They were exceedingly rude and violent; for they had plotted together, and intended to carry me away with them in the dark of the evening by force: and then to do me a mischief: but the Lord's power went over them, and chained them, so that they could not effect their design; and at last they went away. The next day, Thomas Aldam understanding that the serving-men belonged to one called a knight, who lived not far off, went to his house, and laid before him the bad conduct of his servants. The knight rebuked them, and did not allow of their evil carriage towards us.

After this we came into Nottinghamshire to Skegby, where we had a great meeting of divers sorts of people: 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 Saviour. A great people the Lord hath in those parts.

I passed towards Kidsley Park, where came many Banterers; but the Lord's power checked them. From thence I went into the Peak Country towards Thomas Hammersley's, where came the Banterers of that country, and many high professors. The Banterers opposed me, and began swearing. When I reprov'd them for it, they would bring Scripture for it, and said, Abraham, and Jacob, and Joseph swore; and the priests, Moses, the prophets, and the angels swore. Then I told them, "I confessed all these did so, as the Scripture records; but, said I, Christ (who said, 'Before Abraham was, I am') saith, 'Swear not at all.' And Christ ends the prophets, and the old priesthood, and the dispensation of Moses, and reigns over the house of Jacob and of Joseph; and he says. 'Swear not at all.' And God, when he bringeth in the

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42 The sheriff of Lincoln, Richard Craven, was afterwards convinced, and travelled with George Fox.

first-begotten into the world, saith, 'Let all the angels of God worship him,' to wit, Christ Jesus, who saith, 'Swear not at all.' And 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 ye him.' So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing. And the apostle James, who heard the Son of God, followed him, and preached him, forbids all oaths,<sup>43</sup> James v. 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 when he, as foreman of the jury, brought in the verdict, the judge declared, "that he had been a judge 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 for ever!

Travelling through Derbyshire, I visited Friends till I came to Swannington in Leicestershire, where was a general meeting, to which many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came; for great contests there had been with them, and with the priests in that town. To this meeting several Mends came from various parts, as John Audland, Francis Howgill, and 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 Bottomley, a great Banter, came from Leicester; but the Lord's power stopped him, and came over them all. There came a priest too, but he also was confounded by the mighty power of the Lord. About this time the priests, Baptists, Banters, and other professors, were very rude, and stirred up the rude people against us. We sent to the Banters to come forth, and try their God. Abundance of them came, who were very rude, and sung, and whistled, and danced; but the Lord's power so confounded them, that many of them came to be convinced.

After this I went to Twycross, whither came some Banters, who 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; and are become a fine 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 other people came and jangled; but the Lord's power came over them.

Then I went to Drayton in Leicestershire to visit my relations. As soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens the priest, having got another priest, and given notice to the country, sent to me to come to them, for they could not do anything till I came. Having been three years away from my relations, I knew nothing of their design. But at last I went into the steeple-house yard, where the two priests were; and they had gathered abundance of people. When I came there, they would have me go into the steeple-house. I asked them what I should do there; and they said, Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them, he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall, Richard Farnsworth being with me; and a great dispute we had with these priests, concerning their practices, how contrary they

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43 See Gurney on Oaths, p. 334.



were to Christ and his apostles. The priests would 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 the priests stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. I had known Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition, and the manner of his preaching; and “how that he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die. But I showed that the promises were to the Seed, not to many seeds, but to 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: but I told him, “he that was spiritual judged all things.” Then he confessed, that that was a full Scripture; “but, neighbours,” said he, “this is the business; George Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to 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 star-light—light from the morning star.” But I told him, “if he had anything from Christ or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching, seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely.” So I charged him to preach no more for tithes, or any hire. But he said, he would not yield to that. After a while the people began to be vain and rude; so we broke up; yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Before we parted, I told them that, if the Lord would, I intended to be at the town again that day week. In the interim I went into the country, and had meetings, and came thither again that day week. Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him: for priest Stephens had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Adderston, that such a day 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 day week again. These eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and they would have had me into the steeple-house; but I would not go in, but got on a hill, and there spoke to them and the people. There were with me Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, James Parnell, and several other Friends. The priests thought that day to trample down truth; but the truth came over them. Then they grew light, and the people rude; and the priests would not stand trial with me; but would he 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 confounded also, when he came to answer for his son. So, after they had toiled themselves, they went away in a rage to priest Stephen's house to drink. As they went away, I said, “I never came to a place where so many priests together would not stand the trial with me.” Whereupon they and some of their wives came about me, laid hold of me, and fawningly said, “what might I have been, if it had not been for the Quakers!” Then they began to push Friends to and fro, to thrust them from me, and to pluck me to themselves. After a while several lusty fellows came, took me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to carry me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on a heap, having me under them. As soon as I could, I got up from under them, and went to the hill again: then they took me from that place to the steeple-house wall, and set me on something like a stool; and all the priests being come back, stood under with the people. The priests cried, “Come, to argument, to argument:” I said, “I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of hirelings and strangers.” And

they cried, "Prove it, prove it." Then 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 stool again; and they themselves got all upon stools under the steeple-house wall. Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all, and told them, "if they would but give audience, and hear me quietly, I would show them by the Scriptures, why I denied those eight priests or teachers, that stood before me; and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever; and I would give them Scriptures for what I said." Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I showed them out of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and others, that they were in the steps of such as God sent his true prophets to cry against; for, said I, "You are such as the prophet Jeremiah cried against, chap. v. 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 they that used their tongues and said, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord never spoke to them: and such as followed their own spirits, and saw nothing; but spoke forth a divination of their own brain; and by their lies and their lightness had caused the people to err, Jer. xiv. You are such as they were, that sought for 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, Isaiah lvi. 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, Ezek. xiii. You are such as they that taught for the fleece, and the wool, and made a prey of the people, Ezek. xxxiv. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from your mouths, and from off your barren mountains; and is bringing them to Christ, the one Shepherd, which he hath set over his flocks; as by his prophet Ezekiel he then declared he would do. You are such as they 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. iii." Thus I went through the prophets, too largely to be here repeated. Then coming to the New Testament, I showed from thence, "that they were like the chief priests, and scribes, and Pharisees of old, such as Christ cried woe against, Matt. Xiii. And that they were such false apostles, as the true apostles cried against, 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 merchandize of the people then, as (said I) ye do now." So when I had largely quoted the Scriptures, and showed them, wherein they were like the Pharisees, loving to be called of men masters, and to go in long robes, and to stand praying in the synagogues, and to have the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the like; and when I had thrown them out in the sight of the people amongst the false prophets, deceivers, scribes, and Pharisees, and showed at large, how such as they were judged and condemned by the true prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles, "I directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, who enlightens every man that Cometh 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 bear to

hear of it; they were all quiet till then; but then a professor said, "George, what! wilt thou never have done?" I told him, I should have done shortly. So I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. When I had done, all the priests and people stood silent for a time: at last one of the priests said, they would read the Scriptures that I had quoted. I told them, with all my heart. They began to read the 23rd 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 thy tongue, George." I bid them read the whole chapter throughout; for it was all against them: then they stopped, and would read no further; but asked me a question. I told them, I would answer their question, the matter being first granted that I had charged them with, viz., that they were false prophets, false teachers, antichrists, and deceivers, such as the true prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. A professor said Nay to that; but I said, Yea; 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 did judge 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 priest Stephens came to me, and desired that my father and brother and I might go aside with him, that he might speak to me in private; and the rest of the priests should keep the people from coming to us. I was very loath to go aside with him; but the people cried, "Go, George; do, George, go aside with him." I was afraid, if I did not go, they would say, I was disobedient to my parents; so I went, and the rest of the priests were to keep the people off; but they could not, for the people being willing to hear, drew close to us. I asked the priest what he had to say; and he said, "if he was out of the way, I should pray for him: and if I was out of the way, he would pray for me: and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by." I replied, "It seems thou dost not know whether thou art in the right way or not; neither dost thou know whether I am in the right way, or not: but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of. And thou wouldest give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou deniest the Common Prayer-Book to pray by, as well as I; and I deny thy form of words, as well as it. If thou wouldst have me pray for thee 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?" Here the people fell a laughing: but I was moved to speak more to him. And when I had cleared myself to him and them, we parted, after I had told them, that I should (God willing) be in the town that day week again. So the priests packed away, and many people were convinced; for the Lord's power came over all. Though they thought to have confounded truth that day, many were convinced of it; and many that were convinced before, were by that day's work confirmed in the truth, and abode in it; and a great shake it gave to the priests. My father, though he was 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 will but stand to the truth, it will carry him out." I passed about in the country till that day week, and then came again; for we had appointed a meeting at my relations' house. Now priest Stephens having had notice beforehand thereof, had got another priest to him; and they had a company of troopers with them, and sent for me to come to them. But I sent them word our meeting was appointed, and they might come to it, if they would. The priests came not; but the troopers came, and many rude people. They had laid their plot, that the

troopers should take every one's name, and then command them to go home; and such as would not go, they should take, and carry them away with them. Accordingly they began, and took several names, charging them to go home; but when they came to take my name, my relations told them, I was at home already: so they could not take me away 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 obtained not their end. But several were convinced that day, and admired the love and power of God. This was that priest Stephens, who once said of me, "never was such a plant bred in England:" yet afterwards he reported, "that I was carried up into the clouds, and found again full of gold and silver;" and many lies, and false reports he raised respecting me: but the Lord swept them all away. The reason why I would not go into their steeple-house was, because I was to bear my testimony against it, and to bring all off from such places, to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghost; 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, and had several meetings, and came to Swannington, where the soldiers came again; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not interfere. Then I went to Leicester, and then to Whetstone. There came about seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marshal, and took me up before the meeting, though Friends were beginning to gather together; for there were several Friends come from various parts. I told the marshal, "he might let all the Friends go, I would answer for them all," so he took me, and let them go, except Alexander Parker, who went with me.<sup>44</sup> At night they had me before Colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and much discourse we had about the priests, and meetings, for at this time there was a rumour of a plot against Oliver Cromwell. Much reasoning I had with them about the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh 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, I might go home, and keep there, and not go abroad to meetings. I told him, "I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work." His son Needham said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off." I asked him, "For what? what had I done? or whom had I wronged from a child? for I was bred and born in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child?" Then Colonel Hacker asked me again, if I would go home, and stay there? I told him, "if I should promise him that, it would manifest that I was guilty of something, to go home, and make my home a prison; and if I went to meetings, they would say, I broke their order." I told them, "I should go to meetings, as the Lord should order me, and therefore could not submit to their requirings;" but I said, "we were a peaceable people." "Well then," said Colonel Hacker, "I will send you to my Lord Protector, by Captain Drury, one of his life-guards." That night I was kept a prisoner at

<sup>44</sup> "Alexander Parker," says Whiting, "was an eminent servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ; from near Bolton, in Lancashire, well-educated, and had a gentleman-like carriage and deportment, for I knew him well." He travelled extensively in the service of the gospel, often in company with George Fox, being frequently mentioned in this Journal. He suffered fines, imprisonments, and persecution, being once pulled down as he was preaching in London, and fined for it £20. He died in great peace in 1689, having written many books and epistles, in which, though being dead, he yet speaketh.

the Marshalsea; and the next morning by six o'clock, I was delivered to Captain Drury. I desired he would let me speak with Colonel Hacker before I went, and he had me to his bed-side. Colonel Hacker set upon me presently again, to go home and keep no more meetings. I told him, "I could not submit to that, but must have my liberty to serve God, and to go to meetings." "Then," said he, "you must go before the Protector." "Whereupon I kneeled by his bed-side, and besought the Lord to forgive him, for he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; and when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, I bid him then remember what I had said to him." But he was stirred up, and set on by priest Stephens, and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest; who, when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, nor resist the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, then they got soldiers to take me up.

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

Now was I carried up a prisoner by Captain Drury from Leicester; and when we came to Harborough, he asked me, if I would go home and stay a fortnight?" I should have my liberty," he said, "if I would not go to, nor keep meetings." I told him, "I could not promise any such thing." Several times upon the road did he ask, and try me after the same manner, and still I gave him the same answers. So he brought me to London, and lodged me at the Mermaid over-against the Mews at Charing-Cross. As we travelled, I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places, where I came, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. William Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr being in prison at Northampton, he let me go and visit them.

After Captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he left me there, and went to give the Protector an account of me. When he came to me again, he told me, the Protector required that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was, and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it. I said little in reply to Captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell; "wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare, that I denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man; and that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; and to bring them from the causes of war and fighting, to the peaceable gospel, and from evil-doers, which the magistrates' swords should be a terror to." 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 a morning, before he was dressed, and one Harvey, who had come a little among Friends, but was disobedient, 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, that by it he might be directed, and order all

things under his hand to God's glory." I spoke much to him of truth, and much discourse I had with him about religion; wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said, we quarrelled with priests, whom he called ministers. I told him, "I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled 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 against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, that can never have enough; and that they that have the same Spirit, that Christ, and the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then." As I spoke, he several times said, it was very good, and it was truth. I told him, "that all Christendom (so called) possessed the Scriptures, but wanted the power and Spirit that they 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." Many more words I had with him, but people coming in, I drew a little back; and as I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer one to the 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 I bid him "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, I was at liberty, and might go whither I would." Then I was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them, what they brought me thither for f they said, it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, "Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can." It was told him again, "that we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him."

Being set at liberty I went to the inn again, where Captain Drury had at first lodged me. This Captain Drury, though he sometimes carried fairly, was an enemy to me and to truth, and opposed it; and when professors came to me (while I was under his custody) and he was by, he would scoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Presbyterians had nick-named us before. But afterwards he once came to me, 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 that he could not rise from his bed; he was so shaken, that he had not strength enough left to rise. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he fell off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said, he never would speak against the Quakers more, or such as trembled at the word of God.

During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, there came abundance to see me, people of almost all sorts, priests, professors, officers of the army, etc. And one time a company of officers being with me, desired 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 wondered, though they did not live in it.

Among those that came to see me, was one Colonel Packer, with several of his officers; and while they were with me, came in one Cobb, and a great company of Ranters with him. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them, if they had such a desire for it, they might go into another room. One of them cried, "all is ours;" and another said, "all is well." I replied, "how is all well, while thou art so peevish, and envious, and crabbed?" for I saw he was of a peevish nature. I spoke to their conditions, and they were sensible of it, and looked upon one another, wondering.

Then Colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind, concerning God, and 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 of the things of God, for he did not know the solidity of a man." Thereupon the officers raged, and said, would I say so of their colonel. This Packer was a Baptist, and he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be exceedingly complimentary (as they call it), so that Packer bid them give over their compliments; but I told them, "they were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit."

This Colonel Packer lived at Theobald's near Waltham, and was made a justice of peace. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobald's Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceedingly 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 God to go down to Theobald's, and appoint a meeting hard by them; to which many of his people came, and divers of his hearers were convinced of the way of truth, and received Christ, the free teacher, and came off from the Baptist; and that made him rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him, so that he had not power to meddle with me. Then I went to Waltham close by him, and had a meeting there; but the people were very rude, and gathered about the house and broke the windows. Whereupon I went out to them, with the Bible in my hand, and desired them to come in; and told them, "I would show them Scripture both for our principles and practices." And when I had done so, I showed them also, "that their teachers were in the steps of such, as the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles testified against." Then I directed them to the Light of Christ, and Spirit of God in their own hearts, that by it they might come to know their free teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. The meeting being ended, they went away quieted and satisfied, and a meeting hath 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, I stayed not long there; but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings; so great were the throngs of people, that I could hardly get to and from the meetings for the crowds; and the truth spread exceedingly. Thomas Aldam and Robert Craven, who had been sheriff of Lincoln, and many Friends, came up to London after me; but Alexander Parker abode with me.

After a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved “to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach his people himself;” so I preached truth both to the officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a priest opposed, while I was declaring the word of the Lord amongst them; for Oliver had several priests about him, of which this was his news-monger; an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bid him repent; and he put it in his newspaper the next week, that I had been at Whitehall, and had bid a godly minister there repent. When I went thither again, I met with him; and abundance of people gathered about me. I manifested the priest to be a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and so he was silenced. He put in the news, that I wore silver buttons, which was false, for they were but alchymy. Afterwards he said in the news, that I hung ribands on people's arms, which made them follow me; this was another of his lies, for I never wore or used ribands in my life. Three Friends went to examine this priest, that gave forth this false intelligence, and to know of him where he had that information. He said, it was a woman that told him so; and if they would come again, he would tell them her name. When they returned, he said, it was a man, but would not mention 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, if I would give it under my hand, that there was no such thing, he would put that into the news. Thereupon the Friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came, he broke his promise, and would not insert it; but was in a rage, and threatened them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies; which he spread over all the nation in the news, to render truth odious, and to put evil into people's minds against Friends and truth; of which a more large account may be seen in a book printed soon after this time, for the clearing of Friends and truth from the slanders, lies, and false reports raised and cast upon them. These priests, the news-mongers, were of the Independent sect, like those in Leicester; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away; and many came to see the wickedness of these priests. The God of heaven carried me over all in his power, and his Messed power went over the nation: insomuch, that many Friends about this time were moved to go up and down, to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of it, and also in Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlasting praise. A great convincement there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family; I went to see him again, but could not get access to him, the officers were grown so rude.

The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, were greatly disturbed; for many of their people turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and sat down under his teachings: they 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 appointed a meeting in the fields near Acton, in which the word of life, the saving truth, was declared freely. The Lord's power was eminently manifested, and his blessed day exalted over all.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*1654-1655.—Address to professors of Christianity against persecution—to such as follow the world's fashions—to the Pope, and all kings, and rulers in Europe, against persecution—to the justices appointed for trying ministers of religion, being a testimony against hireling ministers—Samuel Fisher and others are convinced at a meeting at Bomney, where the Lord's power is marvellously displayed—a large meeting at Coggeshall of about two thousand people, which lasted several hours—many reproaches are cast upon the truth, and lying slanderous books published, which are answered, and the truth set over the gainsayers—to those who scorn trembling and quaking—great rage is manifested against the truth and Friends, and their plainness is contemned—to the churches gathered into outward forms, opening their state and warning of the woes coming upon them—to the Protector, respecting the imprisonment of Friends for refusing to take oaths and pay tithes, etc.—to Friends, to offer themselves to lie in prison for a brother or sister—an encouragement to Friends in their several exercises.*

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About this time I was moved to write a paper, and send it among the professors; as follows:—

*“To all professors of Christianity.*

“All they that professed Jesus Christ in words, and yet heard him not when he was come, said, he was a deceiver and a devil. The chief priests called him so. The Jews said, 'He hath a devil, and is mad; why do ye hear him?' But others said, 'These are not the words of him that hath a devil: can a devil open the eyes of the blind?' The Jews then doubted, whether he was the Christ or not; and so all, like the Jews, in the knowledge, in the notion, that profess Christ without only, where Christ is risen within, do not own him, but doubt of him; though Christ is the same now and for ever. 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 made manifest, such as are Christians in outward profession only, have the same hard hearts inwardly now, as the Jews had then; and cast stones at him where he is risen. Jesus said, 'For which of these good works do ye stone me?' The Jews answered, 'For thy good works we stone thee not; but for blasphemy, in that thou being a man, makest thyself God.' Jesus answered them, 'Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? and the Scripture cannot be broken. Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?' The Jews said to him, 'Say we not well, that thou hast a devil?' Jesus answered, 'I honour my Father, and ye dishonour 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 of him, 'He casteth 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

ye not brought him?" said, 'Never man spake like this man.' The Pharisees said, 'Are ye also deceived? Do any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believe on him?' but this people, which know not the law, are accursed. Nicodemus (he that came unto Jesus by night), said unto them, 'Doth our law judge any man, before it hear 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 dwelleth not in temples made with hands:' and brought the prophets' 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. They stirred up the Gentiles to make their minds evil-affected towards the brethren. They stirred up the devout and honourable 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 ignorant people, and incense them against Jesus Christ, to stone all with one consent, in whom he is risen. This is, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, and the blindness of the people discovered. The same power now is made manifest, and doth overturn the world, as did then overturn the world, to the exalting of the Lord, and to the pulling down of the kingdom of Satan and of this world, and setting up his own kingdom, to his everlasting praise. The Lord is now exalting himself, and throwing down man's self. The proud one's head is aloft, fearing he should lose his pride and his crown. The priests incense the ignorant people, for fear their trade should go down; and the professors show forth what is in them, being full of rage; which proves that Jesus Christ, the substance, is not there; but a stony heart to stone the precious, where it is risen. The carnal mind feeds upon the outward letter; earth feeds upon earth; and that vineyard is not dressed, but is full of briars and nettles; and ravenous beasts, swine and dogs, wolves and lions, and all venomous creatures lodge in that habitation. That house is not swept. These are the persecutors of the just, enemies of the truth, and of Christ; blasphemers of God and his truth. These call upon God with their lips, but their hearts are far from him. These 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 most fair. Whited walls ye are; painted sepulchres; murderers of the just. Your eyes, your minds, your hearts are double. Ye flatterers, repent and turn from your carnal ends, who are full of mischief, pretending God and godliness, taking him for your cloak; but he will uncover you, and he hath uncovered you to his children. He will make you bare, discover your secrets, and take off your crown; he will 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 false-

ness is now made manifest to them, 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 thou must have thy cup double, give it to her double. Sing over her, ye righteous ones, sing over them all ye saints; triumph in glory, triumph over deceit; sing the song of the Lamb, triumph over the world; spread the truth abroad. Come ye captive ones out of prison, and rejoice with one accord, for the joyful days are coming. Let us be glad and rejoice for ever! singleness of heart is come, pureness of heart is come, joy and gladness is come. The glorious God is exalting himself; truth hath been talked of, but now it is possessed. Christ hath been talked of; but now he is come and is possessed. The glory hath been talked of; but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of God hath been talked of; but now he is come, and hath given us understanding. “Unity hath 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 is 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 be all honour and glory, all praises and all thanks! Who 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; and brings down the pride of man's heart, and turns the wicked out of the kingdom. The righteous 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, and from all the prudent of this world; hid from the fowls of the air, hid 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 fulness of knowledge: for thou, O Lord, dost make thyself manifest to thy children.”

G. F.

My spirit was greatly burdened to see the pride, that existed in the nation, even among professors, and in the sense thereof I was moved to give forth the following paper,<sup>45</sup> directed—

*“To such as follow the World's Fashions.*

“What a world is this! how doth the devil garnish himself! and how obedient are people to do his will and mind! They are altogether so carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women, that 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

<sup>45</sup> The address of George Fox, “to such as follow the world's fashions,” a popular writer observes, “draws a vivid picture of a fine lady and gentleman of the Commonwealth, in which their habiliments, vanities, and pastimes are minutely depicted,”

backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange, that they can scarce look at one another, they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their head, and hath so lifted them up, that they snuff up, like wild asses; like Ephraim, they feed upon wind; and are like wild heifers, who feed upon the mountains. Pride hath 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; else they shall not be respected, if they have not gold or silver upon their backs, or if the hair be not powdered. But if he have store of ribands hanging about his waist, and at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair be powdered, then he is a brave man; then he is accepted, he is no Quaker, because he has ribands on his back, and front, 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; having their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, having their cuffs double, under and above, like unto a butcher with his white sleeves; having their ribands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes; this is no Quaker, say they. This attire pleaseth the world: and if they cannot get these things, they are discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose adorning was the hidden man of the heart, the ornament 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 a meek and quiet spirit; which was and 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 comes to examine the apostles in his gorgeous apparel. Now, are not these, that have got their ribands hanging about their arms, hands, back, waists, knees, hats, like unto fiddlers' boys? This shows that you are got into the basest and most contemptible life, who are in the fashion of the fiddlers' boys and stage-players, quite out of the paths and steps of solid men; and in the very steps and paths of the wild heads, who give 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 nothing worth. Are not these the spoilers 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 who are in the wisdom, judge. And further, if one get a pair of trousers 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, here is a gentleman; bow before him, put off your hats, 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. Yea! But, say the serious people, they are out of Christ's life, and out of the apostles' command, and out of the saints' ornament. And to see such as are before described, as are in the fashions of the world before-mentioned, a company of them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at shuffle-board; or each taking his horse, that has bunches of ribands on his head, as the rider has on his own (who, perhaps, has a ring in

his ear too) and so go to horse-racing, to spoil the creatures; O, these are gentlemen indeed, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows, and they must take their recreation; for pleasures are lawful. These in their sports set up their shouts, like wild asses. They are like the kine 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 gluttoned with the creatures, and then the flesh rejoiceth. Here is bad breeding of youth and young women, who are carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogancy, 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, and cannot cease from evil. These be they that live in pleasures upon earth; these be they who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the flesh. These be they that are out of the life, that the Scriptures were given forth from; 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); and not in the adorning of the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, which 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. That is not accepted with the Lord, which is accepted in their eye.”

G. F.

Moreover 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; as follows:—

“Friends,

“Ye heads, and rulers, kings, and nobles of all sorts, be not bitter, nor 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 to visit you; lest the Lord's hand, arm, and power, take hold swiftly upon you; which 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. The Lord will be king, who gives crowns to whomsoever obey his will. This is the age wherein 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, who do not the things he commands. The day of the Lord's wrath is kindling, and his fire is going forth to burn up the wicked; which will leave neither root nor branch. They that have lost their habitation with God, are out of the Spirit, that gave forth the Scriptures, and from the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal; 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; and from all the world's churches, to the church which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and 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 their likenesses into his own likeness; 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, the cross of Christ, which now fathoms 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 is come, and coming upon all wickedness, and 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 sceptre of righteousness over all shall be exalted; which shall answer that of God in every one upon the earth, though they be from it. Christ is come a light into the world, and doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; that all through him might believe. He that feeleth the light that Christ hath enlightened him withal, he feeleth Christ in his mind, and the cross of Christ, which is the power of God; he shall not need to have a cross of wood or stone, to put him in mind of Christ, or of his cross, which is the power of God manifest in the inward parts.”

G. F.

Besides this I was moved to write a letter to the Protector, to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations, and of the shaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtilty, and policy, or seeking any by-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, and in commission to try ministers, who have long been in the vineyard of God, see whether they be such as are mentioned in the Scriptures, whom the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, disapproved of. And if they be such as they disapproved, see how ye can stand approved in the sight of God, to let such go into his vineyard, and approve of them who will admire your persons, because of advantage, and if you do not give them advantage, they will not admire your persons. Such Jude speaks of. See if they be not such as teach for filthy lucre, for the love of money, covetous, such as love themselves, who have a form of godliness, but deny the power; from such the apostles bid to 'turn away.' The apostle said their mouths should be stopped, who served not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies, being evil, 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 novices; lest being lifted up into pride, they fall into the

condemnation of the devil:' these he was to try and prove without partiality. Now 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, and that they were orthodox men; and that the steeple-house, with a cross on the top of it, was the church (the Papist's 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 chiefest seat in the assemblies; they are sayers but not doers; and, said he, they shall 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 hath 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 over all must reign, and have the victory. The Lord God sent his prophets of old, to cry against the shepherds, that sought for the fleece, Ezek. xxxiv., and to cry against such shepherds as seek for their gain from their quarter, and never have enough, Isa. v. 6; 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. v. And if you would forbear to give them means, you would see how long they would bear rule. There was in old time a storehouse for the fatherless, strangers, and widows, to come to and be filled; and they did not prosper then who did not bring their tithes to the storehouse. But did not Christ put an end to that priesthood, tithes, temple, and priests? And doth not the apostle say, that the priesthood is changed, the law is changed, and the commandment disannulled? Might not they have pleaded the law of God that gave them 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 thatcher, named Thomas Bromby; where he has been about eight and thirty weeks, and still remains a prisoner. And the priest petitioned the judge that the poor man might not labour in the city, to get a little money towards his maintenance in prison. Is this a good savour amongst you, that are in commission to choose ministers? Is this glad tidings, to cast into prison a man that is not his hearer, because he could not put 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 thrash, and get the corn; and then let them reap; but not cast them into prison 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 soever they came, inquire who were worthy and there abide; and what they set before you, said

he, that eat. And when these came back again to Christ, and he asked them if they wanted anything, they said No. They did not go to a town, and call the people together, to know how much they might have by the year, as these that are in the apostacy do now. The apostle said, 'have I not power to eat and to drink?' But he did not say, to take tithes, Easter-reckonings, Midsummer-dues, augmentations, and great sums of money; but '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 them into prison that will not give it them, whom they do no work for. 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."

G. F.

After I had made some stay in the city of London, and cleared myself of what service lay upon me at that time there, I was moved of the Lord to go down into Bedfordshire to John Crook's house, at Luton, where there was a great meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, John Crook told me that next day several of those that were 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 steeplehouses 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 arrived, there was one Gritton, who had been a Baptist, but was got higher than they, and called himself a trier of spirits. He told people their fortunes, and pretended to discover to them when their goods were stolen or houses broken up, who the persons were that did it; by which he had got into the affections of many people thereabouts. This man was in that meeting, speaking, and making a hideous noise over the young-convinced Friends, when I came in; and he bid Alexander Parker give a reason of his hope. Alexander Parker told him, Christ was his hope; but because he did not answer him so soon as he expected, he boastingly cried, "his mouth is stopped." Then Gritton directed his speech to me, for I stood still and heard him express many things, which were not agreeable to Scripture. I asked him, whether he could make those things out by Scripture which he had spoken, and he said, Yes, yes. Then I bid the people take out their Bibles to search the places he should quote for proof of his assertions; but he could not make good by Scripture that which he had said. So he was ashamed and fled out of the house, and his people were generally convinced; for his spirit was discovered, and he came no more amongst them. When his people were convinced and settled in God's truth, they gave forth a book against him, and denied his spirit and his false discoveries. Many were turned to Christ Jesus that day, and came to sit under his teaching; insomuch that the judges were in a great rage, and many of the magistrates in Bedfordshire, because there were so many turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching. But John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was discharged from being a justice.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> John Crook was a Justice of the Peace, and a man of note in the county of Bedford. He became an eminent preacher of the gospel, in which he laboured extensively, and many were the seals of his ministry. He suffered many imprisonments, which he bore with patience, as also his bodily infirmities, often expressing the inward joy and peace he had with the Lord. He died in 1699, in the eighty-second year of his age, having been a minister about forty-four years, and his writ-



After some time I returned to London again, where Friends were finely established in the truth, and great comings-in there were. About this time several Friends went beyond sea to declare the everlasting truth of God. When I had stayed a while in the city, I went into Kent. When we came to 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 at it, 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 Howsigoe, an Independent preacher, who lived near Cranbrook, was convinced, and became a faithful minister for the Lord Jesus. Some Friends had travelled into Kent before, as John Stubbs and William Caton, and "the priests and professors had stirred up the magistrates at Maidstone to whip them, for declaring God's truth unto them; as may be seen at large 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 and officers, and several captains came. They took down what I said in writing, which I was well pleased with. All was quiet, and the people affected with the truth.

From Rye I went to Romney, where, the people having had notice of my coming some time before, there was a very large meeting. Thither came Samuel Fisher, an eminent preacher among the Baptists, who had had a parsonage reputed worth about two hundred pounds a year, which for conscience sake he had given up. There was also the pastor of the Baptists, and abundance of their people. The power of the Lord was so mightily over the meeting, that many were reached thereby, and one greatly shaken, and the life sprung up in many. 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 wrought upon, have a good conscience; whereupon I was moved of the Lord to bid him take heed of hypocrisy and deceit; and he was silent. A great convincement 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 over, 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 amongst the people. Samuel Fisher, with many 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 up to them; but 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 laboured much in the service of the Lord, being moved to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk and 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.<sup>47</sup>

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ings were published in 1701, entitled, *The design of Christianity testified in the Books, Epistles, and MSS. of John Crook*.

47 Sewell states that Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs, when at Rome, conversed with some of the cardinals, and testified against Popish superstitions. They also spread books among the friars, some of whom expressed their contents to be true;

From Romney I passed to Doveb, and had a meeting, where several were convinced. Near Dover a governor and his wife were convinced, who had been Baptists; and the Baptists thereabouts 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.<sup>48</sup>

Returning from Dover I went to Canterbury, where a few honest-hearted people were turned to the Lord, who sat down under Christ's teaching. Thence I passed to Cranbrook again, where I had a great meeting. A friend went to the steeple-house, and was cast into prison; but the Lord's power was manifested, and his truth spread.

From thence I passed into Sussex, and lodged near Horsham, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced. Also at Steyning we had a great meeting in the market-house, and several were convinced; for the Lord's power was with us. I had several meetings in the neighbourhood; and among the rest, one was appointed at a great man's house, and he and his son went to fetch several priests that 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 convinced; amongst whom Nicholas Beard was one.<sup>49</sup>

Thus the Lord's power came over all, and his day many came to see. There were abundance of Ranters in those parts, and professors that had been so loose in their lives, that they began to be weary of it, and had thought to go 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; and so became very sober men, and good friends in the truth. Great blessing

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but, said they, if we should acknowledge this publicly, we might expect to be burned for it.

Whiting records the death of Samuel Fisher in 1665. "Other Friends," he says, "were transported; and many died in Newgate, and on shipboard, in order to transportation, to the number of 122, in London, Westminster, and Southwark; particularly Samuel Fisher, etc., faithful ministers and labourers in the work of the Lord, taken at meetings died in the White Lion prison, Southwark, 1665, in the time of the pestilence [plague], which began in the time of the persecution of Friends under the Conventicle Act, as a signal token of the Lord's displeasure. It broke out first in a house next to that of the first man that was banished, who lived to return to London, and died at a great age."

- 48 For some account of Luke Howard, see *Piety Promoted*, Part ix. He was several times imprisoned; once in Dover Castle, for sixteen months, for going to meetings. At this time, he employed six men in his trade, but was obliged to shut up his shop for six months. He obtained the use of an entry to the prison grate, where meat was drawn up with a cord, and he worked a little there. He suffered another long confinement in 1684. Speaking of his imprisonments, he says, "I had perfect peace, joy, and content in it all; the Lord made it good unto me, both within and without."
- 49 Nicholas Beard was an early seeker of the Lord in his youth, and would often travel many miles to hear the best reputed teachers of the times. He became a faithful minister of Christ, and a large sufferer for his sake. For one year's tithes he had taken from him twelve oxen, six cows, and one bull, which were sold for £111, 5s., but worth more. For worshipping God, and refusing to swear or bear arms, he was prosecuted on the statute for £20 a month, and underwent imprisonment several years, and loss of goods to more than £1000. Yet it pleased the Lord to support and bless him and a large family, so that on his deathbed he was heard to say, "O Lord, my soul blesseth thee, and all that is within me magnifieth thy holy name!" He often desired to depart and be with Christ, and died in great peace, in 1702, aged eighty, a minister about thirty years.

and praising of the Lord there was amongst them, and great admiration in the country.

Out of Sussex I travelled to Reading, where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. There I stayed till 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; a great convincement there was, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of Judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain.<sup>50</sup> After the meeting many Baptists and Banterers came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Banterers pleaded, that God made the Devil; I denied it, and told them, "I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the Devil was, and braised the head of him; 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 the Devil; for God is a God of truth, and he 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." And so the truth stopped them, 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 manifest, and sought to be made manifest 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 to sit under his teaching.

After this meeting at Beading I passed up to London, where I stayed a while, and had large meetings, then into Essex, and came to Coggeshall, where was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was supposed, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and their Saviour, the way, the truth, and the life.

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

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit James Parnell in prison, but the cruel jailer would hardly let us come in, or stay with him.

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<sup>50</sup> This Captain Bishop, who is mentioned as wearing his sword, soon discontinued it, being convinced, and joining Friends. He was the author of *An Account of the Persecution in New England*, and he issued a prophetic warning to the King and Parliament, in 1664, for banishing Friends, which was fulfilled. See *Sewell's History*; Index.

Very cruel they were to him; the jailer's wife threatened to have his blood; and in that jail they destroyed 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 Irswich, 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 that 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 forsake their hireling teachers."

We passed from Ipswich to Mendelsham, in Suffolk, where Robert Duncan lived. There we had a large quiet meeting, and the Lord's power was preciousely felt amongst us. Then we passed to a meeting at Captain Lawrence's in Norfolk; where, it was supposed, were above a thousand people; and all was quiet. Many persons of note were present, and a great convincement there was; for 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 some other Friends, who intended to meet us again in Huntingdonshire.

About two in the morning we took horse for Norwich, where Christopher Atkins had run out, and brought dishonour upon the blessed truth and 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 there stayed a while; where 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 thence we rode to another town, about twenty miles off, where were many tender people; and I was moved of the Lord to speak to them, as I sat on my horse, in several places as I passed along. We went to another town about five miles from thence, and set up our horses at an inn, Richard Hubberthorn and I having travelled five and forty miles that day. There were some friendly people in the town; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power, to his praise.

We bid the hostler have our horses ready by three in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three and thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed at our inn, about eleven at night, the constable and officers came, with a great rabble of people, into the inn, and said they were come with a hue and cry from a justice of peace, that lived near the town about five miles off, where I had spoken to the people in the streets, as I rode along, to search for two horsemen, that rode upon gray horses, and in gray clothes; a house having been broken up on the seventh-day before at night. We told them "we were honest, innocent men, and abhorred such things;" yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night; making some of those friendly people, with others, to watch us. Next morning we were up betimes, and the constable with his guard carried us before a justice of peace about five miles off. We took two or three of the sufficient men of the town with us, who had been with us at the great meeting at Captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both 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 that I was a prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, this Captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had much discourse; which they took offence at. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ teaching his people himself, and making people as clear, whilst 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 was broken up; that they might send their hue and cry after me. They were vexed also, and troubled, to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's aforesaid; 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 were. When we were brought before him, he began to be angry, because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him, I had been before the Protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants? Then he read the hue and cry; and I told him, "that that night, wherein the house was said to be broken up, we were at Captain Lawrence's house; and that we had several men present who could testify the truth thereof." Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said, "he believed we were not the men that had broken 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 evil against us; but rather to be glad; for to rejoice, when he got evil against people, as for housebreaking, or the like, was not a good mind in him." 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 carry us to Norwich jail." But we took hold of the justice's 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 their 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 whence the hue and cry came.

Being set at liberty, we travelled to Lynn; where we arrived about three in the afternoon. Having set up our horses, we met with Joseph Puce,<sup>51</sup> who was an ensign; and we wished him to speak to as many of the people of the town as he could that feared God; and to the captains and officers to come together: which he did. We had a very glorious meeting amongst them, and turned them to the Spirit of God, by which they might know God and Christ, and understand the Scriptures; and so learn of God and of Christ, as the prophets and apostles did. Many were convinced there; and a fine meeting there is, of them that are come off from the hirelings' teaching, and sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Lynn being then a garrison, we desired Joseph Fuce to get us the gate opened by three next morning, for we had forty miles to ride next day. By that means getting out early, we came next day by eleven or twelve to Sutton, near the Isle of Ely, where Amor Stoddart, and the Friends with him, met us again. A multitude of people was gathered there, and no less than four priests. The priest of the town made a

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<sup>51</sup> Joseph Fuce was one of those faithful ministers who died in White Lion prison, Southwark, in 1665, during the time of the plague.

great jangle; but the Lord's power so confounded him, that he went away: the other three stayed; and one of them was convinced. One of the other two, whilst I was speaking, came to lean upon me; but I bid him sit down, seeing he was so slothful. A great convincement there was that day; and many hundreds were turned from darkness to the light, from the power of Satan unto God, and from the spirit of error to the Spirit of truth, to be led thereby into all truth. People came to this meeting from Huntingdon, and beyond; and the mayor's wife of Cambridge was there also. A glorious meeting it was, and many were settled under Christ's teaching, and knew him, their Shepherd, to feed 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 I walked out and went into a garden; where I had not been long, before a Friend came to me, and told me several justices were come to break up the meeting. But many of the people were gone away; so they missed of their design: and alter they had stayed a while, they went away also, in a fret.

That evening I passed to Cambridge. When I came into the town, the scholars hearing of me, were up, and were exceedingly rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddard 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 miners, colliers, and carters could never be ruder. The people of the house asked us "what we would have for supper." "Supper!" said I, "were it not that the Lord's power is 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 much as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul. At this place John Crook met us. When it was within night, the mayor of the town, being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets, there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. They were in a rage, not only against me, but against the mayor also; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me, for the tumult. We sent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting there in the 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, and intended to do 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 so to Hertford, where also there were some convinced; and where there is now a large meeting. From thence we returned to London, where Friends received us gladly; the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. Great service we had for the Lord; for many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour, and to praise the Lord through him. James Naylor also was come up to London; and Richard Hubberthorn and I stayed some time in the city, visiting Friends and answering gainsayers; for we had great disputes with professors of all sorts. Many reproaches they cast upon truth; and lying slanderous books they gave forth against us: but we answered them all, cleared God's truth, and set it over them; and the Lord's power was over all.

Amongst other services for the Lord, which then lay upon me in the city, I was moved to give forth a

paper to those that made a scorn of trembling and quaking; which is as follows:—

“The word of the Lord to all you that scorn trembling, and quaking; who scoff at, scorn, stone, and belch forth oaths against, those who are trembling and quaking; threatening them, and beating them. Strangers ye are to all the apostles and prophets; and are of the generation that stoned them, and mocked them in those ages. Ye are the scoffers of whom they spoke, that are come in the last times. Be ye witnesses against yourselves. To the light in all your consciences I speak, that with it yon may see yourselves to be out of the life of the holy men of God.

“Moses, who was judge over all Israel, trembled, feared, and quaked: when the Lord said unto him, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, then Moses trembled, and durst not behold.' This, which makes to tremble now, ye teachers and people scoff at, and scorn them in your streets who witness the power of the Lord. 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 forsook Pharaoh's house; yet was no vagabond. David, a king, trembled; he was mocked; they made songs on him; they wagged their heads at him. Will you profess David's words, and Moses's words, who are in the generation of your fathers, mockers, scoffers, wonderers, and despisers, who are to perish? O blush! be ashamed of all your profession, and be confounded! Job trembled, his flesh trembled, and they mocked him: so do you now mock them in whom the same power of God is made manifest; and yet you profess Job's words. O deceitful hypocrites! will ye not own Scripture? O shame! never profess Scripture words, and deny the power, which, according to Scripture, makes the keepers of the house to tremble, and the strong man to bow himself. These things both priests, magistrates, and people scoff at; but with the power ye are judged, and by the power and life condemned.

“The prophet Jeremiah trembled, he shook, his bones quaked, he reeled to and fro, like a drunken man, when he saw the deceits of the priests and prophets, who were turned from the way of God; they were not ashamed, neither could they blush. Such were gone from the light; and such were they that ruled over the people. But he was brought to cry, O 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 his presence, who placed the sands for bounds to the sea, by a perpetual decree, that the waves thereof cannot pass! And he said, 'A horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means. Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged upon such a nation as this? They were such as did not tremble at the word of the Lord; therefore he called them a foolish people. Hear all ye the word of the Lord, ye foolish people, who scorn trembling and quaking. Give over 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 stocked by your generation; and you now stock them that tremble at the word of the Lord, at the power of the mighty God, which raises up the seed of God, and throws down the earth which hath kept it down. So, you who' are in the fall where death reigneth, who are enemies of the truth, despising the power

of God, as those of your generation ever did, woe and misery is your portion, except you speedily repent.

“Isaiah saith, 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word.' Again, 'To this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.' Isa. lxv. 2. 'Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the Lord be glorified; but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.' Isa. lxvi. 5. Now all ye scoffers and scorers, that despise trembling, you regard not the word of the Lord; they are not regarded by you, that tremble at the word; who are regarded by the Lord: therefore you are contrary to Isaiah's words. Profess him and his words no more, for shame, nor make a trade of his words, ye that seek for your gain from your quarter, ye greedy, dumb dogs, that never have enough; ye are they that despise trembling; ye are such as Isaiah cried against, who himself witnessed trembling. Here therefore be ye witnesses against yourselves, that with the light in your consciences ye may see ye are out of the prophet Isaiah's spirit, and are haters of them that tremble, whom the Lord regards; such you regard not, but hate and persecute, mock and rail against them. It is manifest that you walk in the steps of your forefathers, that persecuted the prophets.

“Habakkuk, the prophet of the Lord, trembled. And 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 is come; the trumpet is sounding; the earth is shaking, the inhabitants of the earth are trembling; the dead are arising, and the living are praising God; the world is raging, and the scoffers are scorning; and they that witness trembling and quaking wrought in them by the power of the Lord, can scarcely pass up and down the streets, but with stones and blows, fists and sticks, or dogs set at them; or they are pursued with mockings and reproaches. Thus you vent forth your malice against them that witness the power of the Lord, as the prophets did; 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 and stock, and 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 hath 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, ye say, he is bewitched. Here again you show yourselves strangers to that power, to that life, that 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 ye scorn and scoff at. Ye proud scoffers and scorers, misery, 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, 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 scorn and scoff 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 be ye witnesses against yourselves, that ye are scorers and scoffers against the truth; and with the Scripture ye are judged to be contrary to the life of the holy men of God.

“Paul, a minister of God, made, by the will of God, a messenger of the Lord Jesus, a vessel of the Lord, to carry his name abroad into several nations, trembled; and when the dark, blind world, having got some of his words and epistles, you teachers make a trade of them, and obtain great sums of money by it, and so destroy souls for dishonest gain; making a trade of his words, and of the rest of the apostles' and 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, which the apostle witnessed, who said, when he came among the Corinthians, that 'he was with them in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling,' that their faith might not stand in the wisdom of men, 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 in your towns, in your villages, in your assemblies, in your ale-houses. For shame, lay aside all your profession of the apostle's words and conditions! Some of them that scoff at this power, call it the power of the devil. Some persecute, stone and 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 in 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 entreated them. Do not you here fulfil 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 act such things! Mind the light in your consciences, ye scoffers and scorers, which Christ hath enlightened you withal: that with it ye may see yourselves, what ye act, and what ye have acted; for they who act such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God: all such things are by the light condemned.

“You who have 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; wait in it 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 sepulchres and serpents; and as the scribes did, who had the chieftest places in the assemblies, stood praying in the synagogues, and were called of men masters, which Christ cried woe against. These are not come so far as the trembling of devils, who believed and trembled. Let that judge you. The light and life of the Scripture is seen and made manifest, and with it all you scoffers and scorers, all you persecutors and railers are seen.

“Take warning, all ye powers of the earth, how ye persecute them whom the world nickname and call Quakers, who dwell in the eternal power of God; lest the hand of the Lord be turned against you, and ye be all cut off. To you this is the word of God. Fear and tremble, and take warning! for this is the man whom the Lord doth regard, who trembles at his word; whom you, who are of the world, scoff and scorn, stock, persecute, and imprison. Here ye may see ye are contrary to God and to the prophets; and are such as hate what the Lord regards; which we, whom the world scorns, and calls Quakers, own. We exalt and honour that power, that makes the devils tremble, shakes the earth, and throws down the loftiness and the haughtiness of man; which makes the beasts of the field to tremble, and the earth to reel to and fro; which cleaves the earth asunder, and overturneth the world. This power we own, and honour, and preach; but all scoffers and persecutors, railers and scorers, stockers and whippers, we deny by that power which throweth down all that nature; seeing that all who act such things, without repentance, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, but are for destruction.

“Rejoice all ye righteous ones, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for great is your reward in heaven. Rejoice, ye that suffer for well-doing; for ye shall not lose your reward. 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; and there with it ye will see the state of those that reproached and scoffed at them; that mocked and persecuted them; that whipped and stocked them, and haled them out of the synagogues before magistrates. To you, who are in the same light and life, the same things do they now; that they may fill up the measure of their fathers. With the light now they are seen, where the light, and life, and power of God is made manifest; for as they did unto them, so they will do unto you. Here is our joy; the Scripture is fulfilled, and fulfilling; and with the light, which was before the world was, which is now made manifest in the children of light, they see the world, and comprehend it, and the actions of it; for he that loves the world, and turns from the light, is an enemy to God; he turneth into wickedness; for the whole world lieth in wickedness. He who turns from the light, turns into the works of evil, which the light of Christ testifies against; and by this light, where it is made manifest, all the works of the world are seen and made manifest.”

G. F.

This is to go abroad among the scattered ones, and among the world.

Great was the rage and enmity of professors, as well as profane, against the truth and people of God at this time; and great the contempt and disdain they showed of Friends' plainness. Wherefore I was moved to write the following, and sent it forth:—

*“An Epistle to Churches gathered into outward forms, upon the earth.*

“All ye churches gathered into outward forms upon the earth, the Son of God is come to reign; he will tread and trample, will shake and make you quiver, you that are found out of his light,

without his life and power. His day hath appeared; mortar and clay, will you be found. Breaking, shaking, and quaking are 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 hath spoken it. Tremble, ye hypocrites, ye notionists! the fenced cities shall be laid desolate, the fruitful fields shall become a wilderness; your false joy shall become your heaviness; the time of weeping and desolation draweth nigh! Come, ye witty ones, see how ye 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, saith the Lord, and have gloried in the flesh, ye shall fade like a flower; who have slain my witness, yet boast of my words, which have been as a song unto you. Come, ye 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 thee,' saith the Lord, 'I will make thee bare, I will make thee naked, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord. What! hast thou professed the prophets' words? hast thou professed the apostles' words, and my Son's words? hast thou covered thyself with their expressions? thinkest thou not that I see thee out of my life? thinkest thou, thou witty one, to hide thyself where none can see thee? thinkest thou, if thou fliest to the uttermost parts of the earth, that I am not there? Is not the earth mine, and the fulness of it, saith the Lord?' Come, all ye that have trusted in your own conceited notions, and knowledge, and wisdom, who were never yet out of the earth, and the lusts of it; never yet got the load of thick clay off you; never were out of the drunken spirit, whose imperfection appears, which must be come upon, as a potter's vessel; broken cisterns; ye that have been made wise in your own conceit, wise in your own eyes, in which pride hath lifted you up, and not the humility; you must be abased. You have run on, every one after his own invention; every man hath done the thing that was right in his own eyes, that which pleased himself. This hath been the course of people upon earth. Ye have run on without a king, without Christ, the light of the world, which hath enlightened every one that is come into the world. But now is truth risen, now are your fruits withering.

“And yon that are fortified, and have fortified your strong houses, called your churches, make ye your cords strong, the Lord will break you asunder, ye that are gathering in, and ye 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. All ye priests in the nation, and teachers, that now stand against the light, your envy shows that ye are in Cain's way; your greediness shows that ye are in Balaam's way; your standing against the light which hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, doth manifest that you are in Korah's way, that spoke the great high words of vanity; ye, whose consciences are seared as with a hot iron, whose judgment doth not linger, whose damnation doth not slumber, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but your own bellies; who are 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. O! the

grievous actions that are 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 ye call them), of them ye do no work for, nor minister to.

“All ye powers of the earth, beware of holding such up as are unrighteous. Let not the words of the unrighteous overcome you, lest God, the righteous judge of heaven and earth, take hold upon 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 therewith fattened yourselves, and forgotten the Lord and his way: O let shame cover your faces here upon earth! Come, ye that are given to pleasures, and spend your time in sports, and idleness, and fulness; your fruits declare the sins of Sodom; yet you will talk of my name, and of my saints' words. 'But I behold you afar off,' saith the Lord; you are proud and lofty; you are evil patterns, bad examples, full, rich, and idle; who say, others are idle, that cannot maintain your lusts. O! the unrighteous balances that are among people! O! the iniquity in measuring! O! the oppression in ruling and governing! Because of these things my hand shall come upon you, saith the Lord. For the oppression is entered into the ears of the Lord, who gives rest to the wearied, to the burthened, 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, saith the Lord, ye mockers, scorers, 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 and 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 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 fear upon you; the cup of my indignation and fury shall you drink. Where will you appear when repentance is hid 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, ye proud priests, who have eaten up the fat of the nation, who by violence have taken other men's goods, whose envy hath slain many, whose wickedness and darkness hath 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, such as you do no work for. O abominable unrighteousness! how is the state of man lost, that they do not take these things to heart to feel them! what havoc is made in most parts of the nation with such! And all ye 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 above your heads is set.”

G. F.

This year came out the oath of abjuration, by which many Friends suffered; and several went to speak to the Protector about it; but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon Friends, by reason that envious magistrates made use of that oath as a snare to catch Friends in, who, they knew, 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 evil-doers; but as the magistrate that doth bear the sword in vain, is not a terror to evil-doers, so he is not a praise to them that do well. Now hath God raised up a people by his power, whom people, priests, and magistrates, who are out of the fear of God, scornfully call Quakers, who cry against drunkenness (for drunkards destroy God's creatures), and 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; as also for testifying against their pride and filthiness, their deceitful merchandize in markets, their cozening and their cheating, their excess and naughtiness, their playing at bowls and shuffle-boards, at cards and at dice, and their other vain and wanton pleasures. They who live in pleasures, are dead while they live; and they who live in wantonness, kill the just. This we know by the Spirit of God, which gave forth the Scriptures, which the Father has given to us, and hath placed his righteous law in our hearts; which law is a terror to evil-doers, and answers that which is 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, whilst the evil-doers are at liberty to do evil; and they that cry against such, are for so doing punished by the magistrate, who hath turned his sword backward against the Lord. Now the wicked one fenceth himself, and persecutes the innocent as vagabonds and wanderers, for crying against sin, and against unrighteousness and ungodliness openly, in the markets and in the highways; or as railers, because they tell them what judgment will come upon them that follow such practices. Here they that depart from iniquity are become a prey, and few lay it to heart. But God will thrash the mountains, beat the hills, cleave the rocks, and cast into his press, which is trodden without 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 have you had to drink; you are the enemies of God, and of you he will be avenged.

“Now ye, in whom something of God is remaining, consider; if the sword was not borne in vain, but turned against the evil-doers, then the righteous would not suffer, and be cast into holes, dungeons, corners, prisons, and houses of correction, as peace-breakers, for testifying against sin openly, as they are commanded of the Lord, and against the covetousness of the

priests, and their false worships; who exact money of poor people, whom they do no work for. O! 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, which are too numerous to mention. The royal law of Christ, 'to do as ye would be done by,' is trodden down under foot; so that men can profess him in words, but crucify him wheresoever he appears, and cast him into prison, as the talkers of him always did in the generations and ages past. The labourers, which God, the master of the harvest, hath sent into his vineyard, do the chief of the priests, and the rulers now take counsel together against, to cast them into prison: and here are the fruits of priests, and people, and rulers, without the fear of God. The day is come and coming, that every man's work doth appear, and shall appear; glory be to the Lord God for ever. So see, and consider the days you have spent, and do spend; for this is your day of visitation. Many have suffered great fines, because they could not swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who saith, 'Swear not at all' and are made a prey upon for abiding in the command of Christ. Many are cast into prison 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, nor go out of Christ's command. Therefore, O man, consider; to the measure of the life of God in thee I speak. Many also lie in jails, because they cannot pay the priest's tithes; many have their goods spoiled, and treble damages taken of them; and many are whipped and beaten in the house of correction, without breach of any law. These things are done in thy name, in order to protect them in these actions. If men fearing God bore the sword, if 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 them to suffer. Here equity would be heard in our land, and righteousness would stand up and take place; which giveth not place to the unrighteous, but judgeth it. To the measure of God's Spirit in thee I speak, that thou mayest consider, and come to rule for God; that thou mayest answer that which is of God in every man's conscience; for this is that, which bringeth to honour all men in the Lord. Therefore consider for whom thou dost rule, that thou mayest 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 thy soul, who desires thy eternal good.”

G. F.

But 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 issue the following amongst 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, that lies in prison, and to go lie there in their stead, 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 the priesthood changed, that took tithes, and the unchangeable priesthood come; if any brother in the light, who witnesseth 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 impropriator, to offer himself to lie in prison for his brother, and to lay down his life, that he may come forth, he may cheerfully do it, and heap up 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 Friends be moved of the Lord to go to the magistrate, judge, general, or protector, and offer up themselves to lay down their lives for the brethren; as Christ hath laid down his life for you, so lay down your lives one for another. Here you may go over the heads of the persecutors, and reach the witness of God in all. And this shall rest a judgment upon them all for ever, and be witnessed to by that which is of God in their consciences. Given forth from the Spirit of the Lord through,

G. F.”

Besides this, I wrote also a short epistle to Friends, as an encouragement to them in their several exercises; which was as follows;—

“My Dear Friends,

“In the power of the everlasting God, which comprehends the power of darkness, and all temptation, and that which comes out of it, in this power of God dwell. It 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 find and feel dominion and life. And that will let you see, before the tempter was, and over him; and into that the tempter cannot come; for the power and truth he is out of. Therefore in that life dwell, in which you will know dominion; and let your faith be in the power, and over the weakness and temptations, and look not 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. 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, the grace of God, which is sufficient in all temptations, to lead out of them, and to keep over them.”

G. F.

## CHAPTER IX.

*1655-1656.—Friends slandered by Presbyterians and Independents, suffer much from them and the Baptists for refusing to pay tithes—the priests hunt after a fallen benefice like crows after carrion—great miracles wrought through several—an Independent preacher convinced, but relapses—address to*

*the convinced in Ireland—a sick woman at Baldock restored—George Fox parts and reconciles two furious combatants—to the seven parishes at the Land's End, recommending attention to the Inward Light—George Fox parts with James Naylor, and has a presentiment of his fall—Major Ceely places George Fox and Edward Pyot under arrest—they are sent to Launceston jail—put into Doomsdale, and suffer a long and cruel imprisonment—a paper against swearing—Peter Ceely's mittimus—George Fox has great service in jail—many are convinced, and opposers are confounded—experiences some remarkable preservations—Edward Pyot writes an excellent letter to Judge Glynne on the liberty of the subject, and on the injustice and illegality of their imprisonment—Truth spreads in the west by the very means taken to prevent it—exhortation and warning to magistrates—answer to the Exeter general warrant for taking up and imprisoning Friends—exhortation to Friends in the ministry—warning to priests and professors—cruel jailer imprisoned in Doomsdale, and further judgments upon him follow—a Friend offers to lie in prison instead of George Fox—Edward Pyot to Major-General Desborough, in answer to Ms conditional offer of liberty—George Fox to the same—he and his Friends are soon after liberated.*

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After clearing myself of those services for the Lord, which lay upon me in London, I passed into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Wellingborough, I had a great meeting, in which the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all; and many in that country were turned to the Lord. Great rage was amongst the professors, for the wicked priests, Presbyterians, and Independents, falsely reported “that we carried bottles about with us, which we gave people to drink of; which made them follow us:” but the Power, and Spirit, and Truth of God kept Friends over the rage of the people. Great spoiling also there was of Friends' goods for tithes, by the Independent and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests, that had got into the steeple-houses.

From Wellingborough I went into Leicestershire, where Colonel Hacker had threatened, that if I came there 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 there. 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, that came out of Wales, whose names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin; who came both to be ministers of Christ.

I went from thence to Silebt, 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 in a day.

From thence I went to Drayton, my native town, where so many priests and professors had formerly gathered together against me; but now not a priest or professor appeared. I asked some of my relations where all the priests and professors were? They said, the priest of Nun-Eaton was dead, and eight or



nine of them were seeking to get his benefice. "They will let you alone now," said they, "for they are like a company of crows, when a sheep is dead, they all gather together to pull out the puddings; so do the priests for a fallen benefice." These were some of their own hearers that said so of them; but they had spent their venom against me, and the Lord delivered me by his power out of their snares.

Then I went to Badgley, where was a great meeting. Many came far to it; and were convinced and turned to the Lord; who came under Christ's teaching, and were settled upon him, their foundation and their rock.

From thence I passed into Nottinghamshire, and had large meetings there; and into Derbyshire, where the Lord's power came over all; and many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and came to receive the Holy Ghost. Great miracles were wrought in many places by the power of the Lord through several.

In Derbyshire James Naylor met me, and told me, seven or eight priests had challenged him to a dispute. I had a travail in my spirit for him, and the Lord answered me, and 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; insomuch that the people saw the priests were foiled, and they cried, "a Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted 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, and people began to see the apostacy and slavery they had been under to their hireling teachers for means; and they 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, through Friends, visiting their meetings; and so into Worcestershire. I had a meeting at Birmingham, as I went, where several were convinced and turned to the Lord. At length I came to one Cole's house in Worcestershire, near Chattan. This Cole had given an Independent preacher a meeting-place, and the Independent came to be convinced, and after he was convinced he laid aside his preaching; whereupon the old man Cole gave him a hundred pounds a-year. I had a meeting there, and a very great one it was, inasmuch that the meeting-place would not hold the people: and 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, whereupon the old man took away his hundred pounds a-year from him again. But Cole himself died in God's truth.

I heard that at Evesham the magistrates had cast several Friends into prison; and that, hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. I sent for Edward Pitta-way, a Friend that lived near Evesham, and asked him the truth of the thing; and 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 there were several pris-

oners; and amongst them was Humphrey Smith,<sup>52</sup> who had been a priest, but was now become a free minister of Christ. When I had visited the Friends at both prisons, and was turned away from the prison to go out of town, I espied the magistrates coming to seize me. But the Lord frustrated their intent, the innocent escaped their snare, and God's blessed power came over them all. But exceedingly rude and envious were the priests and professors about this time in those parts.

I went from Evesham to Worcester, and had a precious meeting there, and quiet. But after it, as we came down the street towards our inn, some of the professors fell to discourse with Friends, and were like to have made a tumult in the city. As we went into the inn, they all cluttered into the yard; but I went among them, and got them quieted. Next day I walked into the town, and had much discourse with some of the professors, concerning Christ and the way of 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; but I proved from Rom. i. 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 Tewkesbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting; to which came the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people. He 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, enlighteneth them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and that with the same light they might also see Christ from whom it comes, their Saviour and Redeemer, who shed his blood and died for them, and 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 the Light spoken of. So the priest having railed at the Light went away, and left Ills rude company amongst us; but the Lord's power came over them, though mischief was in their hearts.

Leaving Tewkesbury, we came to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow'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 it, as I was walking out, a Baptist in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town with his officers came in, and said, "What do these people here at this time of night?" So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts,<sup>53</sup> and myself, but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forth-coming in the morning. Next morning many rude people came to the inn

<sup>52</sup> Humphrey Smith became an able gospel minister, turning many to righteousness. He had a vision of the destruction of London by fire, six years before it happened, which vision he made known as a warning to the people to repent. (See *Piety Promoted*, vol. i. p. 39 and his published works). He had also a clear foresight of his own sufferings and death thereby. He died a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus in Winchester jail, in 1663, where he fell ill after a year's imprisonment. 'Whilst he was very ill in prison, he said, "My heart is filled with the power of God;" and then added, "It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend." Near his departure, he prayed earnestly, saying, "Hear me, O Lord, uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth: Thou art strong and mighty, O Lord;" and prayed, "that the Lord would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors;" and for those who had been convinced by him, "that the Lord would be their teacher."

<sup>53</sup> Gerrard Roberts, a merchant of London, was one of the most active members of the Society in making the needful arrangements for the visits of its ministers to foreign parts.

and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went up to the bailiff to speak with him, and to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town, it lay upon me to ride to his house to let him know, "that the Protector having given forth 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 about us with stones; and one of them took hold of my horse's bridle and broke it; but the horse drawing back threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude, so that it was much we were not slain or hurt in the streets; for 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 it again; and if any one of them felt any thing upon him from the Lord, he might follow me, and the rest that did not, might go on to Dun-Cow." So I passed up 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 who had not brought them into more sobriety; and what a shame they were to Christianity!

Having cleared myself, I turned back out of the town again, and passed to Coventry; where we found the people closed up with darkness. I went to a professor's house that I had formerly been at, and he was drunk, which grieved my soul so, that I did not go into any house in the town; but rode into some of the streets, and into the market-place. I felt the power of the Lord God was over the town.

Then I went on to Dun-cow, and had a meeting there in the evening, and some were turned to the Lord by his Spirit, as also at Warwick and Tewkesbury. We lay at Dun-Cow that night, and there we met with John Camm, a faithful minister of the everlasting gospel. In the morning there gathered a rude company of priests and people, who behaved more like beasts than men; for some of them came riding on horse-back into the room where we were; but the Lord gave us dominion over them.

From thence we passed into Leicestershire, where we had a great meeting at the place where I had been taken formerly; and after that we came to Badgley in Warwickshire. Here William Edmundson,<sup>54</sup> a

54 William Edmundson was the first person who publicly espoused the principles of Friends in Ireland. He was some time a soldier in Cromwell's army, but the strivings of the Holy Spirit drew him out of the corruptions of the world, to a nearer acquaintance with God. He left the army, and joined the people called Quakers, though they were much spoken against. His life and property were given up to the service of the gospel, and many were his trials and sufferings on its account, which he bore with exemplary patience. During the civil wars, he had on one occasion twenty of his cows driven away from him. His house was also beset by some hundreds of banditti, and the shots they fired into the house were heard at two miles' distance. After it was plundered and burned, himself and two sons were led away prisoners, bareheaded, and barefooted, and nearly naked, except they gave William Edmundson an old blanket of his own to wrap about him.

After a toilsome night, journeying through bushes, rough stones, mire, and water knee-deep, they were taken to a wood, and, after a mock show of justice, condemned to death; the young men to be hanged, and their father, in compliment to his courage, to be shot. Though death was no terror to this pious man, he expostulated with his persecutors; reminding them of his services in behalf of their countryfolk. Several of them confessed they knew him to be an honest man; yet justice and mercy were disregarded, and they prepared to execute their purpose. The youths were hoodwinked, in order

Friend who lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come over into England to see me, met with me; by whom I wrote to the few Friends then convinced in the north of Ireland, as follows:—

“Friends,

“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.” G. F

When these few lines were read amongst the Friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord came upon all in the room.

From Badgley we passed to Swannington and Higham, and so into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, having great meetings; and many were turned to the Lord by his power and Spirit. When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked, if there was nothing in that town, no profession; and it was answered me, there were some Baptists and a Baptist woman sick. John Rush of Bedfordshire went with me to visit her. When we came in, there were many tender people about 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 God to speak to her; and the Lord raised her up again to the astonishment of the town and country. This Baptist woman and her husband, whose name was Baldock, came to be convinced, and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convincements were in those parts afterwards; many received the word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman, we returned to our inn, where were two desperate fellows

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to hang them; and two firelocks made ready to shoot their father, whom they were about to hoodwink also; but he told them they need not, for he could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die.

At this juncture arrived a lieutenant, a brother of one whose life William Edmundson had saved, when the English soldiers were about to hang him. Thus the Lord interposed, and would not suffer them to take their lives. The officer released the prisoners from death, but did not restore them to liberty, taking them to Athlone, not from a grateful sense of remembered services, but from a hope of preferment thereby. On entering the town, the high sheriff, soldiers, and rabble, gave them abusive language; and their lives were endangered, had not a lieutenant of the Irish army who recognized William Edmundson, declared aloud his knowledge of him, and of his worth, and thus quieted the tumult. They were then brought to the Irish colonel, before whom he appeared, wrapped in his blanket. Though the colonel was personally acquainted with him, he did not, in these circumstances, know him; but when he said, I am old William Edmundson, the colonel rose, and with tears in his eyes, expressed his sorrow to see him in that condition. After reprimanding the lieutenant, he committed them to the care of one of his captains, sent them food and money, and they met with better treatment.

Great sufferings was it the lot of this faithful man to endure; who was unwearied in his Master's service for upwards of fifty years of his life, counting nothing too near or dear to part with, or too great to suffer, if he could but win Christ and the souls of his fellow-men. Yet in these and many other great exercises and straits, the Lord's arm and generous providence, says he, have preserved and supported me. He spared not himself, even to old age, in performing travels and services as a gospel minister, beyond the ordinary course of nature, often saying the Lord was his song and his strength, and had carried him through many and various exercises and perils. As a fixed star in the firmament of God's power did he continue to hold his integrity to the last, being enabled to say, “O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?”

fighting so furiously, that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved, in the Lord's power, to go to them; and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand, and the other by the other, showed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other, and they were so loving and thankful to me, that people admired at it.<sup>55</sup>

From thence I passed to Market-street, where God had a people, and through Alban's 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 amongst Friends there. Only there was one John Toldervey, who had been convinced of truth, and run out from it, and the envious priests took occasion from thence to write a wicked book against Friends, which they stuffed with many lies, to render truth and Friends odious. 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 priest's 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.

Now after I had tarried 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 from him I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck me concerning him; but I went away, and rode down to Byegate in Surrey, where I had a little meeting. There the Friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace, that lived not far from Ryegate, a friendly, moderate man; I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in truth.

We passed on to Thomas Patchings', of Binscombe in Godalming, where we had a meeting, to which several Friends came from London, and John Bolton and Ins wife came on foot in frost and snow. After this we went towards Horsham-park; and having visited Friends, passed on to Arundel and Chichester,

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55 The circumstance above related is reminding of a somewhat similar one recorded of Edward Burrough.

"At London," says Sewell the historian, "there is a custom in summer-time, when the evening approaches, and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields, to try their skill and strength in wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a ring.

"Now it so fell out, that Edward Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, and standing still among the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length, none being bold enough to try, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring, which was commonly made up of all sorts of people; and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprised, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all stood amazed as it were at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight Edward Burrough aimed at. For having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed over him, and having overcome in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured also to fight against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention, he began very seriously to speak to the bystanders, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by the mixed multitude, with no less attraction than admiration; for his speech tended to turn them from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God. To effect this, he laboured with convincing words, showing how God had not left himself without a witness, but had given to man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ.

"Thus zealously he preached; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect, that some were convinced of the truth; for Burrough was a breaker of stony hearts, and therefore by a certain author not unjustly called 'a sou of thunder;' though he omitted not in due season to speak a word of consolation to those that were of a broken heart, and of a contrite spirit."

where we had meetings. At Chichester many professors came in, and made some jangling, but the Lord's power was over them. The woman of the house where the meeting was, though convinced of truth, yet not keeping her mind close to that which convinced her, 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 the man, and soon after went distracted; for he was greatly in debt, and she greatly disappointed. Then was I sent for to her, and the

Lord was entreated, raised her up again, and settled her mind by Ms power. Afterwards her husband died; and she acknowledged the just judgments of God were come upon her, for slighting the exhortation and counsel I had given her.

After we left Chichester, we travelled to Portsmouth. There the soldiers had 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, at which several were convinced, and turned to the Spirit of the Lord, and to the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour.

From Ringwood we came to Poole; and having set up our horses at an inn, we sent into the town to inquire for such as feared the Lord, and such as were worthy; and had a meeting with several sober people. William Baily, a Baptist teacher, was convinced there at that time.<sup>56</sup> The people received the truth in the inward parts, and were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their rock and foundation, their teacher and Saviour; and there is become 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; several were convinced there also. Edward Pyot of Bristol travelled with me all this western journey.

From thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn, a Baptist's house; we sent into the town to the Baptists, to let ms have their meeting-house to meet in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they denied it us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting-house; so the thing was noised in the town. Then we sent them word, 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. They were in a

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<sup>56</sup> William Bailey (or Bayley) whose writings were published in one volume, 4to, in 1676, and of whom there is a brief account in *Piety Promoted*, vol. i. p. 83, is stated to have been "mighty in the Scriptures," and not only a believer and preacher of the word of faith, but a sufferer for the same. On one occasion, he was thrown down and dragged upon the ground by the hair of his head, his persecutors endeavouring to rend and break asunder his jaws, so that the ground whereon he lay was besmeared with his blood. As if this butchering had not been enough to make him a sacrifice, a heavy man stamped on his breast with his feet, endeavouring to beat the breath out of his body. When this persecutor had done his pleasure, he told the jailer to take him away and put him in some nasty hole, for his entertainment and cure. William Bailey, being master of a ship, often crossed the mighty waters for the maintenance of his family, and many beyond the seas were comforted by his ministry. He was taken ill at sea on his return from visiting Friends in Barbadoes, and died on board *the Samuel* of London, in latitude 46° 38' N. He died in great peace, as if he had fallen asleep, exhorting those around him to fear God.

great rage; and 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 discourse 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 there are; whether there are any more than the power of God, and the power of the devil? They said, there was not any other power than those two. Then said I, “if yon have not the power of God that the apostles had, then you act by the power of the devil.” Many sober people were present, who said, “they have thrown themselves 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. Nest morning, as we were passing away, the Baptists, being in a rage, began to shake the dust off their feet after us. “What,” said I, “in the power of darkness! We, who are in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against you.”

Leaving Dorchester, we came to Wermouth; where also we enquired after the sober people; and about four score of them gathered-together at a priest's house. 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 saveth from sin. A blessed meeting we had with them of several hours, and they received the truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart. The state of their teachers and the apostacy 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 fulfil them; how he was their teacher in the apostles' days, and how he was come now to teach his people himself by his power and Spirit. All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, and the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and some that 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 fain have had me to stay 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 man, the most cheerful, and the most given to laughter, that ever I met with; insomuch that I was several times moved to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; and yet it was become so customary to him, that he would presently laugh at any thing he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety, sincerity, and the fear of the Lord. We staid at an inn that night; and in the morning I was moved to speak to him again, when he parted from us. Next time I saw him, he told me, 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 discontinued his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a serious and good man, and died in the truth.

Parting from him we went to Honiton; and at our inn inquired what people there were in the town that feared God, and sent for them. There came to us some of the Particular Baptists, with whom we had much reasoning. I told them, “they held their doctrine of particular election in Esau's, Cain's, and Ishmael's nature; not in 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 is

Christ; so the election stands in Christ; and they must be such as walk in his light, grace, Spirit, and truth.”

From thence we passed to Tops Ham, and stayed over the First-day; but the innkeeper and his people were rude. Next morning we gave forth some queries to the priests and professors; whereupon some rude professors came into our inn; and had we not gone when we did, they would have stopped us. I wore a girdle, which through forgetfulness I left behind me at the inn, and afterwards sent to the innkeeper for, but he would not let me have it again. Afterwards, when he was tormented in his mind about it, he took it and burnt it, lest he should be bewitched by it, as he said; yet when he had burnt it, he was more tormented than before. Some, notwithstanding the rudeness of the place, were convinced; and a meeting was afterwards settled in that town, which has continued ever since.

After this we passed to Totness, a dark town. We lodged at an inn, and at night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that next day we got to Kingsbbidge, 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 discourse; but he being confounded, quickly left us. Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and there is since a good meeting of Friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn; and there being many people drinking in the house, I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and to direct them to the light, which Christ, the heavenly Man, had enlightened them withal; by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds, and by the same light they might also see Jesus Christ their Saviour. 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.” Next morning, when he was cool, I represented to him “what an uncivil thing it was for him to do so;” then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

We came next day to Plymouth, and after having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Robert Cary's house, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was one Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet; she being somewhat dull of hearing came close to me, and placed her ear very near me while I spoke; and she was convinced. After the meeting some jangling Baptists came in, but the Lord's power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony thereto. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which has continued ever since; where many faithful Friends have been convinced.

From thence we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menheniot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's house, to which came one Thomas Mounce, and a priest, with many people. We made the priest confess he was a minister made and maintained by the state; and he was confounded and 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 Saviour Christ Jesus, the way to God, and their Mediator to make peace between God and them; their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. I directed them also to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know the Scriptures, and be



led into all truth; by which they 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 day.

We travelled thence through Penryn to Helston; but could not obtain knowledge of any sober people, through the badness of the innkeepers. At length we came to a village where some Baptists and sober people lived, with whom we had some discourse; and some of them were brought to confess, that they stumbled at the light of Christ. They would have had us to stay with them, but we passed thence to Market-jew; and having taken up our lodging at an inn, we went out over-night to inquire for such as feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together, with the high-sheriff of the county; and they sent first the constables to bid us come before them. We asked them for their warrant, and they saying they had none, we told them we should not go along with them without. Upon the return of the constables without us, they sent their Serjeants, and we asked them for their warrant. They said, they had none; but they told us, the mayor and aldermen stayed for us. We told them, the mayor and his company did not well to trouble us in our inn, and we should not go with them without a warrant. So they went away and came again; and when we asked them for their warrant, one of them pulled his mace from under his cloak; we asked them whether this 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 much discourse 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 conduct towards us, who were the servants of the Lord God, thus to stop and trouble us in our lodgings; and what an unchristian act it was. Before we left the town I wrote a paper, to be sent to the seven parishes at the Land's End. A copy of which follows:—

“The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming, wherein all hearts shall be made manifest, and the secrets of every one's heart shall be revealed by the light of Jesus, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe, and that the world might have life through him, who saith, 'Learn of me,' and of whom God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye him.' Christ is come to teach his people himself; and every one that will not hear this Prophet, which God hath raised up, and which Moses spoke of, when he said, 'Like unto me will God raise you up a Prophet, him shall you hear every one (I say) that will not hear this Prophet, is to be cut off. They that 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 saith, 'Learn of me: I am the way, the truth, and the life;' who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and by his light lets him see his evil ways and his evil deeds. But if yon hate this light, and go on in evil, this light will be your condemnation. Therefore, now ye have time, prize it; for this is the day of your visitation, and salvation offered to you. Every one of you hath 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, 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 the evils of the world, and all the deceivers in it."

G. F.

This paper a Friend who was then with me had; and when we were gone three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the West, he meeting with a man upon the road, gave him a copy of the paper. This man proved to be a servant to one Peter Ceely, major in the army, and a justice of peace in that county; and he riding before us to a place called St. Ives, showed the paper to his master, Major Ceely. When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse having cast a shoe, we stayed to have it set; and while he was getting his horse shod, I walked down to the sea-side. When I returned I found the town in an uproar; and 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; whereupon I asked whether there were not an officer among them to keep the people civil? Major Ceely said, he was a magistrate. I told him, "he should show forth gravity and sobriety then, and use his authority to keep the people civil; for I never saw any people ruder: the Indians were more like Christians than they." After a while they brought forth the paper aforesaid, and asked whether I would own it? I said, Yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us; whereupon I put my hand in my pocket and drew forth the answer to it, which had been given to the Protector. After I had given him that, he examined us severally, one by one. He had with him a silly, young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions; and amongst the rest he desired to cut my hair, which then was pretty long; but I was not to cut it though many times many were offended at it. I told them, "I had no pride in it, and it was not of my own putting on." 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 of 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, to Redruth. On First-day the soldiers would have taken us away; but we told them it was their Sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day. Several of the town's-people gathered about us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and afterwards he held the soldiers in discourse, whilst I spoke to the people; and in the mean time the other Friend got out the back way, 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 abused him. The soldiers also missing him, were in a great rage, 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 have us away, so we took horse. When we were got 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 should not go back. I heeded them not, but rode back, and they rode after me. I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned with them, and reproved them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town called Smethick then, but since Falmouth. It being the evening of the First-day, there came to our inn the chief constable of the place, and many sober people, some of

whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them we were prisoners for truth's sake; and much discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober, and loving to us. Some were convinced, and stood faithful ever after.

After the constable and these people were gone, other people came in, who also were very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone we went to our chamber to go to bed, and about eleven o'clock Edward Pyot said, "I will shut the door, it may be some may come to do us a mischief." Afterwards we understood that Captain Keat, who commanded the party, had purposed to do us some mischief that night; but the door being bolted, he missed his design. Next morning Captain Keat brought a kinsman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room, he himself standing without. This evil-minded man, walking huffing up and down the room, I bid him fear the Lord; whereupon he ran upon me, struck me with both his hands; and placing his leg behind me, would fain have thrown me down, but he could not, for I stood stnT and still, and let him strike. As I looked towards the door, I saw Captain Keat look on and see his kinsman thus beat and abuse me. Whereupon I said, "Keat, dost thou allow this?" and he said, he did; "Is this manly or civil," said I, "to have us under a guard and put a man to abuse and beat us? is this manly, civil, or christian?" I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came. Then I desired the captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry 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 Launceston 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, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I showed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house, 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 that they would be civil to us, if we would go with them. Thus the morning was spent till it was about eleven o'clock; and then upon the soldiers' entreaty, and promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again, and we went with them. Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us, who kindly entertained us; and the Lord rewarded them with his truth; for many of them have since been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their teacher and Saviour.

Captain Keat, who commanded our guard, understanding that Captain Fox, who was the governor of Pendennis Castle, was gone to meet MajorGeneral Desborough, did not take us thither; but went with us directly to Bodmin. We met Major-General Desborough on the way; the captain of his troop that rode before him, knew me, and said, "O, Mr. Fox, what do you here?" I replied, "I am a prisoner." "Alack," said he, "for what?" I told him, "I was taken up as I was travelling." "Then," said he, "I will

speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty.” So he came from the head of his troop, rode up to the coach, and spoke to the major-general. We also told him how we were taken. He began to speak against the light of Christ, for which I reproved him; then he told the soldiers they might carry us to Launceston; for he could not stay to talk with us, lest his horses should take cold.

So to Bodmin we were conveyed that night; and when we were come to our inn, Captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room, and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for Captain Keat, and said unto him, “What now, Keat, what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? what is thy end in this?” “O,” said he, “pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man we cannot all rule him, he is so devilish.” “Then,” said I, “Dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier, that thou sayest, you cannot rule him? What an unworthy, base trick is this! and to put me singly into this room from the rest of my friends, that were my 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 hardened and dark people. The soldiers also, 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 Launceston, where Captain Keat delivered us to the jailer. Now was there no friend, nor friendly people near us; and the people of the town were dark and hardened. The jailer required us to pay seven shillings a-week for our horse-meat, and seven for our diet a-piece. But after some time, several sober people 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 arose a great rage among the professors and priests against us; and they said, this people Thou and Thee all men without respect, and they will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man: this made them fret. But, said they, we shall see, when the assize comes, whether they will dare to Thou and Thee the judge, and keep on their hats before him. They expected we should be hanged at the assize. But all this was little to us; for we saw how God would stain the world's honour and glory, and were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but we knew the honour that comes from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the assizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Bradden lay with his troop of horse there, whose soldiers and the sheriffs men guarded us up to the court through the multitude of people that filled the streets; and much ado they had to get us through them. Besides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon us. When we were brought into the court, we stood sometime with our hats on, and all was quiet; and I was moved to say, “Peace be amongst you!” Judge Glynne, a Welchman, then chief justice of England, said to the jailer, “what be 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 amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathens? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed.” Then 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’ll ferk him.” So they took us away, and put us among the thieves. Presently after he calls to the jailer, “Bring them up again.” Come, said he, where had they hats from Moses to Daniel; come, answer me: I have you fast now,” said he. I replied, “Thou mayest read in the 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 say 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 great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff’s men and the troopers made way for us (but we were almost spent) to get through the crowd of people, and guarded us to the prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the jail. We had some good books to set forth our principles, and to inform people of the truth; which the judge and justices hearing of, they sent Captain Bradden for them, who came into the jail to us, and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot’s hands, and carried them away; so we never got them again.

In the afternoon we were had up again into the court by the jailer and sheriffs men, and troopers, who had a mighty toil to get us through the crowd of people. When we were in the court, waiting to be called, I seeing both the jurymen, and such a multitude of others swearing, it grieved my life, that such as professed Christianity should so openly disobey and break the command of Christ and the apostle. And I was moved of the Lord to give forth a paper against swearing, which I had about me, to the grand and petty juries; which was as follows:—

*“Concerning Swearing.*

“Take heed of giving people oaths to swear: for Christ our Lord and Master saith, ‘Swear not at all; but let your communications be yea yea, and nay nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.’ If any man was to suffer death, it must be by the hand of two or three witnesses; and the hands of the witnesses were to be first put upon him, to put him to death. And the apostle James saith, “My brethren, above all things swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation.’ Hence you may see, those that swear fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ’s and the apostle’s doctrine. Therefore, every one of you having a light from Christ, who saith, ‘I am the light of the world,’ and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world; who also saith, ‘Learn of me,’ whose doctrine is, not to swear; and the apostle’s doctrine is, not to swear; ‘let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, in all your communications; for whatsoever is more, cometh of evil. Then, they that go into more than yea and nay, go into evil, and are out of the doctrine of Christ.

“Now if you say, ‘that the oath was the end of controversy and strife,’ they who are in strife, are

out of Christ's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace: and they who are in it, are in the covenant of peace. And 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; and said, verily, men swear by the greater: but God could not find a greater, but swears by himself, concerning Christ; who, when he was come, taught not to swear at all. So such as 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 every one that believeth for righteousness' sake. Now mark; if you believe, 'I am the light of the world, which doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world,' saith Christ, by whom it was made; and every man of you that is come into the world is enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, by whom the world was made, that all of you through him might believe; that is the end for which he doth enlighten you. Now if you do believe in the light, as Christ commands, and saith, '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 the evil actions you have all acted, the ungodly deeds you have committed, and all the ungodly speeches you have spoken; and all your oaths, cursed speaking, and ungodly actions. Now if you attend 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 actions, evil ways, evil words, to Christ, who is not of the world; who is the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;—who testifies against the world, that the deeds thereof are evil. So doth the light in every man, that he hath received from him, testify against his works and deeds that are evil, 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, yea, and every knee to bow at the name of Jesus; in which light, if you believe, you shall not come into condemnation, but come to Christ, who is not of the world;—to him by whom it was made; but if you believe not in the light, this, the light, is your condemnation, saith Christ.”

G. F.

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so that when we were called before the judge, he bade the clerk give me that paper; and then asked me, “whether that seditious paper was mine;” I told him, “If they would read it up in open court, that I might hear it, if it was mine I would own it, and stand by it.” He would have had me to take it, and look 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: and when he had done, I told them, “it was my paper; I would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the Scripture: for was not this Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ, and the apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey?” then they let fall that subject; and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the jailer take them off, which he did, and gave them to us; and we put them on

again. Then we asked the judge and the justices, what we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us but about our hats; and as for putting off our hats, I told them, that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much to do about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is the mark of unbelievers. For “how can ye believe,” saith Christ, “who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?” and Christ saith, “I receive not honour from men;” and all true Christians should be of his mind. Then the judge began to make a great speech, how he represented the lord Protector's person; who had made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to come 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 in an indictment, that they had framed against us; so strange a 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 aforesaid. I told them, “it was false;” and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by Major Ceely. Then Peter Ceely spoke to the judge, and said, “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, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in King Charles. I would have aided 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 mittimus 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;” but 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, “Thou hast a copy of it, read it up,” said I. “It shall not be read,” said the judge; “Jailer,” said he, “take him away, I will see whether he or I shall be master.” So I was taken away; and a while after called for again. I still cried to have my mittimus read; for that signified the cause of my commitment: wherefore I again spoke to the friend, my fellow-prisoner, to read it. He did read it, and the judge, justices, and 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 Launceston, or his lawful Deputy in that behalf. Greeting:—*

“I send you herewithal 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 notion 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 of coming into these parts, being persons altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, etc. 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 aforesaid 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 eighteenth day of January, 1655."

P. Ceely.

When it was read I spoke thus to the judge and justices: "Thou that sayest thou art chief justice of England, and you justices know, that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased; and have carried on the design (if I had had one), which Major Ceely hath charged me with: and if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, judge ye, 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 thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou 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 thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? This is not a place for thee to sit in; for accusers do not use to sit with the judge: thou oughtest 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 not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath 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, and bring in King Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He saith, 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 behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not you see plainly that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering 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 clearly enough, that instead of ensnaring me, he had ensnared himself.

Major Ceely then 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, thou art a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I (who am a prisoner) struck thee, and gave thee such a blow, as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely?" said I, "where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by?" He said it was in the Castle-Green, and that Captain Bradden was standing by, when I struck him. "I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that, and I called again upon Major Ceely to come down from off the bench, telling him, it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused." When I called again for his witnesses, he said Captain Bradden was his witness. Then, I said, "Speak, Captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him, as he saith?" 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. "Nay," said I, "speak up, and let the court and country hear, and 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 this charge." But Captain Bradden never testified to it: and the judge finding those snares would not hold, cried, "Take him away, jailer:" and then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks a-piece for not putting off our hats; and to be kept in prison till we paid it: so he 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 the charges which Major Ceely had brought forward against me in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said, Major Ceely had an intent to take away my life if he could have got another witness. "But," said I, "Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing Major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou saw me strike him? and when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou saw or knew, thou wouldst 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 when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants cast their masters into prison?' This was the great blow he meant you gave him." Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spoke so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested 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 outwardly with my hand.

Now we were kept in prison, and many came from far and near, to see us; of whom some were people of account in the world; for the report of our trial was spread abroad, and our boldness and innocency in our answers to the judge and court were talked of in town and country. Among others came Humphrey Lower to visit us, a grave, sober, old man, who had been a justice of peace; he was very sorry we should lie in prison; telling us how serviceable we might be if we were at liberty. We reasoned with him concerning swearing; and having acquainted him how they tendered the oath of abjuration to us, as a snare, because they knew we could not swear, we showed him that no people could be serviceable to God, if they disobeyed the command of Christ; and that they that imprisoned us for the dishonour, which was of men, and which men sought for, prisoned the good, and vexed and grieved the Spirit of God in themselves, which should have turned their minds to God. So we directed him to the Spirit of God in his heart, and to the light of Christ Jesus; and he was thoroughly convinced, and continued so to his death, and became very serviceable to us.<sup>57</sup>

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57 Humphrey Lower, who resided near Bodmin, in Cornwall, was an influential magistrate, his name appearing as such in the history of the county, under Charles I. He could, however, say with Paul, "What things were gain unto me, those I counted loss for Christ." In 1658, for not attending the national worship, and refusing to enter into bond to appear at the assizes, on a presentment made against him by the constable of the parish, H. Lower was, on his non-appearance, committed, notwithstanding his age and high character, to Launceston jail, where he continued till the assizes; and then was put forth without examination or trial, or any satisfaction for such rough treatment. In 1660, he was sent for by a warrant, to appear before two justices at Wadebridge, when one of them, Koscarrock, tendered him the oath of supremacy; and for M9 refusing to take it, a mittimus was made out and subscribed by Lira and two other magistrates, who acted very unwillingly. Thereupon he was again sent to Launceston jail, where he remained about two weeks, and

There came also to see us one Colonel Rouse, a justice of peace, with a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk as 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 at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers;" (this I said to stop him). "At school!" said he, "Yes." "At school!" said the soldiers; "doth he say 80 to our colonel, that is a scholar?" Then said I, "If he be so, let him be still, and receive answers to what he hath said." Then I was moved 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 would have fallen down. I stepped to him, and he said he was never so in his life before: for the Lord's power stopped the evil power in him; so that he was almost choked. The man was ever after very loving 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, and the rest that were with him.

Another time there came an officer of the army, a very malicious, bitter professor, whom I had known in London. He was full of his airy talk also, and spoke slightly of the light of Christ, and against the truth, and against the Spirit of God being in men, as it was in the apostles' days; till the power of God that bound the evil in him, had almost choked him as it did Colonel Rouse: for he was so full of evil that he could not speak, but blubbered and stuttered. But from the time that the Lord's power struck him, and came over him, he was ever after more loving to us.

The assize being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment, that we were not likely to be soon released, we discontinued giving the jailer seven shillings a-week each for our horses, and seven for ourselves; and sent our horses out into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and devilish; and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they put murderers, after they were condemned. The place was so noisome, that it was observed few that went in ever came out again in health. There was no house of office in it; and the excrements of the prisoners that from time to time had been left 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 burnt some of it to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head jailer in a room by them, over us also. It seems the smoke went up into the jailer's room; which put him into such a rage, that he took the pots of excrements of the thieves, and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale; whereby we were so bespattered, that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us, so that what with that, and what with smoke, we had nearly been choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, but now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down,

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then was freed by Sir J. Coryton and E. Hearle. It is stated that H. Lower, when himself in the commission of the peace, had more obliged the said Koscarrock than any other man, by doing Mm many singular offices of justice and courtesy. The return was a very ungrateful one.

G. Fox mentions large and satisfactory meetings held at his house in 1663 and 1668, and says that he continued service-able till his death, the date of which event is not recorded.

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. In this manner were we fain to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrements.<sup>58</sup> A great while he kept us in this manner, before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we had through the grate. Once a girl brought us a little meat, and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison. Much trouble he put her to, whereby others were so discouraged, that we had much to do to get water or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, that could write, and take things well in short-hand, to buy and dress our meat for us, which she was very willing to do, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

This head-jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was branded in the hand and in the shoulder: his wife too had been branded in the hand. The under-jailer had been branded in the hand and shoulder; and his wife in the hand also. Colonel Bennet, who was a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head-jailer therein. The prisoners, and some wild people, talked of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it; thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. 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 and 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.

By this time the general quarter-sessions drew nigh; and the jailer still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our suffering case, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. On the reading of which the justices gave 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 also sent a copy of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we were taken and committed by Major Ceely; and abused by Captain Keat as aforesaid, and the rest in order. The Protector sent down 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 kinsman, that struck me, was sent for before them, and much threatened. They told him “that if I should change my principle, I

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58 We who live in the middle of the 19th century, when the impartial administration of justice extends to all ranks of society, and when the accommodations of our prisons are so vigilantly looked into, can scarcely credit that respectable Englishmen should be subjected to such gross abuse in pestilential dungeons. But the early annals of Friends abound with similar cases, many of them still more aggravated. Take the following example:—

During the close imprisonment of Friends at Aberdeen, Patrick Livingstone often preached to the people through the prison windows, exhorting them to fear God. This practice was highly displeasing to the magistrates. They, therefore, sought to prevent it, by causing some of them to be separated from the rest of their companions, and violently thrust into a close-vaulted cell, on the top of the jail, called the “ironhouse,” where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined. They had neither light nor air, except through a long hole in the thick wall, which had a double grating of iron on the outside, and another within. Here they were kept night and day, in the heat of the summer of 1678, when the filthiness of the place, and the corruption of the air so closely pent-up, produced a multitude of worms, called white maggots, and other vermin, which swarmed about even upon their beds and victuals, and manifestly tended to the extreme danger of their health and lives.

might take the extremity of the law against him, and might recover sound damages of him.” Captain Keat also was checked, for suffering 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 thereabouts, and none would meddle 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, shone 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; and several were sent to prison to us; and a great convincement began in the country. For now we had liberty to come out, and to walk in the Castle-Green; and many came to us on first-days, to whom we declared the word of life. Great service we had among them, and 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 collected many Scripture sentences, to prove that we ought to put off our hats to the people; and he invited the town of Launceston to come into the castle-yard to hear him read them: amongst other instances that he there brought, one was, that Saul bowed to the witch of Endor. When he had done, we got a little liberty to speak; and we showed both him and the people, “that Saul was gone from God, and had disobeyed God, like them, when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor 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 this 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 there came a soldier to us; and whilst one of our friends was admonishing and exhorting him to sobriety, etc, I saw him begin to draw his sword. Whereupon I stepped to him, and told him what a shame it was to offer to draw his sword upon a naked man, and a prisoner; and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry such a weapon; and that if he should have offered 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 got a man now to dispute with me (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town.) As soon as he spoke these words, I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plat to slumber, and I felt something still about my body; and I started up, and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and yet still it was about my body. Then I arose and walked into the CastleGreen, and the under-keeper came to me, and told me there was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words too, therefore I went not into the prison, but to the grate, and looking in, I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjuror, and he had a knife in his

hand. I spoke to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps; but being within the jail, he could not come at me. This was the jailer's great disputant. I went soon after into the jailer's house, and found him at breakfast; and he had then got his conjuror out with him. I told the jailer his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and east 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) till about eleven, but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again, and after a while I heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairs' head, and there I saw the jailer's wife upon the stairs, and the conjuror at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage. I asked him, "Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back? Pluck thy hand before thee," said I; "let us see thy hand, and what thou hast in it." Then in a rage he plucked forth his hand with a naked knife in it. I showed the jailer's wife the wicked design of her husband and herself 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; they both raged, and the conjuror threatened. Then I was moved to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord, which bound him down, so that he never after durst appear before me 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 unto him.

Now while I was exercised with people of divers sorts, that came some out of good will to visit us, some out of an envious, carping mind to wrangle and dispute, 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 Glynne to us at our trial, and willing to lay the weight thereof upon him, and make him sensible thereof also, wrote an epistle to him on behalf of us all, thus:—

*"To John Glynne, Chief Justice of England.*

"Friend,

"We are free men of England, free born; our rights and liberties are according to law, and ought to be defended by it: and therefore with thee, by whose hand we have so long suffered, and still suffer, let us reason a little plainly concerning thy proceedings against us, whether they have been according to law, and agreeable to thy duty and office, as chief minister of the law, or justice of England. And in meekness and lowliness abide, that the witness of God in thy conscience may be heard to speak and judge in this matter: for thou and we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Therefore, friend, in moderation and soberness, weigh what is herein laid before thee.

"In the afternoon, before we were brought before thee at the assize at Launceston, thou didst cause many scores of our books to be violently taken from us by armed men without due

process of law; which being perused to see if any thing in them could be found to be laid to our charge, who were innocent men, and then upon our legal issue, thou hast detained from us to this very day. Now our books are our goods, and our goods are our property; and our liberty is to have and enjoy our property; and of our liberty and property the law is the defence, which saith, 'No free man shall be disseized of his freehold, liberties, or free customs, etc, nor any way otherwise destroyed.: and we shall not pass upon him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.' Magna Charta, cap. 29. Now friend, consider, is not the taking away of a man's goods violently, by force of arms, as aforesaid, contrary to the law of the land? Is not the keeping of them so taken away, a disseizing him of his property, and a destroying of it and his liberty, yea, his very being, so far as the invading of the guard the law sets about him, is in order thereunto? Calls not the law this, a destroying of a man? Is there any more than one common guard or defence 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), be sure? Doth not he that makes an invasion upon a man's property and liberty (which he doth, who, contrary to law, which is the guard, acts against either), make an invasion upon a man's life; since that which is the guard of the one, is also of the other? If a penny, or a penny's worth, be taken from a man contrary to law, may not by the same rule all that a man hath 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, and 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 defence to all, the law? One man cannot be injured therein, but it redounds to all. Are not such things in order to the subversion and dissolution of government? Where there is no law, what is become of government? And of what value is the law made, when the ministers thereof break it at pleasure upon men's properties, liberties, and persons? Canst thou clear thyself of these things, as to us? To that of God in thy conscience, which is just, do I speak. Hast thou acted like a minister, the chief minister, of the law, who hast taken our goods, and yet detainest them, without so much as going by lawful warrant, grounded upon due information, which in this our case thou couldst not have; for none had perused them, whereby to give thee information? Shouldst thou exercise violence and force of arms on prisoners' goods, in their prison-chamber, instead of proceeding orderly and legally, which thy place calls upon thee, above any man, to tender, defend, and maintain against wrong, and to reserve entire the guard of every man's being, liberty, life, and livelihood? Shouldst thou, whose duty it is to punish the wrong-doer, do wrong thyself? who ought to see that the law is kept and observed, break the law, and turn aside the due administration thereof? Surely from thee, considering thou art chief justice of England, other things were expected, both by us and by the people of this nation.

“And when we were brought before thee, and stood upon our legal issue, and no accuser or accusation came in against us, as to what we had been wrongfully imprisoned, and in prison detained for nine weeks, shouldst not thou have caused us to be acquitted by proclamation?

Saith not the law so? Oughtest thou not to have examined the cause of our commitment? And there not appearing a lawful cause, oughtest thou not to have discharged us? Is it not the substance of thy 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 delivery? of the judges going the circuits? Hast not thou by doing otherwise, acted contrary to all these, and to Magna Charta? which, chap. 29, saith, 'We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right.' Hast thou not both deferred and denied to us, who had been so long oppressed, this justice and right? And when of thee justice we demanded, saidst thou not, 'If we would be uncovered, thou wouldst hear us, and do us justice?'—'We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right,' saith Magna Charta, as aforesaid. Again, 'We have commanded all our justices, that they shall henceforth 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 commandments, which may come to them from us, or from any other, or by any other cause, etc, upon pain to be at our will, body, lands, and goods, to do therewith as shall please us, in case they do contrary,' saith Stat. 20. Edw. III. cap. 1. Again, 'Ye shall swear that ye shall do even law and execution of right to all, rich and poor, without having regard to any person; and that ye deny to no man common right by the king's letters, or other man's, nor for any other cause. And in case any letter come to you contrary to the law, that ye do nothing by such letter, but certify the king thereof, and go forth to do the law notwithstanding those letters. And in case ye be from henceforth found in default in any of the points aforesaid, ye shall be at the king's will of body, lands, and goods, thereof to be done, as shall please him,' saith the oath, appointed by the statute to be taken by all the judges, Stat. 18. Edw. III. But none of these, nor any other law hath such an expression or condition in it as this, viz., 'provided he will put off his hat to you, or be uncovered:' nor doth the law of God so say, or that your persons be respected; but the contrary. From whence then comes this new law, 'If ye 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 reasonableness of that? When were these fundamental laws repealed, which were the issue of much blood and war; to uphold which 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 putting off the hat? Doth thy saying so, who art commanded, as aforesaid, repeal them, and make them of none 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, thou hast made it so to us, to whom thou hast denied the justice of our liberty (when we were before thee, 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 hast thou cast, and continued upon us until this day, under an unreasonable and cruel jailer, for not performing that thy condition, for conscience-sake. But thinkest thou that this thine own conditional justice maketh void the law? or can it do so? or absolve thee before God or man? or acquit the penalty mentioned in the laws aforesaid? unto which hast thou not consented and sworn? viz., 'And in case ye be from henceforth found in default, in any of the points aforesaid,

ye shall be at the king's will, of body, lands, and goods, thereof to be done as shall please him.' And is not thy saying, 'If ye 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, thy denying us justice, and refusing to hear us, as to wrong, who had so unjustly suffered, a default in thee against the very essence of those laws, yea, an overthrow thereof, for which thing's 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, exposeth to the said penalty. Dost not thou by this time see where thou art? Art thou sure thou shalt never be made to understand and feel the justice thereof? Is thy seat so high, raid thy fence so great, and art thou so certain of thy time and station, above all that have gone before thee, whom justice hath cut down, and given them their due, that thou shalt never be called to an account, nor with its long and sure stroke be reached? Deceive not thyself, God is come nearer to judgment than the workers of iniquity in this age imagine; who persecute and evil-entreat those that witness the Just and Holy One, for their witnessing of him who is come to reign for ever and ever. Saith he not, he will be a swift witness against the false swearers? God is not mocked.

“Surely, friend, that must needs be a very great offence which deprives a man of justice, of being heard as to wrong, of the benefit of the law, and of those laws afore-rehearsed; to defend the justice and equity of which a man hath 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 thee such an offence (which is none in 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, equity and reason, say the contrary, and on it pronounce such a penalty. 'If ye will be uncovered (uncovered, saidst thou), 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. And for our obedience unto him hast thou cast us into prison, and continue us there till this very day, having showed us neither law for it, nor Scripture, nor instances of either, nor example of heathens nor others. Friend, come down to that of God, that is just in thee, and consider, was 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 thee 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 nor have justice. Is not this regarding of persons contrary to the laws aforesaid, and the oath and the law of God? Understand and judge: Did we not own authority and government oftentimes before the court? Didst not thou say in the court, thou wast glad to hear so much from us of our owning magistracy? Pleased we not to the indictment, though it was such a new-found one as England never heard of before? Came we not when thou sent for us? Went we not when thou bade us go? And are we not still prisoners at thy command and at thy will? If the hat had been such an offence to thee, couldst not thou have caused it to be taken off, when thou heard us so often declare, we could not do it in conscience to the commands of the Lord, and



that for that cause we forbore it, not in contempt of thee or of authority, nor in disrespect to thine, or any man's person (for we said, we honoured 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 thou caused them to be taken off, and to be kept so, when thou called the jury to find us transgressors without a law? What ado hast thou made to take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, and to cause us to suffer further, whom thou 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 bound up in our consciences that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conscience there to take place? For where the law saith not against, there needs no plea of liberty of conscience; but the law have we not offended, yet in thy will hast thou caused, and dost thou yet cause us to suffer for our consciences, where the law requires no such thing; and yet for liberty of conscience hath all the blood been spilt, and the miseries of the late wars undergone, and (as the Protector saith), this government undertakes to preserve it; and a natural right, he saith, it is; and he that would have it, he saith, 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 thou knowest; 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, had our standing with our hats on been an offence in law, and we wilfully, and in contempt, and not out of conscience had stood so (which we deny as aforesaid), yet that is not a ground wherefore we should be denied justice, or be heard as to the wrong done to us. 'If ye 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 every one 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 he not have right wherein he is wronged, unless he right him whom he hath wronged? The law saith not so; but the wrong-doer is to suffer, and the sufferer of wrong to be righted. Is not to do otherwise a denying, letting, or stopping of even law and execution of justice, and a bringing under the penalties aforesaid? Mind and consider.

“And shouldst thou have accused, when no witness appeared against us, as in the particulars of striking Peter Ceely, and dispersing books (as thou saidst) against magistracy and ministry, with which thou didst falsely accuse one of us? Saith not the law, 'the judge ought not to be the accuser?' much less a false accuser? And wast not thou such a one, in affirming, that he dispersed books against magistracy and ministry, when as the books were violently taken out of our chamber (as hath been said,) undispersed by him, or any of us? Nor didst thou make it appear in one particular, wherein those books thou didst so violently cause to be taken away, were against magistracy or ministry? or gave one instance, or reply, when he denied what thou charged therein, and spoke to thee to bring forth those books and make thy charge appear. Is not the sword of the magistrate of God to pass upon such evil-doing? And according to the adminis-

tration 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 be made of the offence charged therein? And hast thou not herein acted contrary to the law and the administration thereof, and thy duty as a judge? What just cause of offence gave George Fox to thee, when, upon thy producing a paper concerning swearing, sent by him (as thou 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 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? Couldst thou in justice have expected or required him to do otherwise? Considering also, that he was not insensible how much he had suffered already, being innocent, and what endeavours were used to cause him further to suffer? Was not what he said, as aforesaid, a plain and single answer, and sufficient in the law? Though (as hath been demonstrated) thou didst act contrary to law, and to thy office, in being his accuser therein, and producing the paper against him. And his liberty it was, whether he would have made thee any answer at all, to what thou didst exhibit, or demand, out of the due course of law; for to the law answer is to be made, not to thy will. Wherefore then wast thou so filled with rage and fury at his reply? Calmly, and in the fear of the Lord, consider, wherefore didst thou revile him, particularly with the reproachful names of juggler and prevaricator? Wherein did he juggle? wherein did he prevaricate? Wherefore didst thou use such threatening language, and such menacings to him and us, saying, thou wouldst ferk us, with such like? Doth not the law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, threatening, and menacing of prisoners? Soberly mind, is this to act like a judge or a 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 judgeth for God? Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment. 'Wherefore 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, passion and rage, 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 it is of an ill savour, especially such an expression, as to threaten to ferk us. Is not such a saying more becoming a schoolmaster with his rod and ferule in his hand, than thee, who art the chief justice of the nation, who sittest 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, doth not threatening language demonstrate an inequality, and partiality in him, who sits as judge? Is it not a deterring of a prisoner from standing to, and pleading the innocency of his cause? Provides not the law against it? Saith it not, that irons and all other bonds shall be taken from the prisoner, that he may plead without fear, 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 unto him? Is not this the case between thee and us? Is not this the measure we have received at thy hands? Hast thou herein dealt according to law? or to thy duty? or as thou wouldst be done unto? Let that of God in thy conscience judge.

“And didst thou not say, there was a law for putting off the hat, and that thou wouldst show a law? and didst not thou often so express thyself? But didst thou 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 thee, having never heard of, nor known any such law, by which thou didst judge us? Was not what we demanded of thee reasonable and just? Was that a savoury answer, and according to law, which thou 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 therein? 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 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 judgeth in the law, to be expert in the law? Couldst thou 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 thou couldst 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 judgeth for God; for so the law was read to the Jews by which they were to be judged, yea, every Sabbath-day; this was the commandment of the Lord. But instead thereof 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, 'thou wilt show it,' and yet not to show it, nor to tell where it is to be found; consider whether it be consistent with truth or justice?

“Have not thy whole proceedings against us made it evidently appear, that thy 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 innocency cleared and vindicated? Doth not thy taking away our books as aforesaid, and perusing them in such haste before our trial, and accusing us with something, which thou said was contained in them, make it to appear, that matter was sought out of them, wherewithal 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 due course of law? Doth it not further appear, by thy 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 tho country might as well see our innocency and sufferings without a cause, and the manner of dealing with us as to hear such reports as went of us, as great offenders, when we called upon thee often so to do, and which thou ought to have done, and said, thou would do, but did it not; or so much as take notice before the country that we had been falsely imprisoned, and had wrongfully suffered? But what might asperse and charge us, thou brought in thyself, contrary to law, and called to have us charged therewith. Is not this further manifest, in that thou didst 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 therein, it was by G. 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 thy 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 thereof, thou didst stop us, saying, 'thou 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 evidence was produced; and as to the hat, not any law, or judicial precedent, upon the transgression of which all legal indictments are only 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, whether that, of which a man stands accused, be so or not, seeking judgment, and hastening righteousness; and it saith, 'the innocent and the righteous slay thou not.' But whether thou hast done so to us, or the contrary, let the witness of God in thee search and judge, as these thy 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, 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 inserted 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 ever so many falsehoods therein, purposely to wrong him, who is maliciously prosecuted: this is known to the judges, and almost 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 against; but what reformation is there thereof? 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; men without reproof, when a few lines might serve instead of a hundred? How else shall the spirit that is in men, that lusteth 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 intentions. For a judge to say, 'I mind not these things; I will not hear you clear yourselves of what you are falsely accused: 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.' O! abominable wickedness, and perverting of the righteous end of the law, which is so careful and tender of every man's peace and innocency. How is the law in the administration thereof adulterated by lawyers, as the Scriptures are mangled by 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 accuseth a man falsely to suffer the same as he should have suffered, who was falsely accused, if he had been guilty; this saith 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? which serve for gendering strife, and kindling contention? and of this nature was not that, with which thou didst cause us to be indicted? and this form didst thou not uphold, in not permitting us to answer to the many foul slanders therein; saying, 'Those things thou mindest 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 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, thinkest thou, gone up? 'It is time for thee to set to thine hand, O Lord, for thine enemies have made void thy law!' Draws not the hour nigh? Pills not up the measure of iniquity apace? Surely the day is coming, and hasteneth. Ye have been warned from the presence, and by the mouth of the Lord; and clear will he be when he cometh to judgment, and upright when he giveth sentence. That of God in every one of your consciences shall so to him bear witness and confess, and your mouths shall be stopped, and before your judge shall ye be silent, when he shall divide you your portion, and render unto you according to your deeds. Therefore, whilst thou hast 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, ye that forget God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver.'

“And, friend, shouldst thou have given judgment against us (wherein thou didst fine us twenty marks a-piece, and imprisonment till payment), without causing us, being prisoners, to be brought before thee, to hear the judgment, and to move what we had to say in arrest of judg-

ment? Is not this contrary to the law, as is manifest to those who understand the proceedings thereof? Is not the prisoner to be called before judgment be given? and is not the indictment to be read? and the verdict thereupon? 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 therein 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 thereof, that he dare 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 thy 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 our behalf, that night, next day, and day following, often desired it of the clerk of the assize, his assistants, and servants; but they could not have it, nor so much liberty as to see it. And it is likely not unknown, or unperceived by thee, that, had we been called, as we ought to have been, or known when it was to be given, three or four words might have been 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 thy 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 thou hast done, thou hast 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 thyself art chief; of whom such complaint is to be made, and the error assigned for the reverse of thy judgment. And what the fruit of that may be well expected to be, by what we have already mentioned, as having received at thy hands, thou hast given us to understand. And here thou mayest think thou hast made thyself secure, and sufficiently barred up our way of relief, against whom (though thou knew we had done nothing contrary to the law, or worthy of bonds, much less of the bonds and sufferings we had sustained): thou hast proceeded as has been rehearsed; notwithstanding that thou art (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 art sworn so to do, as has been said: and wherein thou dost contrary art liable to punishment, as ceasing from being a judge, and becoming a wrongdoer and an oppressor; which what it is to be, many of thy predecessors have understood, some by death, others by fine and imprisonment. And of this thou mayest 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 free man; to do which 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 Henry IV. 1, 2, m. See O. St. Johns, now chief justice of the common pleas, his argument against Strafford, fol. 65, in the case.

“These things we have laid before thee in all plainness, that (with the light of Jesus Christ, who lighteth every one that cometh into the world, a measure of winch thou hast, which sheweth the evil, and reproveth thee for sin, for which thou must be accountable) thou mayest consider and see what thou hast done against the innocent; that shame may overtake thee, and thou mayest turn unto the Lord, who now calleth thee to repentance by his servants, whom, for witnessing his living truth in them, thou hast cast into, and yet continues under, cruel bonds and sufferings.”

Edward Pyot.

From the Jail in Launceston, the 14th day of the 5th Month, 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 innocency 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 amongst the people; so that several of the town came to be convinced, and many were made loving to us. Friends from many parts came to visit us; amongst whom were two out of Wales, who had been justices of peace. Also Judge Hagget's wife, of Bristol, who was convinced, with several of her children; and her husband was very kind and serviceable to Friends, and had a love to God's people, which he retained to his death.

Now in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, truth began to spread mightily, and many were turned to Christ Jesus and his free teaching: for many Friends that came to visit us, were drawn forth to declare the truth in those countries; which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare Friends. They placed watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up all suspicious persons; under which colour they stopped and took up the Friends that travelled in and through those countries, coming to visit us in prison; which they did, that they might not pass up and down in the Lord's service. But that by which they thought to stop the truth, was the means of spreading it so much the more; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable, and to the other officer, and to the justices they were brought before; and thus caused the truth to spread the more amongst them in all their parishes. And when Friends got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable taken them and carried them before the justices, and they had discharged them, than another would take them up, and carry them before other justices; which put the country to much needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire took him up, and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket; and after being thus robbed, he was cast into Exeter jail. They cast Henry Pollexfen also into prison in Devonshire for being a Jesuit, who had been a justice

of peace for nearly forty years before. Many Friends were cruelly beaten by them; nay, some clothiers that were going to the mill with their cloth, and others about their occupations, were taken up and whipped, though men of about eighty or a hundred pounds a year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Launceston, too, was a very wicked man, for he took up all he could get, and cast them into prison; and he would search substantial grave women, their petticoats and their head-clothes. A young man having come to see us, who came not through the town, I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor (for his carriage was more like a heathen than a Christian), to him I gave it, and bid him seal it up, and go out again the back way; and then come into the town through the gates. He did so; and the watch took him up, and carried him before the mayor, who presently searched his pockets and found the letter, wherein he saw all his actions characterized. This shamed him so, that from that time he meddled little with the servants of the Lord.

Now from the sense I had of the snare that was laid, and mischief intended, in setting up those watches at the time to stop and take up Friends, it came upon me to give forth the following, as—

*“An Exhortation and Warning to the Magistrates.*

“All ye powers of the earth, Christ is come to reign, and is among you, and ye know him not; who doth enlighten every one of you, that ye all through him might believe in him, 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 ye are ripe for; for the press is ready for you.

“Before honour is humility. You that would have honour before ye have humility (mark, before ye have humility), are ye not as the heathen are? Ye would have honour before ye have humility; did not all the persecutors that ever were upon the earth want this humility? They wanted the honour, and yet would have the honour before they had the humility, and had learned that. So ye that are out of the humility, are out of the honour; and ye are not to have the honour, who have not the humility; for before honour is humility; mark, before it.

“Now ye pretend liberty of conscience; yet one shall not carry a letter to a friend, nor men visit their friends, nor prisoners, nor carry a book about them, either for their own use, or for their friends. Men shall not see their friends; but watches are set up to catch and stop them; and these must be well-armed men too, against an innocent people, that have not so much as a stick in their hands, who are in scorn called Quakers. Yet by such as set up these watches is pretended liberty of conscience; who take up them, whose consciences are exercised towards God and men, who worship God in spirit and in truth; which they that are out of the light call heresy. Now these set up the watches against them, whom they in scorn call Quakers, because they confess and witness the true light, that lighteth every one that cometh into the world, amongst 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 doth



enlighten every man that cometh 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 set their watches, able men, well-armed; to take up such as bear this testimony either in words, books, or letters. So that is the light you hate, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world; and these that witness to this light you put in prison; and after you have imprisoned them, you set your watches to take up all that go to visit them, and imprison them also; so that by setting up your watches, ye would stop all relief from coming to prisoners. Therefore this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge to yon all, in the presence of the living God of heaven and earth; every man of you being enlightened with a light that cometh from Christ, the Saviour of people's souls; to this light, all take heed, that with it you may see Christ, from whom the light cometh, to be your Saviour, by whom the world was made, who saith, 'Learn of me.' But if ye hate this light, ye hate Christ, who doth enlighten you all, that through him you might believe. But not believing in, nor bringing your deeds to the light, which will make them manifest and reprove them, this is your condemnation, even the light. Remember, you are warned in your life-time, for this light is your way to salvation, if you walk in it; and your condemnation, if you reject and hate it. You can never come to Christ, the Second Priest, unless you come to the light, which the Second Priest hath enlightened you withal. So ye that come not to the light, ye go to the priests that take tithes, as did the first priesthood; and hale out of your synagogues and temples (as some call them), as that priesthood did that took tithes; which they that were of the second priesthood did not. Was there ever such a generation! or did ever such a generation of men appear, as in this age, who are so full of madness, envy, and persecution, that they stand up in watches, with weapons against the truth, to persecute it, as the towns and countries do declare; which rings as Sodom, and like Gomorrah! And this hath its liberty, and truth is stood against; and to reprove sin is accounted a breach of the peace, as they say who are out of the truth, and set up their watches against it.”

G. F.

Besides this general warning, there coming to my hand a copy of a warrant issued from the Exeter sessions, in express terms, “for apprehending all Quakers,” wherein truth and Friends were reproached and vilified, I was moved to write an answer thereunto, and send it abroad, for clearing truth and Friends from the slanders therein cast upon them, and to manifest the wickedness of that persecuting spirit from whence it proceeded; which was after this manner:—

“Whereas a warrant was granted last sessions, held at Exeter, on the eighteenth day of the fifth month, 1656, which warrant is 'for apprehending and taking up all such as are Quakers, or call themselves Quakers, or go under the notion 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 aforesaid.' And whereas in your said warrant, you speak of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers; I answer, They whom ye in scorn call Quakers, have no seditious books or papers; but their books are against sedition, and seditious men, and

sedition books, and seditious teachers, and seditious ways. Thus ye have numbered them, who are honest, godly, and holy men, that fear God, amongst beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; thus 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 ye were sensible of the state of your own country, your cities, your towns, your villages, how the cry of them is like Gomorrah, and the ring like Sodom, and the sound like the old world, where all flesh had corrupted its way, which God overthrow 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;—you would 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. So likewise 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 whereas you speak of those, whom you in scorn call Quakers, that they are a grief to those whom you call pious and religious people, and their religion. To such as are in the religion that is vain, whose tongues are not bridled, I believe the Quakers are a grief; but they are not a grief to such as are in the pure religion, which keepeth unspotted from the world; which sets not up bills, nor watches, to maintain it by the world; for they are not of the world who are in the pure religion, which keeps them unspotted of the world; mark, the 'pure religion, which keeps unspotted of the world.' But to such as are in the religion that is not pure, who have a form of godliness, and not the power—to such as you call pious, the truth itself 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 error, and have been but in the profession, out of the possession of the Spirit, who are not in the Spirit of truth. For where did that ever set stints and bounds, and number the just and innocent with the wicked? But the wicked set stints, and bounds, and limits to the just, and number them among the wicked; yea, they spoke all manner of evil of them, as ye are doing now of us. Nay, 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, and was it not the practice of the Jews to hale them out, persecute 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? And is this not the practice of you now, who are holding up your high places, which the Papists erected, which ye now call your churches; where ye beat and persecute? What kind of religious people are you, that 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 ago past, as there is now in the pulpits, railing against an innocent people, whom in scorn ye call Quakers, who lift not up a hand against you; but who are indeed the pious, that are of the pure religion, who fear God, worship him in Spirit and in truth, and cannot join with you in your religion? And do not the ministers of God say, that the Scriptures are a declaration, which you call the word? Do you not rob Christ of his title, and of his honour, and give it to the letter, and show yourselves out of the doctrine of the ministers of God, who call the Scriptures by the name of writings and treatises, and declarations; and who said, Christ's name is called the Word of God? Are not you here in the error you speak of, which is your common talk among you? There was talk among some of you of your gospel-shining; doth your gospel which you profess persecute? Did ever any of them, that did possess it, cast into prison and not suffer others to go to visit them? Are you like Christians in this, or like heathens, who set bounds and watches over the land, that they should not pass to visit them that are in prison? Was ever the like heard in any age? Search and see, if you have not outstripped them all in your watches, in your persecution, and imprisonments. O! never talk, 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, which 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 raiseth 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 to the Lord to judge. Your false accusations of heresy and blasphemy we deny. You should have laid them down in particulars, that people might have seen them, and not have slandered us behind our backs. The law saith, the crime should be mentioned in the warrant. Then for your saying, 'we deny the godly ministers to be a true ministry of Christ,' that is false; for we say, that the godly ministers are the ministers of Christ. But which of your ministers dare say, that they are truly godly? And your charging us

with seducing many weak people, is false also; we seduce none; but you, that deny the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, are seduced from the anointing which should teach you; and if ye would be taught by it, ye would not need that any man should teach you. But such as are taught by the anointing, which abideth in them, and deny man's teaching, these ye call seducers, quite contrary to John's doctrine, 1 John ii. You speak quite contrary to him; that which is truth, ye call seducing; and that which he calls seducing, you call truth; read the latter part of the chapter. Beware, I warn you all from the Lord God of glory, set not any bound against him; stint him not; 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 the nations together as a potter's vessel. And know, you that are found in this his day blaspheming his work, that God hath 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 hath

invented, and which by your carnal weapons ye would uphold; and make you to 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, yea, in your steeple-houses; where people have appeared without reason, and natural affection. Therefore all ye petty constables, sheriffs, and justices, take warning; take heed, what ye do against the lambs of Christ; for Christ is come, and coming, who will give to every one of you a reward according to your works, you who have the letter, which speaks of Christ; but now ye are persecuting that which the Scripture speaks of; as your fruits make manifest. Therefore every one, sheriffs, justices, constables, etct., consider what ye do possess, and what a profession ye are now in, that all these carnal weapons are now set up against the innocent, yea, against the truth; which shows that ye have not the spiritual weapons, and that ye want the counsel of Gamaliel, yea, ye 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 nought.' But ye 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; still it is against Christ, where he is made manifest. Paul (while Saul) went against him, though he professed a Christ that was to come; and the Jews professed a Christ that was to come; yet Paul persecuted him, where he was manifested in his saints. So ye 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. They who were in the letter, out of the life, persecuted them that were in the life of that which they profess in the letter; so now do you persecute them that are in the life, and are yourselves strangers to it, as your fruits make appear. You have numbered the people of God amongst transgressors; but have you imprisoned any of the rogues and transgressors you speak of? You hare imprisoned the innocent, and let the others go free."

G. F.

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 hath 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 hath 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 here see 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 subtilty, and put him to death; mark, by their subtilty. The professors of a

Christ that was to come, preached of a Messiah, of a Christ, of a Saviour; but denied the life, when he was made manifest. The chief priests, when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, gave large money unto the soldiers, to declare that 'his disciples came by night, and stole him away.' Likewise in the day, when the children of Israel were in Egypt, and they with their children began to spread and multiply, 'Come,' said the Egyptians, 'let us deal wisely with them to afflict them, and tax them;' which held, until the Lord overthrew their oppressors, and brought out 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 hath brought forth the work of the Lord! Many who are turned to Christ, the light, 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 out 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 you 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 fulfil 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 may visit them, whom ye 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 hath been professed among you? Yet 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 the life of it; when you call it error, and the evil seed? Yea, the very truth, the very life of truth ye 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 in the days of the Jews, it was the Jews outward in the flesh, not the Jews in the Spirit, who turned the sword against Christ; so in these days it is those Christians who profess the Scripture, but are out of the Life of it. And is it not a shame to all 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 and prisons, whips, watches, and wards, and powers of the earth? Were these the apostles' weapons? Carnal watches and wards, stocks and prisons, and haling 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 seedsman? Surely, ye

would find work enough, if ye were in the fear of the Lord, to turn your swords against 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 your age, that reprove in your gates sin, wickedness, and profaneness; they are become your by-word. Against them your councils are gathered, them you cast into prison, and hale 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, in the days 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 that the apostles were cast into prison, and came to see what they wanted? Show ye not as much rage and fury now in your age, as was in those in that age? And 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 amongst you, who are like wolves? for the Lord hath now sent his lambs amongst wolves. Have not you professed the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles, as the Jews had long professed the Scriptures, the words of Moses and of 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 are setting up your watches against them, who bring you the glad tidings of peace to your souls, whose feet are beautiful on the top of the mountains; mark, on the top of the mountains, that against which the mountains rage and swell. But God will make them melt; the sun is risen, which will make them 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, ye 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 ye will be found but as briars and thorns before him, which the fire shall consume. Therefore be awakened, all ye 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 thrashing instrument is gone forth, which will beat the hills to pieces. Sion is risen to thrash. Out of the holy mountain is the trumpet sounded. Stand not up against the Lord; for all nations are with the Lord 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; who 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, the power itself is denied; for Christ is the power of God. And the power being denied by you, that have a form of godliness, that have 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. Doth 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. Now 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 doth persecute, and send forth writings and decrees to stop all, and take up all, and set watches, and prepare bonds to stint the Lord; to imprison and persecute, and suffer none to go to visit them; this shows you are not Christians, but stand against a Christian's life, which brings to love enemies. Where is your heaping up coals of fire; 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 of the sword against the just. Do you show here a Christian's life, or yourselves Christians, who are filling your jails with Christians in Spirit, you that are in the letter (in shadows), as the Jews in the letter put the Jews in the Spirit into prison? Is not this the fruit in our days of the Christians in the letter, to put the Christians in the Spirit into prison? Doth 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 now 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? Doth this show you to have a spirit like Paul, yea or nay? or are you not quite contrary, like unto them that persecuted Paul? The day hath declared it. To that of God in you all I speak, which shall witness it at the last day,—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 Jeremiah, of Christ, and of the apostles. 'Come,' saith 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 loveth 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 an 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.”

G. F.

We continued in prison till the next assize; before which time divers Friends, both men and women, were sent to prison, that had been taken up by the watches. When the assize came on, 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 an 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.

Great work we had, and service for the Lord, both between the assizes and after, amongst professors and people of all sorts; for many came to see us and to reason with us. Elizabeth Trelawny of Plymouth (who was the daughter of a baronet) being convinced (as was formerly mentioned), the priests and professors, and some great persons of her kindred were exasperated, and wrote letters to her. She being a wise and tender woman, and fearing to give them any advantage, sent their letters to me; and I answered them, and returned them to her again, for her to answer. Which she did: till growing in the power, and Spirit, and wisdom of God, she came herself to be able to answer the wisest priest and professor of them all; and had a 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 was come inwardly in the hearts of his people, to reign and rule there, and these professors would not thus receive him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell in the hearts of his people, and reign there. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts he hath been knocking, have opened to him; and he is come in, and doth sup with them and they with him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man. So many of these Baptist and Monarchy-people turned the greatest enemies to the professors of Christ; but he reigns in the hearts of his saints over all their envy.

At the assize divers justices came to us and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God soberly, expressing a pity towards us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, came and looked me in the face, and said not 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, we will see who is the simpler man.” But he went his way; a light chaffy man.



Thomas Lower<sup>59</sup> also came to visit us, and offered us money, which we refused; accepting his love nevertheless. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the Scriptures to be the word of God; and 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 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 came 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 was convinced also. Great sufferings and spoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the truth's sake.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following exhortation to Friends in the ministry:—

“Friends,

“In the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord God of life, and heaven, and earth, dwell; that in the wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved, and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth, awakening the witness, confounding deceit, gathering out of transgression into the life, 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. Ye have the power, do not abuse it; and 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 uttermost parts of the earth. Reign and rule with Christ, whose sceptre and throne are now set up, whose dominion is over all to the ends of the earth; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion; whose throne is an everlasting throne; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; and whose power is above all powers. Therefore this is the word of the Lord God 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: and 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; this 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. Thrash 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 is come upon the wheat by transgression; he that treads it out, is out of transgression, and fathoms transgression; puts a

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59 Thomas Lower was son-in-law to Judge Fell, having married his daughter Mary.

difference between the precious and the vile; and can pick out the wheat from the tares, and gather into the garner: so brings to the lively hope, the immortal soul into God, out of which it came. None 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 hath transgressed. Then he doth service to God; then is the planting and the watering; and the increase from God cometh. So the ministers of the Spirit must minister to the Spirit that is in prison, which hath been in captivity in every one; that with the Spirit of Christ, people may be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of Spirits, do service to him, and have unity with him, with the Scriptures, and one with another. This is the word of the Lord God to you all, and a charge to you all in the presence of the living God; be patterns, be examples in all your countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life 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 every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you: then to the Lord God you will be a sweet savour, 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 your selves 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, set up by man's earthly understanding, knowledge, and will, must be thrown down by the power of the Lord God. All this must be overthrown by that which gave forth 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 are gone forth, which shall stick in the hearts of the wicked. Now will I arise, saith the Lord God Almighty, to trample and thunder down deceit, which hath long reigned, and stained the earth: now will I have my glory out of every one. 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 every one. 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 the Lord's power and majesty may be admired among the hypocrites and heathens, and ye 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 ye may be preserved in it. This is the word of the Lord God to you all. The call is now out of transgression; the Spirit bids, 'come.' The call is now from all false worships and gods, and 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 ye that are chosen and faithful, who are with the Lamb, go through your work faithfully, and 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 hath no end; where glory and life is.”

G. F.

After the assizes, the sheriff, with some soldiers, came to guard a woman to execution, that was sentenced to die; and we had much discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, that “Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth;” for which we rebuked him. Another time we asked the jailer what doings there were at the sessions; and he said, “Small matters; only about thirty for bastardy.” We thought it very strange, that they who professed themselves Christians should make small matters of such things. But this jailer was very bad himself; I often admonished him to sobriety; but he abused people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him from Bristol by his wife; and the jailer took it 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 came upon him; for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness cast into the jail himself; and there begged of our Friends. And for some unruliness in his conduct, he was, by the succeeding jailer, put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to “remember how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon;” and told, “that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others, should be meted out to himself.” He became very poor, and died in prison; and his wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison in Launceston, 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 let me have 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 that 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 he came, he offered us our liberty, if we would say, “we would go home, and preach no more;” but we could not promise him. Then he urged, that we should promise “to go home, if the Lord permitted;” whereupon Edward Pyot wrote him the following letter:—

*“To Major-General Desborough.*

“Friend,

“Though much might be said as to the liberty of Englishmen to travel in any part of the nation 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 liberty of conscience, which is a natural right, and a fundamental; the exercise of it, by those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, 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, to prelacy, nor to licentiousness. Where these rights, which are the price of much blood and treasure in the late wars, are denied us, our liberty is infringed. Yet in the power of God over all, by which all are to be ruled, are we, and in it dwell, and by it alone are guided to do the will of God; whose will is free; and we, in the freedom of his will, walk by the power, either as it commands or permits, without any condition or enforcement thereunto by men; but as the power moves either by command or permission. And although we cannot covenant or condition to go forth of these parts, or to do this or that thing, if the Lord permit for that were to do the will of man by God's permission), yet it is probable we may pass forth from these parts in the liberty of the will of God, as we may be severally moved, guided by the pure power, and not of necessity. We, who were first committed, were passing homewards when we were apprehended; and, as far as I know, we might pass, if the prison doors were commanded to be opened, and we freed of our bonds. Should we stay, if the Lord commands us to go; or should we go, if the Lord commands us to stay; or having no command to stay, but being permitted to pass from hence, the pure power moving thereto, and yet we stay; or go, when as before commanded to stay; we should then be wanderers indeed; for such are wanderers, who wander out from the will and power of God, abroad, at large, in their own wills and earthly minds. And so, in the fear of the Lord God, well weigh and consider, with the just weight and just balance, that justice thou mayest do to the just and innocent in prison.”

Edward Pyot.

Some time having elapsed after the foregoing was delivered him, and he not giving any order for our discharge, I also wrote to him, as follows:—

“To Major-General Besborough.

“Friend,

“We who are in the power of God, the ruler and upholder of all things, who know and dwell in his power, to it we must be obedient; which brings us to stand out of all men's wills, unlimited. To say, 'we will, if the Lord permit,' in a case of buying and selling to get gain, if the intent be so to do, may be done; but we standing in the power of God to do his will, and to stand out of man's will, if man propose, 'we shall have our liberty if we will say we will go to our outward home, if the Lord permit, or if it be the will of God;' and because we cannot say these words in this case, shall not have our liberty, when we know that the will of God is, we shall 'go to speak at some other place;' here we cannot say these words truly. For to say, 'we will go to our outward habitation, if it be according to the will of God,' when we know the will of God is otherwise, we cannot speak so truly and clearly. Neither can any man say so 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, when 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 whereon to lay his head; and the

apostles, and many of the followers of Christ, had no certain dwelling place. Now, if these should have been restrained, because they could not say, they would go to their outward homes, if it were the will of God, when they knew it was the will of God they should not; and they could not 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, but in going from 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 the Lord 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, as 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 ye may not withstand it in our Friends, that 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 anything made, but what was made for him, and to him, and by him; who is the power of God, and doth enlighten every man that Cometh into the world. Friends being come to tins light, which cometh from Christ, and having received power from him, by whom all things were created, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, who is the wisdom of God, we have received wisdom and power from him; by which the Lord doth give us to know how to use and order the creatures to the glory of him who is the Creator of all things. 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; and of this I have in all your consciences a witness. So, if thou open the prison door, we shall not stay there. If thou 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 goeth out of the power of God, loseth his freedom.

“George Fox.”

“And the rest who are sufferers for the truth in Launceston 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 them not to spend their time so vainly; desiring them to consider, that “though they professed themselves to be Christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God meanwhile in prison;” and telling 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. We understood afterwards, that he left the business to Colonel Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For sometime after Bennet would have set us at liberty, if we would have paid his jailer's fees. But we told him, "we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers; and how could they expect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully?" After a while Colonel Bennet coming to town, sent for us to an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused. At last the power of the Lord came so over him, that he freely set us at liberty on the 13th day of the seventh month, 1656. We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called the Lent-assize, which was in the spring of the year.

## CHAPTER X.

*1656-1657—Address to those who are given to pleasures and wantonness—to the bowlers in the Castle-Green at Launceston—George Fox visits Friends imprisoned at Exeter, amongst whom is James Naylor, who has apostatized, but afterwards returned into the Truth—at a meeting in the orchard at Bristol about 10,000 persons are present—Paul Gwin, a rude Baptist, creates a disturbance, but is reproved and silenced—meeting of two or three thousand persons at N. Crips's—Justice Stooks prevents the magistrates from apprehending George Fox—speaks to the Protector at Hyde-Park, who invites him to his house—accordingly goes; to Whitehall, and speaks to the Protector about Friends' sufferings—travels through most parts of the nation after his liberation from Launceston jail—this year, 1656, there were seldom fewer than one thousand Friends in prison—to Friends, on the schism of J. Naylor—to Friends, to keep up their meetings—on judging the ministry, etc—an answer to a high-flown professor—to professors, priests, and teachers, on immediate revelation and universal grace, etc., etc.—at Cardiff, George Fox sends word to some who had run out that "the day of their visitation was over"—at Brecknock, his companion, John-ap-John, preaches in the streets—at night, there is a great uproar, like that of Diana's craftsmen—at William Gandy's has a large meeting of two or three thousand persons—Cromwell proclaims a fast for rain, and is told by George Fox that the drought was a sign of their barrenness—concerning the true fast and the false—preaches three hours at a great meeting in Radnorshire, and many are convinced—their horses are twice robbed of their oats—from a high hill sounds the day of the Lord, and foretells where God would raise up a people to himself, which came to pass—travels through every county in Wales, where there is a brave people, who sit under Christ's teaching—has a large meeting on the top of a lull near Liverpool—at Manchester is taken into custody, but soon released.*

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Observing, while I was a prisoner at Launceston, how much the people (especially they who are called the gentry) were addicted to pleasures and vain recreations, I was moved, before I left the place, to give forth several papers as a warning to them, and all that so misspend their time. One of which was thus directed:—

*“This is to go abroad among them who are given, to pleasure and wantonness.*

“The sins of Sodom and Gomorrah were pride, fulness 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, 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, ye 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; ye shall receive the reward of unrighteousness. Ye are as dogs and swine turned to the vomit, and wallowing in the mire, speaking evil of things that ye know not; and unless ye repent, ye shall utterly perish in your own corruptions. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the 'just, and he doth not resist you. Go to, weep and howl, for the misery that is coming upon you. She that liveth in pleasures, is dead while she liveth. 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, ye that are given to pleasures, and read your examples.”

G. F.

Another paper, upon my taking notice of the bowlers that came to sport themselves 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, 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? Ye 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 everywhere are exhorted to repentance. O foolish people, wicked and slow of heart to believe the threatenings of the great Jehovah against the wicked! What will ye 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 every one 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 doth the Lord by many messengers forewarn you, and call 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; lest the things which belong to your peace be hid from your eyes, for your disobedience and rebellion against the Holy One. And then had it been good that you never had been born. Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand: again I say, repent!”

Given forth in Launceston Jail, in Cornwall.  
To the Bowlers in the Green.

Being released from our imprisonment we got horses and rode towards Humphrey Lower's, and met him on the road. He told us, “he was much troubled in his mind concerning us, and could not rest at home, but was going to Colonel Bennet to seek our liberty.” When we told him, “we were set at liberty, and were going to his house,” he was exceedingly glad. To his house we went, and had a fine precious meeting; many were convinced, and turned by the Spirit of the Lord to Christ's teaching.

From his house we went to Loveday Hambley's, where we also had a fine large meeting. The Lord's power was over all; many were convinced there also, and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher.

After we had tarried 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 places. The Lord's power was over all; and a great conviction there was in many parts of the county. Their watches were down, and all was plain and open; for the Lord had let me see, before I was set at liberty, that he would make all the country plain before us. Thomas and Ann Curtis, with an alderman of Reading, who was convinced, had come to Launceston to see us while I was a 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.<sup>60</sup>

From Thomas Mounce's we passed to Launceston again, and visited that 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 Launceston 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 set at liberty, we would not receive it.

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<sup>60</sup> Thomas Curtis became a faithful minister, and sufferer for Christ's sake. In 1666, he is mentioned in a letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell as being a prisoner with thirty-two or thirty-three others. His wife, Ann Curtis, was a daughter of a sheriff of Bristol. See a letter of T. Curtis to George Fox, in *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 240.



From Launceston we came to Okington [Oakhampton], and lodged 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 thence we came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Naylor. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, which raised up a great darkness in the nation.<sup>61</sup> He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there; and from thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were also several others; one of whom, an honest tender man, died in prison there, whose blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

The night we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Naylor; for I saw he was out and wrong; and so was his company. 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 the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, and 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; 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;" 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 amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company. When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, 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.

We passed from Exeter through Collumpton and Taunton, visiting Friends; and had meetings amongst them. From thence we came to Puddimoor, to William Beaton's; where on the First-day we had a very

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61 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 unwatchfulness, 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. His address to his brethren bespeaks the real repentance of his heart; in that he says, "My heart is broken this day for the offence I have occasioned to God's truth and people,—I beseech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it!" etc. A few hours before his death, he spoke in the presence of several witnesses the following remarkable words:—

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"

Such was the end of James Naylor; who, in his forty-fourth year, "chastened, but not killed—cast down, but not destroyed"—through much tribulation, entered, we may humbly hope, "into the kingdom of God."—(For full particulars, see his Life by Joseph Gurney Bevan.)

large meeting. A great convincement there was all through that country; many meetings we had, and the Lord's power was over all; 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 thence we went to John Dander's, where we had another precious meeting. The Lord's power was over all, and many were convinced of God's eternal truth. Contention was raised by professors and Baptists in some places, but the Lord's power came over them. From thence we came to Edward Pyot's house near Bristol. It was the Seventh-day at night that we came thither; and it was quickly noised over the town that I was come. I had never been there before.

On First-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol; which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard. There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had before made great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who, it was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people he gathered after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes 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 bid them never heed, it was nothing to me who went to it." When I was come 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 put off my hat, and to stand a pretty while, and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus 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, "Ye wise men of Bristol," said he, "I strange at you, that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good." Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people, "whether they ever heard me speak; or ever saw me before:" and I bid them "take notice what kind of man this was amongst them that should so impudently say, that I spoke and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they had ever heard me or seen me before. Therefore that 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. Then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had, and the word of life was divided amongst them; and they were turned from darkness to the light,—to Jesus their Saviour. 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 yea and nay 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 amongst 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 all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and

followers being 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 shone over all: a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise. After a while this Paul Gwin went beyond the seas; many years after I met with him again at Barbadoes: of which in its 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); great turning of people there was to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher: and people were glad that they were brought to know their way, their free teacher, and their Saviour, 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 supposed there were between two and three thousand people at a meeting; and all was quiet. The mighty power of God was manifest, and people were turned to the grace and truth in their hearts, that came by Jesus Christ, which taught them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lust, 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, and 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; that they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Christ, by whom it came; who hath ended the prophets, and the priests that took tithes, and the Jewish temple. And as for the 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. For the apostles denied the true priesthood and temple, which God had commanded, after Christ had put an end thereto. The Scriptures, and the truths therein contained, 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, and understand the Scriptures, and know God and Christ, and come to have unity with them, and one with another in the same Spirit. They went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their teacher and Saviour.

Next day we went to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting. The sessions being held that day, they were about to grant a warrant to send for me; but one Justice Stooks being at the sessions, stopped them, telling them there was a meeting at his house yesterday, at which were several thousands. So the warrant was stopped, and the meeting was quiet; and several received Christ Jesus their teacher, came into the new covenant, and abode in it.

From hence we went to Newbury, where we had a large, blessed meeting, and several were convinced. Then we passed to Reading, where we had a large, precious meeting in the Lord's power, amongst the

plants of God. Many of other professions came in, and were reached, and added to the meeting. All was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all. We went next to Kingston-on-thames, where a few came in to us that were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ: but it is since become a larger meeting.

Leaving Kingston, we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park, we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them, espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coachside; and some of his life-guards would have put me away, but he forbade them. So I rode by with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say 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 arrived at James's Park-gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. 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, till 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, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was 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 enlighteneth every man that cometh 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 lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus." Several times I spoke to him to the same effect. Now I was standing by the table, and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was; and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went away 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 great persons came about us; and one of them began to speak against the light, and against the truth; and I was made to slight him, for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Whereupon, one of them told me he was the Major-General; of Northamptonshire. "What!" said I, "our old persecutor, that 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 thee," said I. So I was moved to speak sharply to him of his unchristian carriage, and he slunk away: for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

Now, after I had visited the meetings of Friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot 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 having had several meetings in Lincolnshire, I had at last a

meeting where two knights, one called Sir Richard Wrey, and 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 over we passed away; and it being evening, and dark, a company of wild serving-men encompassed me about, with intent (as I apprehended) to do me some mischief. But I spoke aloud to them, and asked, "What are ye? highwaymen?" Whereupon some Friends and friendly people that were behind, came up to us, and knew some of them. So I reprov'd them for their uncivil and rude carriage, and 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: and the mayor of Huntingdon came to visit me, and was very loving, and his wife received the truth.

Thence I passed into Cambridgeshire, and the Fen-country, where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth spread. Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln) and Amor Stoddart, and Alexander Parker were with me. We went to Crowland, a very rude place; for the townspeople were collected 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." Whilst I was thus speaking to them, and showing the priest the fruits of his ministry, he and the clerk broke out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire shovel to us; so that had not the Lord's power preserved us, we might have been murdered amongst them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then, and have stood in it ever since.

Thence we passed to Boston, where most of the chief of the town came to our inn, and the people seemed 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 travelled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting Friends; and then returning 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 thither, and many Friends came far to it. The Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all; the 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 amongst them.

From hence I passed to Warwick and to Bagley, having precious meetings; and then into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Great

meetings we had up and down as we travelled. Then I went to Colonel Grimes's, where there was a very large meeting; and thence to Nathaniel Crips's, where came another justice to the meeting, who was also convinced. At Cirencester we had a meeting, which is since much increased; and so we came to Evesham again, where I met John Camm.

Thus having travelled over most part of the nation, I returned to London again, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Launceston jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over 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 the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us. For what Christ said of false prophets and anti-christs coming in the last days, 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 they. For when Christ told his disciples in the viith and xxivth of Matthew, that false prophets and anti-christs should come in the last times, and (if it were possible) should deceive the very elect; he said, 'By their fruits ye 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 ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now there are 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 John, 'we know it is the last time.' And this last time began above sixteen hundred years since. 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 abideth in you; and you need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things; and as it hath taught you, ye 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 says, 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 Corah'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; and these went forth 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 got 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 uncleanness; 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 hath been set up; and the whore is got up with her false prophets, and her cage hath been made, and all nations have drunk of her cup of fornication; the blood of the martyrs and saints they have drunk, and the true church hath fled into the wilderness; and all this since the apostles' days. Yet the blind deceivers, the antichrists and false prophets of our age, would make us and people believe, that the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers are come but now, though John and other of the apostles tell us they were come above sixteen hundred years ago. And ye 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, that have erred from the power and Spirit which the apostles were in, have coveted after other men's estates, the many jails, courts, and spoilings of goods will bear witness. And how the Corahs have gainsayed the life, power, and spirit, which the apostles and true church were in, and the free teaching of Christ and his apostles, and the work of their ministry, which was 'to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus,' hath been evident.

“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; which was to go over all nations, and be preached to every creature. For as the apostacy hath 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 got 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 hath the Lord 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 thousands 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 on 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 raised 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 had neglected the weightier matters;' and that Christ said, 'the scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's 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 such like they would bring to darken the minds of their hearers, 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 were fair glosses; here was a great heap of husks, but no kernel. Now this was their blindness; for the Levitical priesthood Christ hath ended, and disannulled the commandment that gave them tithes, and the law, by which those priests were made. Christ did not come after that order, neither did he send forth his ministers after that order; for those of that order were to take tithes for their maintenance; but his ministers he sent forth freely. And as for hearing that the Pharisees, and the Jews paid tithes of mint, anise, and cumin, that was before Christ was sacrificed and offered up; the Jews were then to do the law, and perform their offerings and sacrifices, which the Jewish priests taught them. But after Christ was offered up, he bid them then, '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 saith, 'I will be in you.' So he did not bid them go to hear the Pharisees then, and pay tithe of mint, anise, and cummin 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 thereof, to Christ, the one Offering, made once for them all of what work had the apostle with both 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,' etc, that was at the first spreading of Christ's name abroad, when they were in danger not only to be cast out of the synagogues, but to be stoned to death, that confessed the name of Jesus, as may be seen by the uproars that were among the Jews and Diana's worshippers at the preaching of Christ. So the apostle might well rejoice, if the envious, and men of strife and contention, preached Christ at that time, though they thought thereby to add affliction to his bonds; but afterwards, when Christ's name was spread abroad, and many had got a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof, 'envious, proud, contentious men, men of strife, covetous teachers for filthy lucre,' the apostles commanded the saints to turn from, and not 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 him for their



example. The apostle indeed was very tender to people, while he saw them walk in simplicity; as in the case of them 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 tender, lest their minds should 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 thereby, and 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 baptizing with water; but when he saw they began to make sects about it, some crying up Paul, others Apollos, 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 set up in the church 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, the spiritual baptiser, whom 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.<sup>62</sup>

“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.' Much work we had with the priests and professors about tins, and the several modes of receiving it in Christendom, so called; for some take it kneeling, and 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 hath 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 enjoin 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 till after Christ's death, tells the Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter: and he relates Christ's words concerning the cup thus; 'This do ye,' as oft as ye drink it, in 'remembrance of me:' and himself adds, 'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.' So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor he enjoined people to do this always; but leave it to their liberty (as oft as ye drink it, etc). Now the Jews used 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 also baptized 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

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62 For a full declaration of the doctrines of Friends as regards Baptism, “the sacrament of bread and wine,” etc, see Bates' *Doctrines*, Barclay's *Apology*, Joseph John Gurney's *Distinguishing Views of Friends*, and Jacob Post's *History and Mystery of those called the Sacraments*.

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 which should have redeemed Israel,' etc. 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 oft as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death [till he come]: 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 ye that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, and have your fellowships in that, will ye come no nearer to Christ's death, than to take bread and wine in remembrance of it? After ye have eaten in remembrance of his death, ye must come *into* his death, and *die* with him, as the apostles did, if ye 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 his death. You must have fellowship with Christ in his sufferings: if ye will reign with him, ye must suffer with him; if ye will live with him, ye must die with him; and if ye die with him, ye must be buried with him: and being buried with him in the true baptism, ye also rise with him. Then having suffered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if ye are risen with Christ, 'seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth 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, as says the apostle, '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 and partake of that, which 'cometh 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 oft as ye do it, etc. 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 being 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, a feeding on and having fellowship in that. For outward bread, wine, and water, are from below, visible and temporal: but saith 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 amongst them but Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

Thus were the objections, which the priests and professors had raised against Friends, answered and cleared; and the stumbling-blocks, which 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, their free teacher: which was the service for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my imprisonment in Launceston 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.

Now after I had visited most parts of the nation, and was come to London again, finding that evil spirit at work, which had drawn J. N. 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 the 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; lest ye 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 every one, it must bring every one to it, to bring them from the contrary. Let your moderation, and temperance, and patience be known unto all men in the Seed of God. For that which reacheth to the aggravating part without life, sets up the aggravating part, and breeds confusion; and hath a life in outward strife, but reacheth not to the witness of God in every one, through which they might come into peace and covenant with God, and fellowship one with another. Therefore that which reacheth this witness of God in yourselves, and in others, is the life and light; which will outlast all, is over all, and will overcome all. And therefore in the Seed of life live, which bruises the Seed of death.”

G. F.

I also wrote another short epistle to Friends, to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power; of which epistle a copy here follows:—

“Dear Friends,

“Keep your meetings in the power of the Lord, which is over all that is 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 that 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 the darkness was with all its works. In which light and life ye all may feel, and have the heavenly unity and peace, possessing the gospel fellowship, that is everlasting: which was before that, which doth 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, and life, and immortality, shining over that which darkens the mortal. So be faithful every one to God, in your measures of his power and life, that ye may answer God's love and mercy to you, as obedient children of the Most High; dwelling in love, unity, and peace, and in innocency 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 ye may feel his blessing among you, and be possessors thereof."

G. F.

About this time many mouths were opened in our meetings, to declare the goodness of the Lord, and 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 this in our meetings, I was moved to write an epistle to Friends, by way of advice in that matter. And thus it was:—

"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 ye have all unity in the same, feeling life and power. And above all things, take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings, except they be openly profane or rebellious, such as be out of the truth; that by the power, life, and wisdom ye may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such, whom ye bear your testimony against, are none of you: 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 be not moved against you. But when the meeting is done, 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. In this ye have order and edification, ye 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, ye keep down all that is wrong; and by it answer that of God in all. For ye will hear, see, and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is all in it (when ye 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: with that ye will hold back, and with that ye will let up, and open every spring, plant, and spark; in which will be your joy and refreshment in the power of God.

"Now ye that know the power of God, and are come to it, which is the cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state that Adam and Eve were in, in the fall, and so to the world; by this power of God ye come to see the state they were in before they fell; which power of God is the cross, in which stands the everlasting glory; which brings up into the righteousness, holiness, and image of God, and crucifies to the unrighteousness, unholiness, and image of Satan, that

Adam and Eve, and their sons and daughters, are in, in the fall. Through this power of God, ye come to see the state they were in before they fell; yea, I say, and to a higher state, to the Seed Christ, the second Adam, by whom all things were made. For man hath 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 they who come to the church, which is in God the Father of Christ, must come to God again; and so out of the state that Adam and Eve, and his children are in, in the fall, out of the image of God, of righteousness and holiness, and they must come into the righteousness, true holiness, and image of God; and so out of the earth, whither man hath 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 Saviour, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, and the Justifier; in and through whose power, light, and life, conversion, regeneration, and translation, are 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 in 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, in 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, in the fall, and cannot believe a possibility of coming into the state he was in before he fell, come not to the church, which is in God; but are far from that, and are not passed from death to life; but 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 in the fall; that through this power they might see to the beginning, the power that man was in before the heavenly image, and holiness, and righteousness was lost; by which power they might come 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 that man is in, in the fall, out of God's power; by which power he is made rich, and hath 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 ye may have been convinced, and tasted of tho power, and felt the light; yet afterwards ye 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 doth convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the summer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye sit still in the patience, which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no flying. The husbandman, after he hath sowed his seed, is patient. And by tho power, being kept in the patience, ye 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 standing still in

the light, ye will see your salvation, ye will see the Lord's strength, feel the small rain, and 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 ye 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 in that, the eternal power of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and keep you! Live every one in the power of God, that ye may all come to be heirs of that, and know it to be your portion; even the kingdom, that hath no end, and the endless life, which the Seed is heir of. Peel that set over all, which hath the promise and blessing of God for ever."

G. F.

About this time I received some lines from a high 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 hath imagined many ways, and all out of the light; which by the light are condemned. He who preached this light, said, 'He that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth us not: hereby know we the Spirit of Truth, and tho 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 thou tellest of. 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 they who are baptized into this principle of light; by which all the faithful servants of the Lord were ever guided in all ages, since the apostacy, and before. For the apostacy was and is from the light; and all that oppose the light are apostates. They 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 what form soever they are: yet are they 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 it; and so it ever was against the people of God, under what name soever. They only are saints by calling, who are called into the light; and sons of Sion, who 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 thou speakest 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 ye be obedient, fewer words and more life will be seen among you. Then ye will not count it straitness to silence the flesh, and hear what ho saith, who speaks peace, 'that his people turn no more to folly.' If ye 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 whereas thou sayest, 'The Spirit of truth affords nothing but endless varieties;' I say, the Spirit of truth thou knowest 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 colours is read nowhere, but in the unity of 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 labours: but when they are out of one form, get into another; so long as they can find a green tree without. Thus ye are kept at work all your life, and to the grave in sorrow, as the dumb priests, thou tellest of, have been before you: only ye have got a finer image, but less life. And thou, whose teaching hath no end, art in the horse-mill thou speakest of. I have read the epistles to Timothy, and to the Hebrews; and there I find the duty of all believers is, to see 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 his own destruction; but to the life cannot come? And for your two ordinances thou speakest of, I say, upon the same account ye 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. xxviii. 19, ye never had, nor its power; which was, 'to baptize into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' What Paul received of the Lord, that body, and that bread, ye know as little, but what ye have found in the chapter; nor the coming of Christ neither, who cannot believe Ids light. And whereas thou speakest of preaching Christ of envy, and pleadest for it; I say, such preachers we have enough of in these days. What else art thou doing, who sayest, Paul was sent to baptize; though Paul says he was not: and so thou wouldst prove him a liar, if any would believe thee before him. Thou sayest also, 'for ought thou knowest, he might baptize thousands.' Thou mightest as easily have said millions, and as soon have proved it. Thou mayest say the same of circumcision also, and on the same ground. As for the signs that followed those that believed, which thou sayest are ceased; I say, they who cannot receive the light cannot see the signs, nor could believe them if they should see them to carp at; no more than formerly they could do, who opposed the light in former ages. They cannot properly be said to cease to such, who never had them; but have only heard or read, that others long ago had them. But that the power, and signs, and presence of God is not the same that ever it was, in the measure, wherein he is received in the light, that I deny; and declare it to

be false, and from a spirit that knows not God, nor his power. And as for the gospel foundation thou speakest of, I say, it is to be laid again in all the world. Ye never were on it, since the man of sin set up his forms without power. Till ye can own the light of Christ, which the saints preached, and their life and practice; for shame cease to talk of their foundation, or glorious work, or quakings and tremblings, which are the saints' experiences, which the world knows not, nor can own: though ye cannot read that ever any came aright to declare how they knew God, or received his word, without them. In thy exhortation thou biddest me 'love Christ, wheresoever I see him:' but hadst thou told me where one might come to see him, or how one might know him, thou hadst showed more of a Christian in that, than in all thou hast spoken. But it seems, ye are not all of one mind: some of you say, 'he is gone, and will be no more seen, till doomsday but if ever ye come to see Christ to your comfort, while ye oppose his light, then God hath not spoken by me. This thou shalt remember, when thy time thou hast spent.'"

G. F.

Great opposition did the priests and professors make about this time against the light of Christ Jesus, denying it to be universally given; and against the pouring forth of the Spirit, and sons and daughters prophesying thereby. Much they laboured to darken the minds of people, that they might keep them still in a dependence on their teaching. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth 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 professors, priests, and teachers, who are in darkness, and know not the Spirit in prison, nor the light that shines in darkness, and which the darkness doth not comprehend; but are the infidels, whom the god of the world hath blinded, and to whom the gospel is hid. For though ye have the four books, yet the gospel is hid to you; who are now wondering at the work of God, and do not believe that Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world. I offer you 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. iii. 19. He that readeth, let him understand, whether this was a measure of the Spirit, yea or nay, or the Spirit without measure, which he ministered to?' For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him,' John iii. 34. Here Christ had not the Spirit given to him by measure. The apostle said, 'We will not boast of things without (or beyond) our measure.' 2 Cor. x. 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 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 xvi. 13, li. Mind, read, and learn; the Comforter shall receive of mine, saith Christ, and shall show it unto you: who hath the measure, receives of his who hath not by measure. The Comforter, when he comes, is to 'reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judg-



ment,' ver. 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, etc. The Comforter, whom Christ will send, takes of his, and shows it to the disciples; the same reproves the world. Mind now, whether this be a measure, yea or nay, which comes from him, who received not the Spirit by measure. He that leads the believer into all truth, reproves the unbeliever in the world, of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; so he that is led into all truth, sees that which is reproved, by the Spirit of Truth that leads him. Now Christ saith, 'He shall take of mine, and show it unto you.' Is this a measure, yea or nay, from him to whom God gave the Spirit not by measure?

“Again, the Lord said, both by his prophet, Joel ii. 28, and his apostle, Acts ii. 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 handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy.' Look, ye deceivers; here the Lord saith, he will pour out of his Spirit; mark the word, Of the Lord's Spirit upon all flesh. What! young men, old men, sons and daughters, and maidens, all these to have the Spirit of God poured forth upon them? Here, say they, these deny the means then: nay, that is the means. And the great and notable day of the Lord is coming, wherein it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. The God of the spirits of all flesh is known; 'And,' saith the apostle, who would not boast of things beyond his measure, 'that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them,' Rom. i. 19. By this which was of God manifest in them, they knew covetousness, maliciousness, murder, deceit, and ungodliness; and knew that the judgments of God were upon such things; and that they were worthy of death not only that did the same, 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,' etc. Now this of God manifest 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, yea or nay, which is of God, and which he hath 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 heart,' Rom. ii. 15. Mark, 'written!' Shall not this judge them that have the outward law, but are out of the life of it? The apostle saith, 'the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal' 1 Cor. xii. 7. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; but 'the manifestation of it is given to every man to profit withal.' 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 worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.' Mark that, to every man severally as he will.

“Again, the apostle saith, 'the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world,' Tit. ii. 11,12. Now ye, that turn this grace which bringeth salvation, into lasciviousness, deny it, and say, that which teacheth the saints, who by grace are saved, hath not appeared to all men. Jude saith, 'Behold, the Lord cometh 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 committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him, verse 15. Here mark again; him that cometh 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 ye all something in you, that doth reprove you for your hard speeches, and your ungodly deeds, the ungodliest of you all, who live in your hard speeches against him, and his light and spiritual appearance in his people?

“Again, the apostle, writing to the Gentiles, saith, 'But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ,' Eph. iv. 7. Now mark, here is the measure of the gift of Christ, 'who lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' John i. 9, 'that all men through him might believe. He that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned, etc. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world,' etc, John iii. 18, 19. Now every man that cometh 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 wrought in God; the other hates the light, 'because his deeds are evil;' and he will not bring his deeds to the light, because he knows the light will reprove him. So he that hates the light, wherewith Christ hath enlightened him, 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. xlix. 6. And what is that, which the children that walk 'according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,' Eph. ii. 2, are disobedient to? Mark, and read for yourselves, who being disobedient, walk according to the course of the 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 hath an ear, let him hear. The apostle saith to the Colossians, 'the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience,' Col. iii. 6. Come, ye professors, 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 hath shown them, which lets them see God's judgments are upon such, when they act unrighteously? Is not this the measure of God (mark), the Spirit that is in prison? and the Spirit of God that is grieved?

“And ye professors, come, let us read the parable of the talents, and reckon with you, and see

who it is that hath hid the Lord's money in the earth? Come, ye that have gained, enter ye into your master's joy. Go, thou that hast hid the Lord's money in the earth, into utter darkness; 'take it from him, and give it to him that hath;' every man shall have his reward. For the Lord hath given 'to every man according to his several ability,' Matt. xxv. 15; mark that, 'to every man according to his several ability?' read this, if you can. Now is the Lord coming to call every man severally to account, to whom he hath given severally according to his 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 hath 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,' saith 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 hath dealt to every man the measure of faith,' Rom. xii. 3. Read and mark, here is a measure of faith.

“‘And,’ saith another apostle, ‘as every one hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God,’ 1 Pet. iv. 10, ‘For the grace of God hath appeared unto all men.’ The good stewards can give their account with joy; but ye bad stewards, that turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, now ye will be reckoned withal; now ye shall have your reward. ‘But,’ say the world, ‘must every one minister as he hath received the gift?’ ‘Yea,’ say I, ‘but let him speak as the oracles of God; and let him do it as of the ability which God giveth,’ verse 11. John in the Revelation saith, ‘They were judged every man according to their works,’ Rev. xx. 13. Christ saith, ‘Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment,’ Matt. xii. 36. So ‘ye, that name the name of Christ, depart from iniquity,’ 2 Tim. ii. 19. ‘The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then he shall reward every one according to his works,’ Matt. xvi. 27. He who is gone into a far country, and hath given the talents to every one of you, according to your several ability, ‘will render to every man according to his deeds,’ Rom. ii. 6. ‘And further I say unto you, if any man have 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. viii. 9, 10. So let the light which cometh from Christ examine; for the Lord is appearing. Ye that have received according to your ability, smite not your fellow-servant; and think not that the Lord delayeth 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 hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ, Eph. iii. 9. Read and understand every one with the light which comes from Christ, the mystery, which will be your condemnation, if ye believe not in it. This is to all, who stumble at the work of the Spirit of God, the manifestation of it, ‘which is given to every man, to profit withal.’ Come, ye 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 seedsman. He that hath an ear, let him hear, Matt. xiii. Now look, all ye professors, what ground ye are? and what ye have brought forth? and whether the wicked seedsman hath not got his seed into your ground? 'He that hath an ear, let him hear. And come, read another parable, of the householder, hiring labourers to go into the vineyard, and agreeing with every man for a penny, Matt. xx. Every man is to have his penny, the last that went in, as well as the first; and the last shall be first, and the first shall be last; for many are called, but few are chosen. He that hath an ear, let him hear.' There is a promise spoken to Cain, that if he did well he should be accepted, Gen. iv. 7. And Esau had a birthright, but despised it. Yet it is 'not of him that willeth, Rom. ix. 16; 'but by grace ye are saved, Eph. ii. 8. And stand still, and see your salvation, Exod. xiv. 13. And ye that are children of light, put on the armour of light, that ye 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 fulness of Christ; that henceforth ye be no more children tossed to and fro, Eph. iv. 13. 'And 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—Him by whom the world was made. Now every one of you, mind the law 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 ye may witness the promise of God fulfilled in you.' But, say the world, and professors, 'if every one 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; and here is the way to the Father, without which no man cometh unto the Father. And here is the everlasting priesthood, the end of the old priesthood, whose lips were to preserve knowledge; but now, saith Christ, 'Learn of me; who is the high-priest of the new priesthood.' 'And,' saith the apostle, 'that ye may grow up in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in whom are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.' So we are brought off from the old priesthood that changed, to Christ, to the new priesthood, that changeth not; and off from the first covenant, that doth decay, to the everlasting covenant that doth not decay, Christ Jesus, the covenant of Light, from whom every one of you have a light, that ye might believe in the covenant of Light. If ye believe not, ye are condemned; for light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. 'I am come a light into the world,' saith Christ, 'that whosoever believeth in me, should not abide in darkness, but have the light of life,' John xii. 46. And, 'believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light. But ye who do not believe in the light, but hate it, because it manifests your deeds to be evil, ye are they that are condemned by the light. Therefore, while ye have time, prize it; seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; lest he say, 'time is past; for the rich glutton's time was past. Therefore, while time is not quite past, consider, search yourselves, and see if ye be not they that hate the light; and so are builders that stumble at the cornerstone; 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,'

saith Christ, 'who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world;' and he also saith, 'learn of me;' and of him God saith, 'this is my beloved Son, hear ye him.' Here is your teacher. But ye 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 lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and 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 it will reprove him, that is his condemnation; and he shall have a reward according to his deeds. For the Lord is come to reckon with you. He looks for fruits; 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.”

G. F.

Having stayed some time in London, and visited the meetings of Friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I travelled into Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, visiting Friends, amongst whom I had great meetings; and many times met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors; but the Lord's power went over them.

We staid one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting, and the people were exceedingly rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. After it we went to our inn, and gave notice that any that feared God might come to us: and there came abundance of rude people, the magistrates of the town also, and some professors. I declared the truth unto them; and those of the people that behaved rudely, the magistrates put out of the room. When they were gone, there came another rude company of professors, and some of the chief of the town. They called for faggots and drink, though we forbade them; and were as rude a people as ever I met with. The Lord's power chained them, that they had not power to do us any mischief; but when they went away, they left all their faggots and beer which they had called for into the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We showed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was, but he told us, “we must pay it;” and we did. Before we left the town, I wrote a paper to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priest, showing them and him how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil conduct to strangers that sought their good.

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town; where they had formerly very much abused Friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet, for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of it I was moved to put off my hat, and pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report, that “I put off my hat to them, and bid them good night,” which was never in my heart. After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I sent for the innkeeper (as I used to do), and he came into the room to us, and showed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bid him go out of the

chamber, and told him he should not drink there, for we sent for him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good. He was exceedingly mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeness, and would not be gone, I told him the chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it, and I called for the key. Then he went away in great rage. In the morning he would not be seen; but I told his wife of his unchristian and rude behaviour towards us.

After this we came to Bridport, having meetings in the way. We went to an inn, and sent into the town for such as feared God; and there came a shopkeeper, a professor, and put off his hat to us, and seeing we did not the same to him again, but said Thou and Thee to him, he told us, "he was not of our religion;" and after some discourse with him he went away. Then he went and stirred up the priest and magistrates against us, and after a while sent to the inn to desire us to come to his house, for there were some that would speak with us, he said. Thomas Curtis was with me, and he went to the man's house; where, when he came, the man had laid a snare for him, for he had got the priest and magistrate thither, and they boasted much that they had caught George Fox, taking him for me. When they perceived their mistake, they were in great rage; 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 was come back, and we were passing out of the town, some of them came to us, and said, "the officers were coming to fetch me;" but the Lord's power came over them all, so that they had not 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 there is there.

Passing hence we visited Portsmouth and Poole, 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 thence came through Dorchester to Lyme, where the inn we went to was taken up with mountebanks, 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 medicinal things, and sent them to the mountebanks; letting them know, "if they would not answer them, we would stick them on the cross 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 queries 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 travelled to Exeter; and at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire; to which came Humphrey Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis<sup>63</sup> from the Land's End, Henry Pollexfen, and Friends from Plymouth, Elizabeth

<sup>63</sup> John Ellis, who is only twice mentioned in this journal, was an able gospel minister, preaching in the authority of divine life, to the reaching of God's witness in many hearts. His doctrine was sound, flowing from the living fountain and divine spring of life and heavenly wisdom. His preaching was full of reproof and caution, but in that meekness which made it edifying. Whilst tender of the good in all, he was terrible against the workers of iniquity. He was a man of great kindness, a visitor of the widows and fatherless in their distress, feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, according to his ability. He laboured greatly in the gospel in several counties, often saying, "His Father's business must not be neglected, or done negligently." As he was travelling in the service of Truth, he was taken ill, and died in great peace in

Trelawny, and divers other Friends. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said, "that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about, 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.

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 down; so the Lord crossed them in their design, and Friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some Friends after I was gone, "what they did there;" but when they told them they were in their inn, and had business in the city, they went away without meddling any further with them.

From Exeter I took meetings as I went, till I came to Bristol, and was at the meeting there. After which I did not stay in the town, but passed into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone. Thence going to Cardiff, a justice of the 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 up to him, and he and his wife received us very civilly. The next day we had a meeting at Cardiff in the town-hall, and that justice sent about seventeen of his family to the meeting. There came some disturbers, but the Lord's power was over them, and many were turned to the Lord. To some that had run out with James Naylor, and did not come to meetings, I sent word, that "the day of their visitation was over," and they never prospered after.

We travelled from Cardiff to Swansea, where we had a blessed meeting; and a meeting was settled there in the name of Jesus. In our way thither we passed over in a boat, with the high-sheriff of the county, and next day I went to speak with him, but he would not admit me.

"We went to another meeting in the country, where the Lord's presence was much with us. Thence to a great man's house, who received us very lovingly; but next morning he would not be seen; one that in the mean time had come to him, had so estranged him, that we could not get to speak with him again.

We still passed on through the countries, having meetings and gathering people, in the name of Christ, to Him their heavenly teacher, till we came to Brecknock; where we set up our horses at an inn. There went with me Thomas Holmes and John-ap-John, who was moved of the Lord to "speak in the streets." I walked out a little into the fields, and when I came in again, 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 much discourse we had. After a while they went away; but towards night the magistrates gathered together in the streets, with a multitude of people, and they bid them shout, and gathered up the town; so that for about two hours together, there was such a noise, that the like we had not heard; and the magistrates set them on to shout again, when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar, which we read was amongst Diana's craftsmen. This tumult continued till night; and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they seemed likely to have pulled down the house, and us to pieces.

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1707, saying, "I am ready, for I have a sure foundation."

At night, the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room, but we discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under pretence of discoursing with us. We told her, no persons should come into our room that night, neither would we go to them. Then she said, we should sup in another room; but we told her we would have no supper, if not in our own room. At length, when she saw she could not get us out, she brought lip our supper in a great rage. So she and they were crossed in their design, for they had an intent to do us mischief; but the Lord God prevented them. Next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchristian conduct, showing the fruits of their priests and magistrates; and as I passed out of the town I spoke to the people, and told them, 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 their objections (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 Saviour, 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.” A peaceable meeting we had; many were convinced and settled in the truth that day. After it, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other justice's house; and he 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 were not turned to the Spirit, which should let them see that, which gave them forth, the Spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

From hence we passed to Richard Hamborow's, at Pontemoil, where was a great meeting; to which came another justice of peace, and several great people, whose understandings were opened by the Lord's Spirit and power, and they were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, from whence it came. A great convincement there was; a large meeting was gathered in those parts, and settled in the name of Jesus.

After this we returned to England, and came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting, and visited Friends all over the countries in their meetings, till we came to William Gaudy's, in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of between two and three thousand people, as it was thought; 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 fell so great a rain, that Friends said, they thought we could not travel, the waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had not extended so far, as they had come that day to the meeting. Next day in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the roads were dusty, and no rain had fallen there.

When Oliver Cromwell sent forth a proclamation for a fast throughout the nation, for rain, when there was a very great drought, it was observed, that as far as truth had spread in the north, there were



pleasant showers and rain enough, when in the south, in many places, they were almost spoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the Protector's proclamation, wherein I told him, "if he had come to own God's truth, he should have had rain; and that drought was a sign unto them of their barrenness, and want of the water of life." About the same time was written the following paper, to distinguish between 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 hath a 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 fists of wickedness; which fast is not required of the Lord. 'Behold, in the day of your fast, you find pleasure, and exact all your labours. Behold (mark, take notice), ye fast for strife and debate and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice heard on high. Is it such a fast, that I have chosen, saith 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 and ashes under him? Wilt thou 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 be heard on high? But this fast is not accepted of the Lord: but that which leads you from strife, from debate, from wickedness; which is not to 'bow down the head, as a bulrush for a day,' and yet live in exacting and pleasure; this is not accepted of the Lord: but that which separates from all these before-mentioned. That which separates from 'wickedness, debate, strife, pleasures, smiting with the fist 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, and the heavy burthens 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; who 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; these 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 seeth in secret; the Father that seeth 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 clothe thine own flesh when thou seest them naked; to bring the poor to thine house, and to loose the bonds of wickedness;' mark, this is the fast; and

'to undo every heavy burthen (mark again), and to let the oppressed go free;' this is the fast: and 'to break every yoke.' When thou observest this fast, 'then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am: if thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light arise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day.' The light brings to know this fast; and walking in it this fast is kept: and he that believeth in the light, abides not in darkness. And again; 'the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not,' Isa. lviii. 11. These are they that are guided by the light which comes from Christ, where the springs are.

“And again; 'they that shall be of thee (that keep this fast), shall build the old waste places, and thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of the breach, The restorer of the paths to dwell in,' Isa. lviii. 12. Now that which gives to see the foundations of many generations, is the light which separates from all, which is out of the light: and they that go out of the light, though they may pretend a fast, and bow down the head for a time, yet they are far from this fast, that doth raise up the foundations of many generations, and is the repairer of the breach, and restorer of the paths to dwell in. That which doth give to see these foundations 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, debate, strife, 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, and righteousness goes forth; the glory of the Lord is the reward, and the light riseth; 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 foundations of many generations come 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 as are in fasts, where was strife, wickedness, debate, and bowing down the head like a bulrush for a day, lifting their voice on high, and the bonds of wickedness yet standing, and the burthens unloosed, and the oppressed not let go free, and the yoke not broken, the nakedness not clothed, the bread not dealt to the hungry, and these foundations 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 muttered perverseness. 'None calleth for justice, nor do 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 eateth 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.' Observe; '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 goeth therein shall not know peace mark; such go from the light, therefore is judgment far off; neither doth justice overtake. Here is obscurity, walking in darkness; groping like blind men, as though they had no eyes, and 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 are the multiplying of transgression, and their sins testifying against them; 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, that 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. Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil makes himself a prey. The Lord saw it, and it displeased him. These are such as are in the fast, which God doth not accept; 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 winch gives to know the true fast, and the false fast, is the Light, which gives the eye to see each fast, where the true judgment is, and the iniquity standeth not, nor the transgressor, nor the speaker of lies; but that is judged and condemned with the Light, which makes it manifest. And when they who are in this fast 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, whose tongues utter perverse things, who 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;—these going from the light, go from the Lord and his face. So this is it which must be fasted from; for it separates from God; and here comes the reward openly, which condemns all that is contrary to the light; injustice, iniquity, transgression, vanity, and that which bringeth forth mischief, which hatcheth the cockatrice-eggs, and weaves the spider's web: he that eateth 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 out of 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 are 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 go therein, shall not know peace.' Mark; who go 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 manifesteth 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, stumbling and groping like blind men, may mark their path, and behold their reward. They that are in the true fast, are separated from all these; from their words and actions, their fruits, and their fast: but of 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 the reward."

G. F.

We passed into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer, for multitudes. I walked a little aside, whilst the people were gathering; and there came to me John-ap-John, a Welshman, whom I desired to go to the people; and if he had anything upon him from the Lord to them, he might speak to them in Welsh, and thereby gather them more together. Then came Morgan Watkins<sup>64</sup> to me, who was then become loving to Friends, and said, "the people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country are come in." I bid him go up also, 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 about three hours. I stood a while before I began to speak; after some time I felt the power of the Lord over the whole assembly; and his everlasting life and truth shone over all. The Scriptures were opened to them, and their objections answered. "They were directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might all see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and come to feed on him, the bread of life from heaven." Many were turned to the Lord Jesus, and his free teaching that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; so that though the multitude was so great, that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition. A priest who sat with his wife on horseback, heard attentively, and made no objection. The people parted peaceably and quietly, with great satisfaction; many of them saying they never heard such a sermon before, or 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

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64 Morgan Watkins, who is only mentioned in this place, became a sufferer for the truth. About eight years from the above date, we find him in the Gatehouse prison, near Westminster abbey, with nineteen others on the same account, being committed by warrant from the Duke of Albemarle, "for being at a meeting in St. John's." This was during the time the plague visited London. In Barclay's Letters of Early Friends, are two from Morgan Watkins, one of them dated from the Gatehouse prison, in which he says, "Blessed be His name who hath kept me, and nineteen more in this close place, all in health, above these five weeks; notwithstanding three have been buried out of this prison of the sickness.—Good is the hand of the Lord to his own, whose death is gain."

In a letter written about three months after the above, he mentions the release of himself and Friends, and adds, "I have been weak since I came out into the air, but through the great love of my God, I am wonderfully preserved, to the praise of his name. But the two imprisonments in Newgate, and the one at the Gatehouse, have much weakened my body, in which I have had several battles with death; but the power of my God arising, gave me dominion over the distemper and weakness of the flesh. The day was dreadful to all flesh, and few were able to abide it, and stand in the judgment; but the Lord was very merciful to the remnant of his people, and his blessed seed is arising in many."

was set forth, and the apostacy laid open; and the free teaching of Christ and the apostles was set over the hireling teachers;" and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to him that day.

I went back thence to Leominster, where was a great meeting in a field; many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six congregational preachers and priests among them; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, but was now become a minister of Christ, was with me. 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 them, and bound them down. At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me, drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After a while Thomas Taylor was moved to go and speak to him: and he gave over; and he, and the people he had drawn off, came to us again; and the Lord's power went over them all. At last a Baptist, that was convinced, said, "Where's priest Tombs? how chance he doth not come out?" This Tombs was priest of Leominster. Hereupon some went and told the priest; who came with the bailiffs and other officers of the town. When he was come, they set him upon a stool over against me. Now I was speaking of the heavenly, divine light of Christ, with which he "enlightens every one that cometh into the world, to give them the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus their Saviour." 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 I asked the priest whether he affirmed that that was a created, natural, made light, which John, a man that was sent from God, did bear witness to, and spoke of, when he said, "In him (to wit, in the Word) was life, and that life was the light of men," John i. 4. "Dost thou affirm and mean," said I, "that this light here spoken of, was a created, natural, made light?" And 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 dost thou affirm," 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, "Didst thou not say it was a natural, created, made light, that John bore witness unto? If thou dost not like thy words, take them again and mend them." Then he said, "That light which I spoke of, was a natural, created light." I told him, "he had not at all mended his cause; 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 (to wit, the Word) was life, and that life was the light of men.'" So "I directed the people to turn to the place in their Bibles, and recited to them the words of John, how that '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 lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'" And Christ saith of himself, John viii. 12, "I am the light of the world;" and bids them "believe in the light," John xii. 36. And God said of him by the prophet Isaiah, chap. xlix. 6, "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest 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;" and that was their "treasure in their earthen vessels," 2 Cor. iv. 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," said I, "Priest Tombs, deceive not thyself, thou art not in thy pulpit now, nor in thy old mass-house; but we are in the fields." So he was shuffling to be gone; and Thomas Taylor stood up, and undertook to make out our principle by Christ's parable concerning the sower, Matt. xiii. Then said the priest, "Let that man speak, and not the other." So he got into a little jangling for a while; till the Lord's power stopped and confounded him. Afterwards a Friend stood up and told him, how he had sued him for tithe eggs, and other Friends for other tithes; for he was an Anabaptist preacher, and yet had a parsonage at Leominster, and had several journeymen under him. He said "he had a wife, and he had a concubine; and his wife was the baptized people, and his concubine was the world." But the Lord's power came over him and them all, and the everlasting truth was declared that day; and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher and way to God. Of great service that meeting was in those parts. Next day Thomas Taylor went to this priest, and reasoned with him; and overcame him by the power of the Word.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby; where, as I rode up the street, a justice of peace came out of his house, desired me to alight, and stay at his house; and I did so. On First-day the mayor and his wife, and several of the chief of the town, came in about ten, and stayed all the time of the meeting. A glorious one it was. John-ap-John being then with me, left it, and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On the Second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. So the mayor and the justice went up to the governor before me; and a while after I went up 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, "Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather." "These are frivolous things," said the governor. "Why then," said I, "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?" Then he asked me, whether I owned election and reprobation; "Yes," said I, "and thou art in the reprobation." At that he was in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it; but I told him I would prove that quickly, if he would confess truth. Then 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. Then 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 and came over him, that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came, 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 dine 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 divers other Friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; 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 Saviour and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power, and the Lord had the glory. A meeting continues in that town to this day.

We travelled to Pembrokeshire, and in Pembroke had some service for the Lord. Thence we passed to Haverford-west, where we had a great meeting, and all was quiet. The Lord's power came over all, and many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon him, their rock and foundation; and they stand a precious meeting to this day. Next day, being their fair-day, we passed through it, and “sounded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth amongst them.”

After this we came into another county, and at noon came into a great market-town, and went into 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 being with me, went and spoke through the town, declaring the truth to the people; and when he came to me again, he said he thought all the town were as people asleep. After a while he was moved to go and declare truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and cast him into prison. Presently after, several of the chief of the town came, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, “They have cast your man into prison.” “For what?” said I, “He preached in our streets,” said they. Then 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 and justices, and the mayor. I asked their names, and whether they understood themselves? and whether that was their conduct to travellers that passed through their town, and strangers that admonished and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reproved sin in their gates? These went hack, and told the officers what I said; and after a while they brought down John-ap-John, guarded with halberts, in order to put him out of the town. Being at the inn door, I bid the officers take their hands off 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, concerning their uncivil and unchristian carriage towards him. So 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 them the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian-like carriage, they left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bid the innkeeper give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs, than the oats were stolen from our horses. After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and were ready, we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them, and asked them why they had imprisoned John-ap-John, and kept him in prison two or three hours? But they would not answer me a word; they only looked out at the windows upon me. So I showed them how unchristian their carriage was to strangers and travellers, and manifested the fruits of their teachers; and I declared the truth unto them, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all evildoers; and the Lord's power came over them, that they looked ashamed; but not a word could I get from them in answer. So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we passed away; and at night came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision and our two horses, cost but eightpence; 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.

Thence, we came to a great town, and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the truth amongst the people; and they followed him to the inn, and filled the yard, and were exceedingly rude; yet good service we had for the Lord amongst them; for the life of Christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced; and the Lord's power came over all. The magistrates were bound; they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we came to another great town on a market-day; and John-ap-John declared the everlasting truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord amongst them. In the evening many people gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us into the street again; but seeing their design, I told them, if there were any that feared God, and desired to hear the truth, they might come into our inn; or else we might have a meeting with them next morning. Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night and in the morning; and though the people were hard to receive the truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to himself. In that inn also I turned but my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse; and looking round again, I observed he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food. I would rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town and travelling on, a great man overtook us on the way, and he purposed (as he told us afterwards) to take us up at the next town for highwaymen. 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 therewith, that he had us to his house, and entertained us very civilly. He and his wife desired us to give them some Scriptures, both for proof of our principles and against the priests. We were glad of the service, and furnished them 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 our journey, and as we travelled 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 great way. And I was moved to set 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 he took note of, and a great people have since been raised up there. The like I have been moved to do in many other rude places; and yet I have been moved to declare the Lord had a seed in those parts, and afterwards there have 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 Dolgelly, and went to an inn. John-ap-John declared through the streets, and the town's people rose and gathered about him. There being two Independent priests in the town, they came out and discoursed with him together. I went up 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, and spoke not 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, that I might discourse with them, and they did so. They affirmed, "that the light which John came to bear witness of, was a created,



natural, made light.” But 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 bare witness to, and which he called 'the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh 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; and this is a heavenly divine light, which lets men see their evil words and deeds, shows them all their sins, and, if they would attend unto 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, shone in the darkness of 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 Saviour. Then 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 thereunto. I directed them to that which would give every one of them the knowledge of Christ, who died for them, that he might be their way to God, and make peace between God and them.” The people were attentive, and I spoke to 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 all the while, for I had brought them to be sober at the first, by telling them that “when they speak 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, and many of the people accompanied us to our inn, and rejoiced in the truth that had been declared unto them; that they were 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 hath thereaway, and many people in those parts are since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit down under his free teaching; and they have suffered much for him.

From hence we passed to Caernarvon, a city like a castle. When we had put up our horses at an inn, and refreshed ourselves, John-ap-John went forth, and spoke through the streets; which were so strait and short, that one might stand in the midst of the town and see both the gates. I followed him, and a multitude of people were soon gathered; amongst 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 amongst 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 come off from them all, to Christ, the true and living way, and the free teacher.” Some of them were rude, but the greater part were civil, and told us they had heard how we had been persecuted and abused in many places, but they would not do so 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 unto them, “that Christ was now come to teach his people himself, by his Spirit and by his power.”

From hence we went to Beaumaris; a town wherein John-ap-John had formerly been preacher. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went forth and spoke through the street; and there being a garrison in the town, they took 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 already; and had acted contrary to Christianity in imprisoning him for reproofing sin in their streets and for declaring the truth. Soon after came other friendly people, and told me, if I went out into the street they would imprison me also; and therefore they desired me to keep at the inn. Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down the streets; and told the people, "what an uncivil and unchristian thing they had done, in casting my friend into prison." And, they being high professors, I asked them, "if this was the entertainment they had for strangers; if they would willingly be so served themselves; and whether they, who looked upon the Scriptures to be their rule, had any example therein from Christ or his apostles, for what they had done?" So after a while they set John-ap-John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross a great water: and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us; amongst whom we had good service for the Lord, declaring the word of life and everlasting truth unto them, and proclaiming the day of the Lord amongst them, which was coming upon all wickedness; and directing them to the light of Christ, which he had enlightened them with? by which they might see all their sins, and false ways, religions, worships, and teachers: and by the same light might see Christ Jesus, who was come to save them, and lead them to God. After the Lord's truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free teacher set over all the hireling teachers, I bid John-ap-John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild gentlemen, as they called them, got into it, whom we found very rude, and far from gentleness, they, with others, kept his horse out of the boat. I rode to the boat's side and spoke to them, showing them "what unmanly and unchristian conduct it was; and told them they showed an unworthy spirit, below Christianity or humanity." As I spoke, I leaped my horse into the boat amongst them, thinking John's horse would have followed, when he had seen mine go in before him; but the water being deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water, and stayed with John on that side till the boat returned. There we tarried from eleven in the forenoon, to two in the afternoon, before the boat came to fetch us; and then we had forty-two miles to ride that evening: and when we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat left between us in money. We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-house, where we intended to stay and bait; but finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled on all night; and about five in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham; where that day we met with many Friends, and had a glorious meeting; and the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all: and a meeting is continued there to this day. Very weary we were with travelling so hard up and down in Wales; and in many places we found it difficult to get meat either for our horses or ourselves.

Next day we passed thence into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild, and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had: yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me, if

she should cut my hair: but 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: and afterwards in her frothy mind, she made her boast that “she came behind me and cut of the curl of my hair;” but she spoke falsely.

From Wrexham we came to Chester; and being the fair time, we stayed a while, and visited Friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales, I wrote to the magistrates of Beaumaris concerning the imprisoning of John-ap-John; letting them see their conditions, and the fruits of their Christianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with some of them near London; but oh how ashamed they were of their action!

From Chester we came to Liverpool, where was at that time a fair also. As I rode through the fair, there stood a Friend upon the cross, declaring the truth to the people: who seeing me ride by, and knowing I had appointed a meeting next day upon a hill not far off, gave notice to the people “that George Fox, the servant of the Lord, would have a meeting next day upon such hill; and if any feared the Lord, they might come and hear him declare the word of life to them.” We went that night to Richard Cubban's, who himself was convinced, though not his wife; but at that time she became convinced also.

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 a while, but the Lord's power came over them, the meeting became quiet, and the truth of God was declared amongst them. Many were that day settled upon the rock and foundation of 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 Malpas. Thence we came to another place, where we had another meeting. There came a bailiff with a sword, and was rude: but the Lord's power came over him, and Friends were established in the truth.

Thence we came to Manchester; and the sessions being there that day, many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, stones, and water: yet the Lord's power bore me up over them, 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 thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people, plucked me down, and haled me up into their court. When I came there, all the court was in disorder and noise. Wherefore I asked, where were the magistrates that they did not keep the people civil? Some of the justices said they were magistrates. I asked them, why then they did not appease the people, and keep them sober? for one cried, “I'll swear,” and another cried, “I'll swear.” I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, and clods, dirt, and water; and how I was hauled out of the meeting, and brought thither, 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. So the truth came over them, that when one of the rude

fellows cried “he would swear,” one of the justices checked him, saying, “What will you swear? hold your tongue.” At last they bid the constable take me to my lodging; and there be secured till morning, till they sent for me again. So the constable had me to my lodging; and as we went the people were exceedingly rude; but I let them see “the fruits of their teachers, and how they shamed Christianity, and dishonoured the name of Jesus, which they professed.” At night we went to a justice's house in the town, who was pretty moderate; and I had much discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had anything more to say to us. And he sent us word “he had nothing to say to us, but that we might go whither we would.” The Lord hath 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, till 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 meeting with Judge Pell, told him I was mightily grown in the truth; when indeed he was come nearer to the truth, and so could better discern it.

We came from Lancaster to Robert Widders's. On the First-day after I had a general meeting near Sand-side, of Friends of Westmorland and Lancashire, when 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 thereaways. 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 for ever!

## CHAPTER XI.

*1657.—Exhortation to Friends to take heed to the Light of Christ—an expostulation with persecutors—to Friends to be valiant for the truth—in parts of Cumberland the priests are so forsaken that some steeple-houses stand empty—John Wilkinson, the priest, is so deserted, that he sets up a meeting in his own house—then a silent meeting, and at last joins Friends, and becomes an able minister—George Fox travels into Scotland with Col. Osburn and Robert Widders—the latter was a thundering man against the rottenness of the priests' hypocrisy and deceit—Lady Hamilton is convinced—the Scotch priests raise the war-cry, and draw up their curses, which George Fox answers—they are in a rage and panic when he comes there, thinking “that all was gone”—some Baptists, with their logic and syllogisms, are confuted by George Fox's logic—he is banished Scotland by the council, but disregards their order—George Fox and William Osburn are waylaid by thieves, who are admonished by the former, and overawed by the Lord's power—the Highlanders run at them with pitchforks—at Johnstons they are banished the town—on hearing that the council of Edinburgh had issued warrants against him,*

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 ye love it, will call your minds inward, that are abroad in the creatures: 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 creatures. 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 above. That which calls the mind out of the world, will give judgment upon the world's affections and lusts, and is the same that calls out your minds from the world's teachers, and the creatures, to have your minds renewed. There is your obedience known and found; there the image of God is renewed in you; and ye 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. These babes and children receive their wisdom from above, from the pure living God, and not from the earthly one: for that is trodden under foot with such. All who hate this light, whose minds are abroad in the creatures, in the earth, and in the image of the devil, get the words of the saints, that received their wisdom from above, into the old nature, and their corrupted minds. Such are murderers of the just, enemies to the cross of Christ, in whom the prince of the air lodgeth: sons of perdition, betrayers of the just. Therefore take heed to that light, which is oppressed with that nature; which light, as it arises, shall condemn all that cursed nature, shall turn it out, and shut it out of the house: and so ye will come to see the candle lighted, and the house sweeping and swept. Then the pure pearl ariseth; then the eternal God is exalted. The same light that calls in your minds out of the world, turns them to God, the Father of lights. Here in the pure mind is the pure God waited upon for wisdom from above; 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 hearken to that, and 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, which calls in your minds, and turns them to God; here is the true cross. That mind shall feed upon nothing that is earthly; but be kept in the pure light of God 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 God, 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, which 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, and 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 ye well, and God Almighty bless, and guide, and keep you in his wisdom.”

G. F.

About this time Friends, that were moved of 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. Wherefore I was moved to give forth the following expostulation, to be spread amongst people, to show them, how contrary they acted therein to the apostles' doctrine and practice, and to bring them to more moderation. Thus it was:—

“Is it not better for you, that have cast into prison the servants and children of the Lord God, for speaking as they are 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 honour and credit, to prove all things, and try all things, than to pluck down in the steeple-houses, and pull off the hair of their heads, and cast them into prison? Is this an honour to your truth and gospel you profess? Doth it not show that ye are out of the truth, and are not ready to instruct the gainsayers? Hath not the Lord said, 'He will pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and his daughters shall prophesy; 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 past ages stood against by the wise learned men in their own wisdom, and by the synagogue teachers? Were not those haled out of the synagogues and temples, who witnessed the Spirit poured forth upon them? Doth not this show, that ye have not received the pourings forth of this 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? Doth not this show, that ye, 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 forth upon sons and daughters,' by which Spirit they come to 'minister to the spirits that are in prison?' The Lord hath a controversy with you, who are found prisoning and persecuting such as the Lord hath poured forth of his Spirit upon. Do not your fruits show, in all the nation where ye come; in towns, cities, villages, and countries, that ye are the seedsmen made by the will of man, who sow to the flesh, of which nothing but corruption is reaped? Ye 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 ye are all the seedsmen that have sown to the flesh. Mark, and of this take notice, ye who are of that birth that is born of the

flesh, sow to your own, persecuting him that is born of the Spirit. Sow to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reap life eternal; such ye cast into prison. Do ye not hale out of the synagogues, persecute and beat in them, 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 them, for but looking at the priest, and after cast into prison? Doth not all this make manifest what spirit ye 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 fulness of bread and idleness; such as defile the flesh: such did God overthrow and destroy, and set them forth as examples to all them that after should live ungodly. But are not the fruits of this reaped in every town? Cannot we hence see, that here is sowing to the flesh? Again, what scorning and scoffing, what mocking, derision, and strife! What oaths and drunkenness, uncleanness and cursed speaking! What lust and pride are seen in the streets! These fruits we see are reaped of the flesh. So here we see the 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 eternal life. These discern the other seedsman, who sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. For the day hath manifested each seedsman, and what is reaped from each is seen; glory be to the Lord God for ever! The ministers of the Spirit, who are born of the Spirit, sons and daughters, who have the Spirit poured forth upon them, and witness the promise of God fulfilled in them, by the Spirit of God preach and minister to the Spirit in prison in every one, 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 respected the persons of the proud (such as are in gay apparel); and lend not your ear to the cry of the poor. The Lord's hand is turned against you, and his righteous judgment and justice upon you will be accomplished and repaid: who shall have a reward, every one according to his works.

“O! the abomination, the hypocritical profession that is upon the earth, where God and Christ, Faith, Hope, the Holy Spirit, and truth are professed; but the fear of God, and the faith that purifies and gives victory over the world, are not lived in! Doth it not appear, that the wisdom that 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; that their understanding is brutish, and their knowledge natural, as the brute beasts? For 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 'lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' Christ Jesus, the righteousness of God; which being owned, self, and the righteousness of self, come to be denied. Here is the humility that is contrary to the light, that is from below and feigned: here is the wisdom that is earthly,

sensual, and devilish; for people can scarce speak one to another, without destroying one another, prisoning and persecuting one another, when they speak of the Scriptures. Now, 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, which hath each wisdom. He that sows to the flesh, and is born of that, hath the wisdom that is earthly, sensual, and devilish; he that sows to the Spirit, a minister of the Spirit, hath 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 seeds-man; the day, which is the light, hath discovered them.”

G. F.

I was also moved 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 doth 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 judge Christ hard.

“Now, happy are they that can say, 'the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and he gives the increase and 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, ye 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 hath 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 counsellors. 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 counsellors, that Satan shall not hold sin by entail in thy garden, in thy field, in thy temple, thy tabernacle. So keep your tabernacles, that there ye may see the glory of the Lord appear at the doors thereof. And be faithful; for ye see, what the worthies and valiants of the Lord attained 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 also how Samuel, with other of the Lord's prophets, and David, by faith were preserved to God, over God's 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 travelled 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, nor heights, nor depths, nor death, mockings, nor spoiling of goods, nor 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 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 reproved; and there were some in Moses's day, who would have stopped the prophets in the camp, whom Moses reproved, 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 ye, 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, nor the sighs and groans of the Spirit, which cannot be uttered, lest ye judge prayer; for prayer as well lies in sighs and groans to the Lord as otherwise. Let not the sons and daughters, nor the hand-maidens 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 every one may improve his talents, every one exercise his gifts, and every one speak as the Spirit gives him utterance. Thus every one may minister as he hath received the grace, as a good steward to him that hath 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 every one to profit withal.' See, that every one hath profited in heavenly things: male and female, look into your own vineyards, and see what fruit ye bear to God; look into your own houses, see how they are decked and trimmed, and see what odours, myrrh, and frankincense ye have therein, and what a smell and savour ye have to ascend to God, that he may be glorified. Bring all your deeds to the light, which ye 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, 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, amongst 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 ye call him Lord, in which ye 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,*

*“Postscript—And, Friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the tender plants, that are springing up out of God's earth; lest ye tread upon them, hurt, bruise, or crush them in God's vineyard.”*

After I had tarried two First-days at Swarthmore, and had visited Friends in their meetings thereabouts, I passed into Westmorland, in the same work, till I came to John Audland's, where there was a general meeting. The night before I had a vision of a desperate creature, that was coming to destroy me, but I got victory over it. And next day in meeting time came one Otway, with some rude fellows. He rode round about the meeting with his sword or rapier, and would fain have got in through the Friends to me; but the meeting being great, the Friends stood close, so that he could not easily come at me. When he had rode about several times raging, and found he could not get in, being limited by the Lord's power, he went away. It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all. 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 acknowledged something of it.

From hence, I went through Kendal, where a warrant had long lain to apprehend me; and the constables seeing me, ran to fetch their warrant, as I was riding through the town; but before they could come with it, I was gone past, and so escaped their hands.

I travelled northwards, visiting Friends' meetings, till I came to Strickland-head, 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 unto them; and a chief-constable, that was there, also admonished them. Our meeting was quiet, and the Lord was with us; and by his word and power, Friends were settled in the eternal truth.

From hence we passed into Cumberland, where we had many precious living meetings. After we had travelled 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; so we had a meeting there on 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, a great people would come forth to the Lord; which hath since come to pass, and a large meeting is gathered to the Lord in those parts.

I passed hence 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,<sup>65</sup> a preacher, I have often named before, who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left, that, giving over preaching in them, 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 came a few; for most of his hearers were come to Friends. Thus he held on till he had not past half a dozen left; the rest still

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<sup>65</sup> This was not that John Wilkinson who joined with Storey in creating a schism in the Society.

forsaking him, and coming to 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 First-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. During this time I came to Pardsey Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers, that were yet left to 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 him to his satisfaction; and from that time he came amongst 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 Jesus, he died in 1675.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland; and had sent to Colonel William Osburn of Scotland, desiring him to come and meet me; and he, with some others, came out of Scotland to this meeting. After the meeting was over (which, he said, was the most glorious one he ever saw in his life), I passed with him and his company into Scotland; having Robert 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 he was previously 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 travelled on, and passing through Duhf-sies came to Douglas, where we met with some Friends; and thence 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; amongst whom was one, called a lady. From thence we passed towards the Highlands to William Osburn's house, 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*.

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore, where the said Lady Margaret Hambloton was convinced; who afterwards went to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that 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 flection and reprobation, telling them "that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell; and that, let them pray, or preach, or sing, or do what they could, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained for hell;—that God had a certain number elected for heaven, let them do what they would, as David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet elected vessels for heaven. So the fault was not at all in the creature, less or more, but God had ordained it so."

I was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their priests' doctrines, and showed how they had abused those Scriptures they brought and quoted to them, as in Jude, and other places. For whereas they said, there was no fault at all in the creature, I showed them that they whom Jude speaks of, to wit, Cain, Korah, and Balaam, who, he says, were ordained of old to condemnation, the fault was in them. For did not God warn Cain and Balaam, and put the question to Cain, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" And did not the Lord bring Korah out of Egypt and his company? yet did not he gainsay both God and his law, and his prophet Moses? Here people might see that there was a fault in Cain, Korah, and Balaam, and so there is in all that go in their ways. For if they who are called Christians, resist the gospel, as Korah did the law; if they err from the Spirit of God, as Balaam did, and do evil, as Cain did, is not here a fault? "Which fault is in themselves, and is the cause of their reprobation, and not God. Doth not Christ say, "Go, preach the gospel to all nations?" Which is the gospel of salvation. 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 become reprobates, as well as for the saints? He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as the apostle bears witness, 2 Cor. v. 15; Rom. v. 6. And he "enlightens every man that cometh 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 bids all believe in, are reprobated. Again, "the manifestation of the Spirit of God is given, to every man to profit withal;" but they that vex, quench, and grieve it, are in the reprobation; and the fault is in them, as it is also in them that hate his light. The apostle says, "The grace of God which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now when men and women live ungodly, and in the lusts of the world, turn this grace of God into wantonness, and walk despitefully against it, and so deny God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, that bought them; the fault is in all such as thus turn the grace of God into wantonness, and walk despitefully against that which would bring their salvation, and save them out of the reprobation. But the priests, it seems, can see no fault in such as deny God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, that hath bought them—such as deny his 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 this grace into wantonness, are in the reprobation; and such as hate the light, are in the condemnation. Therefore I exhorted all the people 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. The noise was spread over Scotland, amongst the priests, that I was come thither; and a great cry was 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, that all the people might say “Amen” to them. Some few of these 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 saith, every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation; and let all the people say, Amen.”

The second, “Cursed is he that saith, faith is without sin; and let all the people say, Amen.”

The third, “Cursed is he that denieth the Sabbath-day; and let all the people say, Amen.”<sup>66</sup>

In this last they make the people curse themselves; for on the Sabbath-day (which is the seventh-day of the week, which the Jews kept by the command of God to them) they kept markets and fairs, and so brought the curse upon their own heads.

As to the first, concerning the light, Christ saith, “Believe in the light, that ye 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 “ye do well,” said the apostle, “that ye 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.

And 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 they 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.

A company of Scots near Badcow, 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 amongst 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 if dead, in his pulpit. The people carried him out, and laid him upon a grave-stone, and poured strong waters into him, which brought him to life again; and they carried him home, but he was

<sup>66</sup> It is justly observed by a writer, not of the Society of Friends, that these “place the Presbyterian Christianity of that day in a most unfavourable light, and show how deeply it was imbued with a sour persecuting spirit of Popery.”

mopish. After a while he stripped off his clothes, put on a Scotch plaid, and went into the country amongst the dairy-women. When he had stayed there about two weeks, he came home, and went into the pulpit again. Whereupon the people expected some great manifestation or revelation from him; but, instead thereof, he began to tell them what entertainment he had met with; how one woman gave him skimmed-milk, another gave him butter-milk, and another gave him good milk; so the people were fain to take him out of the pulpit again, and carry him home. He that gave me this account 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 Edinburgh to Oliver Cromwell's council there, with petitions against me. The noise was, "that all was gone;" for several Friends were 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 the Friends in that part of Scotland settled, by the Lord's power, upon Christ their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Linlithgow; where, lodging at an inn, the innkeeper's wife, who was blind, received the word of life and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus, her Saviour. At night there came in abundance of soldiers and some officers, with whom we had much discourse; some 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." So far was he from all tenderness, or sense of the Spirit of Christ, that he would rather crucify the just, than suffer for or with the just; whereas many officers and magistrates have lost their places, before they would turn against the Lord and his Just One.

When I had stayed a while at Edinburgh, I went to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives, and many were convinced. Among these 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. There came in many Baptists, who were very rude, but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded. Then there came in another sort, and one of them 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 precious time we had afterwards with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. William Osburn was with me. Colonel Lidcot's wife and William Welch's wife, and several of the officers themselves, were convinced. Edward Billing and his wife at that time lived apart; and she being reached by truth, and become loving to Friends, we sent for her husband, who came; and the Lord's power reached unto them both, they joined 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 abundance of

priests among them, about burning a witch, and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them. When I had done, I went to our meeting, whither many rude people and Baptists came. The Baptists began to Taunt with their logic and syllogisms; but I was moved in the Lord's power to thrash their chaffy, light minds; and showed the people that, after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black white; as, that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs, therefore they were all cocks. Thus they might turn any thing into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ or his apostles, to teach, speak, or reason, after that manner. Hereupon those 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, being greatly disturbed at the spreading of truth, and the loss of their hearers thereby, were gone to Edinburgh, to petition the council against me. Now, 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 13th of October next, in the forenoon.

E. Dowsing, 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 conducted into a large room, where many great persons came and looked at me. After a while the door-keeper had 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 there, that I might not go in with my hat on?” for I told him “I had been before the Protector with it on.” But he hung it up, and had me in before them. When I had stood a while, and they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, “Peace be amongst you; wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye 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; and the intent of my coming was, that all in the nation that professed the Scriptures, the words of Christ, and of the prophets, and apostles, might come to the light, Spirit, and power, which they were in, who gave them forth; that so in and by the Spirit they might understand the Scriptures, know Christ and God aright, and have fellowship with them, and one with another.” They asked me, “whether I had any outward business there?” I said, “nay.” Then they asked me how long I intended to stay in the country? I told them “I should 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 bid me withdraw, and the door-keeper took me by the hand, and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me again, and told me, “I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day seventh 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.” Then I desired them “to hear what I had to say to them;” but they said, “they would not hear me.” I told them, Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, and yet he was a heathen and no Christian, and Herod heard John the Baptist; and they should not be worse than these. But they cried, “withdraw, withdraw.” Whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand, and led me out. Then I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh, visiting Friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time, I wrote a letter to the council, to lay before them their unchristian dealing in banishing me, an innocent man, that sought their salvation and eternal good; a copy of which letter here follows:—

“To the Council of Edinburgh,

“Ye that sit in council, and bring before your judgment-seat the innocent, the just, without showing the least cause what evil I have done, or convicting me of any breach of law; and afterward banish me out of your nation and country, without telling me why, or what evil I had done; though I told you, when ye asked me how long I would stay in the nation, that my time was not long (I spoke it innocently), and yet ye banish me. Will not all, think ye, that fear God, judge this to be wickedness? Consider, did not they sit in council about Stephen, when they stoned him to death? Did not they sit in council about Peter and John, when they haled them out of the temple, and put them out of their council for a little season, and took council together, and then brought them in again and threatened them, and charged them to speak no more in that name? Was not this to stop the truth from spreading in that time? And 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 go to persecute the just, and crucify the just, do they not then neglect judgment, and mercy, and justice, and the weighty matters of the law, which is just? Was not the apostle Paul tested up and down by the priests and the rulers? Was not John the Baptist cast into prison? are not ye doing the same work, showing what spirit ye are of? Now do not ye show the end of your profession, the end of your prayers, the end of your religion, and the end of your teaching, who are now come to banish the truth, and him that is come to declare it unto you? Doth not this show that ye are but in the words, out of the life, of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles? for they did not use such practice as to banish any. How do ye receive strangers, which is a command of God among the prophets, Christ, and the apostles? Some by that means have entertained angels at unawares; but ye banish one that comes to visit the Seed of God, and is not chargeable to any of you. Will not all that fear God, look upon this to be spite and wickedness against the truth? How are ye like to love enemies, that banish your friend? How are ye like to do good to them that hate you, when ye do evil to them that love you? How are ye like to heap coals of fire on their heads that hate you, and to overcome evil with good, when ye banish thus? Do ye not manifest to all that are in the truth, that ye have not the Christian spirit? How did ye do justice to me, when ye could not convict me of any evil, yet banish me? This shows that truth is banished out of your hearts, and ye have taken part against the truth with



evil-doers; with the wicked, envious priests, and stoners, strikers, and mockers in the streets; with these, ye that banish, have taken part. Whereas ye should have been a terror to these, and a praise to them that do well, and succourers of them that are in the truth; then might ye have been a blessing to the nation, ye would 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 are your streets like Sodom and Gomorrah. Did not the Jews and the priests make the Gentiles' minds envious against the apostles? Who were they that would not have the prophet Amos to prophesy at the king's chapel; but bid him fly his way? And when Jeremiah was put in the prison, in the dungeon, and in the stocks, had not the priests a hand with the princes in doing it? Now see all that were in this work of banishing, prisoning, 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 they were not always the blind magistrates, who turned their sword backward, that knew not their friends from their foes, and so hit their friends? Such magistrates were deceived by flattery."

G. F.

When this was delivered, and read amongst them, some of them, I heard, were troubled at what they had done, being made sensible that they would not be so served themselves. But it was not long before they that banished me, were banished themselves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor suffer others that would.

After I had spent some time among Friends at Edinburgh, and thereabouts, I passed to Heads again, where Friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given charge that none should buy or sell, or eat or 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 had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbours, the priests threatened them so with curses, that they would run and fetch it from them again. 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, declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

After I had visited Friends at Heads and thereaways, and had encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was appointed; 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. Much discourse I had with him; but he was too light to receive the truth, yet he set me at liberty; so I passed to the meeting. But seeing none of the town's-people came, we declared truth through the town, and so passed away; and having visited Friends in their meetings thereabouts, returned towards Badcow. Several Friends declared truth in their steeple-houses, and the Lord's power was with them. Once as I was going with

William Osburn to his house, there lay a company of rude fellows by the way-side, hid under the hedges and in bushes. Seeing them, I asked him "what they were?" "O," said he, "they are thieves." Robert Widders, being moved to go and speak to a priest, was left behind, intending to come after. So I said to William Osburn, "I will stay here in this valley, and do thou go look after Robert Widders;" but he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone, because of those fellows, till I told him, "I feared them not." Then I called to them, asking them, "what they lay lurking there for," and I bid them come to me; but they were loath to come. I charged them to come up to me, or else it might be worse with them; then they came trembling, 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 what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. I stayed there till William Osburn and Robert Widders came up, and then we passed on together. But it is likely that, if we two had gone away before, they would have robbed Robert Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them.

We went to William Osburn's house, 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, they had like to have spoiled us and our horses; for they ran at us with pitch-forks; but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power.

Thence we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers took us up, and had us to the main-guard. After a few words with the officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty: but no meeting could we get amongst them in the town, they were so closed up in darkness. Next morning there came a man with a horse that was to run a race, and most of the town's-people and officers went to see it. As they came back from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and his word of life amongst them. Some confessed to it, and some' opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all.

Leaving Stirling, we came to Burntisland, where I had two meetings at one Captain Pool's house; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Whilst they went to dine, I walked to the sea-side, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good Friends afterward, and several officers of the army came in and received the truth.

We passed thence through several other places, till we came to Johnstons, where were several Baptists that 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 next morning raised a whole company of foot, and banished me, and Alexander Parker, also James Lancaster, and Robert Widders out of the town. As they guarded us though 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 they generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them: and the soldiers were so ashamed that they said, "they would rather have 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 that was then governor was discarded also when the king came in.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons, we went to another market-town, where Edward Billing<sup>67</sup> 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 amongst them. The officers and soldiers said, we should have it in the town-hall; but the Scotch magistrates in spite appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town. When the officers of the soldiery understood this, and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us to go into the town-hall nevertheless. But we told them, "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 therein." We told them, "we would go to the market-place;" they said, "it was market-day;" we replied, "it was so much the better; for we would have all people to hear truth, and know our principles." Alexander Parker went and stood upon the marketcross with a Bible in his hand, and declared the truth amongst the soldiers and market-people; but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, and hardly took notice of what was said. After a while I was moved of the Lord to stand up at the cross, and declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Whereupon the people came running out of the town-hall, and they gathered so together, that at last we had a large meeting; for they sat in the court only for a pretence, to hinder us from having the hall to meet in. When the people were come away, 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 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 made loving to us, especially the English people, 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 it, and very despitefully against the light of Christ Jesus, to which we bore testimony. Mighty zealous he was for the priests and their hearers. As this man was hearing the priest, 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

67 Edward Billing was a faithful sufferer for the truth. Henry Tell, in a letter to Margaret Fell, in 1660, mentions Friends being beat very sore, and exceedingly abused in the streets. "They pulled me out of meeting," he says, "beat me much, knocked me down in the street, and tore all my coat. Edward Billing and his wife were much abused, he especially."

Edward Billing was one of the three Friends, who, in 1659, appeared before the bar of the House of Commons, to present an address describing the sufferings of Friends, and signed by 164 of the Society, wherein they make an offer of their own bodies, person for person, to lie in prison instead of such of their brethren as were then under confinement, and might be in danger of their lives through extreme durance. (See letters of Early Friends, pp. 62-68.) Although little or no apparent effect appeared to be produced at the time in the House from the above-mentioned appeal, it appears, from the journals of the Commons in the month following, a committee was appointed, "to consider of the imprisonment of such persons who continue committed for conscience sake, and how, and in what manner they are, and continue committed, together with the whole cause thereof, and how they may be discharged; and to report the same to the Parliament."

murdered amongst them whom he had so cried up, and by one of them.

We travelled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting people, as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me, that the council had granted warrants to apprehend me, "because I was not gone out of the nation, after the seven days were expired, that they had ordered me to depart in." Several friendly people also came and told me the same; to whom I said, "What do ye tell me of their warrants against me? if there were a cart-load of them I do not heed them, for the Lord's power is over them all."

I went from Leith to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants from the council were out against me. I went to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had visited Friends in the city, I desired those that travelled with me, to get ready their horses in the morning, and we rode out of town together; there were with me at that time Thomas Bawlinson, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders. When we were out of town, they asked me, "whither I would go?" I told them it was upon me from the Lord to go back again to Johnstons (the town out of which we had been lately thrust), 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, till we returned. Then Alexander and I got over the water, about three miles across, and rode through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse being weak and not able to hold up with mine, I put on and got into Johnstons just as they were drawing up the bridges; the officers and soldiers never questioning me. I rode up the street to Captain Davenport's house, from which we had been banished. There were many officers with him; and when I came amongst them, they lifted up their hands, wondering that I should come again; but I told them, "the Lord God had sent me amongst them again;" so they went their way. The Baptists sent me a letter, by way of challenge, "to discourse with me next day." I sent them word, "I would meet them at such a house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour." For I considered, if I should stay in town to discourse with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with me, have raised men to put me out of the town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place, Captain Davenport and his son accompanying me, where I stayed some hours, but not one of them came. While I stayed there waiting for them, I saw Alexander Parker coming; who, not being able to reach the town, had lain out the night before; and I was exceedingly glad that we were met again.

This Captain Davenport was then loving to Friends; but afterwards coming more into obedience to truth, he was turned out of his place, for not putting off his hat, and for saying Thou and Thee to them.

When we had waited beyond reasonable ground to expect any of them coming, we departed; and Alexander Parker being 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 that were convinced. From thence I went up to the town, where I had left the other two Friends, and we went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bid Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the first two sentries; and the Lord's power came so over them, that we passed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the street to the market-place, by the main-guard out at the gate by the third sentry, and so clear out at the suburbs, and there came to an inn and set up our horses, it being the seventh-day of the week. Now I saw and felt that we had rode, 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. Next day I went to the meeting in the city, Friends having notice that I would attend it. There came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power. All was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had visited Friends, I came out of the city to my inn again; and next day, being the second-day of the week, we set forward towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I spied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked "what steeple-house it was," and was answered, that it was Dunbab. When I came thither, and had put up at an inn, I walked to the steeple-house, having a friend or two with me. When we came into the yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I spoke to one of the friends that were with me, to go to him and tell him, "that about nine 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, if we would." We concluded so, and desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his troopers came also, so that we had a large meeting; and a glorious one it was, the Lord's power being over all. After some time the priest came, and went into the steeplehouse; but we being 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 do little in the steeple-house, but came quickly out again, stood a while, and then went his way. I opened to the people, "where they might find Christ Jesus, turned them to the light, which he had enlightened them withal, that in the light they might see Christ, that died for them, turn to him, and know him to be their Saviour and free teacher. I let them see, that all the teachers they had hitherto followed, were hirelings, who made the gospel chargeable; showed them the wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apostacy, directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God; manifested unto them, how they had lost the religion and worship which Christ set up in spirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and worships of men's making and setting up. After I had turned the people to the Spirit of God, which led the holy men of God to give forth the Scriptures; and 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 ever they came to know God and Christ, and the Scriptures aright; perceiving the other Friends that were with me to be full of the power and word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord unto the people." Towards the latter end of the meeting some professors began to jangle; whereupon 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 peaceable. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland; the truth and the 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 Saviour and teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the Seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness above, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burnt 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.

## CHAPTER XII.

*1657-1659.—George Fox journeys from Scotland to England—dissuades a person from setting up a college at Durham to make ministers—has a meeting with Rice Jones and his people—attends a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation, held at John Crook's, which continued three days—address to Friends in the ministry—disputes with a Jesuit—writes to Lady Claypole—writes to Cromwell respecting the fast on account of persecution abroad, whilst there was much of it at home—writes a reproof to Parliament for their hypocrisy—speaks to the Protector in Hampton-Court Park about Friends' sufferings—the Protector invites Fox to his house—he goes next day, but the Protector being sick he does not see him—the Protector died soon after—writes to encourage Friends to faithfulness—has a foresight of the King's restoration long before the event occurred, as well as several others—Friends are disseized of their copyhold lauds for refusing to swear—cautions Friends to avoid plots, etc.—against bearing arms—great places in the army are offered to Friends, but invariably refused—priest Townsend fails to substantiate his charge of error and blasphemy against George Fox, and is signally defeated—George Fox's vision of the city of London is realized—he gives a final warning to those in authority before their overthrow.*

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, where we were questioned a little by the officers; b'ut 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 so through the country, visiting Friends, to Newcastle, where I had been once before. The Newcastle priests had written many books against us; and one 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 Fells, like butterflies.” So I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to this Ledger, and several others of the aldermen, desiring to have a meeting amongst them, seeing they had written so many books against us, for we were now come, I told them, into their great town.” But they would not allow we should have a meeting, neither

would they be spoken to withal, save only this Ledger and one other. I queried, "had they not called Friends butterflies, and said, we would not come into any great towns? and now we were come into their town, they would not hear us, though they had printed books against us; 'Who are the butterflies now?'" said I. Then Ledger began to plead for the Sabbath-day; but I told him they kept markets and fairs on that which was the Sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day, which the professed Christians now met on, and call their Sabbath, is the first day of the week. As we could not have a public meeting among them, we got a little one among Friends and friendly people, at Gateshead; 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 turned out, when the king came in.

From Newcastle we travelled through the countries, having meetings and visiting Friends as we went, in Northumberland and Durham. A very good one we had at Lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After the meeting I went to visit a justice of peace, a very sober, loving man, who confessed to the truth.

Thence we came to Durham, where was a man come from London, to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went, with some others, to reason with him, and to let him see, "that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and 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 Hebrew, Greek, and Latin over Christ, when he crucified him. So he might see the many languages began at Babel, and they set them above Christ, the Word, when they crucified him. John the divine, who preached the Word, that 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 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 above them all, who was before them all. 'Now,' said I, to this man, 'dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these natural, confused languages, which sprung from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set above Christ, the Life, by a persecutor?' O 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 bid them 'pray to the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers.' 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 his gospel, as it was at that day." When we had thus discoursed with the man, 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: thence into Cleveland, passed through Yorkshire to the further end of Holderness, and had mighty meetings, the Lord's power accompanying us.

After we left Anthony Pearson's, we went by Hull and Pontefract, to George Watkinson's house, and visited most of the meetings in those parts, till we came to Scale-house, and so to Swarthmore; the everlasting power and arm of God carrying us through and preserving us. After I had visited Friends thereaways, I passed into Yorkshire again, and Cheshire, and so through other counties into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire: glorious meetings we had, the Lord's presence being with us.

At Nottingham I sent to Bice Jones, desiring him to make his people acquainted, 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 could not tell how to send to them." I told him, "he might acquaint those about the town of it, and send to as many in the country as he could. Next day we met at the castle, there being about fourscore people, to whom I declared the truth for about two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, so that they were not able to open their mouths in opposition. When I had done, one of them asked me a question, which I was loath to answer, for I saw it might lead to dispute, and I was unwilling to go into jangling, for some of the people were tender; yet I could not well tell how to escape it. Wherefore I answered the question, and was moved forthwith to speak to Rice Jones, and lay before him, "that he had been the man that had scattered such as had been tender, and some that had been convinced, and had been led out of many 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; and so he and they were turned to be vainer than the world: for many of his followers were become the greatest foot-ball players and wrestlers in the country. I told him, 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, "Thou liest, it is not the Seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head." "No!" said I, "what is it then?" "I say it is the law," said he. "But," said I, "the Scripture, speaking of the Seed of the woman, saith, 'It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' Now, hath the law an heel," said I, "to be bruised?" Then Rice Jones and all his company were at a stand, and I was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him, and say, "This Seed, Jesus Christ, the Seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, shall bruise thy head, and break you all to pieces." Thus did I leave 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 amongst 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 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 Bice Jones who some years before had said, "I was then at the highest, and should fall." But, poor man! he little thought how near his own fall was.

We left Nottingham, and went into Warwickshire, and thence passing through some parts of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, visiting Friends, and having meetings with them as we travelled, came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's house, where a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held.<sup>68</sup> This meeting lasted three days, and many Friends from most parts of the nation came to it; so that the inns and towns around were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there was some disturbance by rude people that had run out from truth; yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, which 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 this long night of apostacy. So that all might come up into this Seed, Christ Jesus, and walk in it, and sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles, and 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, and was before he was, who ends all 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.

"For, First, They that sit down in Adam in the full, sit down in misery, in death, in darkness, and corruption.

"Secondly, They that sit down in 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 apostacy, that hath got up since the apostles' days, sit down in spiritual Sodom and Egypt, and are drinking of the whore's cup, under the beast's and dragon's power.

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<sup>68</sup> The first Yearly Meeting of the Society appears to have been held in 1658, at Scalehouse, or Scarhouse, about three miles from Skipton. At that meeting, the expenses incurred by the early missions being considerable, the subject of the visits of Friends "beyond Hie sea," claimed much attention, and it was agreed to recommend general collection in aid of these gospel missions. An epistle was issued to that effect, and the appeal was liberally responded to, and considering the value of money at that period, a large amount was raised. The epistle, with particulars of the collection and its disbursement, may be seen in Bowden's *History of friends in America*, vol. i., p. 58-60.

Yearly Meetings were held in different parts of England to the number of twenty-six, at which were reported the number of prisoners; the various sufferings on account of the Truth; those who died for it; and the number of ministers deceased. The affairs of truth were also considered, and the members of the church had blessed opportunities of heavenly correspondence and fellowship, one with another. For full particulars of the setting up of General and Yearly Meetings, and of the institution and objects of the Discipline in the Society, see *Letters, etc, of Early Friends*, part ii., pp. 275-353.

“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, 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 Revelations, and not to be in the power and Spirit which they were in, that gave them forth; that was to be turned away from, by them that came into the power and Spirit which they were in that gave forth the Scriptures.

“Seventhly, They that sit down in 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 corner-stone, that stands and abides all weathers. 'For,' as the apostle said, 'he hath quickened us, 'who were dead in sins and trespasses, etc. and made us to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus; that in 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, are truly manifested in us, as 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 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, 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 wondered after them; how they had filled the world with false doctrines, ways, worships, and religions; and how the everlasting gospel was now preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; for all they had drunk the whore's cup, and she was over them, and sat upon them. In this night of apostacy, 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 in 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 Spirit and in truth, that they may know Christ Jesus, their way to God, to be the author of their faith, and 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.” Now after these things had been largely opened, with many other things 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 both 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 many 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 that was present, was after this manner:—

“Friends,

“Take heed of destroying that which ye have begotten; for that which destroys, goes out, and is the cast-away. And though that be true, yea, and may be the pure truth which such a one speaks, yet if he doth not remain in that, and live in that in his own particular, but goes out, the same which he is gone out from, cometh 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 thereof; and remain on the foundation that is pure, and that is sure: for whosoever goes out from the pure, and ministers not in and from that, comes to an end, and doth not remain; though he may have had a time, and may have been serviceable for a time, while he lived in the thing.

“Take heed of many words; what reacheth to the life, settles in the life. That which cometh from the life, and is received from God, reaches to the life, and settles others in the life: for the work is not now as it was at first; the work now is, to settle and stay in the life. For as Friends have been led to minister in the power, and the power hath gone through, so that there hath 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. 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 such let that come over them. But as every one 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 any one do, he may lose his discerning, and may lay hands on the wrong part', and 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 overcome it. There is no one who strikes his fellow-servants, but first he is gone from the pure in his own particular; for when he goeth from the light he is enlightened withal, then he strikes; and then he hath 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 doth 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 receiveth from the Lord, he keepeth; and so he sitteth still, and cool, and quiet in his own spirit, and gives it forth as he is moved; but to the harlots, judgment.

“Friends, this is the word of the Lord to yon all, be watchful and careful in all meetings ye come

into; for where Friends are sitting together in silence, they are many times gathered into their own measures. When a man is come newly out of the world, from ministering to the world's people, he cometh out of the mire; and then he had need take heed that he be not rash. For now, 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 be rash, they will judge him, that having been in the world, and amongst 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 begetting them out of the cool state into the heating state, if he be not in that which commands his own spirit, and gives him to know it.

“There is a great danger too in travelling 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 travelling 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 doth 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, and into the power, and into the wisdom, to preserve him clean.

“This is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel that ye 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 every one. 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. 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, ye 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 goeth into strife, and into contention, is from the pure Spirit. For where any goeth into contention, if anything hath been begotten by him before, then that contentious nature doth get ahead, spoileth that which was begotten, and quencheth his own prophesying. So if that which would arise into strife, be not subjected by the power in the particular, that is dangerous.

“If any have a moving to any place, and have spoken what they were moved of the Lord, let them return unto their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the Lord; so will ye 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 be up, which runs into imaginations, and that part be standing, in which the imagina-

tions come up, and the pure spirit be not thoroughly come up to rule and reign, then that will run out, that will glory, boast, and vapour; and so will such a one spoil that which opened to him: this is for condemnation. Let every one mind that, which feels through and commands his spirit, whereby every one 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 doth 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 hath life in himself, and the Son hath 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, which reacheth the Seed of God; which is the heir of the promise of life without end. Let none be hasty to speak; for ye have time enough, and with an eye ye may reach the witness: neither let any be backward when ye are moved; for that brings destruction.

“Now, truth hath an honour in the hearts of those who are not Friends; so that all Friends being kept in the truth, they are kept in the honour, they are honourable, for that will honour them; but if any lose the power, they lose the life, they lose their crown, they lose their honour, 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. Now 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; that is the bond of peace; for there is the unity in the Spirit with God, and with one another. For 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 is come 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 hath been abused by some, and the worth of truth hath not been minded; there hath been a trampling on, and marring with the feet, and that abuseth 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 may foul or mar, but every one may be kept in the pure power and life of the Lord. Then the water of life cometh in; then he that ministereth, drinketh himself, and giveth others to drink.

“When any shall be moved to go and 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 would not go, will he apt to get up. And take heed on the other hand, that the lavishing part do

not get up, for it is a bad savour; therefore that must be kept down, and be kept subject. Wait in the light of the Lord, that ye 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, then there is something that will be apt to run out rashly; there is the danger, and there must be the patience 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; but it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have declared the truth to the people, and they have received it, and are come into that which ye speak 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 savour of life, then they that are come into the thing that he spoke of, will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raised up before. So Friends, ye 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 ye may answer the thing spoken to.

'And take heed all of running into inordinate affections; for when people com? to own you, there is danger of the wrong part getting up. There was a 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 every one of them; so then, where is the greatest? for that part in the disciples which looked to be the greatest, was the same that was in the Gentiles. But as any one comes here, 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, and a 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 hand, to the glory of God, whereby his blessing may be felt among you; and this brings to the beginning. So 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, of power, of knowledge; but he that ministereth in this, seeth with the eye which the Lord openeth in him, what is for the fire, and what for the sword, what must be fed with judgment, and what be nourished. This brings all down, and to be low, every one keeping to the power; for let a man get up ever so high, yet he must come down again to the power, where he left; what he went from, he must come down again to that. Before all these wicked spirits be got down, which are rambling abroad, Friends must have patience, must wait in patience, in the cool life; and he who is in this, doing the work of the Lord, hath 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; the Lamb hath 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 arise and move them thereto 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 goeth 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 ye keep in the Lamb's authority, ye will answer that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which is the end of the law. Keep out of all jangling; 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 one 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, there came a party of horse, with a constable, to seize me. I heard them ask “who was in the house,” and somebody answered, “I was there.” They said, “I was the man they looked for;” and went forthwith 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 never came 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. Next day I passed thence, and after I had visited Friends in several places as I went, 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:<sup>69</sup> whereupon Friends let him know that some would meet him. Then he sent us word “he would meet with twelve of the wisest and most learned men we had;” a while after he sent us word “he would meet with but six;” and after that, he sent us word again, “he would have but three to come.” We hastened what we could, lest, after all his great boast, he should put it quite off at last. When we were come to the house, I bid Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough go up, and enter into discourse with him; and I would walk a while 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 Borne now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church.” By this time I was come to them. Then we asked him,

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<sup>69</sup> The Earl of Newport, it would appear, was very favourably inclined towards Friends. In a letter from E. Burrough to F. Howgill, 4th of 7th Month [9th Month] 1658, he observes, “This night, at Woodcock's, at the meeting, was the Earl of Newport; he is truly loving to us.” In the same letter, E. Burrough says, “Truth spreads and grows. The Earl of Pembroke has been with us; there is a principle of God stirring in him.”

“whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had?” He said, “No.” “Then,” said I, “if ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and Spirit that the apostles had, then ye 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; and for their praying by beads, and to images; for making crosses, for forbidding meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion? If,” said I, “ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by Scriptures, wherever they practised any such things.” (For it was agreed on both hands, 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,” said he, “are all those traditions that we practise.” I bid him prove that by Scripture. Then he brought the Scripture, where the apostle says (2 Thess. ii. 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 unto 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 he 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 that 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 practises. In like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, he heard were amongst 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 Thess. iii. 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 practised.”

After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, beginning at the paschal-lamb, and the shew-bread; and so 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, till I came to Christ's words and the apostle's; and 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 hath 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, till he come; which plainly proves, the bread and



wine which they took was not Iris body. Tor if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been 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.” Then 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 rook, door, or vine?” “O,” said the Jesuit, “those words are to be interpreted:” “So,” said I, “are those words of Christ, 'this is my body.'” Now 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 of them (whom the Pope and his cardinals should appoint) and some of us; and let a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. And then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it, and let trial thus be made, Whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, 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 savour 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 hath 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 thy 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 ye 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 dost thou now say it will wear away, or decay, as well as the other? I must tell thee, Christ remains the same to-day 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 their church persecuted 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,” said I, “are they not members of your church?” “Yes,” said he. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own concessions, whether the church of Home doth not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted; and his subtilty was comprehended by simplicity.

During the time I was at London, many services lay upon 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 a rumour about this time of making Cromwell king: whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warned him against it, and of divers dangers; which, if he did not avoid, “he would bring a 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 Claypole<sup>70</sup> (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 to her the following letter:—

“Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God to turn thy mind to the Lord, from whom cometh life; whereby thou mayest receive his strength and power to allay all storms, and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, 'innocency, soberness, into stillness, staidness, quietness up to God, with his power. Therefore mind; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee, that thou mayest feel the authority of God, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee; for that is it which keeps peace, and brings up the witness in thee, which hath been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the transgression of the life of God in thy 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 thy nature being led out of its course, it comes to be all on fire, in the transgression; and that defaceth the glory of the first body. Therefore be still a while from thy own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires, and imaginations, and be staid in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt 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 thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble, God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; and deny thyself; for from thy own will, that is, the earthly, thou must be kept. Then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and give thee to 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 thou wilt thereby be preserved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt 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 hath 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. Therefore, keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord unto thee. For all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves, and your own weakness, and that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Let the time that is past be sufficient to every one, who in anything hath 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

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70 Lady Claypole was the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell, who deeply felt her loss, for she died shortly after the period of receiving the letter George Fox addressed to her. Nor was it long before Oliver himself followed her; both he and his daughter dying in the same year.

of the earth.

Therefore, all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the secrets of God and his wisdom, may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it, in all tempests, and storms, and heats. For God is at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. This then is the word of the Lord God unto you all; whatever temptations, distractions, confusions, the light doth make manifest and discover, do not look at these temptations, confusions, corruptions; but look 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, and corruption, and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it: but looking at the light, which discovers them, ye will see over them. That will give victory; and ye will find grace and strength: there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation; by it ye may see to the beginning, and the 'glory that was with the Father before the world began;' and so come to know the Seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which hath no end; which bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from coming to God. That ye 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 doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee."

G. F.

When the foregoing paper was read to Lady Claypole, she said, it staid 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.<sup>71</sup>

About this time came forth a declaration from Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, for a collection towards the relief of divers 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 to a contribution being made for the suffering Protestants of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrona, etc. 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 themselves, calling themselves Protestants, were at the same time persecuting their Protestant neighbours 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 divers people*

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<sup>71</sup> The counsels contained in this letter of George Fox's to Lady Claypole, though worded in his own peculiar phraseology, and at first sight not very perspicuous, are such as must be valuable to every spiritual mind, in seasons of trial.

*beyond the seas, professing the Reformed religion, which, ye say, hath been transmitted unto them from their ancestors.*

“A Profession of the Reformed religion may be transmitted to generations, and so holden by tradition; and in that, wherein the profession and tradition are holden, is the day of humiliation kept; which stands 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 that they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifieth for God every day, and witnesseth against all sin and persecution; which measure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast which 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. Iviii. 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 in that which was before times were, 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 ye mention a decree or edict that was made against the said persecuted Protestants, all such decrees proceed from the ground of the Pope's religion and supremacy, and therein stands his tyranny and cruelty, acted in that will, which is in that nature which exerciseth lordship over one another (as ye may read, Mark x. 42; Luke xxii. 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, which is the guide and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But they who are not led by this, know not what it is to suffer for conscience' sake. Now, whereas ye take into your consideration the sad persecution, tyranny, and cruelty exercised upon them, whom ye call your Protestant brethren, and contribute to administer to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we approve 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 fulness thereof;' who is good and gracious to » all, willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the meantime, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others' cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what ye 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 which bears witness for God, and cries for equity, justice, and righteousness to be executed. See what ye are doing, who profess the Scriptures, which were given forth by the saints in light, who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For them who now witness the same light, life, and power, that gave forth the Scriptures, which ye in words profess, ye persecute;—them ye hale out of your synagogues and markets;—beat, stock, and imprison. Now let that of God in your consciences, which is just, righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which now many in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye 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 ye may read the saints of old did (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16); wronging no 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 ye do; for ye profess Christ Jesus, who reveals the Father, and persecute them that witness the revelation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. Ye profess Christ Jesus, who is 'the light of the world, that enlightens every man that cometh into the world;' yet persecute them that bear witness and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the Word is become flesh, yet persecute them that witness it so. Ye profess that whosoever confesseth 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. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come; yet persecute them that witness it come. Ye profess Christ Jesus, the resurrection and the life; yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If ye 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 hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life; then ye will know and see what ye 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, than into your own consciences; there shall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear testimony to, according to the holy Scriptures. When the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true. Though now ye may stop your ears, and harden your hearts, while it is called to-day; but then ye shall know what ye have done, and against whom ye have transgressed;—then ye will see that no persecutors, in any age or generation before you, ever transgressed against that light, and measure of God made manifest, as ye have done. For though Christ and the apostles were persecuted in their times, 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 ye say, 'ye believe he is come; ye believe his resurrection;' yet ye persecute those that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried with him in baptism, that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his resurrection; these ye persecute, hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; these ye cause to be whipped and stocked, shamefully entreated, and cast into prison; as many jails in this nation at this day testify to your faces. Therefore honestly consider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of others' cruelties, lest ye overlook your own. There is some difference in many things, between the Popish religion and that which ye call the Protestant, but in this persecution of yours there is no difference; for ye will confess that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon the Scriptures; yet ye are persecuting 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; and this ye shall one day witness. So ye have a profession and form, and persecute them that are in the possession, life, and power. Therefore know assuredly that ye must come to judgment; for he is made manifest, to whom all judgment is committed. Therefore to the light of Christ Jesus in your own consciences, which searcheth and trieth 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 is bearing witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; and they whom ye persecute are manifest to God, and that of God in all consciences shall bear witness for us, that we are of God; this ye shall one day witness, whether ye 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 be 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 of 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 in a form and profession of it, 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 ye are doing; lest ye overturn your foundation, whereon ye pretend to stand, while ye are professing the Scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power, which they were in who gave them forth. For the stone, cut out of the mountains 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 unto which all must answer; all must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be 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 ye shall witness."

G. F.

Divers 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, 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 sufferings; and many Friends being in prisons, many other Friends were moved to go to the parliament, to offer up themselves to lie in the same dungeon, where their friends lay, that they that were in prison might go out, 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 favour could we find from those professing parliaments; instead thereof they would rage, and sometimes threaten those Friends that thus attended them, that they would whip them, and send them home. Then commonly 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, unto 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 prosecutors of them that were truly religious, I was moved to send them the following lines, as a reproof of their hypocrisy:—

“O Friends, do not cloak and cover yourselves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way. Woe be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord.' Do ye act contrary to the law, and then put it from you? Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such: my Saviour spoke against such: 'I was sick, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' But they said, 'When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee?' 'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me.' Friends, ye 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, ye would bring out of prison, and bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned, and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.”

G. F.

After this, as I was going out of town, having two Friends with me, when we were little more than a mile out of the city, there met us two troopers belonging to Colonel Hacker's regiment, who took me, and the Friends that were with me, and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us prisoners. But the Lord's power was so over them, that they did not take us before any officer; but shortly after set us at liberty again. The same day, taking boat, I went to Kingston, and thence 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, according as I was moved to speak to him, he

bid me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and next day went to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came, he was sick, and Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Pennington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting, and the Lord's truth and power were preciously manifested amongst 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 that the Protector was dead, and his son Richard made Protector in his room. Whereupon I came up to London again.

Before this time the church-faith (so called) was given forth, which was said to have been made at the Savoy in eleven days' time. I got a copy before it was published, and wrote an answer to it; and when their book of church-faith was sold in the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This angered some of the parliament-men, so that one of them told me, "they must have me to Smithfield." I told him, "I was above their fires, and feared them not." And 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 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?" Much work we had about the priest-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, that it was they who led silly women captive, and crept into houses, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had 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 even from that temple, and those tithes and offerings, which God had for a time commanded. And the apostles met in several private houses, being to preach the gospel to all nations; which they did freely, as Christ had 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, Christ being their Prophet, Priest, and Shepherd.

Major Wiggan, a very envious man, was present, yet he bridled himself before the parliament-men, and some others that were there in company. He took upon him to make a speech, and said, "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, desiring to speak with me again, I took a friend or two with me, and went to him. Then he vented much passion and rage, beyond the bounds of a Christian or moral man; whereupon I reprov'd him; and having brought the Lord's power



over him, and let him see what condition he was in, I left him.

After some time I passed out of London, and had a meeting at Serjeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came, and some of considerable quality in the world. A glorious meeting it was, wherein the Scriptures were largely and clearly opened, and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the hearers.

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 round about, 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 off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds; and when they had besmeared 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 bid Friends bring a table, and set it in the field, where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course, the rude people came. Having a Bible in my hand, I showed them their and their priests' and teachers' fruits: and the people became ashamed, and were quiet. I opened the Scriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith; I turned the people 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 Saviour. 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 the imprisonments (through which many died) our meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and have brought in drums beating, and kettles, to make noises with, 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, wherein a list is given of some of them that had actually beaten and abused Friends.

Many also of our Friends were brought up to London prisoners, to be tried before the committee; where Henry Vane,<sup>72</sup> being chairman, would not suffer Friends to come Id, except they would put off their hats: but at last the Lord's power came over him, so that, through the mediation of others, they 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 wrought so, that several Friends were set at liberty by them. Now, inasmuch as sufferings grew very sharp, I was moved of the Lord to write a few lines, and send amongst 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, wherever scattered abroad, in prison or out of prison; fear not, because of the

72 Vane was a conspicuous character at this period. He was strongly attached to a republican government, and opposed Cromwell in his progress towards assuming the reins of government as protector. He was said to be one of the leaders of the Independents. Bishop Burnet, the historian, says of him:—“Though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular forms and opinions; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations.” James Naylor, in a letter to Margaret Fell, speaks of Vane as “very loving to Friends, but drunk with imaginations.”

reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and there are Anakims 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. But dwell ye in the 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 ye will see all things work together for good to them that love God. In that triumph, when sufferings come, whatever they may be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour, you have on; ye are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall, or a hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be as heaps upon heaps. The evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb, which signifies a heart, and Joshua, a Saviour, triumph over all."

G. F.

After a while I went to Reading, where I was under great sufferings and exercises, and in great travail of spirit for about ten weeks. For I saw there was great confusion and distraction amongst 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. Much hypocrisy, deceit, and strife, was got 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 were got up, had killed, and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others; so that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying Thou and Thee to them. They turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness; and many of them were like distracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hardened themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the Seed, Christ, both in themselves and others; till at last they fell to 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 unto 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 bringing him in. So with heart and voice praise the name of the Lord, to whom it doth belong; who over all hath the supremacy, and who will rock the nations, for he is over them. I had a sight and sense of the king's return 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 amongst 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 them 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 copyhold lands, because they could not swear in their courts. Sometimes when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwell, he would not believe it. Wherefore Thomas Aldam<sup>73</sup> and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the jails in England, and to get copies of Friends' commitments under the jailer's hands, that they might lay the weight of their sufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he would not give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was moved to take his cap from off his head, and to rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy 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 over them, which they had been above; 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 doth 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 was altered, and I looked poor and thin; and 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 that 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 through with it, and 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 shone over all. And then having recovered, and got through my travails and sufferings, my body and face swelled, when I came abroad into the air; and 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 his power I came to London again.

Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigies of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men

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73 Thomas Aldam died in 1660, and as this is the last mention of him in this journal, the following particulars may be added:—He resided at Warmsworth, in Yorkshire, and was convinced by George Fox, in 1651, having been previously a great follower of the priests and teachers of the times. But his hungering and thirsting soul not being satisfied amongst them, he left them, and having received the Truth, became valiant for the same, giving up his strength and substance to serve the Lord. Many beatings, reproaches, imprisonments, much spoiling of goods and other sufferings he endured, for Christ's sake. He was one of the first called a Quaker imprisoned in York castle, in 1652, where he was kept two years and six months, not being suffered once to go home, nor permitted to see his wife, children, or relatives, when they went to visit him. He was also fined during that imprisonment £40, at the assize, for appearing before the judge with his hat on, and saying thee and thou to him. During the same imprisonment for tithes, he was sued at law for treble damages, his property being taken to the value of £42, not leaving one cow to give milk for his young children and family. Many other sufferings did he undergo, which made him have a tender sympathy for others who were sufferers for the Truth, whose cause he often pleaded. He wrote several small works in defence of Truth, and his son, Thomas Aldam, who was also a faithful minister, published a testimony concerning him, in 1690. See *Piety Promoted*, vol. i., pp. 25-28 vol. iii., p. 58.

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:—

“O friends, what are ye doing! What mean ye to sound before an image! Will not all sober people think ye are like madmen? O, how am I grieved with your abominations! O, how am I wearied! My soul is wearied with you, saith the Lord: will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? O, how have ye plucked down and set up! How are your hearts made whole, and not rent! How are ye turned to fooleries! Which things in times past, ye stood over. How have ye left my dread, saith the Lord! Fear therefore, and repent, lest the snare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations; the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them. The sober people in these nations stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if ye would bring in Popery.”

G. F.

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, lest any young or ignorant people, that might sometimes come amongst us, should be drawn into that snare, I was moved to give forth the following epistle as a warning unto all such:—

“All Friends everywhere, keep out of plots and bustling, and the arm of flesh; for all these are amongst 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. Whence 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. Ye are called to peace, therefore follow it; and 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 light. Fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's kingdom; 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 fighting, are ignorant of the gospel; and all that talk of fighting for Sion, are in darkness; for Sion needs no such helpers. All such as profess themselves to be 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 thereof, must be by the inward stroke of the sword of the Spirit within. All such as pretend Christ Jesus, and confess him, and 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 up in them, and they are weary of their sufferings. Such as would revenge themselves, are out of Christ's doctrine. Such as being stricken on one cheek, would not turn the other, are out of Christ's doctrine: and such as do not love one another, nor love enemies, are out of Christ's doctrine. Therefore, ye that are heirs of the blessings of God, which were before the curse and the fall were, come to inherit your portions; and ye that are heirs of the gospel of peace, which was before the devil was, live in the gospel of peace, seeking the peace of all men, and the 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 whence wars arise. Live in Christ, the Prince of Peace, the way of God, who is the second Adam, that never fell; but live not in Adam in the fall, in the destruction, where they destroy one another. Therefore 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 bustlings in the world; meddle not with the powers of the earth; but mind the kingdom, the way of peace. Ye 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 combustions of the earth; let your conversation preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that they who speak evil of you, beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. All 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,' and therein 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 peace: so, ye being in Adam which never fell, it is love that overcomes, and 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."

G. F.

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 amongst us, were ready to take 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 some of us; but we denied them all, and declared against it both by word and writing; testifying, that our weapons and armour were not carnal, but spiritual. And lest any that came amongst 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 amongst 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 fightings, which make not for peace, but destroy it; 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 part, where they must expect wars and dishonour. Friends everywhere, dwell in your own, in the power of the Lord God, to keep your minds up to the Lord God, from falling down to the strength of Egypt, or going thither for strength, after ye 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 ye may keep over all the powers of the earth, amongst whom the just hand of God is come; for they have turned against the just, disobeyed the just in their own particulars, and so gone on in one against the just; therefore the just sets them one against another. Now he that goes to help among them, is from the just in himself, in the unstaidd state, and doth not know, by the All-Seeing Eye (that beholdeth), him that recompenseth and rewardeth, and lives not in the hand, in the power, that mangles and overturns, which vexeth the transgressors, that 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, lest 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 (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 ye may take away the occasion of wars, and so know a kingdom which hath no end, and fight for that with spiritual weapons, which takes away the occasion of the carnal; and there gather men to war, as Many as ye can, and set up as many as ye can with these weapons."

G. F.

After I had stayed some time in London, and had visited Friends' meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was set over all, I travelled into the counties again, passing through Essex and Suffolk into Norfolk, visiting Friends, till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Christmas. The mayor of Norwich, having got previous notice of the meeting I intended to have there, granted a warrant to apprehend me. When I was come thither, and heard of the warrant, I sent some Friends to the mayor to reason with him about it. His answer was, the soldiers should not meet; and did we think to meet? He would have us to go and meet without the city; for he said, the town's-people were so rude that he could hardly order them, and he feared, that our meeting would make tumults in the town. But our Friends told him, we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace; for we could not but meet to worship God, as our manner was. So he became moderate, and did not send his officers to the meeting. A large one it was, and abundance of rude people came, with an intent to do 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 bid him not burden himself with that which he could not make good; and I asked him what was our error and blasphemy; for I told him, he should make good his words, before I had done with him, or be shamed. 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, that people must wait upon 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 heard 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 hath confessed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witnessed. So I showed them, that as the holy men of God, who gave forth the Scripture as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, heard and learned of God, before they spoke them forth; so must they all hearken and hear what the Spirit saith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the Scriptures. O, said the priest, this is not that George Fox I would speak withal; this is a subtle man, said he. So the Lord's power came over all, and the rude people were made moderate, and were reached by it; and some professors that were there, called to the priests, saying, "Prove the blasphemy and errors which ye have charged them with; ye have spoken much against them behind their backs, but nothing ye can prove now (said they) to their faces." But the priest began to get away; whereupon I told him, we had many things to charge him withal, 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, people's hearts were generally filled with love towards us; yea, 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 thence to Colonel Dennis's, where we had a great meeting; and afterwards travelled on, visiting Friends in Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire. But George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn stayed about Norwich to meet the priest, who was soon confounded, the Lord's power came so over him.

After I had travelled through many counties in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding the people in some places were very rude, I returned to London, when General Monk was come up thither, and the gates and posts of the city were pulling 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.

Divers times, both by word and writing, had I 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, steeplehouses, towns, cities, markets, highways, and at your feasts, when ye were in your pleasures, and puffed up, that ye would neither hear God nor man; when ye were in your height of authority, though raised up from a mean I state, none might come nigh you without bowing, or the respect of persons, for ye were in the world's way, compliments, and fashions, which, for conscience sake towards God they could not go into,

being redeemed therefrom; therefore they were hated by you for that cause. But how are ye brought low, who exalted yourselves above your brethren, and threw the just and harmless from among you, until at last God hath thrown you out; and when ye cast the innocent from among you, then ye fell to biting one another until ye were consumed one of another. And so the day is come upon you, which before was told you, though ye would not believe it. And are not your hearts so hardened, that ye will hardly yet believe, though ready to go into captivity? Was it not told you, when ye spilt the blood of the innocent in your steeple-houses, markets, highways, and cities, yea, 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 arise up amongst yourselves, to avenge the blood of the innocent, there would come something from beyond the seas, which lay reserved there, which being brought by the arm of God, the arm of flesh and strongest mountain cannot withstand? Yet ye would not consider, regard, or hear; but cried, peace, peace, and feasted yourselves, and sat down in the spoil of your enemies, being treacherous both to God and man; and who will trust you now? Have ye not made covenants and oaths? and broken covenants and oaths between God and man, and made the nations breakers both of covenants and oaths; so that nothing but hypocrisy, rottenness, and falsehood under fair pretence, was amongst you?

“When ye pretended to set up the old cause, it was but yourselves; for which ye long stuck to sober people, who saw ye would do no good. But it was a joy for any of you to get up into authority, that ye might have praise, honour, and respect; and they that were in the self-denial, were a derision to you, from amongst whom that was banished. Thus ye became the nation's masters, and not servants; whereas the greatest of all should be the servants of all. But there ye lost your authority, not considering your estates, from whence ye were, and to what end God had raised you up; but forgot the Lord, and quenched that which was good in yourselves, and persecuted them that lived in it; and so are grown so gross and perverse, that at last ye are fit for neither God nor man. Have not ye called the Quakers the fanatic people, and the giddy heads? But whither now are ye giddy? into Cain's city Nod, which signifies fugitive, or wandering? Have not ye persecuted and imprisoned to death such as God had respect to, and is now reproving you for their sakes, by them whom ye have hated? Were not many amongst you cut off for your persecution, and yet the rest of you would not take warning? Was there not a book of examples sent out unto you, of what sudden and strange deaths happened to the persecutors of the innocent? And yet ye would not take warning, until the overflowing scourge is now coming upon you. Are not ye they that have killed like Cain, who have killed about your sacrifice, and mingled the blood of the innocent with it? Hath not God now vagabonded you, that ye 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 ye 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?”

G. F.



## CHAPTER XIII.

*1659-1660.—Address to the Cornish people, respecting shipwrecks—the soldiers at Bristol are punished for disturbing Friends' meetings—several thousands attend a general meeting at Edward Pyot's—General Monk also restrains his soldiers—great drunkenness at elections for Parliament-men—the Yearly Meeting is held at Balby—and a general meeting of discipline for several counties held at Skipton—a Friend goes naked (divested of the upper garments) through the town, declaring Truth, and is much abused—general meeting at Arnside for three counties—George Fox is committed to Lancaster Castle by Major Porter—writes an answer to his mittimus—Margaret Fell writes to the magistrates thereon—address on true religion—against persecution—to Friends, on the change of government—to Charles II., exhorting him to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and to restrain profaneness—the Sheriff of Lancashire's return to George Fox's writ of Habeas Corpus—M. Fell and Ann Curtis speak to the King on the subject—the King orders his removal to London by Habeas Corpus, and there sets him at liberty.*

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Being now clear of the city of London, and finding my spirit drawn to visit Friends in the western parts of England, passing first into Surrey and Sussex, I came to a great town where there was a large meeting, to which several Friends from Reading came, and a blessed one it was. The priest of the town was in a great rage, but did not come out of his house; wherefore, hearing him make a great noise in his house, as we were passing from the meeting, we bid him come out into the street, and we would discourse with him; but he would not. So the Lord's power being over all, Friends were refreshed therein. Thence 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 was sweetly felt amongst us. Then turning into Hampshire and Dorsetshire, I went to Ringwood and Poole visiting Friends in the Lord's power, and had great meetings amongst them.

At Dorchester we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, which many soldiers attended, and 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 would have all put off their hats, or they would take them off, to look for the Jesuit's shaven crown. So they took off my hat (for I was the man they aimed at), and looked very narrowly, but not finding any bald or shaven place on my head they went away with shame; and the soldiers, and other sober people, were greatly offended with them. But it was of good service for the Lord, and all things wrought 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.

Thence 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) there was a very wicked man, whom they got to come to the Quakers' meeting; this man put a bear's skin on his back,

and undertook with that to play pranks in the meeting. Accordingly, setting himself just opposite to the Friend that was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, having his bear's skin on his back, and so made sport to his wicked followers, and caused a great disturbance in the meeting, But an eminent judgment overtook him, and his punishment slumbered not; for as he went back from the meeting, there was a bull-baiting in the way which he stayed to see; and coming within the bull's reach, he struck his horn under the man's chin into his throat, and struck his tongue out of his mouth, so that it hung lolling out, as he had used it before, in derision in the meeting. And the bull's horn running up into the man's head, he swung him about upon his horn in a most remarkable and fearful manner. Thus he that came to do mischief amongst God's people, was mischiefed himself; and well would it be, if such apparent examples of Divine vengeance, would teach others to beware.<sup>74</sup>

We travelled through Somersetshire and Devonshire, till 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, wherein they that were convinced were established, and many others were added to them. At the Land's End, there was an honest fisherman convinced, who became a faithful minister of Christ; I took notice of him to Friends, and told them, "he was like Peter."<sup>75</sup>

While I was in Cornwall, there were great shipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such a time both rich and poor went out, to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives; and in some places, they call shipwrecks, God's grace. These things troubled me; 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 them that had suffered shipwreck with him. Wherefore 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 use their diligence therein; and consider, if it had been their own condition, they would judge it hard, if they should be upon a wreck, and people should strive to get what they could from them, and not regard their lives. A copy of this paper here follows:—

"Friends And People,

"Take heed of greediness and covetousness, for that is idolatry; and the idolater must not enter

74 Many were the judgments which overtook the persecutors of the Early Friends, as related in their journals, and the histories of the Society. The following occurred in Scotland, as related in Jaffray's diary:—"James Skene, who was generally known by the name of 'White James,' to distinguish him from a very abusive and wicked man of the same name, called 'Black James,' took great delight in inventing malicious slanders against Friends. On one occasion, whilst he was repeating some wicked verses, which he had composed on purpose to defame a worthy and innocent person, he was in that instant suddenly struck down as one dead, and was for some time deprived of his senses. When he recovered, he acknowledged the just judgment of God upon him, confessed the offence he had committed against this innocent people, and gave proof of repentance by ever after abstaining from such practices."

75 The honest fisherman mentioned here was Nicholas Jose, who was a great sufferer for Christ's sake, both in loss of goods and imprisonments in Launceston jail, Pendennis castle, and other places; indeed scarcely a year passed over without his being called on to suffer severely in some way or other for the testimony of a good conscience. He was imprisoned with twenty-four other Friends, about the year 1689, and continued in confinement till 1695. For an interesting account of this worthy man, see *Select Miscellanies*, vol. iv., 250-255.

into the kingdom of God. Take heed of drunkenness, oaths, and cursings, for such are destroyers of the creation, and make it to groan. Lay aside all fighting, quarreling, brawling, and evil speakings, which are the works of the flesh, and not of the Spirit; for they who follow such things are not likely to inherit the kingdom of God. Put away all corrupt words, which are unsavoury, and misnaming one another; for ye must give an account of every idle word. Lay aside all profession and religion that is vain; and come to the possession, and the pure religion, which is to visit the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger, and receive them; for some thereby 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 ye them; but rather endeavour to preserve their lives, and their goods for them; for that shows a spirit of compassion, and the spirit of a Christian. But if ye be greedy and covetous of other men's goods, not mattering what becomes of the men, would ye be served so yourselves? If ye 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 the men's lives, but be ready to fight one with another for your goods, do not ye believe such goods would become a curse to them? And may ye not as surely believe, such kind of actions will become a curse unto you? When the spoil of one ship's goods is idly spent, and consumed upon the lusts, in ale-houses, taverns, and otherwise, then ye gape for another. Is this to 'do as ye would be done by,' which is the law and the prophets? Therefore, priest Hull, are these thy fruits? What dost thou take people's labour and goods for? Hast thou taught them no better manners and conversation, who are so brutish and heathenish? Now all such things we judge in whomsoever. But if any Friend, or others, preserve men's lives, and endeavour to save their goods and estates, and restore what they can of a wreck to the owners; if they consider such for their labour, doing in that case unto them what they would have done unto themselves, that we approve. And if they buy or sell, and do not make a prey, that is allowed of still, in the way of 'doing as ye would be done by, keeping to the law and to the prophets: that is, if ye should be wrecked in another country, ye would have other people to save your lives and goods, and have your goods restored to you again, and you would commend them for so doing. All that do otherwise, that wait for a wreck, and get the goods for themselves, not regarding the lives of the men; but if any of them escape drowning, let them go begging up and down the country; and if any escape with a little, sometimes rob them of it;—all that do so, are not for preserving the creation, but for destroying it; and those goods which are so gotten, shall 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 ye who have done such things, 'do so no more lest a worse thing come unto you.' But that which is good, do; preserve men's lives and estates, and labour to restore the loss and breach; that the Lord requires. Be not like a company of greedy dogs, and worse than heathens, as if ye had never heard of God, nor Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor pure religion.

“And priest Hull, have people spent their money upon thee, for that which is no bread? for a thing of nought, that thou hast such fruits? All such teachers we utterly deny as make a trade of

the Scriptures, which are given forth from the Spirit of God, that they may be believed, read, and practised, and that Christ, whom they testify of, may be enjoyed. We own Christ, and are come off from all your steeple-houses, which were the old mass-houses; for there are their bad fruits harboured. Come to the church which is in God (1 Thess. i.), and to the light, which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which shows you all your ungodly words, ungodly thoughts, and ungodly actions. This will be your teacher, if ye love it; your condemnation, if ye hate it; for the mighty day of the Lord is coming upon all wickedness and ungodliness; therefore lay aside your whoredoms and fornications.

“And ye magistrates, who are to do justice, think ye not, 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 ye might be good savour in your country? Is not the law to preserve men's lives and estates, 'doing unto all men, as they would that men should do unto them?' For all men would have their lives and estates preserved; therefore, should not ye preserve others, and not suffer them to be devoured and destroyed? The evil of these things will lie upon you, both priests and magistrates.”

G. F.

*“Postscript.”*—All dear Friends who fear the Lord, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit, which leads to destroy, and which 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 to save the men, and the goods for them; and so deny yourselves, 'and do unto them as ye would that they should do unto you.’”

G. F.

This paper had good service among the people; and Friends have endeavoured much to save the lives of the crews in times of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some that have suffered shipwreck, have been almost dead and starved, Friends have taken them to their houses, to succour and recover them; which is an act to be practised by all true Christians.

I had many precious, blessed, living meetings in Cornwall, several eminent people being convinced in that county, whom neither priests nor magistrates, by spoiling goods or imprisonments, could make to forsake their Shepherd, the Lord Jesus, who bought them; and all Friends, who were turned to Christ, their Teacher and Saviour, being settled in peace and quietness upon him, their foundation, we left them to the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching and ordering, fresh and green. Thomas Lower, who had accompanied me through all that county, brought me over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again; and after several meetings there, we came into Somersetshire, where we had divers large and peaceable meetings; and so passed through the county, visiting Friends, till we came to Bristol.

I entered Bristol on the seventh day of the week. The day before, the soldiers came with their muskets

into the meeting, and were exceedingly rude, beating and striking Friends with them, and drove them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do, if Friends came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had, it seems, combined together to make a disturbance amongst Friends. When Friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly the soldiers had been the day before, I sent for several Friends, as George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and request them, seeing he and they had broken up our meetings, to let Friends have the town-hall to meet in; and for the use of it Friends would give them twenty pounds a-year, to be distributed amongst the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, Friends would not meet in it, but only on First-days. These Friends were astonished at this, and said the mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad. I said, nay; for this would be a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid 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, he said, “for his part he could consent to it, but he was but one:” and he told Friends of another great hall they might have, but that they did not accept, it being inconvenient. So Friends 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 spoke to them to go also to the colonel that commanded the soldiers, and lay before him the rude conduct of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst innocent people, who were waiting upon, and worshipping the Lord; but they were backward 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 some time in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The innkeepers had made some of them drunk; and one had bound himself with an oath, to cut down and kill the man that spoke. He came pressing in, through all the crowd of people, 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 began jangling with them. Suddenly I saw his sword was put up and gone: for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest. We had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt amongst us. On the day following, the four Friends went and spoke with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers, and cut and slashed some of them before the Friends' faces; which when I heard of I blamed the Friends for letting him do so, and also that they did not go on the seventh day, as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. But thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting there was held in peace for a good while after without disturbance.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was supposed were several thousands; for besides Friends from many parts thereabouts, some of the Baptists and Independents, with their teachers, came to it, and many of the sober people of Bristol; insomuch that the people that stayed behind said, “the city looked naked,” so many were gone out of it to this meeting. It was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who was 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 he 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, which God made him in. But now Christ is come to redeem, translate, convert, and regenerate man out of all these things that he hath set up in the fall, out of the true types, figures, and shadows also, and out of death and darkness, 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 might come to receive, Christ Jesus, the substance, by his light, Spirit, grace, and faith; and should live and walk in him, the Redeemer and Saviour.

And as we had much work with priests and professors, who pleaded for imperfection, I was opened to declare and manifest unto them, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and God saw that all that he had made, was good, and he blessed it. But imperfection came in by the fall, through man 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, that made man and woman imperfect. Christ saith to his disciples, "Be ye 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 lowest capacities, I used a comparison of two old people, that had their house broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. And there came some to them that pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up their house again, if they would give them so much a-year: but when they had got 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 rear up the house, nor could the breach be made up; for there is no perfection here, cry they; the house can never be perfectly built up again in this life;" though they had taken the people's money for the doing of 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 perfectly done here; and so their house lies as it did. But I told the people, Christ was come to do it freely, who, by one offering, hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified, and renews them into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and makes man and woman's house as perfect again as God made them at the first: and this, Christ, the heavenly man, doth freely. Therefore all are to look unto 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, and foundation of many generations. Largely were these, and many other things, opened and declared unto the people, the word of life was preached, which doth live and abide; and all were exhorted to hear and obey that which liveth and abideth, that by it all might be born again of the immortal Seed, and feed on 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 mid troublesome at Friends' meetings in many places, whereof complaint being made to him, 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, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

“George Monk.”

After the meeting at Edward Pyot's I passed to Oldeston, to Nails-Worth, and to Nathaniel Crisp's; where there was a large meeting, and several soldiers at it, but quiet. From thence we passed to Gloucester, visiting meetings. In Gloucester we had a peaceable meeting, 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;” but 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 had been I, they would have shot me with hail-shot, rather than I should have escaped them.” But the Lord prevented their devilish design, and brought me safe to Colonel Grimes's house, where we had a large general meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was set over all; Friends were established upon the Rock, and settled under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

We passed thence to Tewkesbury, and so to Worcester, visiting Friends in their meetings as we went. And in all my time I never saw the like drunkenness as in the towns, for they had been choosing parliament-men. At Worcester the Lord's truth was set over all, people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced. Yet great fears and troubles were in many people, and a looking for the king's coming in, and all things being altered. They would ask me what I thought of times and things. I told them the Lord's power was over all, and his light shone over all; 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 what might come in, and who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I had travelled through in it), and his day shined, whosoever should come in; and whether the king came in or not, all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faithful to him. Therefore I bid all Friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power that was over all.

From Worcester I visited Friends in their meetings, till I came to Badgley, and thence I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations. While there, one Burton, a justice, hearing I had a good horse, sent a warrant to search for me and my horse; but I was gone before they came; and so he missed of his wicked end. I passed on to Twy-Cross, Swannington, and Derby, where I visited Friends,

and found my old jailer amongst them, who had formerly kept me in the house of correction there, now convinced of the truth, which I then suffered under him for. Passing into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Synderhillgreen, visiting Friends through all those parts in their meetings, and so on to Balby in Yorkshire, where our Yearly Meeting at that time was held in a great orchard of John Killam's, where it was supposed some thousands of people and Friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard that a troop of horse was sent from York, to break up our meeting, and that the militia, newly raised, was 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 up, sounding their trumpets 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 bid me "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 used to have such great meetings; but if he apprehended that we met in a hostile way, I desired him to make 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 honour it would be to him, to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many unarmed men and women as there were? 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, that 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 peaceableness 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, and their horses, some meat. When the captain was gone, the soldiers that were left told us, "we might stay till night if we would." But we stayed but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us; the Seed, Christ, was set over all, and 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, and were much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting, and cursed them. It was reported that they intended to do us some mischief that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant to us, in not joining with them, as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed. Yet this captain was a desperate man, for it was he that had said to me in Scotland, that "he would obey his superior's commands; and if it were to crucify Christ he would do it; or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians, if he were under him." So that it was an eminent power of the Lord, which chained 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 several others; and then Friends parted. As they passed through the country, several were taken up. For the day that our first meeting was held on, Lambert was routed, and it made great confusion in the country; but Friends were not kept



long in prison at that time. As I went to this meeting at Balby, there came several to me at Skegby in Nottinghamshire, that were then going to be soldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horse of 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, they were scattered indeed. From Warmsworth I passed in the Lord's power to Barton-Abbey where I had a great meeting; and thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to Skipton, where there was a general meeting of men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the church.<sup>76</sup> A Friend went naked, divested of the upper garments through the town, declaring truth, and he was much beaten. Some others also came to me all bloody. As I walked in the street, a desperate fellow had an intent to do me a 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 the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to the law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates, and others that understood something of the law, came thither, 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 divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw their 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 the seas, and provide for our poor, that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc., the justices and officers confessed we did their work, and passed away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practice. Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and wait there till 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 every one of these poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught to “do good unto all; though especially to the household of faith.”

After this meeting I visited Friends in their meetings, till I came to Lancaster; whence I went to Robert Widders's, and so to Arnside, where I had a general meeting for all the Friends in Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. It was quiet and peaceable, and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us. I went back with Robert Widders; and Friends all passed away, fresh in the life and power of Christ, in which they had dominion, being settled upon him, the heavenly rock and foundation. After the meeting, there came several rude fellows, serving-men, belonging to one called Sir George Middleton, a justice that lived near, to make some disturbance, as it was thought. The meeting being ended, they did nothing there; but lighting on three women Friends going from it, they set upon them with impudent scoffs, and one of them carried himself very abusively and immodestly towards them. The same man abused other Friends also, and was so outrageous that he would have cut them with an

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<sup>76</sup> General Meetings and Yearly Meetings appear to have been somewhat similar in their character. They were held in various parts. The first of which we have any account took place at Swannington, in Leicestershire, in 1654.

axe; but was restrained by some of his fellows. Another time the same man set upon six Friends that were going to meeting, at Yelland, and beat and abused them very much, so that he bruised their faces, and shed much of their blood, wounding them very sore, one of them in several parts of his body; yet they lifted not up a hand against him, but gave him their backs and their cheeks to beat.

From Robert Widders's I went next day to Swarthmore, Francis Howgill and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before Henry Porter, a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me. I had a sense of this beforehand; and being in the parlour with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, her servants came, and told her there were some come to search the house for arms; and they went up into the chambers under that pretence. It came upon me to go out to them; and as I was going by some of them, I spoke to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name; and then they laid hold on me, saying, "I was the man they looked for," and led me away to Ulverstone. They kept me all night at the constable's house, 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 it; such dark imaginations possessed them. They were very rude and uncivil, and would neither suffer me to speak to Friends, nor suffer them to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust them out, and kept a strong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noise they made about me. One of the constables, whose name was Ashburnham, said, "He did not think a thousand men could have taken me." Another of the constables, whose name was Mount, a very wicked man, said, "He would have served Judge Fell himself so, if he had been alive, and he had had a warrant for him." Next morning, about six, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off the latter, took my knife out of my pocket, and hastened me away along the town, with a party of horse and abundance of people, not suffering me to stay till my own horse came down. When I was 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 about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, "Will they rescue him? Will they rescue him?" Whereupon I said unto them, "Here is my hair, here is my back, here are my cheeks, strike on!" With these words their heat was a little assuaged. 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 it behind the saddle, and so led the horse by the halter; but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come some distance 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 so led it about two miles, till they came to a great water called the Carter-ford. By this time my own horse was come to us, and the water being deep, and their little horse scarcely able to carry me through, they let me get upon my own, through the persuasion of some of their own company, leading him through the water. One wicked fellow kneeled down, and lifting up his hands, blessed God, that I was taken. When I was come over the Sands, I told them I heard I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before; but Mount and the other constables cried, "No, I should not." Then they led me to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had; but as they led me, I was moved "to sing praises to the Lord, in his triumphing

power over all.”

When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them; and they cried, “Look at his eyes!” After a while I spoke to them; and then they were pretty sober. Then came a young man, and took me to his house; and after a little time the officers had me to Major Porter's, the justice, and who had sent forth the warrant against me; he had several others with him. When I came in, I said, “Peace be amongst you!” Porter asked me, “Why I came down into the country that troublesome time?” I told him, “To visit my brethren.” “Then,” 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 come 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 I complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers, after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. 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 for what he was committed.” I told him, that was not reason; for how should he make his defence then? I said, “I ought to have a copy of it;” but he said, “There was a judge once that fined a man for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; and,” said he, “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 it not being ready, he said to 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 endeavoured 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 and put me into the Dark-house, and to let none come to me; but keep me there a close prisoner, till I should be delivered by the king or parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was; “for I hear,” said he, “that he has a good horse; have ye brought it?” I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him. As they took me to the jail, the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it him; but I told him, nay, he had not been so civil to me. So they put me into the jail, and the under-jailer, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceedingly rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door. Many people came to look at me, some in great rage, and very uncivil and rude. Once there came two young priests, and very abusive they were; the worst of people could not be worse. Amongst those that came in this manner, did Preston's wife, of Howker, was one. She used many abusive words, telling me, “My tongue should be cut out,” and that “I should be hanged;”

showing me the gallows. But the Lord God cut her off, and she died in a miserable condition.

Being now a close prisoner in the common jail at Lancaster, I desired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the jailer, and desire of him a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I stood committed for. They went; and the jailer answered, "he could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for so doing;" but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the best of their remembrance the matters therein 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, together with others of my fanatic opinion, I have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep me in safe custody, until I should be released by order of the king and parliament."

When I had thus got the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus, I wrote a plain answer, in vindication of my innocency in each particular; as follows:—

"I am a prisoner at Lancaster, committed by Justice Porter. A copy of the mittimus I cannot get, but such expressions I am told are in it, as 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, endeavour to raise insurrections to embroil the nation in blood, all which is utterly false, and I do, in every part thereof, 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 through the nation I have been tried for these things formerly. In the days of Oliver, I was taken up on pretence of raising arms against him, which was also false; for I meddled not with raising arms at all. Yet I was then carried up a prisoner to London, and brought before him; when I cleared myself, and denied the drawing of a 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, who, when I was brought before the judge, 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, and a lie of his own inventing, as was then proved upon him: for I never spoke any such word to him. I never was found 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. The peace of the nation I am not a disturber of, nor ever was; but seek the peace of it, and of all men, and stand for all nations' peace, and all men's peace upon the earth, and wish all knew my innocency in these things.

"And whereas Major Porter says, 'I am an enemy to the king:' this is false; for my love is to him and to all men, though they be enemies to God, to themselves, and to me. And I can say, it is of the Lord that he is come in, to bring down many unrighteously set up; of which I had a sight

three years before he came in. It is much 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 them 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.

“Whereas 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; they 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 says, 'that I, together with others of my fanatic opinion, as he calls it, have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood:' I say 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 the drawing of any carnal weapon against the king or parliament, or any man upon 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. A witness I am against all murderers, plotters, and all such as would '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 honour. We are not furious, foolish, or mad; but through patience and meekness have borne lies and 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; this 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.

“Now, inasmuch as I am ordered to be kept prisoner, till I be delivered by order from the king or parliament, therefore have I written these things to be laid before you, the king and parliament, that ye may consider of them before ye act any thing therein; that ye may weigh, in the wisdom of God, the intent and end of men's spirits, lest ye act the thing that will bring the hand of the

Lord upon you, and against you, as many have done before, who have been in authority, whom God hath overthrown, in whom we trust, whom we fear and cry unto day and night;—who hath heard us, doth, and will hear us, and avenge our cause. For much innocent blood has been shed; and many have been persecuted to death by such as have been in authority before you, whom God hath vomited out, because they turned against the just. Therefore consider your standing, now that ye 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 house, and charged with things of so high a nature, she was concerned, looking upon it to be an injury offered to herself. Whereupon she wrote the following lines, and distributed them:—

*“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 or 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, bail was offered, what he would demand, for his appearance, to answer what could be laid to his charge; but he contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) refused to accept of any bail, and put him in close prison. After he was in prison, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, so that he may see what is laid to his charge; but it was denied him: a copy he could not have, they were suffered only to read it over. Everything that was there charged against him was utterly false; he was not guilty of any one 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 too. So 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, and to show him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received. When Justice Porter heard of this, he vapoured, that he would go and meet her in the gap. But when he came before the king, having been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several of the courtiers spoke to him concerning his plundering their houses; so that he quickly had enough of the court, and soon 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 waited on him, after his return 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 a prisoner till 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 down 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 favour 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 things 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 tierce against those that favoured the king, that he said, “he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him provision to the castle.” I asked him also, “whose great buck's horns those were, that were in his house; and where he had both them and the wainscot from that he ceiled his house withal; had he them not 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, had been hung near his own door for endeavouring to bring in the king; on which consideration she had some hopes the king might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Pell 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 up, and hear the cause himself,” he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for bringing me up. But when they came to the secretary for the order, he, being no friend to us, said, “it was not in his power; he must act according to law, and I must be brought up by an *habeas corpus* before the judges.” So he wrote to the judge of the King's Bench, signifying that it was the king's pleasure, that I should be sent up by an *habeas corpus*. Accordingly a writ was sent down, 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 were 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 stated, “George Fox in prison under your custody,” whereas the prison I was in was not, they said, in the chancellor's custody, but in the sheriff's; so the word your should have been his. On this they returned the writ to London, 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 refused, telling them I would not seal anything to them, nor be bound. So the matter rested a while, 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 people came to see me; and 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 they who then held up the mass cried, 'It was the higher power, and people must be subject to the higher power.' Afterwards, they that set up the Common Prayer persecuted others for not following that; saying, 'It was the higher power then also, 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 changeth not." Much on this wise I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a paper concerning True Religion, as follows:—

"True Religion is the true rule, and right way of serving God; a pure stream of righteousness, flowing from the image of God; the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law of life, which bringeth 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 from above, pure and 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 their professors from defilement, but leave them impure, below, and spotted; whose fatherless, and widows, and strangers beg up and down the streets."

G. F.

Soon after I gave forth a paper against persecution, as follows:—

"The Papists, Common-Prayer-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists persecute one another about their own inventions, their mass, common-prayer, directory, and 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 saith Christ; who also said, 'He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' Now we cannot trust our bodies, souls, or spirits into the hands of those that know not what spirit they are of, but will persecute and destroy men's lives, and not save them; 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 did not know what spirit they were of. If they did not know what spirit they were of, do these who have persecuted about church and religion since the apostles' days, who would compel men's bodies, goods, lives, souls, and estates into their hands by a law, or make them suffer? Those that destroy men's lives are not the ministers of Christ, the Saviour; 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 ye that persecute shall have no resurrection to life with God, except ye repent. But they that know what spirit they are of themselves, are in the unrebukable zeal, and by the Spirit of God they offer up their spirits, souls, and bodies to the Lord, which are his, to keep them."

G. F.



Whilst 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! And as concerning the changing of times and governments, let not that trouble any of you; for God hath a mighty work and hand therein. He will yet change again, until that come up, 'which must reign; in vain shall powers and armies withstand the Lord, for his determined work shall come to pass. But it is just with the Lord that what is now come up 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; yea many, whose zeal was even dead, shall revive again, 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 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 ye 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 itself, and one with another. Amen.”

G. F.

I was moved also to write to the king, to “exhort him to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and to warn him to restrain the profaneness and looseness that had got up in the nation on his return.” It was thus:—

*“To the King.*

“King Charles,

“Thou earnest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now if thou live not in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the Lord hath showed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgiveness, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou stop not persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee; for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou 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 may-poles, with the image of the crown on the top 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 was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there

was no terror nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace the government, nor is a 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 thy time, whilst thou hast power; be merciful and forgive; this is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.”

G. F.

It was long 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, 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. At last, when they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff yielded, consenting 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. Whereupon I was let out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I stayed two or three days, and then to Lancaster again, and so to Preston, having meetings amongst Friends, till I came into Cheshire to William Gandy's, where there was a large meeting out of doors, the house not being sufficient 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. Thence I came into Staffordshire and Warwickshire, to Anthony Bickliffs; and at Nun-Eaton, at the house of a priest's widow, we had a blessed meeting, wherein the everlasting Word of Life was powerfully declared, and many settled in it. Then travelling on, visiting Friends' meetings, in about three weeks from my coming out of prison, I reached London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Widders 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 hung, 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 judges. He was very peevish and froward, and said I might come another time. We went again to his chamber, when Judge Foster was with him, who was called the lord chief justice of England. With me was one called Esquire Marsh, who was one of the bedchamber to the king. When we had delivered to the judges the charge that was 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. Whereupon 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 it on, they said, "What, did I stand with my hat on!" I told them I did not so in any contempt of them. Then they commanded it to be taken off; and when they called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, "You must take this man, and secure him; but let him have a chamber, and not put him amongst the prisoners." "My lord," said the marshal, "I have no chamber to put him into; my house is so full I cannot tell where to provide a room for him but amongst the prisoners." "Nay," said the judge, "you must not put him amongst the prisoners." But when he still answered, he had no other place to put me in, Judge Foster said to me, "Will you appear to-morrow about ten o'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. Next day I appeared at the King's Bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and Esquire Marsh going with me. I was brought into the middle of the court; and as soon as I came in, was moved to look round, 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 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 ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded with a troop or two of horse. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, nearly two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which, ye may be sure, they would not have done, had they looked upon me to be such a man." Then the judge asked me, whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it. I answered, "Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter, therefore do with it what ye will; for I am the man these charges are against, and here ye see, I have brought them up myself; do ye what ye 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 over-night. Whereupon they said, "They did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me." Then stood up Esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bedchamber, 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, Esq., one of his Majesty's justices of peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fifth of June now last past; for that 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 others of his fanatic opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these 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 Serjeant's Inn, in Pleet-Street, to do and receive those things which his Majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required.

'George Chetham, Esq., Sheriff.'

On 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 he did, thus:—

“It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you give order for releasing, and setting at full liberty, the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded hither by an *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, Judge Mallet forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the King's Bench for my release, as follows:—

“By virtue of a warrant, which this morning I have received from the Right Hon. 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 thence brought hither 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 Lenthall, Knight, Marshal of the King's Bench, or his deputy.

Thus, after being a prisoner 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; Porter, who committed

me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*1660-1662.—George Fox writes an epistle of consolation to Friends unjustly imprisoned in consequence of the insurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy Men—Friends' declaration against war and plots—John Perrot and Charles Bailey create a schism—some Friends in New England are put to death, a sense whereof is given to George Fox at the time—the King's mandamus to the Governor of New England and others, to restrain them from executing Friends—the Battledore is published, showing, by examples from thirty languages, that “Thou” and “Thee” are proper to one person—on true worship—George Fox disputes with some Jesuits, and with all other sects—John Perrot's heresy condemned—on judicial swearing—George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn write to the King, showing the number of Friends imprisoned prior to, and during the first year of, the Restoration, and the number who died in prison during the Commonwealth—Thomas Sharman, jailer at Derby, convinced, and writes to George Fox—George Fox applies to Lord D'Aubeny on behalf of two Friends imprisoned in the Inquisition at Malta, who procures their liberation—the ground and rise of persecution set forth—great service at Bristol, where also he has a vision—visits Captain Brown and his wife; the former had fled from persecution, and was judged in himself, but afterwards convinced—George Fox and several others are arrested by Lord Beaumont, and sent to Leicester jail—they are suddenly liberated—To Friends on the death of Edward Burrough—Escapes from persecutors—Friends established on Christ, the Rock of Ages.*

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When it was known I was discharged from Lancaster Castle, a company of envious, wicked spirits were troubled, and terror took hold of Justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife, and children. Indeed I was pressed by some in authority to make 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 had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and his blessed truth, life, and light shone over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked in unto the truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, who said, “Nona should molest us, so long as we lived peaceably,” and promised this to us upon the word of a king, telling him we might make use of his promise.<sup>77</sup> Some Friends also were admitted into the House of Lords, and had liberty to declare their reasons, why they could not pay tithes, swear, or go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship, and they heard

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<sup>77</sup> Some interesting particulars of what passed during Richard Hubberthorn's interview with the king are related in Sewell's *History*, for which see the index of that work.

them moderately. And there being about seven hundred Friends in prison in the nation, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (as they call them), when the king came in, he set them all at liberty. There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty, because they were sensible that we had suffered as well as they under the former powers. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereto, 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 confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when suddenly 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 shone over all, and his power was exalted above all; but about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, "Arm, Arm!" I got up 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 them, and went to Pall-Mall, where divers Friends came to me, though it had now become dangerous passing the streets; for by this time the city and suburbs were up in arms, and exceedingly rude the people and soldiers were; insomuch that Henry Fell,<sup>78</sup> going to a Friend's house, the soldiers knocked him down, and he would have been killed, had not the Duke of York come by. Great mischief was done in the city this week; and when the next First-day came, as Friends went to their meetings, many were taken prisoners. I stayed at Pall-Mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on Seventh-day night, a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The servant letting them in, they rushed into the house, and laid hold of me; and there being amongst them one that had served under the parliament, he put his hand to my pocket, and asked, "whether I had any pistols?" I told him, he knew I did not carry pistols, why therefore ask such a question of me, whom he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of the soldiers ran into the chambers, and there found in bed Esquire Marsh, who, though he was one of the king's bedchamber, out of his love to me, came 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." O," said the parliament soldier, "he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader." Upon this the soldiers were taking me away, but Esquire Marsh hearing of it, sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forthcoming in the morning. In the morning before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot soldiers to the house, and one of them drawing his sword, held it over my head. I asked him, "why he drew his sword at an unarmed man?" at which his fellows being ashamed, bid him put up his sword. These foot 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 exceedingly rude, yet I declared truth to them; but some great persons coming by, who were very full of envy, "What," said they, "do ye let him

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78 Henry Fell was an eminent minister in the Society. In 1656 and 1658 he visited the West India isles. During the first visit, he was absent from home about a year. From 1659 to 1662, he was mostly engaged in gospel labours in England, and from this period we lose all trace of him. He is mentioned in Whiting's Catalogue as having died in America. His home was in Lancashire, and there is reason to believe he was a near relative of Judge Fell. He appears to have received an education considerably above most of his day. Some of his letters are given in Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, and in Barclay's *Letters of Early Friends*.

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, yet they could not stop the Word of Life. Some came, and asked me, “What I was?” I told them, “A preacher of righteousness.” After I had been kept there two or three hours, Esquire Marsh spoke to Lord Gerrard, and he came and bid them 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; and 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 White-hall, to an inn, where many Friends were at that time prisoners under a guard. I desired these colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends, that were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I stepped to the sentry, and desired him to let me go up; and he did so. While I was there, the soldiers went to Pall-Mall again to search for me there; but not finding me, they turned towards the inn, and bid all come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the soldiers that were within, “Whether I might not stay there a while with my friends?” They said, “Yes.” I stayed, and so escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-Mall, to see how it was with the Friends there; and after I had stayed a while, I went up into the city. Great rifling of houses there was at this time to search for people. I went to a private friend's house, and Richard Hubberthorn was with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the king and council; but when finished, and sent to print, it was taken in the press.

On 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 for several weeks after; men or 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. Nay, one man in a fever, the soldiers dragged out of bed to prison, and when he was brought there he died. His name was Thomas Pachyn.

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 heretofore, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed.

The prisons were now everywhere filled with Friends, and others, in the city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters, that none could pass unsearched. We heard of several thousands of our Friends being cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. Next week we had an account of several thousands more being cast into prison; and she went and laid them also before the king and council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, having given strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord so ordered it, that we had an account, notwithstanding all their stoppings. 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 advised them to send up an account of

their sufferings:—

“My Dear Friends,

“In the immortal seed of God, which will plead its own innocency, who are inheritors of an everlasting kingdom that is incorruptible, and of a world and riches that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied amongst you in all your sufferings; whose backs were not unready, but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared suffering, 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 ye 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 sufferings are, live and feed; wherein the Bread of Life is felt, and no cause to complain of hunger or cold. Friends, I would have you all, that are or have been lately in prison, to send up an account of your sufferings, and how things are amongst you, that it may be delivered to the king and his council; for things are pretty well here after the storm.”

G. F.

London, the 28th of the 11th Month, 1660.

Having lost our former declaration in the press, we hastily drew up another against plots and fighting, got it printed, and sent some copies to the king and council; others were sold in the streets, and at the Exchange. Which declaration was some years after reprinted, and is as follows:—

*A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world: for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from magistrates and people concerning tears and fightings.*

*Presented to the King upon the 21st day of the 11th 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 iv. 1—3, out of which the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. The occasion of war, and war itself (wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, lust, kill, and desire to have men's lives or estates) ariseth from lust. All bloody principles and practices, as to our own particulars, we utterly deny; with all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever; this is our testimony to the whole world. And whereas it is objected:

“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, and 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 thy sword in his 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 taketh the sword, shall perish with the sword.' And further, Christ said to Pilate, 'Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?' And this might satisfy Peter, Luke xxii. 36, after he had put up his sword, when he said to him, 'He that took it, should perish by it;' which satisfieth us, Matt. xxvi. 51—53. And in the Revelation, it is said, 'He that kills with the sword, shall perish with the sword; and here is the faith and the patience of the saints.' And so Christ's kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his servants 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 amongst transgressors, and 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; and 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, saith the Lord. Zech. iv. 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 we deny.

“Secondly, We do 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; that he may rule and reign in men by his Spirit and truth; that thereby all people, out of every profession, may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another; and that they may all come to witness the prophet's words, who said, 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,' Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3.

“So we, whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his truth, have denied wars and fightings, and cannot more learn them. This is a certain testimony unto all the world, of the truth of our hearts in this particular, that as God persuadeth every man's heart to believe, so they may receive it. For we have not, as some others, gone about with cunningly 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, have we laboured to manifest unto all men, that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all. And whereas all manner of evil hath been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occasion of that offence; that so being innocent, we 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 and godly life, in all godliness and honesty. For although we have always suffered, and do now more abundantly suffer, yet we know that 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 Cor. i. 12, 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 synagogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults, 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 sufferings is not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of our God, and in obedience to his requirings. For which cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice, rather than disobey the Lord; for we know, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, so he will plead our cause, when there is none in the earth to plead it. So we, in obedience unto 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 hath commanded us that we shall not swear at all, Matt. v. xxxiv, hath also commanded us that we shall not kill, Matt. v.; so that we can neither kill men, nor swear for or against them. This is both our principle and 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 practices of his apostles; even contrary to him, for whom we suffer all things, and endure all things.

“And whereas men come against us with clubs, staves, drawn swords, pistols cocked, and beat, cut, and abuse us, yet we never resisted them; but to them our hair, backs, and cheeks, have been ready. It is not an honour to manhood or nobility to run upon harmless people, who lift not up a hand against them, with arms and weapons.

“Therefore consider these things, ye men of understanding; for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters, running with swords, clubs, staves, and pistols, one against another; these, we say, are of the world, and have their foundation from this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain; which Lamb hath redeemed us from this unrighteous world, and we are not of it, but are heirs of a world of which there is no end, and of a kingdom where no corruptible thing enters. Our weapons are spiritual, and not carnal, yet mighty through God, to the pulling down of the strongholds 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 iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us amongst the transgressors and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency herein, 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 hath in his hand, which he cares for 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 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 on the earth. If you oppress us, as they did the children of Israel in Egypt, and 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, '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 that ever he was, that lives for ever and ever, who hath the innocent in his arms.

“O, Friends! offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people; but consider and be moderate. Do not run on hastily, but consider mercy, justice, and judgment; that is the way for you to prosper, and obtain favour 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. O! that men should lose their reason, and go contrary to their own conscience; knowing that we have suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters from the beginning, though we have declared against them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any such thing! We have suffered all along, because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight, and are thus made a prey, because we are the innocent lambs of Christ, and cannot avenge ourselves! These things are left on your hearts to consider; but 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;' Matt. xxvi. 52; Rev. xiii. 10.

“This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to satisfy the king and his council, and all those that have any jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocency cleared.”

“*Postscript.*—Though we are numbered amongst 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 for ever, yet he is our pleader in this day.

The Lord saith, '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 (neither old nor young being spared, men nor women), and made a prey of in the sight of all nations, under the pretence of being seditious, etc, so that all rude people run upon us to take possession. For which we say, 'The Lord forgive them that have thus done to us;' who doth, and will enable us to suffer; and never shall we lift up hand against any that thus use us; but desire 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, who were never found plotters against any, since we knew the life and power of Jesus Christ manifested in us, who hath redeemed us from the world, 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!

“O! do as you would be done by; do unto all men as you would have them do unto you; for this is 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 the aspersion cast upon us, that we are seditious or plotters.”

*Added in the reprinting.*

“Courteous Reader,

“This was our testimony above twenty years ago; 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 tins age, many of whom were then children, and doth 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.”

This declaration somewhat cleared 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 the Fifth-monarchy-men. But when those 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 importuned thereunto, issued a declaration, “That Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees.” But great labour, travail, and pains were taken, before this was obtained;

for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.<sup>79</sup>

Much blood was shed this year, many of the old king's judges being hung, drawn, and quartered. Amongst them that so suffered, Colonel Hacker was one, who sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time, of which an account is given before. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of Oliver Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hung, drawn, and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God, that their blood would be required; and I said as much then to several. And now upon the king's return, when several that had been against him were put to death, as the others that were for him had been 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 professors, who, being got 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 to Friends to draw up accounts of their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the judges at the assize; and if they would not do justice, then to lay them before the parliament, 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, and of the widows and fatherless whom they had made so. For that which we suffered for, and for which our goods were spoiled, was our obedience to the Lord in his Power and in his Spirit, who was able to help and to succour, 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 dread, and a fear amongst 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 amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the truth. O! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongst them, even in the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying Thou and Thee to them! O! 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 laying great fines upon us, because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet some 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 on account of us." Wherefore I was moved to write to them, and ask them, "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, whipped us, 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

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<sup>79</sup> Among the Swarthmore collection of MSS. has been found a narrative of an interview Thomas Moor had with the king, which has been printed in *Letters of Early Friends*, p. 92, to which the reader is referred. It is endorsed by George Fox thus:—"What the king said to T. Moor, 1660, 14th of 10th month." It will be remembered Thomas Moor was formerly a justice of the peace, and was convinced by George Fox, as related in the early part of this journal.

give them our backs to beat, and our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to spit on? Had not their priests, that prompted them on to such work, pulled them with themselves into the ditch? Why then would they say, 'It was all through of us,' 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 had thought to weary us out, and undo us, but they undid themselves. Whereas we could praise God, notwithstanding all their plundering of us, that we had a platter, a horse, and plough still."

Many ways were these professors warned, by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none, till it was too late. William Sympton<sup>80</sup> was moved of the Lord to go, several times for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' and great men's houses, telling them, "So should they be stripped naked, as he was stripped!" And sometimes he was moved to put on sackcloth, and besmear his face, and 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 stonings and imprisonments, in three years' time, before the king came in, that they might have taken warning; but they would not: they 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, amongst the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to show them that the surplice was coming up 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 Chester, 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 travelled in the work of the ministry; and this constable being convinced by the Friend, that was thus 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 dark professors as they were, put him into their prison called Little-Ease; and so squeezed his body therein, that not long after he died.<sup>81</sup> Many warnings of many sorts were

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80 This is probably the Friend of whom there is some account in *Piety Promoted*, vol. i., p. 71. He was born in Lancashire, and receiving the Truth, became a faithful minister of it, for which he was often imprisoned, and underwent cruel and hard sufferings. In 1670, he went to Barbadoes with John Burnyeat, to preach the gospel in that island, but after having some service there, he was taken ill of a fever, during which he felt great peace and consolation of spirit, and signified "he should die." He was often praising and glorifying God after this manner: "O! all that is within me praise and magnify the Lord God, who is worthy for ever of all glory; everlasting praises to the God of my life, who only is worthy, and lives over all, and is above all, God blessed for ever. Amen." He died in much peace and quietness.

81 Richard Sale, the constable who became convinced, was an undaunted reproacher of vice. The place in which he lost his life, called "Little Ease," is described to have been "a hole hewed out in a rock; the breadth across, seventeen inches; from the back to the inside of the great door, at the top, seven inches; at the shoulders, eight inches; at the breast, nine inches and a half; from the top to the bottom, one yard and a half, with a device to lessen the height, as they are minded to torment the persons put in, by draw-boards which shoot over the two sides to a yard height, or thereabout."

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, 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 crying against all made them dislike us.” But now they saw those priests, which were then looked upon to be the best, were as bad as the rest. For indeed, some of those that were counted the most eminent, 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 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 under the name of Intolerable Toleration. But a while 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, “Whether he would account toleration accursed now?” and “Whether he would not now be glad of a toleration?” To which the priest returned no answer, save by the shaking of his head. But as stiff as these men were then against toleration, it is well known that 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 1600 and beginning of 1601.

Although those Friends that had been imprisoned on the rising of the Monarchy-men were set at liberty, meetings were much disturbed, and great Bufferings Friends underwent. For besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in. There came one time, when I was at Pall-Mail, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen and rude fellows; the meeting was over before they came, and I was 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 thou threatenest to kill all the Quakers,

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In this place they tormented many of those who were induced, with Christian courage, to reprove the vices, either of ministers, magistrates, or people. Richard Costrop, for preaching repentance in the streets, was put in Little Ease till next day, and then, by the Mayor, sent to Bridewell. Thomas Yarwood, who, as the Mayor and Aldermen were going to a customary feast, with music playing before them, dared to remind them wherein real Christianity stood, viz., *in true holiness and the fear of the Lord*, was sent to Little Ease, and kept there five hours; by which he, being but a weak sickly man, was much bruised and hurt. William Sympson, attempting, in Christian love, to exhort the people, after their public preacher had ended his sermon, was first put in the stocks, and afterwards kept in Little Ease nine hours. When, next morning, he complained to the Mayor of his cruel usage, he was sent again to the same place, after the Sheriff, in the Mayor's presence, had struck him in the face, so that he bled very much. Edward Morgan, complaining to the Mayor against a drunken fellow who had grossly abused him, was sent to Little Ease for not putting off his hat when he made that complaint, and the drunkard went unpunished; as did also a servant who had robbed his master, a Friend, the master being, by this same magistrate, imprisoned eleven weeks, because he would not swear to the fact of the robbery.

Into this place was the Friend above named (Richard Sale) put several times, in 1656-1657, for three, four, five, and eight hours together. Being corpulent, it required the strength of four men to thrust him in. In doing which, they crushed him till the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. He survived the last torture but two months, and died imputing his death to the cruelty of his persecutors.

though they have done thee no hurt. But,” said I, “here is gospel for thee: here is my hair, here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder,” turning it to him. This came so over him, that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said, if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them, what I was in words, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador, who had stood without, came in; for he said that Irish colonel was such a desperate man, that he durst not come in with him, for fear he should do 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 they 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, that was moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the Papists, was dead in prison at Rome: it was suspected he was privately put to death in prison. John Perrot was also a prisoner there, and being released, came over again 5 but after his arrival here, he, with Charles Baily and others, turned aside from the unity of Friends and truth. Whereupon 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 returned and repented.

Also before this time we received account from New England, that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death, in case they returned; and that several Friends, having been so banished, and returning, were taken, and actually hung; and that many more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence being executed upon them.<sup>82</sup> When those were put

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82 The persecution of the Quakers in New England, by the Puritans and Independents, who had themselves fled from home to enjoy religious liberty, formed a dreadful scene, the very recital of which is revolting to humanity. Some they caused to have their ears cut off; and, amongst many other cruelties, which would fill a volume, they ordered three Quaker women to be stripped to the waist, and flogged through eleven towns, a distance of eighty miles, in all the severity of frost and snow. But, as if this was not enough, they actually hanged three men and one woman for Christ's sake, who all acquitted themselves, at their awful exit, with that firmness and submission which a Christian martyr is enabled to sustain at such an hour of nature's extremity, giving full proof of their sincerity and trust in the goodness and support of Him, who had called them to make a public profession of his name before a wicked and perverse generation. Their names were—William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer.

On the day appointed for the execution of these innocent victims, they were led to the gallows by military officers, accompanied by a band of about 200 armed men, besides many horsemen—a measure which plainly indicated that some fear of popular indignation was apprehended; and, that no appeal might be made to the feelings of the multitude, a drummer was appointed to march before the condemned persons, to beat the drum, especially when any of them attempted to speak.

Glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were visible in the countenances of these holy martyrs, who walked hand in hand to the place where they were to suffer. “This is to me an hour of the greatest joy,” exclaimed Mary Dyer; adding, that no eye could see, no ear could hear, no tongue could utter, no heart could understand, the sweet refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which she then felt.

Being come to the ladder, and having taken leave of each other with tender affection, they yielded up their lives into the hands of their enemies, Robinson's last words being, “I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die;” and those of Stevenson, “This day shall we be at rest with the Lord.” William Leddra, patiently submitting himself whilst the executioner put the halter round his neck, said, “I commit my righteous cause unto thee, O God;” and, as he was turned off, died with these words, “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!” When Mary Dyer ascended the ladder, she was told by some of the standers-by that even now, if she would obey them, she might come down and save her life. But this magnan-



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 do not know how many may soon be put to death." The king answered, "As speedily as ye will. Call," said he to some present, "the secretary, and I will do it presently." The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith 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 thither, but if we would send one, we might do it as soon as we chose." Edward Burrough 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 ye will." Whereupon E. B. named Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hung if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship; and

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imous sufferer shrank not from her doom, well knowing in whom, and for whom she was about to die; she contentedly laid down her life, saying, "In obedience to the will of the Lord, I abide faithful unto death."

"We, too, have had our martyrs. Such wert thou,  
 Illustrious woman! though the starry crown  
 Of martyrdom has sat on many a brow,  
 In the world's eye, of far more wide renown.  
 Yet the same spirit graced thy fameless end,  
 Which shone in Latimer and his compeers;  
 Upon whose hallowed memories still attend  
 Manhood's warm reverence, childhood's guileless tears.  
 Well did they win them; may they keep them long!  
 Their names require not praise obscure as mine,  
 Nor does my muse their cherish'd memories wrong,  
 By this imperfect aim to honour thine.  
 Heroic martyr of a sect despised!  
 Thy name and memory to my heart are dear:  
 Thy fearless zeal (in artless childhood prized)  
 The lapse of years has taught me to revere.  
 Thy Christian worth demands no poet's lay,  
 Historian's pen, nor sculptor's boasted art;  
 What could the proudest tribute these can pay  
 To thy immortal spirit, now impart?  
 Yet seems it like a sacred debt to give  
 'The brief memorial thou mayst well supply;  
 Whose life display'd how Christians ought to live.  
 Whose death—how Christian martyrs calmly die."

For further particulars of the New England persecution, the reader is referred to Sewell's *History*; Bowden's *History of Friends in America*; Kelty's *Early Days in the Society of Friends*; Hodgson's *Historical Memoirs*, etc.

agreed with him for £300, goods or no goods, to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and, with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks arrived before the town of Boston, in New England, upon a First-day morning. Many passengers went with him, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board, and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them, 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 to-day." So they went on shore, 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 not his errand, nor his authority. So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to land, next morning, Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, 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) 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. They were then admitted, 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 land; 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 thus met, 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 for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for he only is able to deliver, to save, and to 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 amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others, as hath been represented unto us, are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons, whether condemned or imprisoned, over into this 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 the governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be: and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever, 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. On one of these occasions I asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New England magistrates, “Whether he had not a hand in putting to death those four servants of God, whom they hung for being Quakers only, as they had nicknamed them?” He confessed he had. I then asked him and the rest of his associates that were present, “Whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subject to the laws of England; and if they did, by what laws they had put our Friends to death?” They said, “They were subject to the laws of England; and had put our Friends to death by the same law that the Jesuits were put to death in England.” I asked them then, “Whether they believed those Friends of ours, whom they had put to death, were Jesuits or jesuitically affected?” They said, nay. “Then,” said I, “ye have murdered them, if ye have put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were no Jesuits. By this it plainly appears ye 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 catch them?” I told them, they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson, one of them that were put to death, were 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 amongst them:” but next morning we had letters from New England, giving us account that our Friends were persecuted there afresh. We went again, and showed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame; and in great fear they seemed to be, lest some one should call them to account, and prosecute them for their lives, especially Simon Broadstreet; for he had at first, before so many witnesses, confessed he had a hand in putting our Friends to death, that he could not get off from it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. After this, he and the rest soon returned to New England again.

I went also to Governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him on these matters; he assured me, “He had no hand in putting our Friends to death, or in any way persecuting them; but was one of them that protested against it.” These stingy persecutors of New England were a people that fled thither out of Old England, from the persecution of the bishops here; but when they had got power into their own hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas 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 as should not conform to their will-worship there; and spoiled the goods of Friends that Could not pay it. Besides, many they imprisoned, divers they whipped, and that most cruelly; of some they cut Off the ears, and some they hanged; as the books of Friends' sufferings in New England largely show, particularly that written by George Bishop, of Bristol, entitled, New England Judged. Some of the old royalists were earnest with Friends to prosecute them, but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth, 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.

About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands; it was a useful teaching work, containing the signification and explanation of names, parables, types, and figures in the Scriptures. They who took it were so affected with it, that they were both to destroy it; but thinking to make 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.

Before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, the book called the Battledore was published, 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 from the Scriptures, and books of teaching, in about thirty languages. J. Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I set them upon; and some things I added to it. When it was finished, copies were presented to the king and his council, to the bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one each; and many purchased them. The king said, it was the proper language of all nations; and the bishop of Canterbury, being asked what he thought of it, was at a stand, and could not tell what to say to it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterwards were so rugged toward us, for saying Thou and Thee to a single person, for which before they were exceedingly fierce against us. Thou and Thee was a sore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour, who, though they would say it to God and Christ, could not endure to have it said to themselves. 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 Christian breeding consisted in saying You to one; which is contrary to all their grammars and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth.

Now the bishops and priests being 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:—

“Christ's worship is free in the Spirit to all men; and such as worship in Spirit and in truth, are they whom 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 hath given to all nations of men and women breath and life, to live, and move, and have their being in him; and hath put into them an immortal soul So all are to be

temples for him to dwell in; and they that defile his temple will he destroy. Now as the outward Jews, while they had their outward temple at Jerusalem, were to go up thither to worship (which temple God hath long since thrown down, and destroyed that Jerusalem, the vision of peace; and cast off the Jews and their worship; and instead thereof hath set up his gospel-worship in Spirit and in truth), so now all are to worship in Spirit and in truth. This is a free worship; for where the Spirit of the Lord is, and ruleth, there is liberty; the fruits of the Spirit are seen, and will manifest themselves; and the Spirit is not to be limited, but lived and walked in, that its fruits 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, till the harvest, lest they that take upon them to pluck up the tares, should pluck up the wheat with the tares. The tares are such as worship not God in Spirit and in 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. But when men departed from the Spirit and truth, they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, and yet they cannot preserve them with their carnal weapons; for one plucketh down another's form with his outward weapons. And this work hath been among nominal Christians, since they lost the Spirit, and spiritual weapons, and the true worship which Christ set up, that is in Spirit and in truth, which they that worship in, are over all the tares. All that would be plucking up the tares are forbidden by Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; for the tares and the wheat must grow together till the harvest, as Christ hath commanded. The stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; now, if the stone fill 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 every one's work is seen, of what sort it is."

G. F.

About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and talked where they came, that of all sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people; and said, "It was a great pity 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 loth 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 discourse with them, be they what they will." So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts's house, there came two of them like courtiers. When we were met together, 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 primitive church, from the Spirit, power, and practice, of the apostles' times?" 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 primitive church times." I asked the other, whether he was of the same mind? He said, "Yes." Then I told them, that for 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 flew off, and denied that, saying, "It was presumption in any to say, they had the same power and Spirit that the apostles had." "But 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, and yet be forced to confess they were not in the same power and Spirit 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 those of the apostles. Then one of them said, "Ye are a company of dreamers." "Nay," said I, "ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles' successors; and yet confess ye have not the same power and Spirit they were in. And are not they defilers of the flesh, who say, 'It is presumption in any to say, they have the same power and Spirit the apostles had?' Now," said I, "if ye have not the same power and Spirit the apostles had, then it is manifest that ye are led by another power and spirit than the apostles and primitive church 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 images; to set up nunneries, friaries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for their religion; and this practice of theirs, I showed them, was below the law, and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty. They were soon weary of this discourse, went away, and gave a charge, as we heard, 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, as Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopalians, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy-men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm they had the same power and Spirit 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 was 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 and part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer thrashing-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, till all things be put under his feet; though all things are not yet put under his feet, nor subdued.

This year several Friends were moved to go beyond the seas, to publish Truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop were moved to go towards China and Prester John's country; but no masters of ships would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the king; but the East India Company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships would not carry them. Then they went into Holland, hoping to get passage there, but none could they get there either. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping for Alexandria in Egypt, intending to go by the caravans from thence. Meanwhile Daniel Baker being to go to Smyrna, drew Richard Costrop,<sup>83</sup> contrary to his own freedom, to go along with him; and in the passage Richard falling sick, Daniel Baker left him so in the ship, where he died: but that hard-hearted man afterwards lost his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell reached Alexandria; but they had not been long there before the English consul banished them: yet before they came away, they dispersed many books and papers, for opening 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; which, when the friar had perused, he placed his hand on his breast, and confessed, "What was written therein was truth; but," said he, "if I should confess it openly, they would burn me." John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being suffered to go further, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a vision, that the English and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, would fall out one with the other: and so it came to pass.

Having now stayed in London some time, I felt drawings to visit Friends in Essex. So I went down to Colchester, where I had very large meetings; and thence to Coggeshall; not far from which a priest was convinced, and I had a meeting at his house. Travelling a little up and down in those parts, and visiting Friends in their meetings, I returned pretty quickly to London, where I found great service for the Lord; for a large door was opened, many flocked in to our meetings, and the Lord's truth spread mightily this year. Yet Friends had great travail and sore labour, the rude people having been so heightened by the Monarchy-men's rising 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 sufferings within also, by John Perrot and his company; who, giving heed to a spirit of delusion, sought to introduce among Friends that evil and uncomely practice of "keeping on the hat in 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 he and some others rather

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83 This Richard Costrop (or Scothrop) was born in 1628. He was originally a sore persecutor of Friends, but becoming convinced of the soundness of their principles, he at length joined the Society, and preached the faith which once he destroyed, travelling for this object into various parts of Europe. He seems to have been chiefly instrumental in establishing the meeting at Scalehouse. He appears to have been a man of some estate, but left all, and spent his days in the service of the Gospel. In a document issued by Friends of Settle Monthly Meeting in 1704, it is said of him, "his memory is sweet this day among the brethren." See *Life, etc. of William and Alice Ellis*, by James Backhouse, pp. 278, 279, etc.

strengthened themselves against us.<sup>84</sup> Wherefore feeling the judgment of truth rise against it, I gave forth the following as a warning to all that were concerned therein

“Whosoever is tainted with this spirit of John Perrot, it will perish. Mark his and their end, who are turned into those outward things and janglings about them, and that which is not savoury; all which is for perpetual judgment—is to be swept and cleansed out of the camp of God's elect. This is to that spirit, that is gone into jangling 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; and thus many who now clamour and speak against them that are in the power of God, are become like the untimely figs, and like the corn on the house-top. O! 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 be gone from you; and take heed, that your memorial be not rooted out from among the righteous.”

G. F.

Among the exercises and troubles Friends had from without, one was regarding Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. This year there was a cause tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning one. The case was thus. Some years before two Friends were joined together in marriage amongst Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another Friend married the widow. After that, a man that was near of kin to her former husband, brought his action against the Friend that had last married her, endeavouring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this, he endeavoured 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, “That they went together like brute beasts,” with other ill expressions. After the counsels on both sides had pleaded, the judge (viz. Judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to the jury, telling them, that “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. As 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 believed the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir.” And the better to

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84 John Perrot was one who at this time caused great distress and trouble to the faithful members of the Society, from giving way to self-importance and extravagant notions. For particulars, the reader is referred to Sewell's *History*; and to Hodgson's *Historical Memoirs*.

Whilst the Society kept steadily pursuing its path, and increasing in numbers, notwithstanding the persecutions to which its members were everywhere subjected, it was not to be expected that every individual who was found within its precincts should have been rightly prepared for the station which he might have assumed. It would have been indeed remarkable, if, in the multitude of those who went forth in that day of zeal, in the service of the ministry, there had not been instances of men who had taken upon them (perhaps mistakenly) the office of a gospel minister, without waiting for the preparation and the call. And it would have been still more surprising if such forward spirits had proved firm in the day of outward trial, or of inward fascinations and snares of the enemy.



satisfy the jury, he brought them a case to this purpose:—"A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and declared before witnesses that he took 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 at that time concluded it to be a lawful marriage." Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child, against the man that would have deprived it 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 thereupon many were imprisoned, and divers premunured. Upon that occasion Friends published in print "The grounds and reasons why they refused to swear;" besides which I was moved to issue these few lines, to be given to the magistrates:—

"The world saith, 'Kiss the book;' but the book saith, 'Kiss the Son, lest he be angry.' And the Son saith, 'Swear not at all,' but keep to Yea and Nay in all your communications; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil. Again, the world saith, 'Lay your hand on the book,' but the book saith, 'Handle the word;' and the word saith, 'Handle not the traditions,' nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the world. And God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear Him,' who is the life, the truth, the light, and the way to God."

G. F.

Now there being very many Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them,<sup>85</sup> and got it delivered to the king, that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus:—

*"For the King.*

"Friend,

"Who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by

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85 About this time persecution was very hot, and from estimates deduced from documents of the period, it is probable that, in 1661 or 1662, there were no less than 4500 Friends in prison, in England and Wales, at one time, for meeting to worship God, refusing to swear, etc. And in such prisons too I They who would know what the miseries of prisoners have been in England, let them read Sewell's *History*, which exhibits such a scene of savage persecution on the one hand, and firmness and patience in suffering on the other, as is not easily paralleled. Little known as these things are, it will hardly be credited now, that to such a length was hatred carried against the Quakers, that few of them, except those below the cognizance of the magistrates, were not in prison, at one time or other, for their religious faith.

The interruption of family ties, the breaking up of households, the loss to many of all means of support, were hard and cruel sufferings for conscience' sake, but they were grievously aggravated at this period by the damp and filthy condition of the prisons, holes, and dungeons in which the sufferers were confined, as well as by their very crowded condition. And to all these circumstances of trial, must be added those of personal abuse, fines, distrainments, and, it may strictly be said, of wholesale robberies they endured. Some died of the beatings which they received in the breaking up of their meetings, and many from the filthy and close state of the prisons, in some of which they were so closely packed that they had to take it by turns to stand up, whilst others sat or lay down. They were also often overrun with lice and other vermin.

whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there 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 persons and there lie yet in prison, in the name of the Commonwealth, 'seventy-three persons that we know of. And there died in prison in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, 'thirty-two persons.' There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, 'three thousand sixty and eight persons.' 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, till the very blood gushes out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison hi the names of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience' sake, who have not lifted up a hand against thee 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 that we have suffered for 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 our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that, as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands, 'we should not swear at all' (Matt. v. James v.), and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of God, that by it such actions may be stopped; thou that hast the government, and mayest 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 thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought up before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required."<sup>86</sup>

G. F. and R. H.

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, a cruel man, and one that had dealt very wickedly towards me,

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<sup>86</sup> An abruptness of style, and an apparent deficiency of courtesy due from subjects to their sovereign, pervade the foregoing address. When we take into consideration the long catalogue of grievous and unjustifiable wrongs therein enumerated; that these had been reiterated by the suffering party with scarcely a shadow of redress; and that all these evils were now inflicted in direct contradiction to the king's proclamation from Breda, and also of his own royal word of promise to the Quakers after his restoration; it is quite possible the style was intentional on the part of the writers, who, like the rest of his subjects, had by this time found out that the fair promises of Charles II. were not to be relied upon; and therefore, in this instance, felt it their duty to confine themselves to a manly and straightforward statement of the truth of their grievances. It offers an exception to the generally respectful tenor of the addresses of Friends, which are by no means wanting in proper courtesy.—(Marsh.)

was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him because thereof. 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 thee 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 thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such, that I am 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 the time when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out unto death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian Friends with thee, in haste, I rest, thine, in Christ Jesus,

“Thomas Shabman.”

Derby, 22nd of 4th Month, 1662.

There were two of our Friends in prison in the Inquisition at Malta, both women; Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers.<sup>87</sup> I was told that one, called the Lord D'Aubeny [a Roman Catholic priest], could

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87 Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers suffered a dreadful confinement for about four years in the Inquisition at Malta, of which a full account has been published. A more condensed one may be seen in *Select Miscellanies*, v. p. 56-68.

“These ministers of Christ did leave  
Their homes in England, faithfully to hew  
The Saviour's message into Eastern lands;  
And here, at Malta, they were seized upon  
By bigoted intolerance, and shut  
“Within this fearful engine of the Pope.  
Priests and inquisitors assail them there,  
And urge the claims of Popery. The rack  
And cruel deaths are threatened; and again  
Sweet liberty is offered, as the price  
Of their apostacy. All, all in vain I  
For years these tender women have been thus  
Victims of cruelty. At times apart,  
Confined in gloomy, solitary cells.

procure their liberty, so I went to him; and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, desired him to write to the magistrates there for their release. He readily promised he would; and, “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 he did so; and they were both set at liberty.

With this great man I had much reasoning about religion, and he confessed that Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his spiritual light; that he tasted death for every man; that

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But all these efforts to convert them failed;  
The inquisition had not power enough  
To shake their faith and confidence in Him,  
“Whose holy presence anciently was seen  
To save his children from devouring flames;  
He from this furnace of affliction brought  
These persecuted women, who came forth  
Out of the burning, with no smell of fire  
Upon their garments, and again they trod  
Their native land, rejoicing.”

Some idea of the sufferings of these poor creatures may be formed from the fact of their often lying down before the crevice of their prison-door, to inhale what air could be obtained from it. In this state their skin was parched, the hair fell off their heads, and they frequently fainted; and, in moments when the strength and glory of the Divine presence was not so feelingly experienced as at others, it cannot occasion surprise that, through human weakness, they wished for death; their distress sometimes being such, that when it was day they longed for night, and yet when night came it was only to prompt the constant sigh for returning light. Yet the heavenly content which, on the whole, was the portion of these sufferers for Christ's sake, in this dark and cloudy day, was remarkable. One of them, in writing to her relatives in England, says, “We are witnesses that the Lord can provide a table in the wilderness, both spiritual and temporal. In all our afflictions and miseries, the Lord remembered mercy, and did not leave nor forsake us, nor suffer his faithfulness to fail; but caused the sweet drops of his mercy to distil upon us, and the brightness of his glorious countenance to shine into our hearts.”

The other of these suffering captives writes that she could not, by pen and paper, set forth the extent of the love of God to her soul, in fulfilling his gracious promises to her in the wilderness. They were indeed enabled to “sing the Lord's song in a strange land;” and, in the midst of heaviness, “their mouths were often filled with laughter, and their tongues with joy,” being strong in the faith, giving praises and glory to God.

The following, composed by them in the Inquisition, affords a view of the motives and abilities of these devoted women:

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“In prisons strong, and dungeons deep.  
To God alone we cry and weep;  
Our sorrows none can learn nor read,  
But those that in our path do tread.  
But He whose beauty shineth bright.  
Who turneth darkness into light,  
Makes cedars bow, and oaks to bend,  
To him that's sent to the same end;  
He is a fountain pure and clear,  
His crystal streams run far and near  
To cleanse all those that come to Him

the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath 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 discourse; I never heard a Papist confess so much as he did.

Though several about the court began to grow loving to Friends, yet persecution was very hot, and several Friends died in prison. Whereupon I gave forth 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 in 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. You may see through all chronicles and histories, that the priests joined with the powers of the nation; the magistrates, soothsayers, and fortune-tellers, all united against the people of God, and imagined vain things against them in their councils. When the Jews did wickedly, they turned against Moses; and when the Jewish kings transgressed the law of God, they persecuted the prophets, as may be seen in the prophets' writings. When Christ, the substance, came, the Jews persecuted Christ, his apostles, and disciples. And when the Jews had not power enough of themselves to persecute answerably to their wills, they got the heathen Gentiles to help them against Christ, and against his apostles and disciples, who were in the Spirit and power of Christ.”

G. F.

After I had made some stay in London, and had cleared myself of those services that at that time lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs. We travelled through the country, visiting Friends' meetings, till we came to Bristol. There we understood the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting; yet on First-day we went to the meeting at Broadmead, and Alexander Parker standing up first, while he was speaking the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I stood up, and declared the everlasting truth of the Lord God in his eternal power, which came over all; the meeting was quiet the rest of the time, and broke up peaceably. I tarried till the First-day following, visiting Friends, and being visited by them. On First-day morning several Friends came to Edward Pyot's house (where I lay the night before), and used great endeavours

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For to be healed of their sin:  
All them that patiently abide,  
And never swerve nor go aside,  
The Lord will free them out of all  
Bondage, captivity, and thrall.”

It was not in the Inquisition only that these women suffered, but much also in England. In 1657, Katharine Evans was stripped, and tied to a whipping-post in the market-place at Salisbury, and there whipped, for exhorting the people to repentance. Her husband, a man of property, also suffered several imprisonments, and at last died in prison for obeying our Saviour's command, “Swear not at all.”

to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day, for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised the trained bands. I wished them to go 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 divers Friends who were coming to me to prevent my going, and did what they could to stop me. "What!" said one, "wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast?" "Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?" said another. I put them by and went on. When I came to the meeting, Margaret Thomas was speaking; and 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 glorious heavenly 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 that to stand up again, and tell Friends, "how they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver." A very large meeting this was, and very hot; but truth was over all, the life was exalted, 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 they were in a great rage, because they had missed me; for they were heard to say one to another before, "I'll warrant we shall have him;" but the Lord prevented them. I went from the meeting 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 among Friends 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 ague, that when I first came, he was looked upon as a dying man; but it pleased the Lord to raise him up again, so that before I went away, his ague left him, and he was finely well.

Having been two First-days together at the meeting at Broadmead, 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, that the soldiers that day had beset the meeting-house round at Bristol, and then went up, saying, "they would be sure to have me now;" but when they came, and found me not there, they were in a great rage, and kept the Friends in the meeting-house most part of the day, before they would let them go home; and queried of them, which way I was gone, and how they might send after me; for the mayor," they said, "would fain 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, till I came to London, having great meetings amongst 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 his immediate hand and power 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 for his name and truth's sake.

At London I did not stay long, being drawn in spirit to visit Friends northward, as far as Leicestershire, John Stubbs being with me. So we travelled, having meetings amongst Friends as we went; at Skegby we had a great one. Thence passing on, we came to a place called Barnet-Hills, where lived Captain

Brown, a Baptist, whose wife was convinced of truth. This Captain Brown, after the act for breaking up meetings came forth, being afraid lest his wife should go to meetings, and be cast into prison, left his house at Barrow, and took one' on these hills, saying, "his wife should not go to prison." And this being a free place, many, both priests and others, got thither as well as he. But he who would neither stand to truth himself, nor suffer his wife, was in this place where he thought to be safe, found out by the Lord, whose hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulness; so that he was sorely plagued, and grievously judged in himself for flying, and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to see his wife, and being come into the house, I asked him, "how he did?" "How do I?" said he, "the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am. God may look for a witness for me, and such as me; for if all were not more faithful than I, God would have no witness left in the earth." In this condition he lived on bread and water, and thought it was too good for him. At length he returned again with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where he afterwards came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, and died in it. 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 he was so. He was an example to all the flying 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 Swannington in Leicestershire, where William Smith and some other Friends came to me; but they went away towards night, leaving me at a Friend's house in Swannington. At night, as I was sitting in the hall, speaking to a widow woman and her daughter, there came one called Lord Beaumont with a company of soldiers, who, slapping their swords on the door, rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands, crying, "Put out the candles, and make fast the doors." Then they seized upon the Friends in the house, and asked, "if there were no more about the house?" The Friends told them, there was one man more in the hall. There being some Friends out of Derbyshire, one of them was named Thomas Fauks; and this Lord Beaumont, after he had asked all their names, bid his man set down that man's name Thomas Fox; but the Friend said, his name was not Fox, but Fauks. In the meantime some of the soldiers came, and brought me out of the hall to him. He asked me my name; I told him, my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. "Ay," said he, "you are known all the world over." I said, "I was known for no hurt, but for good." Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and pulled out my comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters, as he pretended. I told him, I was no letter-carrier, and asked him, Why he came amongst 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, I being only talking with a poor widow woman and her daughter. By reasoning thus with him, he came somewhat down; yet sending for the constables, he gave them charge of his, and to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the town's-people upon us that night, and had us next morning to his house, about a mile from Swannington. 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 us, "whether we would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?" I told him, I never took any oath in my life, nor

engagement, nor covenant. Yet still he would force the oath upon us. I desired him to show us the oath, 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 recusants. 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 he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester jail. But when they had brought us back to Swannington, being harvest time, it was hard to get anybody to go with us; for the people were loath to go with their neighbours to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus, to carry it ourselves to the jail; for it had been usual for constables to give Friends their own mittimuses (for they durst trust Friends), and they have gone themselves with them to the jailer. But we told them, though our Friends had sometimes done so, yet we would not take this mittimus, but some of them should go with us to the jail. At last they hired a poor labouring man to go with us, who was loath to go, though hired. So we rode to Leicester, being five in number; some carried their Bibles open in their hands, declaring the 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 wheel on her lap to spin on in prison; and the people were mightily affected. At Leicester we went to an inn. The master of the house seemed troubled that we should go to the prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise with, and would have taken up the mittimus, and kept us in his own house, and not have let us go into the jail. But I told Friends, it would be a great charge to lie at an inn; and many Friends and people would be coming to visit us, and it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house; besides, we had many Friends in the prison already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know, that we were sensible of his kindness, and to prison we went; the poor man that brought us thither, delivering both the mittimus and us to the jailer. This jailer had been a very wicked, cruel man. Six or seven Friends being in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and thrust them into the dungeon amongst the felons, where there was hardly room for them to lie down. We stayed all that day in the prison-yard, and desired the jailer to let us have some straw. He surlily answered, “you do not look like men that would lie on straw.” After a while William Smith, a Friend, came to me, and he being acquainted in the house, I asked him, “what rooms there were in it, and what rooms Friends had usually been put into, before they were put into the dungeon?” I asked him also, Whether the jailer or his wife was master? He said, The wife was master; and that though she was lame, and sat mostly in her chair, being only able to go on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as she would have him. I considered, probably many Friends might come to visit us, and that, if we had a room to ourselves, it would be better for them to speak to me, and me to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore I desired William Smith to go speak with the woman, and acquaint her, if she would let us have a room, suffer our Friends to come out of the dungeon, and leave 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 had into a room. Then we were told, that the jailer would not suffer us to have any drink out of the town into the prison, but that what beer we drank, we must take of him. I told them, I would remedy that, for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water



he could not deny us.

Before we came, when the few Friends that were prisoners there, met together on First-days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the jailer would come up with his quarter-staff in his hand, and his mastiff dog at his heels, and pluck 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. When the First-day came, I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners, to carry a stool and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons, that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the debtors and prisoners gathered in the yard, and we went down, and had a very precious meeting, the jailer not meddling. Thus every First-day we had a meeting as long as we stayed in prison; and several came in out of the town and country. 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 before the justices, with many more Friends, sent to prison whilst we were there, to the number of about twenty. Being brought into the court, the jailer put us into the place where the thieves were put, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to us. I told them, I never took any oath in my life, and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and his apostle forbade it; therefore they put it but as a snare to us. We told them, if they could prove, that after Christ and the apostle had forbid swearing, they did ever command Christians to swear, then 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 manifest our allegiance to the king." I told them, I had been formerly sent up a prisoner by Colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that I held meetings to plot to bring in King Charles. I also desired them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our commitment to be, that "we" were to have a meeting;" and I said, Lord Beaumont could not by that act 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 desired they would 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 that had been an alderman of the city, spoke to them, and bid them, "have a good conscience;" and one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices, there was one affronted the jury; whereupon they called him up, and tendered him the oath also, and he took it.

While we were standing where the thieves used to stand, a cut-purse had his hand in several Friends' pockets. Friends declared it to the justices, and showed them the man. They called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they set him at liberty.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Cases similar to the above are not rare in the early history of the Society; even thieves being allowed to escape, whilst the party robbed, being unwilling to swear to the known fact, have been made to suffer. In 1660, the following occurrence took place at Reading assizes:—Henry Hodges, a poor smith, lost three cows, which were found in the possession of the thief who stole them. He was brought to trial, and Hodges appeared to claim his cows. The judge told him they must be proved on oath before he could have them again. He replied that he could not swear for conscience sake. The

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought us in guilty; and then, after some words, the justices whispered together, and bid the jailer take us down to prison again; but the Lord's power was over them and his everlasting truth, which we declared boldly amongst them. There being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us; so that the cryer and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the court. We declared the truth as we went down the streets all along, till we came to the jail, the streets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after some time the jailer came to us, and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners. When they were gone, he said, "Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure, that ye should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes; and you know, there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will." i

Thus were we all set at liberty suddenly, and passed every one into his service. Leonard Fell stayed with me, and we two went again to Swannington. I had a letter from Lord Hastings, who hearing of my imprisonment, had written from London to the justices of the sessions to set me at liberty. I had not 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 know not. But this letter I carried to Lord Beaumont who had sent us to prison; and when he had broken it open, and read it, he seemed much troubled; but at last came a little lower; yet threatened us, if we had any more meetings at Swannington, he would break them up and send us to prison again. But notwithstanding his threats, we went to Swannington, and had a meeting with Friends there, and he neither came, nor sent to break it up.

From Swannington we came to Twy-cross, where that great man formerly mentioned, whom the Lord God raised up from his sickness in the year 1649 (and whose serving-man came at me with a drawn sword to do me a mischief), and his wife came to see me. Thence we travelled through Warwickshire, where we had brave meetings; and into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, visiting Friends till we came to London.

I stayed not long in London, but went into Essex, and so into Norfolk, having great meetings. At Norwich, when I came to Captain Lawrence's,<sup>89</sup> there was a great threatening of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. Passing thence to Sutton, and so into Cambridgeshire, I heard of Edward Burrough's decease. And being sensible bow great a grief and exercise it would be to Friends to part with him, I wrote the following lines for the staying and settling of their minds:—

"Friends,

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judge said, if any of his neighbours would swear they were his, they should be returned to him; upon which one of his neighbours took his oath, and the judge promised that they should be returned. Thus far the proceedings appeared just and equal, but many thought the judge too rigorous, when, having observed the sincerity and tenderness of the poor man's conscience, who could not swear in a case of his own property, he caused the oath of allegiance to be tendered him in court; and, for his refusing to take it, sent him to jail.—(Besse)

89 This Captain Lawrence, who has been mentioned before, was a man of some note in the days of the Commonwealth. After he joined Friends, he became a faithful sufferer for Christ. In 1660, with his brother Joseph Lawrence, and George Whitehead, he was imprisoned in Norwich castle, in a small narrow cell called the Vice, where they endured much hardship. In speaking of this imprisonment, George Whitehead says, "I remember one morning, Joseph Lawrence, after his pleasant manner, said to his brother John, 'O, Captain Lawrence, I have seen the day that thou wouldst not have lain there!'"

“Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the Seed of God that doth not change, that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you in the Seed, in which and by which he begat you to God, with whom he is; and that in the Seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and so enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible.”

G. F.

Thence I passed to Little Port and the Isle Of Fly; where the ex-mayor, with his wife, and the wife of the then mayor of Cambridge, came to the meeting. Travelling into Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, I came to Thomas Parnell's, where the mayor of Huntingdon came to see me, and was very loving. Thence I came into the Fen-country, where we had large and quiet meetings. While I was in that country, there came so great a flood 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; and then back to the inn, and took horse. As I was riding out of the yard, the officers came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only I felt a great burthen come upon me as I rode out of the town, till without the gates. When some Friends that came after, overtook me, they told me, that the officers had been searching for me in the inn, as soon as I was gone out of the yard. So by the good hand of the Lord, I escaped their cruel hands. After this we passed through the countries, visiting Friends in their meetings. The Lord's power carried us over persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein; praises and glory to his name for ever.

## END OF VOLUME I

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
GEORGE FOX

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES, AND LABOUR OF LOVE, IN  
THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF THAT EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT  
OF JESUS CHRIST, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE, IN GREAT PEACE WITH  
THE LORD, THE 13TH OF THE 11TH MONTH, 1690.

SEVENTH EDITION— IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH NOTES—BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL, ETC.

BY

WILSON ARMISTEAD

UNABRIDGED AND UNEDITED — 1852 EDITION

# VOLUME II

## CHAPTER I.

*1663-1666.—George Fox visits London—taken up at Tenterden and examined by the magistrates, but liberated—precious meetings in Wales—at Derwentwater meets with an old woman whose husband was aged 122 years—apprehended and taken before the magistrates at Holker Hall, but liberated on his parole to appear at the sessions—appears accordingly, and is committed to Lancaster jail—many poor Friends imprisoned there at the same time, whose families become chargeable in consequence—one of them (Oliver Atherton) dies in jail, where he was immured by the Countess of Derby for tithes—George Fox has the oath tendered him at the assizes, and is re-committed—Margaret Fell is also imprisoned there—the prisoners in Lancaster jail to Justice Fleming—a brief warning to the same by George Fox—George Fox disputes with Major Wiggan (who was also a prisoner), and confutes him—writes to the judges against giving nicknames—writes a warning to all high professors—also a warning against the spirit of John Perrot—at the assizes he points out many fatal errors in his indictment, and it is quashed in consequence, but the judge ensnares him with the oath, and he is again remanded to prison—suffers much from the badness of the prison—at the next assizes he again points out fatal errors in his indictment, and is immediately hurried away to jail, and sentence is passed on him in his absence—a testimony against tithes—he is removed to Scarbro' Castle—has several conferences and disputes with divers persons there—writes to the king respecting his imprisonment, and is set at liberty—copy of his discharge and passport—the day after George Fox's liberation the great fire broke out in London, a vision of which he had in Lancaster Castle—the hand of the Lord turned against persecutors.*

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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 travelled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me. We went to Ashford, where we had a quiet, and a very blessed meeting; and on First-day we had a very good and peaceable one at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden, and had one there, to which many 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 field, while our horses were got ready; and turning my head, I espied a captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of them came to us, and said, "we must go to their captain." When they had brought us before him, he asked, "where is George Fox? which is 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 them to take me. 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 rest after. As we walked, I asked him, "why they did thus for I had not seen so much to do a great while," and I bid him be civil to his peaceable neighbours. When we were come to the town, they had us to an inn that was the jailer's house; and after a while the mayor of the town, and this captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came together and examined me, "why I came thither to make a disturbance?" I told them, I did not come to make a disturbance, neither had I made any since I came. They said, "there was a law against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them." I told them, I knew no such law. Then they brought forth the act that was made against Quakers and others; I told them, that was against such as were a terror to the king's subjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government, and therefore that was not against us, for we held truth; and our principles were not dangerous to the government, and our meetings were peaceable, as they knew, who knew their neighbours were a peaceable people. They told me, "I was an enemy to the king." I answered, We loved all people and were enemies to none; that I, for my own part, had been cast into Derby dungeon, about the time of Worcester fight, because I would not take up arms against him, and that I was afterwards brought by Colonel Hacker to London, as a plotter to bring in King Charles, and was kept prisoner there till 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 that also, and had been set at liberty by the king's own command. I opened the act to them, and 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 to live in the fear of God, to be tender towards their neighbours that feared Him, 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 innocency, 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.

Then leaving Tenterden we went to Newick in Sussex, where we visited some Friends. Thence we passed through the country, visiting Friends, and having great meetings; all quiet and free from disturbance, except by some jangling Baptists, till we came into Hampshire. After a good meeting at Southampton, we went to Pulner, in the parish of Ringwood, where was a monthly meeting next day, to which many Friends came from Southampton, Poole, and other places; and the weather being very hot, some of them came pretty early in the morning. I took a friend and walked out with him into the orchard, inquiring of him how the affairs of truth stood amongst them; (for many of them had been convinced by me, before I was a prisoner in Cornwall.) While we were conversing, a young man came and told us the trained bands were raising, and he heard they would come and break up the meeting. It was not yet meeting-time for about three hours, and there being other Friends walking in the orchard, the Friend that I was discoursing with before, desired me to walk into a corn field adjoining it, which

we did. After a while the young man that spoke of the trained bands left us, and when he was gone some distance, he stood and waved his hat. Whereupon I spoke to the other young man that was with me, to go and see what he meant. He went, but did not return; for the soldiers were come into the orchard. And as I kept walking I could see the soldiers, and some of them, as I heard afterwards, saw me, but had no mind to meddle. Coming so long before the meeting-time, they did not tarry; but took what Friends they found at the house, and some whom they met in the lane coming, and led them away. After they were gone, it drew towards eleven, Friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had; for 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 part of the meeting, there came a man in gay apparel, and looked in while I was declaring, and went away again presently. This man came with an evil intent; for he went forthwith to Ringwood, and told the magistrates “they had taken two or three men at Pulner, and had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred people.” Upon this the magistrates sent the officers and soldiers again; but the meeting being nearly ended when the man looked in, and he having about a mile and a half to go, with his information, to fetch the soldiers, and they as far to come, after they had received their orders, before they came our meeting was over; ending about three o'clock peaceably and orderly. After the meeting I spoke to the Friends of the house where it was held (the hostess lying then dead in the house), and then some Friends conducted me to another Friend's at a little distance; where, after we had refreshed ourselves, I took horse, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one Frye's house in Wiltshire, where a meeting was appointed for the next day.

After we were gone, the officers and soldiers came in a great heat, and when they found they were too late, and had missed their prey, they were much enraged; and the officers were offended 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 neighbours. For “whereas before they were wealthy men, after this their estates wasted away; and John Line, the constable, who was not only very forward in putting on the soldiers to take Friends, but also carried those that were taken to prison, and took a false oath against him at the assize, upon which they were fined and continued prisoners, was a sad spectacle to behold. For his flesh rotting away while he lived, he died in a very miserable condition, wishing he had never meddled with the Quakers, and confessing that he had never prospered since he had 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 meeting, and quiet, though the officers had purposed to break it up, and were on their way in order thereunto. But before they got to it, word was brought them, that there was a house just 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, having 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, till we came to Topsham in Devonshire, travelling some weeks eight or nine score miles a week, and 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 Salt-house.<sup>90</sup> Thence we passed to Totness, where we visited some Friends, 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 thence to Thomas Mount's, where we had another large meeting. After which we went to Humphrey Lower's, where also we had a large meeting, and thence 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, that they could not answer her. They afterwards asked me that question. I told them, no; for all that God made was good and was blessed; so was not 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. Afterwards he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The devil abode not in the truth, and 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. Now there is no promise of God to the devil, that ever he shall return to truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that “the Seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head,”—shall break his power and strength to pieces. Now 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, and was disowned by Friends; but George Bewley was recovered, and afterwards became serviceable.

We passed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges's, near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting. Thence we went to Helstoke that night, where some Friends came to visit us; and next day passed to Thomas Teage's, where we had another large meeting, at which many were convinced. I

<sup>90</sup> Thomas Salthouse of Lancashire, but who afterwards resided in the south of England, was born about 1630, and convinced when George Fox first came to Swarthmore. He became an eminent minister of the gospel, for which he suffered much. In 1655 he, and Miles Halhead, being pressed in spirit to visit the Friends imprisoned at Plymouth, they were taken up on suspicion of having a hand in an insurrection which broke out a little before; and though the high sheriff confessed he did not believe them concerned in it, he caused them to be kept close prisoners at Exeter fourteen days, and then sent them from officer to officer towards home. In going towards Bridgewater, the officer who conducted them fell down, and lay grovelling on the ground in the sight of many people, and was able to go no further. So they returned to the justice to tell him what had befallen the officer, and to know what further he would do with them. But he declined to interfere with them again; set them at liberty, and desired the Lord to be with them.

For further particulars of Thomas Salthouse, the reader is referred to Whiting's *Memoirs*, p. 452-460. Whiting concludes his account by saying, “He was a pleasant man in conversation, which rendered him acceptable to many others as well as Friends, had a large capacity, and an excellent gift in the ministry. He wrote some notable books, and excellent epistles to Friends, though never collected as they deserve. He died, at his own house in Cornwall in 1690, about sixty years of age, in peace with the Lord; and is no doubt at rest with him from all his labours and sufferings, and his works follow him.”



was led to open “the state of the church in the primitive times, the state of the church in the wilderness, and the state of the false church that was got 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 got 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 that had darkened them.” The people received the gospel and the word of life gladly, and a glorious blessed meeting we had for the exalting of the Lord's everlasting truth and his name. After the meeting was over I walked out, and as I was coming in again I heard a noise in the court, and coming nearer, I found the man of the house speaking to the tinnors and others, and telling them, “it was the everlasting truth that had been declared there that day;” and the people generally confessed to it.

From thence we passed to the Land's-end, to John Ellis's, where we had a precious meeting. Here was a fisherman, one Nicholas Jose, that was convinced. He spoke in meetings, and declared the truth amongst the people, and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad that the Lord had raised up his standard in those dark parts of the nation, where there is since a fine meeting of honest-hearted Friends; many are come to sit under Christ's teaching; and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

Thence we returned to Redruth, and next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning, some of the chief of the town desired to speak with me, amongst whom was Colonel Rouse. I went and had much 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. I told them, “the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached to every creature (of which a great part might never see or 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 gainsay; for the truth came over them. 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's, at Stoke, we had a large meeting, to which Friends came from Launceston and several other places. A living, precious meeting it was, in which the Lord's presence and power was richly manifested amongst 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 sent many to prison. Hearing that they had some little liberty, through the favour of the jailer, to come home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made great complaint thereof to the judge at the assize against the jailer; whereupon the jailer was fined a hundred marks, and Friends were kept very strictly

up for a while. After he was come home from the assize, he sent to a neighbouring justice, to desire him to go a fanatic-hunting with him. On the day that he intended, and was prepared to go, 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 maidservants said, they had shut him into the field, because he was unruly amongst the kine, and hindered their milking. Then he went into the field to the bull, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with him, he began to fence at him with his staff. But the bull snuffed at him, and passed a little back; then turning 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, run them into the ground in his rage and violence, roared, and licked up his master's blood. The maid-servant, 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, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then he fled in great rage and fury. Upon hearing of it his sister came, and said to him, "Alack! brother, what a heavy judgment is this that has 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," said he. They carried him home, but he died soon after. The bull was grown so fierce that they were forced to shoot him; for no man durst come near to kill him. Thus does the Lord sometimes make some examples of his just judgment upon the persecutors of his people, that others may fear, and learn to beware.

After I had cleared myself of Cornwall, and Thomas Lower had brought us over Horsebridge into Devonshire again, we took our leave of him. Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders, and I, came to Tiverton; and it being their fair, and many Friends there, we had a meeting amongst them. The magistrates gathered in the street, but the Lord's power stopped them. I saw them in the street over against the door, but they had not power to come in to meddle with us, though they had will enough to do it.

After the meeting we passed to Collumpton and Wellington, for we had appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large one at a butcher's house, and a blessed meeting it was. 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 amongst us, and we were refreshed in him, in whom we laboured and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. There had been very great persecution in that country and town a little before, insomuch that some Friends questioned the peaceableness of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory shone 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; and Friends bid them "carry them then." The officers told Friends, "they must go:" but Friends said, nay; that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were forced to hire carts, and waggons, and horses, and to lift Friends into their wagons and carts, to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, and if he were 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. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then they were glad to give over.

At one place they warned Friends to come to the steeple-house. Friends met to consider of it, and finding freedom to go to the steeple-house, they met together there. Accordingly when they came thither, they sat down to wait upon the Lord in his power and Spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher and Saviour; but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to them 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. A while after, when the priest had done, they came to the Friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them, they did not choose to go to dinner, they were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sat, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and presence, till 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 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 thereby, and settled upon Christ, their Rock and Foundation, and brought to sit under his teaching; the meeting was peaceable. But about the second hour of the night there came a company of men who knocked at the door, and bid us 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 look for:" and went his way.

We came thence to Street, and to William Beaton's, at Puddimoor, where we had a very large general meeting, wherein the Lord's everlasting truth was declared, the people refreshed, and all quiet. Thence we went to John Dandy's, where we had another large and very precious meeting; and then passed on to Bristol, where we had good service for the Lord, and all quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters again. After some time we went to Slattenford in Wiltshire, where was a very large meeting in a great barn. Good service we had there; for the truth, as it is in Jesus, was published amongst 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. When I was gone, the magistrates, hearing there had been a meeting, came to search the inn for me, and were vexed that 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, and had several precious meetings there. The Lord's name and standard was set up, and many were gathered to it, and settled under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour, who 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 several Friends being at the fair, we went to an inn, and they came to us. After we had had a fine opportunity with Friends, we parted from them, and went on our way. The officers of the town took notice, it seems, of our being there, and of Friends gathering to us. They began also to meet together to consult among themselves how to ensnare us, though it was the fair time; but before they could do anything we were gone on our journey, and so escaped them.

Thence we came into Shropshire, where we had a large and precious meeting. After many meetings in those parts we came into Warwickshire, and visited Friends there, and so into Derbyshire and Staffordshire, visiting Friends' meetings as we went. At Whitehaugh we had a large, blessed meeting, and quiet; after which we rode about twenty miles that night to Captain Lingard's. We heard afterwards that when we were gone, the officers came to seize us, and were much disturbed that they missed us; but the Lord disappointed them, and Friends were joyful in the Lord that we escaped them.

At Captain Lingard's we had a blessed meeting, the Lord's presence being wonderfully amongst us. After this we passed through the Peak-Country in Derbyshire, and went to Synderhill-Green, where we had a large meeting. Here John Whitehead<sup>91</sup> and several other Friends came to me. Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends, till I came to the farther end of Holderness, and so passed by Scarbro', Whitby, and Malton, to York, having many meetings in the way; and the Lord's everlasting power was over all.

We went from York to Boroughbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. Thence we passed into Durham to one Richmond's, where there was a general meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were grown exceedingly rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's, where we stayed all night. Next morning a Friend came to me, as I was passing away, 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 Durham, I went over Stainmore into Yorkshire, and to Sedbergh, where having visited Friends, I went into Westmorland, visiting Friends there also. Thence I passed into Lancashire and came to Swarthmore. Here I stayed but a little while before I went over the Sands to Arncliffe, where I had a general meeting. After it was ended, there came some men to break it up; but understanding before they arrived that the meeting was over, they turned back. I went to Robert Widders's, and thence to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting, and the Lord's power was over all. Thence I passed to

91 John Whitehead was a very eminent minister amongst the early Friends, valiant for the truth, and a great sufferer for it. His life and writings have recently been published, to which the reader is referred. He wrote a very beautiful and encouraging epistle to Friends, dated Aylesbury prison, 12th month, 1660, which is inserted in *Letters etc., of Early Friends*, 382-387. William Penn, in his Preface to *Whitehead's Works*, says, "He was among the most eminent for his sound mind and capacity, great zeal and boldness, and as great humility, patience, and labour in word, doctrine, and charity."

Grayrigg, and having visited Friends there, I went to Ann Audland's, where they would have had me to stay their meeting next day; but I felt a stop in my spirit. It was upon me to go to John Blakelin's in Sedbergh, and to be next day at the meeting there; which is large, and a precious people there is. We had a very good meeting next day at Sedbergh; 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 Blakelin's with Leonard Fell to Strickland-head, where on First-day we had a very precious meeting on the common. That night we stayed amongst Friends there, and next day passed into Northumberland. After the justices had heard of this meeting at Stricklandhead, they made search for me; but by the good hand of the Lord, I escaped them again, though there were some very wicked justices. We went to Hugh Hutchinson's house in Northumberland, a Friend in the ministry, whence we visited Friends thereabouts, and then went to Derwentwater, where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman to me, and told me her husband remembered his love to me; she said, I might call him to mind by this token, that I used to call him "the Tall White Old Man." She said, he was six score and two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but 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, I passed through Northumberland, and came to old Thomas Bewley's in Cumberland. Friends came about me, and asked, "would I come there to go into prison?" For there was great persecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewley's, which was large and precious, and the Lord's power was over all.

One Musgrave was at that time deputy-governor of Carlisle. Passing along the 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 stayed not there, only calling on the way to see this man; and then I went to William Pearson's, near Wigton, where the meeting was, which 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, till I came to Pardshaw-Crag, where we had a general meeting, which was large; all was quiet and peaceable, and the glorious, powerful presence of the everlasting God was with us.

So eager were the magistrates about this time to stir up persecution in those parts, that some offered five shillings, and some a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the speakers amongst the Quakers; but it being now the time of the quarter sessions in that county, the men who were so hired were gone to the sessions to get their wages, and so all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardshaw-Crag we went into Westmorland, calling on the way upon Hugh Tickell,<sup>92</sup> near

<sup>92</sup> Hugh Tickell was born in Cumberland about the year 1610. Being convinced by George Fox when he first visited Cumberland in 1633, he gave up his house for meetings, and entertained the Lord's messengers. He became a faithful and eminent minister, travelling up and down in the service of the Gospel, suffering much for it, both in the spoiling of his goods and in imprisonments. In 1664 he was cast into Carlisle jail, with four other Friends, by priest Marshall of Crosthwaite, and though he kept him in prison three years, yet he took tithe of his land. But afterwards this priest fell

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 Westmorland, near Justice Fleming's house. This Justice Fleming was at that time in a great rage against Friends, and me in particular; insomuch that in the open sessions at Kendal just before, he had bid 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. The justices being so eager to have me, and I being so often near them, and yet they missing me, tormented them the more.

I went thence to James Taylor's at Cartmel, where I stayed first-day, and had a precious meeting; and after it I came over the Sands to Swarthmore.

When I came there, they told me, Colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant thither to take me, and that he 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, and I did so. When I came thither, I found the Flemings, and several others of the gentry (so called) of the country, come to take their leave of Colonel Kirby, he being about to go up to London to the parliament. I was shown into the parlour amongst them; but Colonel Kirby was not then within, being gone out; so they said little to me, nor I much to them. But presently he came in, and I told him, that understanding he was desirous to see me, "I came to visit him, to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had any thing against me." He said, before all the company, "As he was a gentleman, he had nothing against me. But," said he, "Mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they meet contrary to the act." I told him, "that act did not take hold on us, but on such as met to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the king, whereas we were no such people; for he knew that they that met at Margaret Fell's house, were his neighbours, 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 was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Holker-Hall, where Justice Preston lived; and there they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over-night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and so could have escaped

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down staire and broke his skull, upon which he died. Hugh Tickell was again imprisoned in Carlisle jail, when about sixty-eight years old, by Richard Lowry, another priest of Crosthwaite, because he could not pay him tithes, who kept him prisoner about nine months, part of it in a cold winter, and in a damp nasty place not fit for men to lie in. This priest Lowry was suddenly stricken, and had the use of one side of his tongue, and his understanding much taken from him, and so continued a long time—a remarkable judgment.

Hugh Tickell patiently bore all his sufferings, and willingly endured them for the testimony of Jesus and a good conscience. But in his last imprisonment he contracted a distemper of body, which, increasing upon him after he came home, he grew weak, but continued in great patience; and being sensible his end drew nigh, set his house in order, and, taking leave of friends and neighbours, he sweetly departed in great peace in 1680, being above seventy years of age.

out of their reach if I would; 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 noise of a plot in the north, if I should go away, they might fall upon Friends; but if I gave up myself to be taken, it might stop them, and the Friends should escape the better. So I gave up to be taken, and prepared myself against they came. Next day an officer came with 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 would have escaped their imprisonment, I could have gone forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so cared not what they could do to me." He asked me "how I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour." I said it was no matter, it was sufficient that I heard of it. I asked him to let me see his order; whereupon 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 it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then said I, I am ready. So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell accompanied us to Holker-hall. When we came thither, there was one Rawlinson, a justice, 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 Cartmel, 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. 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, whether 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 outward languages, was no matter of salvation; for the many tongues began but 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. Thereupon he turned away, and said, "George Fox knocks down all the languages: come," said he, "we will examine you of higher matters."

Then said George Middleton, "You deny God, and the church, and the faith." I replied, "Nay, I own God and the true church, and the true faith. But what church dost thou 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 to whom he spoke, or whom did he call rebel: he was so full of envy that for a while 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, "I had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that was there; for I had been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king before Worcester fight. I had been sent up prisoner out of my own country by Colonel Hacker to Oliver 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. "Nay," said I, "ye may hear it again if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you, but where were ye in Oliver's days, and what did ye 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?" and 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 highsheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson that 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, nor till 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 said they, “why would you write against it, if you did not know some that were in it.” I said, “my reason was, because you are so forward to mash 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 Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and 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, “O, this man hath 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, “nay, for I and my Friends direct all people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh. This brings them into well-doing, and from that which the magistrate's 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 magistrate's sword; and this must needs be one with 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.” Now he himself being a Papist, I asked him, “whether he had taken the oath of supremacy, who was a swearer? As for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it.” Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but Lave set me at liberty. But the rest would not agree to that; 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 Papist's sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tendered me 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 so 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 peace. He told us, “he acquainted some of the rest of the justices, that he would come over to see me and Margaret Fell; but it may be,” said he, “some of you will take offence at it.” I asked him, “What he thought they would do with me at the sessions;” and he said “they would tender the oath to me again.”

Whilst I was at Swarthmore, William Kirby came into 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,” said I, “we meet to wait upon the Lord.” So he began to take the names of Friends, and them 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, whereupon he threatened to set them by the heels; but one of the constables 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. There was upon the bench Justice Fleming, who had bid five pounds in Westmorland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a justice both in Westmorland 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, and the concourse of people great; and way being made for me, I came up to the bar and stood there with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me, and I upon them for a pretty space. Proclamation being 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," said I, "my hat offends you; that is a low thing, that is not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above; which I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour." The chairman said, "they looked for the hat too," and asked, "wherein I showed my respect to magistrates, if I did not put off my hat?" I replied, "in coming when they called me." Then they bid one, "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 had heard of it in Yorkshire by a Friend, that had it from the high-sheriff." Then 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 was and is our principle to declare against such things." They asked me then, "if I knew not of an act against meetings." I said, "I knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, and 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 are we enemies to him or any man." Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them, "I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbid it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers, first one way, then another; but I had never taken any oath in my life." Then 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, such were liable to banishment or a great fine, that should say, it was "unlawful to swear." But I seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him, "that in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law in his gospel-time, commands, 'not to swear at all;' and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and had the law of God." After much discourse, they called for the jailer, and committed me to prison.

I had about me the paper which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read, in open court; but they would not. So being committed for refusing to swear, "I bid them and all the people take notice, that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command." Afterwards I understood the justices said, they had private instructions from Colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding 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 being poor men, that had nothing to maintain their families by but their labour, which now they were taken from, several of their wives went to the justices who had 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 also that were prisoners wrote to the justices, laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and showing them both their injustice and want of compassion towards their poor neighbours, whom they knew to be honest, conscientious, 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 who were imprisoned on that account were known to be men that had served the king in his wars, and had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, and had suffered great hardships, with the loss of much blood for him, and had always stood faithful to him from first to last, and had never received any pay for their service. To be thus requited for all their faithful services and sufferings, and that by them that pretended to be the king’s friends, was hard, unkind, and ungrateful dealing. At length the justices being continually attended with complaints of grievances, released some of the Friends, but kept divers of them still in prison.

Amongst those that were then in prison, there were four Friends for tithes, who had been sent at the suit of the Countess of Derby, and had lain near two years and a half. One of these, Oliver Atherton, a man of a weakly constitution, was, through his long and hard imprisonment in a cold, raw, unwholesome place, brought so low and weak in his body, that there appeared no hope of his life, unless he might be removed. Wherefore a letter was written on his behalf to the Countess, and sent by his son Godfrey Atherton, wherein were laid before 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. His weak condition of body was also laid before her, and the apparent likelihood of his death if she continued to hold him there; that she might be moved to pity and compassion, and also warned not to draw the guilt of his innocent blood upon herself.” When his son went to her with his father’s letter, a servant of hers 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 continued him in prison till 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 hath 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 wherein he had lived, they stuck up papers upon the crosses 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,”* etc.; setting forth at large the reasons of his refusing to pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he had undergone, her hard-heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death.

After his death, Richard Cubban, another of her prisoners for tithes, wrote a large letter to her, on behalf of himself and his fellow-prisoners at her suit, laying their innocency before her; and “that it was not out of wilfulness, stubbornness, or covetousness, that they refused to pay her tithes, but purely in good conscience towards God and Christ; and letting her know that, if she should be suffered to keep them there till they every one died, as she had done their fellow-sufferer Oliver Atherton, they could not yield to pay her. And therefore desired her to consider their case in a Christian spirit, and not bring their blood upon herself also.” But she would not show any pity or compassion towards them, who had now suffered hard imprisonment about two years and a half under her. Instead thereof she sent to Garstang, and threatened to complain to the king and council, and bring them into trouble, for suffering the paper concerning Oliver Atherton's death to be stuck upon their cross. The rage that she expressed made the people take the more notice of it, and some of them said, “the Quakers had given her a bone to pick.” But she, that regarded not the life of an innocent sufferer for Christ, lived not long after herself; for that day three weeks that Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormskirk to be buried, she died; and her body was carried that day seven weeks through the same town to her burying-place. Thus the Lord pursued the hard-hearted persecutor.

I was kept till the assize; and Judge Turner and Judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before Judge Twisden on the 14th day of the month called March, in the year 1663. When I was set to the bar, I said, “Peace be amongst you all.” The judge looked upon me, and said, “What! do you come into the court with your hat on?” Upon which, the jailer taking it off, I said, “The hat is not the honour 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, nor any covenant or engagement.” “Well,” said he, “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, do thou judge.” “I ask you again,” said he, “whether you will swear or not?” I answered again, “I am neither Turk, Jew, nor heathen, but a Christian, and 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 told him also, “they had had experience enough, how many men had first sworn for the king and then against him. But as for me, I had never taken an oath in my life; and my allegiance did not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great Prophet, and King of kings, who is the Saviour of the world, and the great Judge of all the earth, saith, 'I must not swear.' Now, whether must I obey Christ or thee? For it is in tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the commands 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 owned the king?” “Yes,” said he, “I do own the king.” “Why then,” said I, “dost thou 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 he lived peaceably?' If thou ownest the king,” said I, “why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion, seeing neither thou nor any else can charge me with unpeaceable living?” Upon this he was moved, and looking angrily at me, said, “Sirrah, will you swear?” I told him, “I was none of his sirrahs,

I was a Christian; and for him, an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nick-names to prisoners, it did not become either his grey hairs or his office.” “Well,” said he, “I am a Christian too.” “Then do Christian works,” said I. “Sirrah!” said he, “thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words.” Then catching himself, and looking aside, he said, “Hark! I am using the word [sirrah] again;” and so checked himself. I said, “I spoke to thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. Thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way.” “And I speak in love to thee too,” said he. “But,” said I, “love gives no nick-names.” Then he roused himself up, and said, “I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox; thou speakest so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court’s; I must call for three or four criers to drown thy voice: thou hast good lungs.” “I am a prisoner here,” said I, “for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake; for his sake do I suffer, for him do I stand this day; and if my voice were five times louder, I should lift it up, and sound it for Christ’s sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat, in obedience to Christ, 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 thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay?” I replied, “I say, as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou? 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 hath commanded his followers not to swear at all. Now if thou or any of you, or your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his apostles, after they had forbid all swearing, 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 tender him the oath of allegiance.” “If thou love the king,” said I, “why dost thou break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, wherein 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.

The sixteenth day of the same month I was brought before Judge Twisden again: he was somewhat offended at my hat; but it being the last morning of the assize before he was to leave town, and not many people there, he made the less of it. He asked me, “whether I would traverse, stand mute, or submit.” But he spoke so fast that it was hard to know what he said. However, I told him, “I desired I might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it.” 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,” said he, “have not I done you justice?” I replied, “That which thou hast done has been against the command of Christ.” So I was taken to the jail again, and kept prisoner till the next assizes.

Some time before this assize, Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster jail by Fleming Kirby, and Preston, justices; and at the assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was again committed to prison, to lie till the next assize.

Now Justice Fleming being one of the fiercest and most violent justices in persecuting Friends, and

sending his honest neighbours to prison for religion's sake, and many Friends being 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:—

“O Justice Fleming!

“Mercy, compassion, love, and kindness adorn and grace men and magistrates. O! dost thou 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 malefactors in the land? Which grieved and tendered the hearts of many sober people, to see how their innocent neighbours and countrymen, who were of a peaceable carriage, and honest in their lives and conversations amongst men, were used and served! One more is dead whom thou sent to prison, having left five children, both fatherless and motherless. How canst thou do otherwise than take care of these fatherless infants, and also of the other's wife and family? Is it not thy place? Consider Job (c. xxix). 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 thy 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, 'O, where are the months that are past!' Again, Justice Fleming, consider, when John Stubbs was brought before thee, having a wife and four small children, and little to live on, but what they honestly got by their own diligence, as soon as he appeared thou criedst out, 'Put the oath to that man.' And when he confessed that he was but a poor man, thou hadst no regard; 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; it is to be hoped thou wilt take care for his family, 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? Would not you have cast Christ and the apostle into prison, who commanded 'not to swear,' if they had been in your days?

“Consider also thy poor neighbour, William Wilson,<sup>93</sup> who was known to all the parish and

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93 Of the William Wilson here alluded to, the following particulars have been gathered:—He was a man of an innocent life, and though he had little outward learning, God was pleased to teach him himself, and called him to bear a testimony to his name, which he did faithfully, not only in many parts of England, but in Germany and Scotland, which he visited several times. He was of a lowly and meek spirit, upright and just among his neighbours, which caused them often to submit their differences to his arbitration, in which he was careful to find out the real truth, and would never countenance deceit. In this service he was successful, seldom missing his desired end, viz., to restore peace. He was faithful in his testimony for the truth, and a sufferer for the same in prison at Kendal, in 1666, and several times afterwards, as well as by distress on his goods. Besides which he suffered cruel mockings, stoning, blows, and wounds, both from priests and people, particularly at Eskdale, where he exhorted the people “to mind that of God in their consciences, and turn to that holy light and law which he had put into their inward parts, that by the same they might come to know the will of God, and do it.” Because of these and like words, one Parker, a priest, beat and wounded him, and with one of his crutches broke his head, causing the blood to run down his shoulders. The priest being lame, and not able as he would to effect his cruel purpose, caused his horse to be brought, on which he mounted, and in the sight of the people broke his staff in three pieces upon William Wilson's bare head, which made them cry out against such merciless behaviour.

neighbours to be an industrious man, and 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 thou hast cast her husband into prison, and thereby made him incapable of working for them? Therefore it may be expected, thou wilt 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 got? Surely the noise of this is in the very markets, the death of thy two neighbours; and the cry of the widows and fatherless is heard. All those fatherless and widows are made so for righteousness' sake. For might not John Stubbs and William Wilson have had their liberty still, if they would have sworn, though they had been such as go after mountebanks and stage-plays, or run a hunting? O! consider, for the Lord's mind is otherwise; he is tender. And the king hath declared his mind to be, that there should be no cruelty inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. Besides, several poor, honest people were fined, who had need to have something given them; and it had been more honourable to have given them something, than to fine them and send them to prison; some of whom live upon the charity of other people. What honour or grace can it be to thee, to cast thy poor neighbours into prison who are peaceable, seeing thou knowest these people cannot do that which thou requirest of them, if it were to save their lives, or all that they have? Because in tenderness they cannot take any oath, thou makest that a snare to them. What, thinkest thou, do the people say concerning this?' We know,' say they, 'the Quakers' principle, that keep to Yea and Nay; 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 thy conscience, Justice Fleming, who wast so eager for the taking of George Fox, and so offended with them that had not taken him, and now hast fallen upon thy poor neighbours. But, oh! where is thy pity for their poor, fatherless children, and motherless infants? O, take heed of Herod's hard-heartedness, and casting away all pity! Esau did so, not Jacob.

"Here is also Thomas Walters, of Bolton, cast into prison, and the oath imposed on him through thee; and for denying to swear at all, in obedience to Christ's command, he is continued in prison; having five small children, and his wife near confinement. Surely thou shouldst take

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Before the priest got home, he was overtaken with sickness, and never came more to the steeple-house. During the time of his sickness he was very loathsome, and so died.

A few weeks after, William Wilson went to the same place at Eskdale, and for speaking to the people, one Fogo, a priest, took him by the hair of the head, pulled him to the ground, and drew him out. In rage and cruelty he also abused his brother Michael Wilson; but a few months after, this same Fogo, riding over some sands, accompanied by several people, fell into a quicksand, and was immediately smothered.

William Wilson left behind him a widow and two daughters, to whom he was a true husband and a tender father, instructing his children "to keep in the fear of the Lord, and to walk in the way of truth, which he walked in himself;" often saying to them, "it would be the best portion that they could enjoy." His last illness was short. Having recently returned from a long journey, wherein his body was much spent and weak, he said, "I have not served the Lord unfruitfully; I have no trouble upon me; and I am very sensible that all is well with me." Again he said, "He was content, whatsoever way the Lord pleased; he felt as a dove, harmless; and as a lamb, innocent." A few hours before he died, at which time he walked several times over the room, he said, as he had often before, "My peace far exceeds my pain," and standing upon his feet between two Friends, he said, "O that every one would mind the Lord, that they might keep life." He then sat down, and drew breath no more.

He died at his own house at Langdale, the 10th of the 5th month, 1682.

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 thee. Dost thou not hear in thy ears the cry of the fatherless, and the cry of the widows, and the blood of the innocent speak, who through thee have been persecuted to prison, and are now dead? O, heavy sentence at the day of judgment! How wilt thou answer, when thou and thy works come to be judged,—when thou shalt be brought before the judgment-seat of the Almighty, who in thy prosperity hast made widows and fatherless for righteousness' sake, and for tenderness of conscience towards God? The Lord knows and sees it! O man! consider in thy life-time, how thou hast stained thyself with the blood of the innocent! When thou hadst power, and might have done good amongst thy peaceable neighbours, and would not, but used thy power not to a good intent, but contrary to the Lord's mind and to the king's. The king's favour, his mercy, and clemency to sober people, and to tender consciences, have been manifested by declarations and proclamations, which thou hast abused and slighted by persecuting his peaceable subjects. For at London, and in other parts, the Quakers' meetings are peaceable; and if thou look but as far as Yorkshire, where the plot hath been, Friends' innocency hath cleared itself in the hearts of sober justices; and for you here to fall upon your peaceable neighbours and people, and to be rigorous and violent against them that are tender, godly, and righteous, it is no honour to you. How many drunkards and swearers, fighters, and such as are subject to vice, have you caused to be brought before your courts? It were more honourable for you to look after such; for 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 thee as thou hast done to others; and thou dost not know how soon there may be a cry in thy own family, as the cry is amongst thy neighbours, of the fatherless and widows that are made so through thee. But the Quakers can and do say, 'the Lord forgive thee, and lay not these things to thy charge, if it be his will.'"<sup>94</sup>

Besides this, which went in the name of many, I sent him also a line subscribed by myself only, and directed—

“To Daniel Fleming.

“Friend,

“Thou hast imprisoned the servants of the Lord, without the breach of any law; therefore take heed what thou doest, for in the light of the Lord God thou art seen, lest the hand of the Lord be turned against thee!”

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94 We cannot be surprised at the hard language sometimes used by the early Friends in protesting against the unchristian conduct of their persecutors. The rapacity of their enemies in the early periods of the Society carried their plunder to so great an excess, as not only to involve many in total ruin, but subjected them to long and cruel imprisonments, which, in many cases of particular hardship, terminated in death.

It has already been stated that at one time there were 4500 Quakers in prison in England and Wales at one time. In 1622, twenty died in different prisons in London, and seven more after their liberation, from ill treatment. In 1664, twenty-five died, and in 1665, fifty-two more. The number which perished in this way, throughout the whole kingdom, amounted to 369. But for fuller particulars of the cruelties practised against the early Quakers, the reader is referred to the two closely printed folio volumes, entitled *Besse's Sufferings*.

It was not long after this ere Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children.

When I was prisoner at Lancaster, there was prisoner also one Major Wiggan, a Baptist preacher. He boasted much beforehand 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 tendered him, he desired time to consider of it; and that being granted him till the next assize, he got leave to go to London before the assize came again, and stayed there till the plague broke forth, and there both he and his wife were cut off. He was a very wicked man, and the judgments of God came upon him; for he had published a book against Friends, full of lies and blasphemies; the occasion of which was this. Whilst he was in Lancaster castle he challenged Friends to a dispute. Whereupon I got leave of the jailer to go up to them; and entering into discourse with him, he affirmed, "that some men never had the Spirit of God, and that the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, is natural." For proof of his assertion he instanced Balaam, affirming, that "Balaam had not the Spirit of God." I affirmed and proved, "that Balaam had the Spirit of God, and that wicked men have the Spirit of God; else how could they quench it, and vex it, and grieve it, and resist the Holy Ghost, like the stiffnecked Jews?" To his second affirmation I answered, "that the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was the life in the Word, and that was divine and eternal, and not natural; and he might as well say that the Word was natural, as that the life in the Word was natural. And wicked men were enlightened by this light, else how could they hate it? Now it is expressly said, that they did hate it; and the reason given why they hated it was, because 'their deeds were evil;' and they would not come to it, because it reproved them; and that must needs be in them, that 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 life in Christ, the Word, before the Scriptures were. And the grace of God, which brought salvation, had appeared unto all men, and taught the saints; but they that turned 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; 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 unto 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 see him; and presently one Richard Cubham stood up, and proved him an antichrist and a deceiver by Scripture. Then the jailer had me away to my prison again. Afterwards Wiggan wrote a book of this dispute, and put in abundance of abominable lies; but it was soon answered in print, and himself not long after was cut off, as aforesaid.



This Wiggan was poor, and while he was a prisoner at Lancaster, he sent into the country, and got money 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 also 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.

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 yourselves to be Christians.*

“Friends,

“Herein and by reading the Scriptures, ye may see both your own words and behaviour, 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, for the words and carriage of the Jews, when such as were worthy of death were brought before the rulers amongst them. When Achan had taken the Babylonish garment, and 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 found him out, he did not say unto him, Sirrah,<sup>95</sup> nor, you rascal, knave, rogue, as some, that are called Christian magistrates, are too apt to do. But Joshua said unto Achan, 'My son' (mark his clean language, his savoury expression and gracious words), 'My son,' said he, 'give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast 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 hast thou troubled Israel? The Lord shall trouble thee this day.' And they stoned him and his with stones, and burnt his goods with fire. But there was no unsavoury word given to him that we read of, though he was worthy of death. Josh. vii.

So when the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-day was taken and brought before Moses, the judge of Israel, and put in ward 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,' Numb. xv. 35.

“Likewise in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, where Moses called them to trial, he did not sirrah them or miscall them, but said to Korah and the rest, 'Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi,' Numb. xvi. 8. And when he gave the sentence against them, he said, 'If these men die the common death of all men,' etc. He did not say, If these rascals or knaves, as many that profess

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<sup>95</sup> The word Sirrah must not be confounded with Sir. It was no doubt made use of strictly in the sense of the only meaning Walker gives to it in his Dictionary, viz., “A compellation of reproach and insult.”

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, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles: in so doing my Maker would soon take me away,' Job xxxii. Job did not say, 'Sirrah, hold thy tongue,' nor give him any unsavoury expression. Then for the words of David and Solomon, and other kings and officers, see in the books of the Kings and Chronicles the savoury language that they gave to them that were brought before them; nay, though Shimei cursed David the king, yet neither did David then, or afterwards, 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. xvi. and 1 Kings ii.

“Read the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Test of the prophets, who prophesied to several 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? Nay, though Jeremiah was cast into prison, and into the dungeon, yet there was no such word as sirrah, or knave given to him. Jer. xxxvii.

“Then for the words and carriage of the heathens: when Abraham was brought before Abimelech, who was a king, he gave Abraham no unsavoury expressions, Gen. xx. And when Isaac came before Abimelech, he gave him no taunting language either, Gen. xxvi. When Joseph was cast into prison, and that in Egypt, we do not read that he had any railing language given him, Gen. xxxix. 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 he called them by the names they were known by, Dan. iii. And when Daniel was brought before Darins, and sentenced to be cast into the lions' den, he had no such names given him, as many give now, who call those rulers heathens, but themselves Christians.

“If ye look into the New Testament, in the parable of the wedding supper, the king, that came to view his guests, did not say unto him that was found without a wedding-garment, 'Sirrah, how earnest thou in hither?' But, 'Friend, how earnest thou in hither?' etc., though he was one that was to be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness, Matt. xxii. Nay, when Judas had betrayed his master, Christ Jesus, the Lord of life, and had sold him to the priests, Christ did not call him sirrah, when he came to apprehend him, but friend: Matt. xxvi. 50. Stephen in his examination, sentence, and death, had no such reproachful word given him as sirrah, or knave, Acts vi. and vii. 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 iv., they were not called sirrah, or knaves, nor had they any such ill names given them. And when Paul and Silas were cast into prison by the magistrates, there was no such word given them in their examina-

tion, nor in their sentence, Acts xvi. They called them men, not rogues, sirrahs, or knaves. And when the magistrates had done contrary to law, they feared. So ye may see how short of this example many are, that 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 the uproar was at Ephesus about Diana's shrine, Demetrins, who bore great sway among the craftsmen, did not call Paul sirrah, but Paul, Acts xix. And when Paul was brought prisoner before the high-priest Ananias, and the 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 bear to hear of living in a good conscience, as professors of the Scriptures now, that live not in the life, cannot bear 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 xxiii. The apostate Jews indeed, who, though they professed Scripture, were out of the life thereof, and had rejected Christ, in accusing Paul before the Roman magistrates, did once call him a 'pestilent fellow,' Acts xxiv., as the accusing professors, who live out of the life, will sometimes call us now. But Felix gave Paul no such language; neither did Festus nor King Agrippa, in all their examinations of him, give him any such words as sirrah, rascal, knave, or the like, but heard him patiently. So now Christians may see through all the Scriptures, that when any persons were brought before rulers, kings, or magistrates, whether Jews or Heathens, they did not use to call them evil names, as sirrah, rascal, knave, and the like; they had no such foul-mouthed language in their courts, nor did they use to say to them, 'Sirrah, put off your hat.' Now, ye 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 ye will try your practice by the Scriptures. And doth not the apostle tell you, that no corrupt communication should proceed out of your mouths, and that your words should be gracious? Now I query, where and whence ye, that call yourselves Christians, have got all these bad words and names, seeing neither God, nor Christ, nor the prophets, nor the judges, nor kings, nor rulers, ever gave any such names, so far as appears by Scripture, either amongst Heathens, Jews, or Christians?”

G. F.

Before the next assizes, there was a quarter-sessions held at Lancaster by the justices; to which though we were not brought, I put Friends upon drawing up an account of their sufferings, and laying them before the justices in their open sessions. For Friends had suffered deeply by fines and distresses, the bailiffs and officers making great havock and spoil of their goods; but no redress was afforded.

And because some evil-minded magistrates would tell 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 therefrom.

*“A Testimony from the people of God, whom the world calls Quakers, to all magistrates and officers of what sort soever, from the highest to the lowest.*

“We are peaceable, and seek the peace, good, and welfare of all, as in our lives and peaceable conduct is manifested; and we desire the eternal good and welfare of all, and their souls' everlasting peace. We are 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, who have inherited him and his everlasting kingdom, and do possess the power of an endless life. Knowing this our portion and inheritance, this is to remove all jealousies out of your minds, and out of the minds of all people concerning us, that all plots and conspiracies, plotters and conspirators against the king, and all aiders and assisters thereunto, we always did and do utterly deny to be 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.' And therefore he bid Peter 'put up his sword, for,' said he, 'he that taketh the sword, shall perish by the sword.' Here is the faith and patience of the saints, to bear and suffer all things, knowing 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 suffer for his name's sake. We know that the Lord will judge the world in righteousness, according to their deeds, and that, when every one shall give an account to him of the 'deeds done in the body,' then will the Lord 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 to come down from heaven,' to consume them that did not receive him, he told them, 'they knew not what spirit they were of,' that would have men's lives destroyed, and therefore he rebuked them and told them, 'that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' We are of Christ's mind, who is the great Prophet, whom all ought to hear in all things, who saith to his, 'if they strike thee on one cheek, turn the other; and render to no one evil for evil.' This doctrine of his we have learned, and not only confess him in words, but follow his doctrine; therefore we 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.' And we know that 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. 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, who 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 doth 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 they 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 them that fear God and serve him, and them that do not; and to make a difference between the innocent and the guilty, between him that is holy and pure, and the ungodly and profane; for they that do not so,

bring troubles, burthens, and sorrows upon themselves. This we write in love to your souls, that ye may consider these things; for we cannot say that they who hate enemies and one another, are of God, or 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, which is the power of God, before the devil was, the liar, and the murderer, the man-slayer, and the envious. 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. And our desire is, that in the fear of the Lord, ye may all live, and 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 sore trial and exercise that was come and coming upon all who had been in high profession of religion; and I was moved to give forth the following paper as a warning to such:—

“Now is the day that every one's faith and love to God and Christ will be tried; they who are redeemed out of the earth, and they 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 will it appear who are the stony ground, who are the thorny ground, and who are the highway ground, in whom the fowls of the air take away the seed, and the thorns and cares of the world choke, and the heat of persecution scorches and burns up your green blade; for the day trieth all things. Therefore let not such as forsake truth, for saving the earth, say that your brother priest only 'serveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, but his own belly, and mindeth earthly things,' for such themselves also do the same, and hug and embrace self, and not the Lord. Now it will be made manifest, who is every one's God, Christ, and Saviour, and their love will be manifest, whether it be of the world, or of God; for if it be 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, my dear friends, in the everlasting Seed of God live, that is over all the house of Adam and his works in the fall; and so dwelling in the Seed, Christ, that never fell, in him you all have virtue, life, and peace, and through him ye will overcome all that is in the fall.”

G. F.

I wrote also another epistle to Friends, to warn them to keep out of the spirit, that wrought 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 changeable

spirits, that dwell not in the truth, but in quarrels. Avoid such, and keep your habitations in the truth. Dwell in the truth, and in the Word of God, by which ye are reconciled to him. Keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, who never fell; then ye will see over all the gatherings of Adam's sons and daughters, you being met in the life over them all, in which are your unity, peace, and fellowship with God, and one with another, in the life, in which ye may enjoy God's presence among you. So remember me to all Friends in the everlasting Seed of God. The fellowship of all those that are got into fellowship in outward things, will corrupt and wither away. Therefore live in the gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was. This fellowship in the gospel, the power of God, is a mystery to all the fellowships of the world. So look over all outward sufferings, and look at the Lord, and the Lamb, who is the First and the Last, the Amen; in whom farewell."

G. F.

In the sixth month, the assizes were held again at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came that circuit again; but Judge Turner then sat on the crown bench, and so I was brought before him. Before I was called to the bar, I was put among the murderers and felons for about two hours, the people, the justices, and the judge also gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar, and empannelled a jury. Then the judge asked the justices, "whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions." They said, "they had." Then he bid, "give them the book, that they might swear they had tendered me the oath at the sessions." They said, "they had." Then he bid, "give them the book, that they might swear they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment." Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the judge said, he would have it done, to take away all occasion of exception. When the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn that "they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment," the judge asked me, "whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes?" I said, "I never took an oath in my life, and Christ, the Saviour 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 refused to take the oath at the last assizes?" I said, "the words that I then spoke to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest, or teacher, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear." The judge said he was not at that time to dispute, whether it was lawful to swear, but to inquire whether I had refused to take the oath or not. I told him, "those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the king, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny." "Well," said he, "you say well in that, but did you deny to take the oath? what say you?" "What wouldst thou have me to say?" said I; "for I have told thee before what I did say." Then he asked me, "if I would have these men to swear, that I had taken the oath?" I asked him, "if he would have those men to 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 thereupon asked them, "if this court was a play-house? where is gravity and sobriety," said I, "for this behaviour doth not become you." Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge, "I had something to speak to it;" for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it. He told me, "he would hear afterwards any reasons that I could allege, why he should not give judg-

ment.” Then I spoke to the jury, and told them, “that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, 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, said he, “I can tender the oath to any man now, and premunire him for not taking it;” and he said, they must bring me in guilty, seeing I refused to take the oath. Then said I, “What do ye do with a form? ye may throw away your form 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 called to him to “do me justice.” The jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them, that “both the justices and they had forsworn themselves, and therefore they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before.” O! 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 much 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, that sentence might be deferred till the next morning. I desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for thieves had mercy; only I requested the judge to send some one 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, 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 favour of the jailer.” Most of the gentry of the country were gathered together, expecting to hear the sentence; and the noise among the people was, “that I should be transported.” But they were all crossed at that time; for the sentence being deferred till next morning, I was sent to prison again. Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with Colonel Kirby, went up to see it; but when they came, they durst hardly go in, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain. Some that came up said, “sure it was a jakeshouse.” 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 ere long to some more convenient place.”

Next day, towards eleven, we were called again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell being called first to the bar, had counsel to plead, who found many errors in her indictment; whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, she was set by. Then the judge asked, “what they could say to mine?” I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak to it myself; and indeed, though Margaret had some 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. The Lord heard and answered, and confounded them in their proceedings against me; and though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

Now, I having put by others from 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 I had much to say, if he would

have patience to hear." At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, "Come, what have you to say? he can say nothing." "Yes," said I, "I have much to say, have but 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 at the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word, subject; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath." Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw that 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 I desired him to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to me at the sessions there. They looked, and said, "it was the eleventh day of January." "What day of the week were the sessions held on?" said I. "On a Tuesday," said they. "Then," said I, "look at your almanacs, and see whether there were 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 were on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month. "Look now," said I, "ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there were no sessions held in Lancaster that day." Then the judge, to cover the matter, asked, "whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh?" But some in the court answered, "no; the sessions 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, and were ready to quit the bench; they stamped and said, "who hath done this? somebody hath done it on purpose;" and a great heat was amongst them. "Then," said I, "are not the justices here, that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all," said I, "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 holden, which was in the month called March last?" The judge said, "it was in the sixteenth year of the king." "But," said I, "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," said I, "is not the court here forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize holden 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 bid them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was so 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," said he, "it ought to be all put in." "Then," said I, "compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayest see these words, viz. [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," said I, "I have something further to allege." "Nay," said the judge, "I have enough, you need say no more." "If," said I, "thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands, for I don't look for mercy." "You must have justice," said he, "and you shall have law." Then I asked, "Am I at liberty and free from all that hath ever been



done against me in this matter?" "Yes," said the judge, "you are free from all that hath 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 tender you the oath again." I told him, "he had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false-swearing, both in the justices and the jury; for I saw before mine eyes, that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves." The judge asked me, "if I would take the oath?" "I bid him do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what had I been imprisoned so long for? and I told him I ought to be set at liberty." "You are at liberty," said he, "but I will put the oath to you again." Then I turned me 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 me into my hand." "Yes, yes," said the judge and justices, "give it him into his hand." So I took it and looked into it, and said, "I see it is a Bible, I am glad of it." Now 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, for he should have business for them, and 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 come on 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 saw him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by; and when it was read, he asked me, "whether I would take the oath or not?" Then said I, "ye have given me a book here to kiss and to swear on, and this book which ye have given me to kiss, says, 'Kiss the Son;' and the Son says in this book, 'Swear not at all;' and so says also the apostle James. Now, I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me; how chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you, which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me? Why don't ye imprison the book?" As I was speaking this to them, and held up the Bible open in my hand, to show them the place in the book, where Christ forbids swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand again; and the judge said, "Nay, but we will imprison George Fox." Yet this got 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 in prison for doing as the Bible said.'" Now when the judge still urged me to swear, I told him, "I never took oath, covenant, or engagement in my life, but my yea or nay 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 forsworn 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," said I, "if any of you can convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had commanded not to swear, they altered that command and commanded Christians to swear; then ye shall see I will swear." There being many priests by, I said, "if ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it." But not one of the priests made any answer. "O," said the judge, "all the world cannot convince you." "No," said I, "how is it like the world should convince me; for 'the whole world lies in wickedness;' but bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me." Then both the sheriff and the judge said, "the

angel swore in the Revelations.” I replied, “when God bringeth in his first-begotten Son into the world, he saith, 'Let all the angels of God worship Him;' and He saith, 'swear not at all.'” “Nay,” 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 before his judgment seat they must all be brought.” And I told them, “that as for plots and persecution for religion and Popery, I do deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity amongst you this day. It is for Christ's doctrine I stand.” More words I had both with the judge and jury before the jailer took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves some time, where I stood with my hat on till 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 bid them read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. 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, “at once hearing so large a writing read, and at such a distance that 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, and give me time to consider it, I would answer it.” This put them to a little stand; but after a while the judge asked me “what time I would have?” I said, “till 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 swearing obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart; and if I could take any oath, I should take that; but I never took any oath in my life.” The judge said, “I said well; but,” said he, “the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, 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 the martyrs had refused to swear, both within 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 Yea is yea, and our Nay is nay; and if we transgress our yea and our nay, 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 said, “it was reasonable.”

After some further discourse, they committed me to prison again, there to lie till the next assize; and Colonel Kirby gave order to the jailer, “to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit,” he said, “to be discoursed with by men.” Then I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides, it rained in upon my bed, and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt was wet through with the rain that came in upon me, while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open

to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it, the wind blew it out again. In this manner did I lie, all that long cold winter, till 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 16th day of the month called March, 1664-5; The same Judges, Twisden and Turner, coming that circuit again, Judge Twisden sat this time on the crown-bench, and before him I was brought. I had informed myself of the errors in this indictment also. For though at the assize before, Judge Turner had 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 the 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 there were many errors, and those great ones, 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 therein; insomuch, 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 set to the bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me, first, "whether I had any objection to make against any of 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 said to it, or whether I had taken the oath at the last assize?" I told him, what I had said, viz., "that the book they gave me to swear on, says, 'swear not at all;'" and I repeated more of what I had formerly said to them, as it now came to my remembrance. Whereupon the judge said, "I will not dispute with you, but in point of law." "Then," said I, "I have something to speak 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," said he, "but in point of law." "Then," said I, "look in the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word, subject, is left out of this indictment also. And therefore seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment." I had no sooner spoken than the judge cried, "Take him away, jailer, take him away." So I was presently hurried away. The jailer and people looked when I should be called for again; but I was never brought to the court any more, 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, that I could hear of. I understood that when they had looked more narrowly into the indictment, they saw it was not good; and the judge having sworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered me at the assize before, such a day, according as was set in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the court forsworn men again, if the judge would have suffered me to plead to the indictment; 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, they recorded me as a premunired person, though I was never brought to hear the sentence, or knew of it; which was very illegal. For they ought not only to have had me present to hear the sentence given, but also to have asked me first, “what I could say why sentence should not be given against me?” But they knew I had so much to say, that they could not give sentence, if they heard it.

While I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, there was a great noise and talk of the Turks 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.” And I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his over-running Christendom; and within a month after the news came, that they had given him a defeat.

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 fire.” Not long after the wars broke out with Holland, the sickness broke forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

By reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was become very weak in 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 admit. For while I was in Lancaster prison, I answered several books, as the *Mass*, the *Common-Prayer*, the *Directory*, and the *Church-Faith*; which are the four chief religions that are got up since the apostles' days. And there being several Friends in prison at Lancaster and other prisons for not paying tithes, I was moved to give forth the following lines concerning tithes:

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“In the time of the law, they that did not bring their tithes into the store-house, 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 store-house, which was to fill 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 imprison them, or make them pay treble. These rob the poor, rob the fatherless; and the stranger and the widow are not filled; so their cry is gone up to heaven against these. Many are made almost beggars by these oppressing priests, their cattle and corn being taken away, and they cast into prison. Others are sued at law by them, and have treble damage taken from them; yet such priests are cried up to be ministers of the gospel. Though when the unchangeable priest was come, the priesthood that was changeable, was denied, as we now deny these. But if any be moved now to cry against them, they are stocked, beat, or imprisoned. Many are now in prison at Lancaster, and in other places, by a national law; the like whereof was never done by the law of God, which was delivered to Moses. For we do not read, that under Moses's law any suffered imprisonment, or spoiling of their goods for not paying tithes, or had to pay treble damage. 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, as Captain Ward, Thomas Robertson,<sup>96</sup> and the widow Garland, who has 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 to go in sackcloth, and with ashes upon her head. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, as a lamentation for the miserable estate of this nation, seeing so much crying up of the preaching of the gospel, and yet so much strife, debate, and oaths, and dissension among people. But where the gospel is received indeed, strife and contention are ended, and oppression is taken off. O! the land mourns, because of the oppression of those called ministers! And though the cry of the oppressed hath not entered into the ears of the magistrates; yet is the cry of the poor, oppressed people of God, entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, who now will be avenged of all his adversaries. You unjust lawgivers, and unjust judges, to that in all your consciences I speak, to be cleared, when ye 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 whatsoever, whether ye will hear or forbear.”

G. F.

After the assize, Colonel Kirby and some other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had galled them sore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened I should be sent far enough, and sometimes said, I should be sent beyond 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 Anglesea, wherein was written, “that if those things were found true against me, which I was charged withal, I deserved no clemency or mercy;” yet the greatest matter they had against me was, because I could not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriffs man, with some bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They had me into the jailer's house, where were William Kirby, a justice, and several others, 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 none but their swords. I told them, “there was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I premunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew, that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors that were in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another, to the end they might try me. But they all knew, there was no sentence of premunire passed upon me; and therefore not being the king's prisoner but the sheriff's, I desired to see their order.” Instead of showing me their order, they

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<sup>96</sup> Of Thomas Robertson not much is known, but he appears to have been a faithful labourer in his day. Ambrose Rigge, in the *Account of his Life*, states, “A fellow labourer was prepared for me, which was Thomas Robertson of Westmorland; who was made willing to leave his dear wife and tender babes, to go with me into the lord's harvest.” In *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 226, is a letter from Thomas Robertson to Margaret Fell, under date 1655.

haled 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, I was hardly able to sit on horseback; and my clothes smelt so of smoke, that 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 difficulty to sit him; and then he would come and look me in the face, and say, "How do you, Mr. Fox?" I told him, "it was not civil in him to do so." The Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Bentham, there met us many troopers, and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance 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 me; for they that brought me thither, gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me. When they had stayed a while, they pressed horses, and raised the bailiff of the hundred, and the constables, and others, and had me to Giggleswick that night; but exceedingly weak I was. There they raised the constables with their clog-shoes, 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 called to see me; and Robert Widders and divers Friends came to me on the road. The next night I asked the soldiers, "whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent?" Some of them said, "beyond sea;" others said, "to Tynemouth Castle." A great fear there was amongst them, lest some one should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless. Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me into a great chamber, where most part of two troops came to see me. One of these troopers, an envious man, hearing that I was premunired, 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 the Lord Frecheville (so called), who commanded these horse, 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 Scarbro' Castle. Indeed these were very civil men, and carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted Friends to come and visit me. When we were come to Scarbro', they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent six soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me into the castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry on me. Being very weak and subject to fainting, they let me go out sometimes into the air with the sentry. They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open one, where the rain came in; and smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me. One day the governor, Sir John Crossland, came to see me, and brought with him Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the governor to go into my room, and see what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and it was so filled with smoke, that when they were in, they could hardly find their way out again; and he being a Papist, I told him, that was his Purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out about fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that charge, and made it somewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither

chimney nor firehearth. This being to the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly, so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so that my body was benumbed with cold, and my fingers swelled, that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at some charge in this room also, I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides they would suffer few Friends to come to me, and many times not any, no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of another society to bring me necessaries. 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 of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a threepenny 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 sharp, and I had taken great cold, I got a little *elecampane* beer, and I heard one of the soldiers say to the other, that they would play me a trick, for they would send for me up to the deputy-governor, and in the meantime drink my strong beer out; and so they did. When I came back, 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 so I took no further notice of it. But inasmuch as they kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for Friends to come to me, I spoke to the keepers of the castle to this effect: "I did not know till I was removed from Lancaster castle, and brought prisoner to this castle of Scarbro', that I was convicted of a premunire; for the judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But seeing I am now a prisoner here, if I may not have my liberty, let my friends and acquaintance 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; all that would, might come to him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house; but I cannot 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 a great company of Papists came to discourse with me; they affirmed, "the Pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time." But 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 it; for if they were in the infallible spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one that had been of their society told me. A woman who lived in Kent, 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 turned by it to Christ her Saviour, she exhorted the Papists to the same. One of them, a tailor, being at work at her house, while she opened to him the falseness of the Popish religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, drew his knife, and got between her and the door; but she spoke boldly to him, and bid him put up his knife, for she knew his principle. I asked the woman, "what she thought he would have done with his knife?" She said, "he would have stabbed her." "Stabbed thee," said I, "what would he

have stabbed thee for? thy religion?" "Yes," said she, "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 that 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 abroad?" I told them, "yes, such things ought to be declared abroad; that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true Christianity." Whereupon they went away in a great rage.

Another Papist came to discourse with me, who said all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Christ came, and that when Christ suffered he went into hell, and the Devil said to him, "What comest thou hither for, to break open our strongholds?" And Christ said, "to fetch them all out." So he said, "Christ was three nights and three days in hell, to bring them out." I told him that was false, for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven, for the Scripture saith, 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 Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor of physic, with Lord Falconbridge; with these came also the governor of Tynemouth castle, and several knights. Being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse 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? and 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 sent away to my prison again. And afterwards this Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients, that he had conquered me. When I heard of his boasting, I told the governor, "it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondman." I desired to bid him visit me again, when he came to the castle. He came again a while after, with sixteen or seventeen great persons; and ran himself worse on ground than before. For he affirmed before them all, "that Christ hath not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; and that the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath not appeared unto all men; and that Christ died not for all men." I asked him, "what sort of men those were whom Christ had not enlightened? and to whom his grace had not appeared? and for whom he had not died?" He said, "Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men." I asked him, "whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners?" He said, "Yes." "And did not Christ die for sinners?" said I. "Did he not come to call sinners to repentance?" "Yes," said he. "Then," said I, "thou hast stopped thy own mouth." So I proved that the grace of God hath appeared unto all men, though some turn it into wantonness, and walk despitefully against it; and that Christ hath enlightened all men, though some hate 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 to me.

Another time the governor brought a priest, but his mouth was soon stopped. Not long after he brought two or three parliament-men, who asked me, "whether I owned 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 that the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers as theirs were, that would go no farther than a great benefice, I did not own; for they were not like the apostles. Christ saith to his ministers, 'Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel;' but ye parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go into all nations to preach; or any farther than a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or not.”

There came another time the widow of old Lord Fairfax, and with her a great company; 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 but fools and idiots for speaking so.” I asked him, “whether they that translated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it so to us. If they were fools and idiots, why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear Thou and Thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular. But if they were wise men that had so translated the Bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that 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 of them would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

After this came Dr. Cradock, with three priests more, and the governor and his lady (so called), and another that was called a lady, and a great company with them. 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 of peace, could convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. Here was the Bible,” I told him, “he might, if he could, show me any such command.” He said, “it is written, 'Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.'” “Ay,” said I, “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 forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more; but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the apostle forbade it? Besides,” said I, “in that text where it is written, ye shall swear, what ye was this? Was it ye Gentiles, or ye 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,” said I, “but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature.” “Indeed,” said he, “in the gospel-times everything was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses j but there was to be no swearing then.” “Why then,” said I, “dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge, in the gospel-times. And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?” (for he had excommunicated abundance, both in Yorkshire and Lancashire). He said, “for not coming to church.” “Why,” said I, “ye left us above twenty years ago,

when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us, because we would not follow them. Now we being but young, knew little then of your principles; and if ye had intended to keep the old men that did know them, to you, and your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye 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 Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles, we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done: that is, ye have put us out of your church before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if ye 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,” said I, “what dost thou call the church?” “Why,” said he, “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 seeing the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that he is the head of that old house, or of his people?” “No,” said he, “Christ is the head of the people, and they are the church.” “Then,” said I, “but you have given the title, church, which belongs to the people, to an old house, and you have taught people to believe so.” I asked him also, “why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes? And whether God ever gave a command to the Gentiles, that they should pay tithes? And whether Christ had not ended tithes, when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes? And whether Christ, when he sent forth 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 dost thou not come and see?” Then he threatened that he would use his power against us, as he had done. “I bid him take heed; for he was an old man.” I asked him also, “where he read from Genesis to the Revelations, that ever any priest did marry any?” And I wished him to show me some instance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; “for,” said I, thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? Why dost thou not use thy power against these; for we do not read that 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 that we have all the holy men and women, that the Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side.” Much discourse we had, but when he found he could get no advantage over me, he went away with his company.

With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most that came to the castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes I had with them. But, as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to see me, yet few were suffered to come to me; and when any Friend came into the castle about business, if he looked towards me they would rage at him. At last the governor

came under some trouble himself; for he having sent out a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends'; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marshal set over me, on purpose to get money out of me; but I was not free to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing off me, he was taken away again. The officers often threatened that I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once that the king, knowing I had great interest in the people, had sent me thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the wall to keep the people down. There being, a while after, a marriage at a Baptist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then 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 nor 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 growing kinder, I spoke to him when he was going to London to the Parliament, and desired him to speak to Esquire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what; and he did so. When he came down again, he told me, that Esquire Marsh<sup>97</sup> 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 which time the governor was very loving to me.

There were, amongst the prisoners, two very bad men, that often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them too, it made them the worse against me. One time when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had been a captain), came to me and challenged me to fight with him. Seeing what condition he was in, I got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more sober, showed him, "how unmanly a thing it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principle, he knew, it was not to strike; but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. I told him, if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some of the soldiers, that could have answered him in his own way. But however, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him) 'here,' said I, '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 the soldiers fell a laughing; and one of the officers said, "you are a happy man, that can bear such things." Thus he was conquered without a blow. After a while he took the oath, gave bond, and got out of prison; and not long after the Lord cut him off.

There were great imprisonments in this, and the former year, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarbro'. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate, and other prisons, where the sickness was; and many died in prison.<sup>98</sup> Many also were banished, and several sent on shipboard by the king's

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97 The person whom George Fox here and elsewhere styles Esquire Marsh, was a gentleman attached to the court of Charles II. He always remained attached to George Fox, and ever retained a most friendly interest for the Society in general. From his station at court and office as a magistrate, he had frequent opportunities of interposing his authority to protect the early Friends from the unjust oppression of their persecutors.

98 The sickness here alluded to was the "Plague," which visited London in 1665. The state of the city during this dreadful visitation seems to have been most deplorable. The following striking description is from *Ellis's Original Letters in the*

order. Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbadoes, to Jamaica, and to 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 vessel; for he kept them down under decks, though the sickness was amongst 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, and there the governor and magistrates would not suffer him, or any of his men, to land, though he wanted many necessities for his voyage; but Thomas Lower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and 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 them that put upon him this freight, and said, "he hoped he should not go far before he was taken." And the vessel was but just out of sight of Plymouth before she was taken by a Dutch man-of-war, and carried into Holland. When they came there, the States sent the banished Friends back to England, with a passport, and a certificate, "that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them." In time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.<sup>99</sup>

After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarbro' 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 being acquainted with Esquire Marsh, 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, Sir John Birkenhead, and endeavour to get a release for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes<sup>100</sup> drew

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*British Museum.* The letter is one addressed to Dr. Sancroft from J. Tillison, dated Sept. 14, 166:—

"The desolation of the city is very great. That heart is either of steel or stone, that will not lament this sad visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable woes! What eye would not weep to see so many habitations uninhabited—the poor sick not visited—the hungry not fed—the grave not satisfied! Death stares us continually in the face in every infected person that passes by us, in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The custom was in the beginning to bury the dead in the night only; but now both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it. The Quakers (as we are informed) have buried, in their piece of ground, a thousand for some weeks together past."

George Whitehead relates the satisfaction and comfort many innocent Friends expressed on their deathbeds, both in Newgate and other noisome places during the plague. Death was truly gain to these; "it being through death," says Whitehead, "that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evil to come."—"Whilst the plague was raging in the city," he adds, "our persecutors took fifty-five of our Friends (men and women) out of Newgate, where the distemper also prevailed, and forced them on board a ship for banishment, which lay for some time in the river. They were so crowded on board, and the distemper breaking out amongst them, most of them were infected, and twenty-seven of them soon died. I visited them, and had a meeting with them on board, and the Lord my God preserved me, both from the distemper and also from banishment, wherein I did humbly confess his power and special providence to his own praise and glory,"

99 See extraordinary occurrences in an attempt to banish a number of Friends recorded in a note in *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 142-145.

100 Ellis Hookes was employed in London as a recording clerk to the Society of Friends. It was he who commenced the *Record of Sufferings* (mentioned to George Fox in a letter bearing date 1660, inserted in *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 80, 87), which were written out into large folio volumes, still preserved among the Society's records in London. These are continued down to the present day in forty or more of these large volumes. The clear and excellent writing of Ellis Hookes extends over a large portion of the first of these bulky folios. To the narratives of sufferings and persecutions, were added accounts of what were regarded as judgments upon persecutors; which were, doubtless in that day, ordered

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, etc., therefore his royal pleasure was, that I should be discharged from my imprisonment,” etc. As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarbro' with it, and delivered it to the governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, and without requiring bonds 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 Scarbro' Castle, this first day of September, 1666.”

Jordan Croslands,

Governor of Scarbro' Castle.

After I was released, I would have made the governor a present for the civility and kindness he had of late showed me; but he would not receive anything; saying, “whatever good he could do for me and my friends he would do it, and never do them any hurt.” And afterwards, if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, if he sent any down he would privately give them a charge “not to meddle.” He continued loving to his dying day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed, and became very respectful to me, and when they had occasion to speak of me, they would say, “he is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him.”

The very next day after my release, the fire broke out in London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country.<sup>101</sup> Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in his word, which he had showed

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to be recorded, under a sense of the fear of God, and in testimony unto his overruling power.

Ellis Hookes died in 1681. In the London *Register of Burials*, he is described “of Horslydown in Southwark, scrivener;” and “died the 12th of the 9th month, 1681, of a consumption (having been clerk to Friends in London about twenty-four years)—he was buried in Checker Alley.”

101 The great fire of London occurred towards the latter end of 1666. The narratives given in the Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys, who were eye-witnesses of it, are sad indeed. Evelyn writes—“Sept. 3. The fire continued all this night (if I may call that night, which was light as day for ten miles about), after a dreadful manner—when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind, in a very dry season. I went on foot to the Bankside in Southwark, and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill, Tower Street, Gracious Street, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning (I know not by what despondency or fate) they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, and running about like distracted creatures. O! the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happily the world had not seen the like since the foundation of it, nor to be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, the light [being] seen above forty miles round about for many nights. The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle—some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or necessary utensils, bed or board; who, from delicateness, riches, or easy accommodations in stately and well-

me before in Lancaster jail, when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering sword drawn southward, as before expressed. The people of London were forewarned of this fire; yet few laid it to heart, or believed it; but rather grew more wicked, and higher in pride. For a Friend was moved to come out of Huntingdonshire a little before the fire, to scatter his money, and turn his horse loose on the streets, to untie the knees of his trousers, let his stockings fall down, and to unbutton his doublet, and tell the people, “so should they run up and down, scattering their money and their goods, half undressed, like mad people, as he was a sign to them;” and so they did, when the city was burning. Thus hath the Lord exercised his prophets and servants by his power, showed them signs of his judgments, and sent them to forewarn the people; but, instead of repenting, they have beaten and cruelly entreated some, and some they have imprisoned, both in the former power's days and since. But the Lord is just, and happy are they that obey his word. Some have been moved to go naked in their streets, in the other power's days, and since, as signs of their nakedness; and have declared amongst them “that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were.” But instead of considering it, they have many times whipped, or otherwise abused them, and sometimes imprisoned them. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, and to denounce the woes and vengeance of God against the pride and haughtiness of the people; but few regarded it. And in the other power's days, the wicked, envious, and professing priests, put up several petitions both to Oliver and Richard, called protectors, and to the parliaments, judges, and justices, against us, full of lies, vilifying words and slanders; but we got copies of them, and, through the Lord's assistance, answered them all, and cleared the Lord's truth and ourselves of them. But O! the body of darkness that rose against the truth in them that made lies their refuge. But the Lord swept them away; and in and with his power, truth, light, and life, hedged his lambs about, and preserved them as on eagles' wings. Therefore we all had, and have great encouragement to trust the Lord, who, we saw by his power and Spirit, overturned and brought to naught all the confederacies and counsels that were hatched in darkness against his truth and people; and by the same truth gave his people dominion, that therein they might serve him.

Indeed I could not but take notice, how the hand of the Lord turned against the persecutors, who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been abusive or cruel to me in it. The officer that fetched me to Holker-Hall wasted his estate, and soon after fled into Ireland. And most of the justices that were upon the bench at the sessions when I was sent to prison, died in a while after; as old Thomas Preston, Rawlinson, Porter, and Matthew West, of Borwick. And Justice Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children, who had imprisoned two Friends to death, and thereby made several children fatherless. Colonel Kirby never prospered after. The chief constable, Richard Dodgson, died soon after, and Mount, the petty constable, and the wife of the other petty constable John Ashburnham, who railed at me in her house, died soon after. William Knipe, the witness they brought against me, died soon after also. Hunter, the jailer of Lancaster, who was very wicked to me while I was his prisoner, was cut off in his young days: and the under-sheriff that carried me from Lancaster prison towards Scarbro', lived not long after. And Joblin, the jailer of Durham, who was prisoner with me in Scarbro' castle, and had often incensed the governor and soldiers against me, though he got out

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furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty,” etc., vol. i. p. 372-374.

of prison, yet the Lord cut him off in his wickedness soon after. When I came into that country again, most of those that dwelt in Lancashire were dead, and others ruined in their estates; so that, though I did not seek revenge upon them, for their actings against me contrary to the law, yet the Lord had executed his judgments upon many of them.

## CHAPTER II.

*1066-1669.—George Fox visits a man above one hundred years old, who had been convinced—refutes a slander that Friends love none but themselves—has a meeting at Captain Taylor's [at Brighthouse], where a neighbouring knight threatens again to imprison him—comes to London, and finds the city in ruins as he had seen it in a vision some years before—is moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walk disorderly—travels through the nation for this purpose—meets with opposition in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire—when at Shrewsbury it was rumoured that “the great Quaker of England was come to town”—the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians detected—they and the Independents persecute when in power, but flinch in time of persecution by other powers—George Fox recommends certain regulations to be observed relative to Friends' marriages—he also recommends the establishment of a school at Waltham for boys, and one at Shacklewell for girls—the meetings for discipline are the means of a great reformation among the people—George Fox discovers a cheat, writes a prophetic warning to Friends—monthly meetings settled throughout the nation—the order and good results thereof—George Fox disputes with a Papist—confers with Esquire Marsh (Justice), and shows him how to distinguish between Friends and other dissenters who refused the oath—Justice Marsh is afterwards very serviceable to Friends in screening them from suffering, and recommends the king to grant liberty of conscience—fourteen monthly meetings are settled in Yorkshire—Isaac Lindley to George Fox—when at Scarbro' the governor presses George Fox to accept his hospitality—large and precious meetings.*

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Being now freed from my imprisonment in Scarbro' castle, I went about three miles to a large general meeting at a Friend's house, that had been a chief constable; and all was quiet and well. On the fourth day after, I returned to Scarbro', and had a meeting in the town at Peter Hodgson's house. To this came one called a lady, and several other great persons, also a young man, son to the bailiff of the town, who had been convinced, while I was there in prison. That lady (so called) came to me, and said, “I spoke against the ministers.” I told her, “such as the prophets and Christ declared against formerly, I declared against now.”

From hence I went to Whitby; and, having visited Friends there, passed to Burlington, where I had another meeting. Thence to Oram, where I had another meeting; and thence to Marmaduke Storr's, and had a large meeting at a constable's house, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle.

Next day, two Friends being to take each other in marriage, there was a very great meeting, which I attended. I was moved to open to the people the state of our marriages, declaring how the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the elders, and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it was God's joining, that was the right and honourable marriage: but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the Scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations. Then I showed them the duty of man and wife, how they should serve God, being heirs of life and grace together.

I passed thence to Grace Barwick's, where I had a general meeting, which was very large. I came next to Richard Shipton's, where I had another meeting; and so to a priest's house, whose wife was convinced, and himself grown very loving, and glad to see me. This was that priest, who, in the year 1651, threatened, "if ever he met me again, he would have my life, or I should have his;" and said, "he would lose his head, if I were not knocked down in a month." But now he was partly convinced, and become very kind. I went from his house towards the sea, where several Friends came to visit me; and amongst others, Philip Seafe, who had formerly been a priest, but, having received the truth, was now become a preacher of Christ freely, and continued so. Passing on, I called to see an ancient man, who was convinced of truth, and was above a hundred years old. Then I came to a Friend's house, where I had a great meeting, and quiet. I had a great meeting near Malton; and another large one near Hull; from which I went to Howden-dyke. As we went into the town, the watchmen questioned me and those that were with me; but not having any warrant to stay us, we passed by them, who in a rage threatened they would search us out. I went to the house of one called the Lady Montague, where I lodged that night; and several friends came to visit me. Next morning, being up early, I walked into the orchard, and saw a man about sunrise go into the house in a great cloak. He stayed not long; but came soon out again, and went away, not seeing me. I felt something strike at my life; and went into the house, where I found the maid-servant affrighted and trembling. She told me, "that man had a naked rapier under his cloak." By which I perceived he came with an intent to do mischief, but the Lord prevented him.

I then visited Friends till I came to York, where we had a large meeting. After which I went to visit Justice Robinson, an ancient justice of the peace, who had been very loving to me and Friends from the beginning. There was a priest with him, who told me, "it was said of us, that we loved none but ourselves." I told him, "we loved all mankind, as they were God's creation, and as they were children of Adam and Eve by generation; and we loved the brotherhood in the Holy Ghost." This stopped him. After some other discourse, we parted friendly, and passed away.

About this time I wrote a book, entitled, Fear God, and Honour the King; in which I showed, "that none could rightly fear God, and honour the king, but they that departed from sin and evil." This book affected the soldiers much, and most people.

Having visited Friends at York, we passed to a market town, where we had a meeting at George Watkinson's, formerly a justice. A glorious, blessed meeting it was, and very large, and the Seed of life was set over all. We should have been troubled to get into this town, had not Providence made way for



us; for the watchmen stood ready to stop us. But a man riding just before us, the watchmen questioned him first; and perceiving he was a justice of peace, they let him pass; and we riding close after him, by that means escaped.

From this place we passed to Thomas Taylor's, formerly a captain, where we had a precious meeting. Hard by Thomas Taylor's lived a knight, who was much displeased when he heard I was likely to be released out of prison; and threatened that, "if the king set me at liberty, he would send me to prison again the next day." But though I had this meeting so near him, yet the Lord's power stopped him from meddling, and the meeting was quiet. Colonel Kirby also, who had been the chief means of my imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarbro' castles, when he heard I was set at liberty, got another order for taking me up; and said, "he would ride his horse forty miles to take me, and would give forty pounds to have me taken." A while after I came so near as to have a meeting within two miles of him; he was then struck with the gout, and kept his bed, so that it was thought he would have died.

From Thomas Taylor's I visited Friends till I came to Synderhillgreen, where I had a large, and general meeting. The priest of the place hearing of it, sent the constable to the justices for a warrant, and they rode their horses so hard, that they almost spoiled them; but the notice they had being short, and the way long, the meeting was ended before they came. I did not hear of them till I was going out of the house, after meeting was over, and then a Friend came and told me, "they were searching another house for me, the one I was then going to." As I went along the fields towards it, I met the constables, wardens, and the justice's clerk. I passed through them, they looking at me, and went to the house they had been searching. Thus they lost their design; for the Lord's power bound them, and preserved me over them; and Friends parted, and all escaped them. The officers went away as they came; for the Lord had frustrated their design; praised be his name for ever.

After this I went into Derbyshire, where I had a large meeting. Some Friends were apprehensive of the constables coming; for they had great persecution in those parts; but our meeting was quiet. A justice of peace in that county had taken away much of Friends' goods; whereupon Ellen Fretwell had made her appeal to the sessions; and the rest of the justices granted her her goods again, and spoke to the persecuting justice, that he should not do so any more. She was moved to speak and warn him; whereupon he bid her, "come and sit down on the bench." "Ay," said she, "if I may persuade you to do justice to the country, I will sit down with you." "No," said he, "then you shall not; get out of the court." As she was going out, she was moved of the Lord to turn again, and say, "she should be there, when he should not." After the sessions were ended, he went home, and drove away her brother's oxen, for going to meetings. Then Susan Frith, a Friend of Chesterfield, was moved of the Lord to tell him, that "if he continued in persecuting the innocent, the Lord would execute his plagues upon him." Soon after which he fell distracted, and died. This relation I had from Ellen Fretwell herself.

I travelled into Nottinghamshire, and had a large meeting at Skegby; from thence I went to Mansfield, where also I had a meeting; thence to another town, where there was a fair, at which I met with many Friends. "Then passing through the forest in a very thundering and rainy day, I came to Nottingham. So

great was the tempest many trees were torn up by the roots, and some people killed; but the Lord preserved us. On First-day following I had a large meeting in Nottingham, very quiet; Friends were come to sit under their teacher, the Grace of God, which brought them salvation, and were established upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus. After the meeting I went to visit the Friend who had been sheriff about the year 1049, whose prisoner I then was.

From Nottingham I passed into Leicestershire and came to Sileby, where we had a large, blessed meeting. After which I went to Leicester to visit the prisoners there, and then to John Penford's, where we had a general meeting, large and precious. From thence I passed, visiting Friends and my relations, till I came to Warwick, where having visited the prisoners, I passed to Badgley, and had a precious meeting there. Then I travelled through Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, visiting Friends in each county. In Oxfordshire the devil had laid a snare for me, but the Lord broke it; his power came over all, his blessed truth spread, and Friends were increased therein. Thus after I had passed through many counties, visiting Friends, and had many large and precious meetings amongst them, I came to London. But I was weak with lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonments; my joints and my body were so stiff and benumbed, that I could hardly get on my horse or bend my joints; nor could I well bear to be near the fire or to eat warm meat, I had been kept so long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them. I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before.

After I had been a time in London, and visited Friends' meetings through the city, I went into the country again, and had large meetings at Kingston, Heading, and in Wiltshire, till I came to Bristol, where also I had many large meetings. Thomas Lower came thither out of Cornwall to meet me: and Friends were there from several parts of the nation, it being then the fair time. After I was clear of Bristol, I left that city and went to Nathaniel Crisps's; and so through the country to London again, having large meetings in the way and all quiet, blessed be the Lord. Thus, though I was very weak, yet I travelled up and down in the service of the Lord, who enabled me to go through in it.

About this time some, that had run out from truth and clashed against Friends, were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over, and made them "condemn and tear their papers of controversies to pieces." Several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had run out with John Perrot and others, came in again, and condemned that spirit which led them to "keep on their hats, when Friends prayed, and when they themselves prayed." Some of them said, "that Friends were more righteous than they," and that, "if Friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition." Thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, and came over all.

Then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the city of London (besides the women's meetings and the quarterly meetings), to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according

to truth. For whereas Friends had had only quarterly meetings, now truth was spread, and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation.<sup>102</sup> And the Lord opened to me what I must do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this and in other nations; and that I should write to those where I did not come, to do the same. After things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth, power, seed, and life reigned and shone over all in the city, I went into Essex. After the monthly meetings were settled in that county, I went into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. When we had visited Friends in those parts, and the monthly meetings were settled, we went into Huntingdonshire, where we had very large and blessed gatherings; and though we met with some opposition, the Lord's power came over all, and the monthly meetings were established there also. When we came into Bedfordshire, we had great opposition; but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamshire, where we had many precious gatherings, and the monthly meetings were settled there. Then passing into Lincolnshire we had a meeting of some men Friends of all the meetings in the county, at his house who had formerly been sheriff of Lincoln, and all was quiet. After this we passed over Trent into Nottinghamshire again, the ex-sheriff of Lincoln being with me, where we had some of all the meetings in that county together. Our meeting was glorious and peaceable; and many precious meetings we had in that county.

At that time William Smith was very weak and sick, and the constables and others had seized all his goods, to the very bed he lay upon, for truth's sake. These officers threatened to break up our meeting; but the Lord's power chained them, so that they had not power to meddle with us, blessed be his name. After it, I went to visit William Smith, and there were constables and others watching his corn and beasts, that none of them might be removed.<sup>103</sup>

Thence we passed into Leicestershire and Warwickshire, where we had many Messed meetings. The order of the gospel was set up, and the men's monthly meetings established in all those counties. Then we went into Derbyshire, where we had several large and blessed meetings. In many places we were threatened by the officers, but, through the power of the Lord we escaped their hands. Leaving things

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102 For some very interesting particulars respecting the setting up of Monthly and other disciplinary Meetings and their object, see Letters of Early Friends, p. 288-292.

103 The William Smith mentioned here was originally pastor of an Independent congregation, living after the strictest manner of that people. He was convinced about the year 1658, and became a faithful labourer in the gospel. Many were turned to God by him, for he proved himself a minister of Jesus Christ, in labours, in travails, in watchings, necessities, and distresses, suffering much loss of goods and long and tedious imprisonments. For not paying tithes he was imprisoned twenty-one weeks among felons in Nottingham jail; and another time had the value of £42 taken from him, whilst he was in prison, for £7 demanded by the priest of Elton.

In the times of his frequent imprisonments, William Smith wrote several books, which were printed together in a folio volume in 1675, entitled Balm from Gilead, etc. When at liberty he travelled abroad strengthening the brethren, and though often visited by sickness, he was kept in patience and content, much of the power and presence of God appearing in him many times when he was in great weakness of body, to the admiration of beholders. Daring his last sickness, one evening, many Friends being in the room sitting in silence, he turned in his bed towards them, and plentifully declared of the love of God, by which they were much refreshed and tendered. He also testified of a large portion which he had in life eternal. Then he spoke to Friends "to be mindful of truth, and of their service therein, more than of their daily food; and so committed them to the grace of God." The day before he died he called his children (six or seven), and tenderly exhorted them "to keep in the fear of God, and to love the truth, and God would be a father and portion to them.

well settled in Derbyshire, we travelled over the Peak hills, which were very cold (for it was then frost and snow), and came into Staffordshire. At Thomas Hammersley's we had a general men's meeting; where things were well settled in the gospel order, and the monthly meetings established also. But I was so exceedingly weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through, as he did, by his power. We came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed gatherings, and a general men's meeting, wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were settled, according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God. After the meeting I passed away. But when the justices heard of it, they were very much troubled, that they had not come and broken it up, and taken me; but the Lord prevented them. After I had cleared myself there in the Lord's service, I passed into Lancashire, to William Barnes's, near Warrington, where met some of most of the meetings in that county; and there all the monthly meetings were established in gospel order. From thence I sent papers into Westmorland by Leonard Fell and Robert Widders, and also into Durham, Cleveland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Scotland, to exhort Friends to settle the monthly meetings in the Lord's power in those places; which they did. So the Lord's power came over all, and the heirs of it came to inherit it. For the authority of our meetings, is the power of God, the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light; that all may see over the devil that hath darkened them, and that all the heirs of the gospel may walk according to the gospel, and glorify God with their bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's; for the order of the glorious gospel is not of man, nor by man. To this meeting in Lancashire, Margaret Fell, being a prisoner, got liberty to come, and went with me to Jane Milner's in Cheshire, where we parted. I passed into Shropshire, and from thence into Wales, and had a large general men's meeting at Charles Lloyd's, where some opposers came in, but the Lord's power brought them down. Having gone through Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire we passed into Merionethshire, where we had several blessed meetings; and then went to the sea-side, where we had a precious meeting. And Friends in these parts, being established on Christ, their foundation, and the monthly meetings settled in the power of God, we left Wales, and returned into Shropshire, where the Friends of the country gathering together, the monthly meetings were established there also. Then coming into Worcestershire, after many meetings amongst Friends in that county, we had a general men's meeting at Henry Gibb's house, at Pashur, where also the monthly meetings were settled in gospel order.

The sessions were held that day in the town, and some Friends were concerned lest they should send officers to break up our meeting; but the Lord's power restrained them, so that it was quiet; through which power we had dominion. I had several meetings amongst Friends in that county till I came to Worcester; and it being the fair time, we had a precious meeting there. There was then in Worcester one Major Wild, a persecuting man; and after I was gone out of town, some of his soldiers inquired after me; but having left Friends there settled in good order, we passed to Droitwich, and thence to Shrewsbury, where also we had a very precious meeting. The mayor hearing that I was in town, got the rest of the officers together, to consult what to do against me; for they said, "the great Quaker of England was come to town." But when they were come together, the Lord confounded their councils, so that, when

some were for imprisoning me, others opposed it; and so being divided among themselves, I escaped their hands.

We went also into Radnorshire, where we had many precious gatherings, and the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's power. As we came out of that county, staying a little at a market-town, a justice's clerk and other rude fellows combined together to do us mischief on the road. They followed us out of town, and soon overtook us; but there being many market-people on the way, they were somewhat hindered from doing what they intended. Yet observing two of our company ride at some distance behind, they set upon them; and one of them drew his sword, and cut one of those two Friends, whose name was Richard Moor, Surgeon, of Shrewsbury. Meanwhile another of these rude fellows came galloping after me and the other Friend that was with me; and having to pass over a narrow bridge, in his eagerness to get before us he rode into the brook, and plunged his horse into a deep hole in the water. I saw the design, and stopped, desiring Friends to be patient, and give them no occasion. By this time Richard Moor came up to us, with the other Friend that was with him, who knew the men and their names. Then we rode on, and a little further met another man on foot much in liquor, with a naked sword in his hand. And not far beyond him we met two men and women, one of whom had his thumb cut off by the drunken man; for he, being in drink, attempted rudeness to one of the women; and this man withstanding him, and rescuing her, he drew his sword and cut off his thumb. Now this drunken man had a horse, which, being loose, followed him some way behind. I rode after it, and having caught it, brought it to the man that had his thumb cut off; and bid him take the horse to the next justice of peace, by which means they might find out, and pursue the man that had wounded him.

On this occasion I wrote to the justices, and to the judge of the assize which was then at hand; and employed some Friends to carry it to the justices first. The justice to whom the clerk belonged, rebuked his clerk and the others also, for abusing us on the highway; so that they were glad to come and entreat Friends not to appear against them at the assize; which, on their submission and acknowledgement of their fault, was granted. This was of good service in the country, for it stopped many rude people, who before had been forward to abuse Friends.

We passed into Herefordshire, where we had several blessed gatherings; and we had a general men's meeting also, where all the monthly meetings were settled. There was about this time a proclamation against meetings; and as we came through Herefordshire, we were told of a great meeting there of the Presbyterians, who had engaged themselves to stand and give up all, rather than forsake their meetings. When they heard of this proclamation, the people came, but the priest was gone, and left them at a loss. Then they met in Leominster privately, and provided bread, cheese, and drink in readiness, that if the officers should come, they might put up their Bibles and fall to eating. The bailiff found them out, and came in among them, and said, "their bread and cheese should not cover them, he would have their speakers." They cried, "what then would become of their wives and children?" But he took their speakers and kept them a while. This the bailiff told Peter Young, and said, "they were the veriest hypocrites that ever made a profession of religion."

The like contrivance they had in other places. For there was one Pocock at London, that married Abigail Darey, who was called a lady; and she being convinced of truth, I went to his house to see her. This Pocock had been one of the triers of the priests; and, being a high Presbyterian, and envious against us, he used to call our Friends house-creepers. He being present, she said to me, "I have something to speak to thee against my husband." "Nay," said I, "thou must not speak against thy husband." "Yes," said she, "but I must in this case. Last First-day," said she, "he and his priests and people, the Presbyterians, met; they had candles and tobacco-pipes, bread, cheese, and cold meat on the table; and they agreed beforehand, that if the officers should come in upon them, then they would leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their cold meat." "O," said I to him, "is not this a shame to you, who persecuted and imprisoned us, and spoiled our goods, because we would not join you in your religion, and called us house-creepers, that now ye do not stand to your own religion yourselves? Did ye ever find our meetings stuffed with bread and cheese and tobacco-pipes? Or did you ever read in the Scriptures of any such practice among the saints?" "Why," said the old man, "We must be as wise as serpents." I replied, "this is the serpent's wisdom indeed. But who would have thought that you Presbyterians and Independents, who persecuted and imprisoned others, spoiled their goods, and whipped such as would not follow your religion, should now flinch yourselves, and not dare to stand to your own religion, but cover it with tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat, and bread and cheese!" But this, and such-like deceitful practices, I understood afterwards, were too common amongst them in times of persecution.

After we had travelled through Herefordshire, and meetings were well settled there, we passed into Monmouthshire, where I had several blessed meetings; and at Walter Jenkins's, who had been a justice of the peace, we had a large gathering, where some were convinced; this meeting was quiet. But to one before this, came the bailiff of the hundred, almost drunk, pretending he was to take up the speakers. There was a mighty power of God in the meeting, so that, although he raged, the power of the Lord limited him, that he could not break it up. When it was over, I stayed a while, and he stayed also. After some time I spoke to him, and so passed quietly away. At night some rude people came, and shot off a musket against the house, but did not hurt anybody. Thus the Lord's power came over all, and chained down the unruly spirits, so that we escaped them. We came to Ross that night, and had a meeting at James Merrick's.

After this we came into Gloucestershire and had a general men's meeting at Nathaniel Crips's house, where all the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's everlasting power; and the heirs of salvation were exhorted to take their possessions in the gospel, the power of God, which was and is the authority of their meetings. Many blessed gatherings we had up and down in that county, before we came to Bristol. And after several powerful seasons, the men's and women's meetings were settled there also.

As I was in bed at Bristol, the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go back to London. Next morning Alexander Parker and several others came to me: I asked them, "what they felt?" They in like manner asked me, "what was upon me?" I told them, "I felt I must return to London." They said, "the same was upon them." So we gave up to return to London; for whatever way the Lord moved and led

us, thither we went in his power. Leaving Bristol, we passed into Wiltshire, and established the men's monthly meetings in the Lord's power there; and visited Friends till we came to London.

After we had visited Friends in the city, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that care might be taken to prevent those disorders that had been committed by some. For many had married contrary to their relations' minds; and some young, raw people that came amongst us, had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. Yet I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread over the nation; advising Friends who might be concerned in that case, "that they might lay it before the faithful in time, before anything was concluded, and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, they being free from all others and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other, in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses." Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was therefore ordered, by the same power and Spirit of God, "that marriages should be laid before the men's monthly and quarterly meetings, or as the meetings were then established; that Friends might see that the relations of those that proceeded to marriage, were satisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husbands' children, before they married again; and what else was needful to be inquired into; that all things might be kept clean and pure, and be done in righteousness to the glory of God." Afterwards it was ordered, in the wisdom of God, "that if either of the parties, that intended to marry, came out of another nation, county, or monthly meeting, they should bring a certificate from the monthly meeting to which they belonged; for the satisfaction of the monthly meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage."<sup>104</sup>

These things, with many other services for God, being set in order, and settled in the churches in the city, I passed out of London, in the leadings of the Lord's power, into Hertfordshire. After I had visited Friends, and the men's monthly meetings were settled there, I had a great meeting at Baldock, of many sorts of people. Then returning towards London by Waltham, I advised the setting up of a school there for teaching boys; and also a girls' school at Shacklewell for instructing them in whatsoever things were civil and useful.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Some interesting documents, exhibiting the early care of the Society with regard to marriages, may be referred to in *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 259, 279, 283, etc. So early as 1659, at a meeting of Friends from four comities, an *Epistle of Counsel and Advice* was issued on this, and other subjects; recommending "that no marriage take place hastily or rashly; but in the fear of the Lord, and in presence of many witnesses, according to Scripture example; that so no scandal or blemish may be laid upon the truth, but that all may be brought to the light; that a record in writing of the day, place, and year, be kept within the meeting where a marriage occurs, of which one or both are members; under which the witnesses may set their names."

<sup>105</sup> In the establishment of the schools at Waltham and at Shacklewell, at the suggestion of George Fox, we have evidence of his desire that a useful education should be imparted to youth. It is an error to suppose the early Friends depreciated human learning, and they must be exonerated from any such charge. They exhibited in their own persons the practicability of the union of knowledge and virtue. While they were, many of them, eminent for their learning, they were distinguished for the piety of their lives. They were indeed the friends of both, but did not patronize the one to the prejudice and expulsion of the other. They always maintained (as Friends continue to do) that learning is not necessary to make a

After I had had several precious meetings in the country, I came to London again, where I stayed a while in the work and service of the Lord; and then went into Buckinghamshire, where I had many precious meetings. At John Brown's, of Weston near Aylesbury, some of the men Friends of each meeting being gathered together, the men's monthly meetings for that county were established, in the order of the gospel, the power of God; and the power of the Lord confirmed it in all that felt it, and they came thereby to see and feel, that the power of God was the authority of their meetings. Then after the monthly meeting was settled there in the order of the gospel, and upon the foundation of Christ Jesus, I went to Nathaniel Ball's, at North Newton near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, who was a Friend in the ministry. And there being a general meeting, where some from all the meetings were present, the monthly meetings for that county were then settled in the power of God; and Friends were very glad of them; for they came into their services in the church, to take care for God's glory. After this meeting, we passed into Gloucestershire, visiting Friends till we came into Monmouthshire, to Richard Hambery's; where meeting with some from all the meetings of that county, the monthly meetings were settled there also in the Lord's power, that all might take care of God's glory, and admonish and exhort such as did not walk as became the gospel. And indeed these meetings made a great reformation

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gospel minister, and here it is that many have mistaken their meaning.

Barclay, in his celebrated *Apology*, nowhere condemns the propriety, or usefulness of human learning, or denies it to be promotive of the temporal comforts of man. He says the knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, or of Logic and Philosophy, of Ethics or of Physics and Metaphysics, is not necessary. But mark his meaning. Not necessary to make a minister of the gospel. But where does he say that knowledge, which he himself possessed to such a considerable extent, was not necessary; or that it did not contribute to the innocent pleasures of life? What would have been the character of his own book, or what would have been its Comparative value and usefulness, had he not been able to quote so many authors to his purpose in their original texts, or to have detected so many classical errors, introduced such apposite history, or to have drawn up his propositions with so much logical and mathematical clearness and precision; or if he had not been among the first literary characters of his day?

William Penn was equally celebrated with Barclay as a scholar. His works afford abundant proof of his erudition, and of the high cultivation of his mind. Like the rest of his associates, he was no advocate for learning as a qualification for a minister of the gospel; but he was yet a friend to it, on the principle that it enlarged the understanding, and that it added to the innocent pleasures of the mind. He entreated his wife, in the beautiful letter he left her before he embarked on his first voyage to America, "not to be sparing of expense in procuring learning for his children; for that by such parsimony all was lost that was saved." And he recommended also, in the same letter, a mathematical and philosophical education.

Penn's Secretary, James Logan, was also a patron of learning among the early Friends. He was a correspondent of Sir Hans Sloane and other literati of Europe, a contributor to the *Philosophical Transactions*, and bequeathed his library, of 3000 volumes, on arts and sciences in various languages, to the city of Philadelphia, with an endowment to preserve it for public use.

Thomas Ellwood, the companion of Milton, was so sensible of the disadvantages arising from a want of knowledge, that he revived his learning with great industry after he had become a Friend. "I mentioned before," says he in his *Journal*, "that when I was a boy I made some progress in learning, and that I lost it all again before I came to be a man. Nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein, till I came amongst Friends. But there I both saw my loss and lamented it, and applied myself with the utmost diligence at all leisure times to recover it. So false I found that charge to be, which in those times was cast as a reproach on the Society, that they despised and decried all human learning, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry, which was one of the controversies of those times." Ellwood's friend, Isaac Pennington, assisted him in this matter, and through his influence with Dr. Paget, procured him the means of improvement in becoming a reader to Milton.



amongst people, insomuch that the justices took notice of their usefulness.

Richard Hamhery and his wife accompanied us a day's journey visiting Friends, till we came to a widow's house, where we staid that night. Thence we passed over the hills next day, visiting Friends and declaring truth to the people, till we came to another widow's, where we had a meeting. She could not speak English, yet she praised the Lord for sending us to visit them.

We travelled till we came to Swansea, where on the First-day we had a large and precious meeting, the Lord's presence being eminently amongst us. On a week day afterwards we had a general meeting beyond Swansea, of men Friends from Swansea, Tenby, Haverfordwest, and other places; and there the monthly meetings were settled in gospel order, and received by Friends in the power of the Lord; and the Lord's truth was over all.

From thence we endeavoured to go by water into Cornwall, and returned through Swansea to Mumbles, thinking to get passage there, but the captain deceived us; for though he had promised to carry us, yet when we came he would not. We went to another place where there was a passage-boat, into which we got our horses; but some rude men in the boat (though called gentlemen) threatened to pistol the master, if he took us in, who, being afraid of them, turned our horses out again; which put us out of hopes of getting over that way. Wherefore turning back into the country, we stayed up all night, and about two in the morning took horse, and travelled till we came near Cardiff, where we stayed one night. The next day we came to Newport; and it being market-day there, several Friends came to us, with whom we sat a while; and after a refreshing season together, we parted from them, and went on our way.

Beyond this market-town we overtook a man, who lingered on the way, as if he stayed for somebody; but when we came up to him, he rode along with us, and asked us many questions. At length meeting with two others, who seemed to be pages to some great persons, he made acquaintance with them, and I heard him tell them he would stop us, and take us up. We rode on; being in our way; and when he came to us, and would have stopped us, I told him, "none ought to stop us on the king's highway, for it was as free for us as for them; and I was moved to exhort him to fear the Lord. Then he galloped away before us; and I perceived his intent was to stop us at Shipton in Wales, which was a garrison town, through which we were to pass. When we were come to Shipton, John-ap-John being with me, we walked down the hill into the town, leading our horses. It being the market-day there, several Friends met us, and would have had us to an inn. But we were not to go into any inn; so we walked directly through the town over the bridge, and then we were out of the limits of that town. Thus the Lord's everlasting arm and power preserved us, and carried us on in his work and service.

The next First-day we had a large meeting in the Forest Of Dean; and all was quiet. Next day we passed over the water to Oldstone; where, after we had visited Friends, we came again to William Yeoman's house, at Irb's Court in Somersetshire. From thence we went to a meeting at Portshead, whither several Friends from Bristol came to us. After this we went further up into the country, and had

several large meetings; and the Lord's living presence was with us, supporting and refreshing us in our labour and travel in his service.

We came to a place near Minehead, where we had a general meeting of the men Friends in Somersetshire. There came also a cheat, whom some friendly people would have had me to take along with me. I saw he was a cheat; and therefore bid them bring him to me, and see whether he could look me in the face. Some were ready to think I was too hard towards him, because I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me, he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he was indeed a cheat, and had cheated a priest by pretending to be a minister; he had got the priest's suit and went away with it.

After the meeting we passed to Minehead, where we tarried. In the night I had an exercise upon me, from a sense of a dark spirit, working and striving to get up to disturb the church of Christ. Next morning I was moved to write a few lines to Friends as a warning thereof, as follows:—

“Dear Friends,

“Live in the power of the Lord God, in his Seed that is set over all, and is over all trials that you may have with the dark spirit, which would be owned in its actings, and thrust itself amongst you; which is not come as yet: but in the power of the Lord God, and his Seed, keep over it, and bring it to condemnation. For I felt a kind of dark spirit thrusting itself up towards you, and heaving up last night; but you may keep it down with the power of God, that the witness may arise to condemn its actings, so far as it hath spread its dark works, before it have any admittance. So no more, but my love in the Seed of God, which changeth not.”

G. F.

Minehead in Somersetshire, 22nd of 4th Month, 166S.

Next day several Friends of Minehead accompanied us as far as Barnstaple and Appledon in Devonshire, where we had a meeting. Barnstaple had been a bloody, persecuting town. There were two men Friends of that place, who had been a great while at sea; and coming home to visit their relations, one of them having a wife and children, the mayor of the town sent for them, under pretence to converse with them; and he put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to them. Because they could not swear, he sent them to Exeter jail, where Judge Archer premunired them, and kept them till one of them died in prison. When I heard of this, I was moved to write a letter to Judge Archer, and another to the mayor of Barnstaple, laying their wicked and unchristian actions upon their heads, and letting them know,” that the blood of that man would be required at their hands.”

After a precious meeting at Appledon among some faithful Friends there, we passed to Stratton, and stayed at an inn all night. Next day we rode to Humphrey Lower's, where we had a very precious meeting; and next day to Truro; visiting Friends till we came to the Land's-end. Then coming up by the south part of that county, we visited Friends till we came to Tregangeeves, where at Loveday

Hambley's we had a general meeting for all the county; in which the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's power, and in the blessed order of the gospel; that all who were faithful might admonish and exhort such as walked not according to the gospel; that so the house of God might be kept clean, and righteousness might run down, and all unrighteousness be swept away. Several that had run out, were brought to condemn what they had done amiss; and through repentance came in again.

Being clear of the county of Cornwall, we came into Devonshire, and had a meeting amongst Friends at Plymouth. Whence passing to Richard Brown's, we came to the widow Phillips's, where we had some men Friends from all the meetings together; and there the men's monthly meetings were settled in the heavenly order of the gospel, the power of God; which answered the witness of God in all. There was a great noise of a troop of horse coming to disturb our meeting; but the Lord's power prevented it, and preserved us in peace and safety.

After things were well settled, and the meeting over, we came to King's-bridge, and visited Friends there. Then leaving Friends in those parts well settled in the power of God, we passed to Topsham, and Membury, visiting Friends, and having many meetings in the way, till we came to Ilchester in Somersetshire. Here we had a general men's meeting, and therein settled the men's monthly meetings for that county in the Lord's everlasting power; and Friends being refreshed and comforted in the Lord's power, and established upon Christ, their rock and foundation, we passed to Puddimoor; where, at William Beaton's, we had a blessed meeting, and all was quiet; though the constables had threatened before.

When we had visited most of the meetings in Somersetshire, we passed into Dorsetshire to George Harris's house, where we had a large men's meeting. There all the men's monthly meetings for that county were settled in the glorious order of the gospel, that all in the power of God might "seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away; cherish the good, and reprove the evil."

Then we came to Southampton, where we had a large meeting on First-day. Thence we went to Captain Beeves's, where the general men's meeting for Hampshire was appointed; to which some of all the county came, and a blessed time we had. There the men's monthly meetings for that county were settled in the order of the gospel, which had brought life and immortality to light in them. But there came a rude company of Banterers, who had opposed and disturbed our meetings much. One of the women had lain with a man, who declared it at the market-cross, and gloried in his wickedness. A company of these lewd people lived together at a house hard by the place where our meeting was. I went to it, and told them of their wickedness. The man of the house said, "Why! did I make so strange of that?" Another of them said, "It was to stumble me." I told them, "their wickedness should not stumble me, for I was above it." And I was moved of the Lord to tell them, "that the plagues and judgments of God would overtake them, and come upon them." Afterwards they went up and down the country, till at last they were cast into Winchester jail, where the man that had lain with the woman stabbed the jailer, but not mortally. And after they were let out of jail, this fellow that had stabbed the jailer hung himself; the woman also had like to have cut a child's throat, as we were informed. These people had formerly lived about London; and when the city was fired, they prophesied, "that all the rest of London should be

burnt within fourteen days,” and hastened out of town. Though they were Ranters, great opposers of Friends, and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some people that did not know them, would be apt to say they were Quakers. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write a paper, to be dispersed among the magistrates and people of Hampshire, to clear Friends and truth of these lewd people and their wicked actions.

After the men's monthly meetings in those parts were settled, and the Lord's blessed power was over all, we went to a town where we had a meeting with Friends. Thence we came to Fabnham, where we met many Friends, it being the market-day. We had many precious meetings up and down that country. Friends in those parts had formerly been plundered, and their goods much spoiled, both for tithes, and for going to meetings; but the Lord's power at this time preserved both them and us from falling into the persecutor's hands.

We passed thence, and had a general men's meeting at a Friend's house in Surrey, who had been plundered so extremely, that he had scarcely a cow, horse, or swine, left. The constables threatened to come and break up our meeting, but the Lord restrained them. At this meeting the men's monthly meetings were settled in the authority of the heavenly power. After we had visited Friends in that county, and had many large and precious gatherings, we passed to a Friend's house in Sussex, where the general meeting for the men Friends of that county was appointed to be held; and thither came several Friends from London to visit us. We had a blessed meeting; and the men's monthly meetings for that county were then settled in the Lord's eternal power. There were at that time great threatenings of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. We had several large meetings in that county, though Friends were then in great sufferings there, and many in prison. I was sent for to visit a Friend that was sick, and went to see those that were prisoners. There was danger of my being apprehended; but I went in the faith of God's power, and thereby the Lord preserved me in safety.

Having visited Friends through the country, we passed into Kent, where, after we had been at several meetings, we had a general meeting for the men Friends of that county. There also the men's monthly meetings for that county were settled in the power of God, and established in the order of the gospel, for all the heirs of it to enter into their services, and care in the church for the glory of God. Friends rejoiced in the order of the gospel, and were glad of the settlement thereof, which is not of man nor by man. After this I visited Friends in their meetings in Kent; and when I had cleared myself of the Lord's service in that county, I came up to London.

Thus were the men's monthly meetings settled through the nation; for I had been in Berkshire before, where most of the ancient Friends of that county were in prison; and when I had informed them of the service of these monthly meetings, they were settled amongst them also. The quarterly meetings were generally settled before. I wrote also into Ireland by faithful Friends, and into Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's monthly meetings in those countries. For they had their general quarterly meetings before; but now that truth was increased amongst them, they should settle those men's monthly meetings in the power and Spirit of God, that

first convinced them. Since these meetings have been settled, and all the faithful in the power of God, who are heirs of the gospel, have met together in the power of God, which is the authority of them, to perform service to the Lord therein, many mouths have been opened in thanksgivings and praise, and many have blessed the Lord God, that ever he sent me forth in this service; yea, with tears have many praised the Lord. For now all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, that his name be not blasphemed, which they profess; and to see that all who profess the truth, walk in the truth, in righteousness, and in holiness, which becomes the house of God, and that all order their conversation aright, that they may see the salvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exercised in his holy Power and Spirit, in the order of the heavenly life and gospel of Jesus, they may all see and know, possess and partake of, the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise are set up in every one's heart that is faithful; so that we can say, the gospel order established amongst us, is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost. This order of the gospel, which is not of man, nor by man, but from Christ, the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apostatized Christians, and will remain when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlasting gospel, was before the devil was, and will be and remain for ever. And as the everlasting gospel was preached in the apostles' days to all nations, that all nations might come into the order of it, through the divine power, which brings life and immortality to light, that they who are heirs of it, might inherit the power and authority of it; so now, since all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and all the world hath worshipped the beast (but they whose names are written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, who have worshipped God in spirit and in truth, as Christ commanded), the everlasting gospel is to be, and is, preached again, as John the divine foresaw it should, to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people. This everlasting gospel torments the whore, and makes her and the beast to rage, even the beast that hath power over the tongues, which are called the original, to order them, by which they make divines, as they call them. But all that receive the gospel, the power of God, which brings life and immortality to light, come to see over the beast, devil, whore, and false prophet, that darkened them and all their worships and orders, and come to be heirs of the gospel, the power of God, which was before the beast, whore, false prophet, and devil were, and will be, when they are all gone and cast into the lake of fire. And they that are heirs of this power and of this gospel, inherit the power which is the authority of this order, and of our meetings. These come to possess the joyful order of the joyful gospel, the comfortable order of the comfortable gospel, the glorious order of the glorious gospel, and the everlasting order of the everlasting gospel, the power of God, which will last for ever, and will out-last all the orders of the devil, and that which is of men or by men. These shall see the government of Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and of the increase of his glorious, righteous, holy, just government, there is no end; but his government and his order will remain; for he who is the author of it, is the first and the last, the beginning and ending, the foundation of God, which over all stands sure, Christ Jesus, the Amen.

Being returned to London, I stayed some time there, visiting Friends' meetings in and about the city. While I was in London, I went one day to visit Esquire Marsh, who had showed much kindness both to

me and to Friends; I happened to go when he was at dinner. He no sooner heard my name, than he sent for me up, and would have had me sit down with him to dinner; but I had not freedom to do so. Several great persons were at dinner with him; and he said to one of them who was a great Papist, "Here is a Quaker, whom you have not seen before." The Papist asked me, "whether I owned the christening of children?" I told him, "there was no Scripture for any such practice." "What," said he, "not for christening children?" I said, "nay." I told him, "the one baptism by the one Spirit into one body we owned; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and say that was baptizing and christening it, there was no Scripture for that." Then he asked me, "whether I owned the Catholic faith?" I said, "yes," but added, that "neither the Pope nor the Papists were in that Catholic faith; for the true faith works by love, and purifies the heart, and if they were in that faith that gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead." So I undertook to prove that "neither Pope nor Papists that held a purgatory hereafter, were in the true faith; for the true, precious, divine faith, which Christ is the author of, gives victory over the devil and sin, that had separated man and woman from God. And if they, the Papists, were in the true faith, they would never use racks, prisons, and fines, to persecute and force others to their religion, that were not of their faith. This was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians, who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ; but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and Heathens so to do. But," said I, "seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the Pope, and seeing thou sayest, 'there is no salvation but in your church,' I desire to know of thee, what it is that doth bring salvation in your church?" He answered, "a good life." "And nothing else," said I. "Yes," he said, "good works." "And is this it that brings salvation in your church, a good life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle?" said I. "Yes," said he. "Then," said I, "neither thou, nor the Pope, nor any of the Papists know what it is that brings salvation." Then he asked me, what brought salvation in our church? I told him, "that which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, the same brought salvation to us, and not another; namely, 'the Grace of God, which, the Scripture says, brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men, which taught the saints then, and teaches us now. This Grace which brings salvation, teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly. So it is not the good works nor the good life that brings salvation, but the Grace?" "What!" said the Papist, "doth this Grace that brings salvation, appear unto all men?" "Yes," said I. "Then," said he, "I deny that." I replied, "all that deny that, are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth, which the apostles were in."

Then he spoke to me about the mother-church. I told him, "the several sects in Christendom had accused us, and said, 'we forsook our mother-church.' The Papists charged us with forsaking their church, saying, 'Rome was the only mother-church.' The Episcopalians taxed us with forsaking the old Protestant religion, alleging, 'theirs was the reformed mother-church.' The Presbyterians and Independents blamed us for leaving them, each of them pretending, 'theirs was the right reformed church.'" But, I said, "if we could own any outward city or place to be the mother-church, we should own Jerusalem, where the gospel was first preached by Christ himself and his apostles, where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to Christianity by Peter was, where the types, figures, and shadows, which Christ

ended, and where Christ commanded his disciples to 'wait until they were endued with power from on high.' If any outward place deserved to be called the mother, that was the place where the first great conversion to Christianity was. But the apostle saith, Gal. iv. 25-27, 'Jerusalem, which now is, is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.' The apostle does not say, outward Jerusalem was the mother, though the first and great conversion to Christianity was there. And there is less reason for the title [mother] to be given to Rome, or to any other outward place or city, by the children of Jerusalem, that is above and free; neither are they Jerusalem's children that is above and free, who give the title of mother either to outward Jerusalem, to Rome, or to any other place or sect of people. And though this title [mother] hath been given to places and sects amongst and by the degenerate Christians, yet still we say, as the apostle said of old, 'Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of us all.' And we can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem nor Rome, nor any sect of people for our mother, but Jerusalem which is above, which is free, the mother of all that are born again, and are become true believers in the light, grafted in Christ, the Heavenly Vine. For all who are born again of the immortal Seed, by the Word of God, which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the Word, the breast of life, and grow by it in life, and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother but Jerusalem which is above." "O," said Esquire Marsh to the Papist, "You do not know this man, if he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man."

After some other discourse, I went aside with Justice Marsh into another room, to speak with him concerning Friends; for he was a justice of peace for Middlesex, and being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of affairs upon him. He told me "he was in a strait how to act between us and some other Dissenters. For," said he, "you cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-monarchy people say also they cannot swear; therefore," said he, "how shall I know how to distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say it is for conscience' sake that you cannot swear?" I answered, "I will show thee how to distinguish. They, or most of them, thou speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear they were theirs; many of them would readily do it. But if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou putttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them, 'whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse; which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth.'" Hereupon I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus: A thief stole two beasts from a Friend of ours, the thief was taken and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge, that the prosecutor was a Quaker, and could not swear, the judge, before he heard what the Friend could say, said, "Is he a Quaker? and will he not swear? Then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy." So he cast the Friend into prison, and premunired him, and set the thief at liberty that had stolen his goods. Justice Marsh, said, "that judge was a wicked man." "But," said I, "if we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that are to support every man in his estate. Whereas others, that

can swear in some cases to preserve a part of their estates, if they be robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to preserve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou mayest easily distinguish, and put a difference between us and those people.” Justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to Friends in this and other cases; for he kept several, both Friends and others, from being premunired. When Friends were brought before him in time of persecution, he set many of them at liberty; and when he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent told him, “he had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more.” Wherefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near St. James's Park. Ho told the king that “if he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience, that would quiet and settle all; for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy.” And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and Friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year; the Lord's truth came over all, and many that had gone out from truth came in again, confessing and condemning their outgoings. After I had stayed some time in London, I visited Friends in Surrey and Sussex, and in other places that way, and afterwards travelled northward, having Leonard Fell with me. We visited Friends till we came to Warwick, where many were in prison; and we had a meeting in the town. I passed thence to Birmingham and Badgley. At Badgley I had a large meeting; after which I came to Nottingham, where on First-day we had a precious meeting, but not without danger of being apprehended, the constables having threatened to take up Friends.

I passed thence, visiting Friends, till I came to Balby, and so to York, to the quarterly meeting; and a blessed time we had. Friends in Yorkshire had seven monthly meetings before; and they were so sensible of the service of them, that they desired to have seven more added to them, for truth was much spread in that county. So they were established; and now they have fourteen monthly meetings in that county.<sup>106</sup>

It being the assizes at York, I met with Justice Hotham, a well-wisher to Friends, who had been tender, and very kind to me from the first.

After I had finished my service for the Lord in York, I passed into the country. As I went a great burthen fell upon me, but I did not presently know the reason of it. I came to a meeting on First-day at Richard Shipton's, which was very large, but there being one the same day at another place also, the priest of that place, being misinformed that I was to be there, got a warrant, and made great disturbance at that meeting; of which Isaac Lindley, who was there, gave me an account in the following letter:—

“G. F.,

“When thou went from York, the First-day after thou wast at Richard Shipton's, that day I had appointed a meeting ten miles from York, where there had not been one before. But the priest and the constable got a warrant on the seventh day, and put thy name only in the warrant, for

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106 The fourteen monthly meetings mentioned above as settled in Yorkshire so early as 1669, were York, Balby, Pontefract, Brighouse, Knaresbro', Settle, Malton, Thirsk, Richmond, Gisbro', Scarbro', Kelke, Oustwick, and Elloughton.



they had heard that thou wast to be there. They came with weapons and staves, and cried, 'Where is Mr. Fox?' over and over; many Friends being there, they concluded thou wast among them. But those raveners, being disappointed, plucked me down and abused me, and beat some Friends, and then took me before a magistrate, but he set me at liberty."

Isaac Lindley.

Then I visited Friends at Whitby and Scarbro'. When at Scarbro', the governor hearing I was come, sent to invite me to his house, saying, "surely I would not be so unkind as not to come and see him and his wife." After the meeting I went up to visit him, and he received me very courteously and lovingly.

Having visited most of the meetings in Yorkshire, the Wolds, and Holderness, I came to Henry Jackson's, where I had a great meeting. Thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to John Moor's at Eldreth, where we had a very large meeting; the Lord's power and presence were eminently amongst us. Not far from this place lay Colonel Kirby, lame of the gout, who had threatened that "if ever I came near, he would send me to prison again; and had bid forty pounds to any man that could take me;" as I was credibly informed.

After this I came into Staffordshire, and Cheshire, where we had many large and precious meetings. I had a very large one at William Barnes's house, about two miles from Warrington; and though Colonel Kirby was out again, as violent in breaking up meetings as before, and was then at Warrington, the Lord did not suffer him to come to this meeting; and so we were preserved out of his hands.

### CHAPTER III.

*1609-1671.—George Fox sails for Ireland in company with several other Friends—he there sends a challenge to the Popish priests to try their God, which is not accepted—he contrasts them with Baal's priests—the authorities of Cork threaten him, and issue warrants for his apprehension—he rides publicly through the city, and is seen by the mayor but not molested—writes to Friends in the ministry there—discourses with professors on election and reprobation—returns to England—a report is spread that George Fox is turned Presbyterian, through a trick to obtain a congregation for John Fox, the Presbyterian, which however turns to the advantage of Friends—George Fox is married to Margaret Fell at Bristol—writes to the quarterly meetings about putting children apprentices—Margaret Fox is cast into prison—two of her daughters go to the king, and obtain a promise of their mother's liberty—on the passing of the Conventicle Act, George Fox writes a declaration against seditious conventicles—writes to Friends to strengthen them in their trials—is apprehended at a meeting at Gracechurch Street—taken before the mayor, who discourses with him and sets him at liberty—visits Friends in Beading jail—undergoes great travail of spirit, loses his sight and hearing, and becomes as a sign—persecution becoming hot, some meeting-houses are pulled down, and Friends are much abused—*

*George Fox endures great mental conflict—the faithfulness of Friends is said by some professors to have preserved the nation from debauchery—George Fox writes an encouraging letter to Friends—as persecution abates he recovers—writes a warning to the rulers of the nation—recommends certain regulations respecting marriage—writes a prayer.*

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Now was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to visit the seed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. We waited near Liverpool for shipping and wind. After waiting some days, we sent James Lancaster to take passage, which he did, and brought word the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black Rock. We went thither on foot; and it being some distance, and the weather very hot, I was much spent with walking. When we arrived, the ship was not there; so we were obliged to go to the town, and take shipping. When we were on board, I said to the rest of my company, “Come, ye will triumph in the Lord, for we shall have fair wind and weather.” Many passengers in the ship were sick, but not one of our company. The captain and many of the passengers were very loving; and we being at sea on the first day of the week, I was moved to declare truth among them; whereupon the captain said to the passengers, “Here are things that you never heard in your lives.” When we came before Dublin, we took boat and went ashore; and the earth and air smelt, methought, of the corruption of the nation, so that it yielded another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the Popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended. We passed through among the officers of the custom four times, yet they did not search us; for they perceived what we were: some of them were so envious they did not care to look at us. We did not soon find Friends; but went to an inn, and sent out to inquire for some; who when they came to us were exceedingly glad of our coming, and received us with great joy. We stayed there the weekly meeting, which was a large one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province meeting, which lasted two days, there being one about the poor, and another meeting more general; in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was livingly declared, and Friends were much refreshed therein.

Passing thence about four and twenty miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good refreshing meeting; but after it, some Papists that were there were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I sent for one of them, who was a schoolmaster; but he would not come. Whereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars and monks, priests and Jesuits, to come forth, and “try their God and their Christ, which they had made of bread and wine,” but no answer could I get from them. Wherefore I told them, “they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god as these did, and then make another.”

We went to New Garden, where there was a great meeting. Thence we travelled on among Friends, till we came to Bandon Bridge and the Land's End, having many meetings as we went, in which the mighty power of the Lord was manifested, Friends were well refreshed, and many people were affected

with the truth. At Bandon, the mayor's wife being herself convinced, desired her husband to come to the meeting; but he bid her, for her life, not to make known that I was at a meeting there.

He that was then mayor of Cork was very envious against truth and Friends, and had many Friends in prison; and knowing that I was in the country, he had issued four warrants to take me; wherefore Friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being at Bandon, there appeared to me, in a vision, "a very ugly visaged man, of a black and dark look: my spirit struck at him in the power of God; and it seemed to me, that I rode over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face." When I came down in the morning, I told a friend that was with me, that the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork; but bid him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me; and when we came near the town, they would have showed me a way on the backside of the town; but I told them, my way was through the streets. Wherefore taking one of them along with me, whose name was Paul Morrice, to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, he seeing me ride by, said, "there goes George Fox;" but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed through the sentinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted. There the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me. While I was sitting there with Friends, I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me; and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit. By and by some other Friends coming in, told me that it was over the town, and amongst the magistrates, that I was in the town. I said, "let the devil do his worst." After a while, that Friends were refreshed one in another, and we travellers had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way. But great was the rage, that the mayor and others of Cork were in, that they had missed me; and great pains they afterwards took to take me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads, as I understood, to observe which way I went. Afterwards there was scarcely a public meeting I came to, but spies came to watch if I were there. And the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes, and horse, so that when I was near a hundred miles from Cork, they had an account concerning me, and description of me, before I came amongst them. One very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, got a warrant from the judge of the assize to apprehend me; which warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near a hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their counsels, and defeated all their designs against me; by his good hand of Providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near; and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was precious felt with and amongst us; whereby many of the world were reached, convinced, and gathered to the truth; the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. O, the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.

At which time I was moved to declare to Friends in the ministry, as follows:—

“Sound, sound abroad, ye faithful servants of the Lord, and witnesses in his name, ye prophets of the Highest, and angels of the Lord! Sound ye all abroad in the world, to the awakening and raising of the dead, that they may be awakened, and raised up out of the grave, to hear the voice that is living. For the dead have long heard the dead, the blind have long wandered among the blind, and the deaf amongst the deaf. Therefore sound, ye servants, prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that you may awaken the dead, and them that are asleep in their graves of sin, death and hell, sea and earth, and who lie in the tombs. Sound abroad, ye trumpets, and raise up the dead, that they may hear the voice of the Son of God, of the second Adam that never fell; the voice of the Light and of the Life; the voice of the Power, and the voice of the Truth; the voice of the Righteous, and of the Just. Sound ye the trumpets, the melodious sound abroad, that all the deaf ears may be opened to hear the pleasant sound of the trumpet to judgment and life, to condemnation and light. Sound your trumpets all abroad, ye angels of the Lord, sons and daughters, prophets of the Highest, that all who are dead and asleep in the graves—who have been long dreaming and slumbering, may be awakened, and hear the voice of the Lamb;—that all who have long heard the voice of the beast, may now hear the voice of the Bridegroom and of the Bride;—that they may now hear the voice of the great Prophet and King—the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. Sound, sound it all abroad, ye trumpets, among the dead in Adam; for Christ is come, the second Adam, that they might have life, yea have it abundantly. Awaken the dead, awaken the slumberers, the dreamers, them that are asleep, awaken them out of their graves, out of their tombs, out of their sepulchres, out of the seas! Sound abroad, ye trumpets that awaken the dead, that they may all hear the sound of it in the graves, and they that hear may live, and come to the Life, that is, the Son of God. He is risen from the dead; the grave could not hold nor contain him, neither could all the watchers of the earth, with all their guards, keep him therein. Sound, ye trumpets of the Lord, to all the seekers of the living among the dead, that he is risen from the dead; to all the seekers of the living among the dead, and in the graves that the watchers keep; he is not in the grave, he is risen; there is that under the grave of the watchers of the outward grave, which must be awakened and come to hear His voice, who is risen from the dead, that they may come to live. Therefore sound abroad, ye trumpets of the Lord, that the grave may give up her dead, and hell and the sea give up their dead; that all may come forth to judgment, to the judgment of the Lord before his throne, and have their sentence and reward according to their works.”

G. F.

To James Hutchinson's in Ireland came many great persons, desiring to discourse with me about election and reprobation. I told them, “though they judged our principle foolish, it was too high for them, they could not with their wisdom comprehend it; therefore I would discourse with them according to their capacities. You say (said I), that God hath ordained the greatest part of men for hell, and that they were ordained so before the world began; for which your proof is in Jude. You say Esau was reprobated, and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham. But Christ saith to his disciples, 'Go, teach all nations,' and 'go into all nations and preach the gospel of life and salvation.' Now, if they were to go to all

nations, were they not to go to Ham's stock and Esau's stock? Did not Christ die for all? then for the stock of Ham, of Esau, and the Egyptians. Doth not the Scripture say, 'God would have all men to be saved?' Mark, all men, then the stock of Esau and of Ham also. Doth not God say, 'Egypt, my people?' and that he would have an altar in Egypt? Isa. xix. Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? And doth not history say, that the Bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been Pope? And had not God a church in Babylon? I confess, 'the word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel; the like was not to other nations.' For the law of God was given to Israel; but the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. The gospel of peace and glad tidings to all nations, 'he that believes, is saved; but he that doth not believe, is condemned already;' so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some, that were of old ordained (or written of before) to condemnation, he doth not say, before the world began; but, 'written of old,' which may be referred to Moses's writings, who wrote of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Korah, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate. And such Christians as followed them in their way, and apostatized from the first state of Christianity, were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth, which they are gone from. And though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau; yet he tells the believers, 'we all were by nature children of wrath as well as others.' This includes the stock of Jacob, of which the apostle himself and all believing Jews were. Thus both Jews and Gentiles were all concluded under sin, and so under condemnation, that God might have mercy upon all, through Jesus Christ. The election and choice stands in Christ; and 'ho that believes, is saved; and he that believes not, is condemned already.' Jacob typifies the second birth, which God loved; and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again, before they can enter the kingdom of God. When you are born again, ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ, the Seed, before the world began; but the reprobation lies in the evil seed, since the world began." After this manner, but somewhat more largely, I discoursed with those great persons on this matter, and they confessed they had never heard so much before.

After I had travelled over Ireland, and had visited Friends in their meetings, as well for business as for worship, and had answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and Protestant priests (for they all were in a rage against us, and endeavoured to stop the work of the Lord; and some Jesuits swore in the hearing of some of us, that we came to spread our principles in that nation, but we should not do it), I returned to Dublin to take passage for England. When I had stayed the First-day meeting there (which was very large and precious), a ship being ready and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends, parting in much tenderness and brokenness, in the sense of the heavenly life and power, manifested amongst us. So having put our horses and necessities on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, many Friends accompanying us to the ship; and divers, both Friends and friendly people, came after us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God and tender of his truth; and very good order they have in their meetings, for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness. A precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited. Many things more I could

write of that nation, and of my travels in it, which would be large to mention particularly; but this I have thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of truth.

James Lancaster, Robert Lodge, and Thomas Briggs came back with me; John Stubbs having further service there, stayed behind. We were two nights at sea; in one of which a mighty storm arose, that put the vessel in great danger. But I saw the power of God went over the winds and storms; he had them in his hand, and his power bound them. And the same power of the Lord God which carried us over, brought us back again; and in his life gave us dominion over all the evil spirits that opposed us there.

We landed at Liverpool, and went to Richard Johnson's. Whence departing the next day, we passed to William Barnes's house, and so to William Gandy's, visiting Friends, and having many precious meetings in Lancashire and Cheshire. When we came into Gloucestershire, we met with a report at Nailsworth, which was spread about that country, "that George Fox was turned Presbyterian; that they had prepared a pulpit for him, and set it in a yard, and that there would be a thousand people there the next day to hear him." I thought it strange that such a report should be raised of me; yet as we went further, from one Friend's house to another, we met with the same. We passed by the yard where the pulpit was, and saw it, and went on to the place where Friends' meeting was to be next day, and there we stayed that night. Next day, being First-day, we had a very large meeting, and the Lord's power and presence were amongst us.

The occasion of this strange report (as I was informed) was this. There was one John Fox, a Presbyterian priest, who used to go about preaching; and some changing his name (as was reported) from John to George, gave out that George Fox had changed his religion, and was turned from a Quaker to be a Presbyterian, and would preach at such a place such a day. This begot so great a curiosity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Presbyterian, who would not have gone to hear John Fox himself. By this means, it was reported, they had got together above a thousand people. But when they came there, and perceived they had a trick put upon them, and that he was but a counterfeit George Fox, and understood that the real George Fox was hard by, several hundreds of them came to our meeting, and were sober and attentive. I directed them to the grace of God in themselves, which would teach them, and bring them salvation. When the meeting was over, some of the people said, "they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching better than George Fox the Presbyterian's." Thus, by my providential coming into those parts at that time, was this false report discovered; and shame came over the contrivers of it.

Not long after this, John Fox was complained of in the House of Commons, for "having a tumultuous meeting, in which treasonable words were spoken;" which (according to the best information I could get of it) was thus:—He had formerly been priest of Mansfield in Wiltshire; and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a Common-Prayer priest to preach sometimes in his steeple-house. At length this Presbyterian priest, presuming too far upon the parish priest's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and attempted to preach there, whether the parish priest would or not. This caused a great bustle and contest in the steeple-house between the two priests, and their hearers, on

each side; in which contest the Common-Prayer-Book was cut to pieces, and some treasonable words were spoken by some of the followers of John Fox. This was quickly put in the news; and some malicious Presbyterians caused it to be worded as if it had proceeded from George Fox the Quaker, when I was above two hundred miles from the place where this bustle happened. When I heard of it, I soon procured certificates from some of the members of the House of Commons, who knew this John Fox, and gave it under their hands, that it was John Fox, who had formerly been parson of Mansfield in Wiltshire, that was complained of to the House of Commons, to be the chief ringleader in that unlawful assembly.

And indeed this John Fox discovered himself to be an ill man; for when some, who had been his followers, came to be convinced of truth, and thereupon left him, he came to some of their houses to talk with them about it, and they telling him, “he was in the steps of the false prophets, preaching for hire and filthy lucre, like them whom Christ cried woe against, and the apostles declared against, such as served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; and telling him also, Christ said, ‘freely ye have received, freely give;’ and therefore he should not take money of people for preaching, especially now times were so hard;” he replied, “God bless preaching, for that brings in money, let times go how they will. Fill my belly with good victuals; and then call me false prophet, or what you will, and kick me about the house when ye have done, if ye will.” This relation I had from a man and his wife, who had been formerly his hearers, and whom this John Fox, with others, caused deeply to suffer. For he and some other Presbyterian priests, using to resort to a widow-woman's house, who had the impropriation, and took the tithes of the parish, she told them, there was a Quaker in that parish that would not pay her tithes, and asked what she should do with him. They advised her “to send workmen to cut down and carry away his corn;” which she did, and thereby impoverished the man. But to proceed—

After this meeting in Gloucestershire was over, we travelled till we came to Bristol; where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomans. I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of Life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord as before, according as he led me; travelling up and down in this nation, and through Ireland. But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord, that the thing should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her, “if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children;” which she did. When the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law, “if they had anything against it, or for it;” and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I asked Margaret, “if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children.” She replied, “the children knew that.” Whereupon I asked them, “whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it?” And I asked Margaret, “whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children?” The children said, “she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of it.” I told them, “I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself.” So after I had thus acquainted the children with it, our

intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction, many of whom gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed for the accomplishing thereof, in the meeting-house at Broad-Mead in Bristol, we took each other, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal Seed of life. In the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city, besides many others from divers parts of the nation.<sup>107</sup>

We stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went together to OldStone; where taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves to our several services, Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord, as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends; in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings.

Being in London, it came upon me to write to Friends throughout the nation, about “putting out poor children to trades.” Wherefore I sent the following epistle to the quarterly meetings of Friends in all counties:—

“My Dear Friends,

“Let every quarterly meeting make inquiry through all the monthly and other meetings, to know all Friends that are widows, or others, that have children fit to put out to apprenticeships; so that once a quarter you may set forth an apprentice from your quarterly meeting; and so you may set forth four in a year in each county, or more, if there be occasion. This apprentice, when out of his time, may help his father or mother, and support the family that is decayed; and in so doing, all may come to live comfortably. This being done in your quarterly meetings, ye will have knowledge through the county in the monthly and particular meetings, of masters fit for them, and of such trades as their parents or you desire, or the children are most inclinable to. Thus being placed out with Friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means in the wisdom of God, you may preserve Friends' children in the truth, and enable them to be a strength and

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107 The date of the marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell, in the Bristol Register of Friends, is 27th of 8th Month, 1669.

Margaret Fell, it will be remembered, was the widow of Judge Fell of Swarthmore Hall. It is remarkable with what high esteem and Christian love this devoted woman appears to have been regarded by our early and most eminent Friends. She seems to have been generally acknowledged as a faithful nursing-mother of the flock; and she often addressed them, when in bonds or otherwise, with letters of consolation and encouragement. (See numerous letters to and from her in Barclay's *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*). It is also probable she contributed largely from her means to the relief of their outward necessities. Having faithfully fulfilled her allotted labours, she died much beloved and lamented, at her own house at Swarthmore, in 1702, being near the eighty-eighth year of her age, and having survived George Fox about twelve years.

Some remarkable expressions of assured happiness fell from her lips during her last illness, if that could be called an illness, which was the decay of nature. At one time, under the meltings of heavenly love, she said, “Oh my sweet Lord! into thy holy bosom do I commit myself freely; not desiring to live in this troublesome, painful world—it is all nothing to me—for my Maker is my husband.” A little before her departure she called her daughter Rachel to her, saying, “Take me in thy arms”—after which she said, “I am in peace!”



help to their families, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days. Thus also things being ordered in the wisdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, and free yourselves from much cumber. For in the country, ye know, ye may set forth an apprentice for a little to several trades, as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, wheelrights, ploughwrights, tailors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, nailers, butchers, weavers of linen and woollen, stuffs and serges, etc. And you may do well to have a stock in your quarterly meetings for that purpose. All that is given by any Friends at their decease (except it be given to some particular use, person, or meeting), may be brought to the public stock for that purpose. This will be a way for the preserving of many that are poor among you, and it will be a way of making up poor families. In several counties it is practised already. Some quarterly meetings set forth two apprentices; and sometimes the children of others that are laid on the parish. You may bind them for fewer or more years, according to their capacities. In all these things the wisdom of God will teach you, by which ye may come to help the children of poor Friends, that they may come to support their families, and preserve them in the fear of God. So no more, but my love in the everlasting Seed, by which ye will have wisdom to order all things to the glory of God.”

G. F.

London, 1st of 11th Month, 1669.

I stayed not long in London; but having visited Friends, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, I passed into Essex, and Hertfordshire, where I had many precious meetings. Intending to go as far as Leicestershire, I wrote a letter to my wife, before I left London, to acquaint her therewith, that if she found it convenient to her she might meet me there. From Hertfordshire I turned into Cambridgeshire, thence into Huntingdonshire, and so into Leicestershire; where, instead of meeting with my wife, I heard that she was haled out of her house to Lancaster prison again, by an order obtained from the king and council, to fetch her back to prison upon the old premunire; though she had been discharged from that imprisonment by their order the year before. “Wherefore, having visited Friends as far as Leicestershire, I returned by Derbyshire into Warwickshire, and so to London, having had many large and blessed meetings in the several counties I passed through, and been sweetly refreshed amongst Friends in my travels.

As soon as I reached London, I hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters) to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and see if they could obtain a full discharge for her, that she might enjoy her estate and liberty without molestation. This was somewhat difficult, but by diligent attendance they at length obtained it; the king giving command to Sir John Otway, to signify his pleasure therein by letter to the sheriff, and others concerned therein in the country. “Which letter Sarah Fell going down with her brother and sister Rous, carried with her to Lancaster; and by them I wrote to my wife, as follows:—

“My Dear Heart In The Truth And Life, That Changeth Not,

It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the king concerning thy imprisonment, and to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went, and then they thought to come down; but it was upon me to stay them a little longer, that they might follow the business till it was effected; which it now is, and is here sent. The late declaration of mine hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it. So no more, but my love in the holy Seed.”

G. F.

The declaration here mentioned was a printed sheet, written upon occasion of a new persecution stirred up. For by the time I was returned out of Leicestershire to London, a fresh storm was risen, occasioned (it was thought) by that tumultuous meeting in a steeple-house in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, mentioned a little before; from which, it was said, some members of parliament took advantage to get an act passed against seditious conventicles;<sup>108</sup> which soon after came forth and was turned against us, who of all people were free from sedition and tumult. “Whereupon I wrote a declaration, showing from the preamble and terms of the act, that we were not such a people, nor our meeting such as were described in that act. I wrote also another short paper on the occasion of that act against meetings, opening our case to the magistrates, as follows:—

“O Friends, consider this act, which limits us to five. Is this doing as ye would be done by? Would ye be so served yourselves? We own Christ Jesus as well as you, his coming, death, and resurrection; and if we be contrary-minded to you in some things, is not this the apostle's exhortation, 'to wait till God hath revealed it?' Doth not he say, 'what is not of faith, is sin?' Seeing we have not faith in things, which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us, if we should act contrary to our faith? Why should any man have power over another man's faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? When the apostles preached in the name of Jesus, and great multitudes heard them, and the rulers forbade them to speak any more in that name, did not they

108 The “Conventicle Act” so called, first passed in 1664, was renewed at the above time (1670), with increased rigour. The penalties were £5, or three months to the house of correction, for the first offence of attending a conventicle, if above sixteen years of age; £10, or six months, for the second; transportation for seven years for the third, with-sequestration of estate, or distraint for the charges; and five years' Slavery in the Colonies, by contract between the sheriff and a purchaser, on being sent abroad, in defect of property to distraint upon; or out of which to pay £100 as a liberating fine. This fine to be repeated, and £100 added as oft as he should offend afterwards, or transportation, kc. (with death for returning), and the forfeiture of his life-interest in his estate.

Conventicles to be broken up by an armed force, under the direction of lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, etc. Even a femme covert could not escape; but must be redeemed by her husband, at the price of £40; or go to prison, or be transported with him. Nor could a peer of the realm: he must be fined £10 for the first offence, £20 for the second, and for the third, be tried by his peers. The fines to be levied by distress, by warrant of any two justices, or a chief magistrate.

The force of this Act was directed against the Quakers, by inserting, in the latter part of it, three sections, which brought their refusal to take an oath under its full penalties; and they suffered dreadfully through it! In the streets, or where they met to assert their religious rights, they were dragooned; in court they had oaths tendered, and were convicted under this Act upon their refusal.

“This Act,” says Besse, “was forthwith put into a rigorous execution, and many hungry informers [for the sake of their third of the penalties] made it their business to live upon the spoil and ruin of conscientious people.” Friends were great sufferers thereby, of the nature of which the reader may have some idea by reference to “Sufferings under the Conventicle Act;” *Select Miscellanies*, vol. iii., pp. 220-245.

bid them judge whether it were better to obey God or man? Would not this act have taken hold of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples; for they met often together? If there had been a law made then, that not above five should have met with Christ, would not that have been a hindering of him from meeting with his disciples? Do ye think that He, who is the wisdom of God, or his disciples, would have obeyed it? If such a law had been made in the apostles' days, that not above five might meet together, who had been different minded from either the Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches, would have obeyed it? O therefore consider! for we are Christians, and partake of the nature and life of Christ. Strive not to limit the Holy One; for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be quenched. Do unto all men as ye would have them do unto you; for that is the law and the prophets."

"This is from those who wish you all well, and desire your everlasting good and prosperity, called Quakers; who seek the peace and good of all people, though they afflict us, and cause us to suffer."

G. F.

As I had endeavoured to soften the magistrates, and to take off the sharpness of their edge in the execution of the act, so it was upon me to write a few lines to Friends "to strengthen and encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear, with Christian patience and content, the suffering that was coming upon them." This I did in the following epistle:—

"My dear Friends, Keep in the faith of God above all outward things, and in his power, that hath given you dominion over all. The same power of God is still with you to deliver you as formerly; for God and his power is the same; his Seed is over all, and before all; and will be, when that which makes to suffer, is gone. Be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatsoever any do against the truth, it will come upon themselves, and fall as a millstone on their heads. If the Lord suffer you to be tried, let all be given up; and look at the Lord and his power, which is over the whole world, and will remain when the world is gone. In the Lord's power and truth rejoice over that which makes to suffer, in the Seed, which was before it was; for the life, truth, and power of God is over all. All keep in that; and if ye suffer in that, it is to the Lord.

"Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things; and now the Lord may try you, whether your minds be in outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them? Therefore keep in the Seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! shall not I pray, and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? Let not any one's Delilah shave his head, lest he lose his strength; neither rest in its lap, lest the Philistines be upon you. For your rest is in Christ Jesus; therefore rest not in anything else."

G. F.

London, 12th of 2nd Month, 1670.

On the First-day after the act came in force, I went to the meeting at Grace-church-street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard Street, where also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them; but he did not speak long. When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee. Then I showed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in his members now, where he is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them. That it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the Spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep, but that we suffered as sheep that bite not again; for we were a peaceable people, and loved them that persecuted us." After I had spoken a while to this effect, the constable came with an informer and soldiers; and as they pulled me down, I said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." The commander of the soldiers put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, "You are the man I looked for." They took also John Burnyeat and another Friend, and led us away first to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate; some of them laughed at the constable, and told him, "we would not run away." The informer went with us unknown, till falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, "It would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago." Whereupon I asked him, "Art thou a Papist? What! a Papist informer; for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists." He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets, I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the court-yard, several of the people that stood about, asked me, "how and for what I was taken?" I desired them to ask the informer, and also know what his name was; but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, "he should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military." After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, "Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes?" Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door, and slipped out. No sooner was he come into the street, than the people gave a shout, that made the street ring again, crying out, "a Papist informer! a Papist informer!" We desired the constable and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, fearing lest they should do him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where they stayed a while; but when he went out again, the people received him with another shout. The soldiers were fain to go and rescue him once more, and they led him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his periwig, and so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats, which he perceiving, called to them, and bid them, "let us alone, and not

meddle with our hats; for,” said he, “they are not yet brought before me in judicature.” So we stood by while he examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers; with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought up to the table where he sat; and then the officers took off my hat; and the mayor said mildly to me, “Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them, and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?” I answered to this purpose: “Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name, but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name, how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name? I wished him to consider, whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples, if it had been in their time, who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, I told him this act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met, under colour and pretence of religion, 'to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shown but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.” He said, “the act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy.” I told him, “according to” was not the very same thing: and I asked him, “whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures? and whether we might not read Scriptures, and speak Scriptures?” He said “Yes.” I told him, “this act took hold only of such, as met to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shown; but they had never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, etc., we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another than four hundred could. Therefore, we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do: and, I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.” After some more discourse, he took our names and the places where we lodged, and at length, as the informer was gone, set us at liberty.

Being set at liberty, the Friends with me asked me “whither I would go?” I told them, “to Gracechurch Street meeting again, if it were not over.” When we came there, the people were generally gone; only some few stood at the gate. We went into Gerrard Roberts's house; and from thence I sent out to know how the other meetings in the city were. I understood that at some of the meeting-places Friends were kept out; at others they were taken, but set at liberty again a few days after. A glorious time it was, for the Lord's power came over all, and his everlasting truth got renown. For as fast as some that were speaking were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people; and the more, because many Baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and

came to see how the Quakers would stand. As for the informer aforesaid, he was so frightened, that there durst hardly any informer appear publicly again in London for some time after. But the mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himself smoothly towards us, proved afterwards a very great persecutor of our Friends, many of whom he cast into prison, as may be seen in the trials of W. Penn, W. Mead, and others, at the Old Bailey this year<sup>109</sup>

After some time the heat of persecution in London began to abate, and meetings were quieter there. Being now clear of the city, I went to visit Friends in the country; and attended several meetings in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, which were quiet, though in some places there was much threatening. At Reading most of the Friends were in prison, and I went to visit them. When I had been a while with them, the Friends that were prisoners gathered together, and several other persons came in; so that I had a fine opportunity amongst them, and “declared the Word of Life, encouraging them in the truth; and they were refreshed in feeling the presence and power of the Lord amongst them.” When the meeting was ended, the jailer understanding that I was there, the Friends were concerned how to get me out safe again; for they feared lest he should stop me. But after I had stayed a while, and eaten with them, I went down stairs, and the jailer being at the door, I put my hand in my pocket, which he had such an eye to, hoping to get something off me, that he asked me no question. So I gave him something, and bade him “be kind and civil to my Friends in prison, whom I came to visit;” and he let me pass out without interruption. But soon after Isaac Pennington coming to visit them, he stopped him, and caused him to be made a prisoner.<sup>110</sup>

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109 The celebrated trial of Penn and Mead at the Old Bailey, above alluded to, may be seen at full length in Clarkson's *Life of Penn*—“a trial which, for the good it has done to posterity, ought to be engraved on tablets of the most durable marble.” It was certainly one of those events which, in conjunction with others of a similar sort, by showing the inadequacy of punishment for religion to its supposed end, not only corrected and improved the notions of succeeding ages in this respect, but, by so doing, lessened the ravages of persecution, and the enmity between man and man. Nor ought posterity to be less grateful for it as a monument of the ferocity and corrupt usages of former times; for, contrasting these with the notions and customs of our own age, we see the improvement of our social and moral condition. Newgate is no longer the receptacle of innocent individuals suffering for conscience' sake. In our courts of law we see an order, a decorum, and an administration of justice, unknown at the period of this memorable trial. Nor will the prospect be less grateful, if we quit the present for a moment, and direct our eyes to the future. We have the best reason to hope, on contemplating the signs of the times, that the day is rapidly approaching when the Christian religion, which is capable of cementing men in the strongest possible union, and for the noblest purposes, will be stripped of its mischievous appendages—restored to its primitive purity, and made a blessing to all the dwellers upon the earth.

110 Isaac Pennington has been mentioned before, but only cursorily, in the whole of this Journal. Little is known of his history, beyond what is to be gathered from testimonies given forth concerning him at his death, and a few other incidental notices of him. He was well descended as to his worldly parentage, being the eldest son of Alderman Pennington, who was two years successively Mayor of London, and a noted member of the Long Parliament. Born about the year 1617, he received a liberal education, having, according to Penn, “all the advantages the schools and universities of his own country could give, joined with the conversation of some of the most learned and considerable men of that time.”

From childhood, Isaac Pennington was religiously inclined, and, in a paper written by himself, and found after his death amongst his writings, we have such a living portrait of a deeply-exercised mind, as demonstrates that godliness with him was indeed the “one thing needful.” “In the sense of my lost estate,” he writes, “I sought after the Lord; I read the Scriptures; I watched over mine own heart; and whatever I read in the Scriptures, as the way of God, to my understanding, I gave myself to the faithful practice of. He became fully convinced of the principles of Friends, and joined that despised people—becoming a faithful sufferer for the cause of Christ.”

“Early believers in the light of Truth  
Dwelt not at ease in Zion. They endured

Next morning I rode about fourteen miles to a meeting at Baghuest in Hampshire, Thomas Briggs being with me. When we came into the parish, some sober people told us, that “the priest of the town was aa envious man, and threatened us.” We went on to the meeting, which was large; and after some time Thomas Briggs stood up and spoke. It seems the priest had got a warrant, and sent the constables and other officers with it. They came to the house, stayed a while, and then went away again, without coming into the meeting; so we in the meeting did not know of their being there. After Thomas Briggs had done speaking, I was moved of the Lord to stand up, and declare the Word of Life to the people; and a precious meeting we had. When it was ended and risen, I heard a great clatter in the yard; and when we came out, the man of the house told us, “that the officers had been in the house before, but did not come into the meeting, going away without doing anything; and that now the priest in a great rage had sent them again, and his own servant with them.” But the meeting being ended before they came, they could do nothing. Thus the good providence of the Lord preserved us from the wicked design of the envious priest.

Thence we went to a Friend's house on the edge of Berkshire, where several Friends came to visit us. Afterwards we passed into Surrey, and had many precious meetings, till we came to Stephen Smith's, near Guildford, where great persecution had been, and very much property taken away from Friends for their meetings; and under great threatenings they were at that time; yet we had several blessed meetings thereabouts, and the Lord's power was over all, in and by which we were preserved.

We went into Sussex, by Richard Baxe's, where we had a large, precious, quiet meeting, though the constables had given out threatenings before. I had many more meetings in that county; and though there were some threatenings, they were peaceable; and Friends were refreshed, and established upon the foundation of God, that stands sure. When I had thoroughly visited Sussex, I went into Kent, and had many glorious and precious meetings in several parts of that county. I went to a meeting near Deal, which was very large; and returning from thence to Canterbury, visited Friends there. I then passed into the Isle Of Sheppy, where I stayed two or three days; and thither came Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, and John Rous to me.

Next day, finding my service for the Lord finished there, we passed towards Rochester. On the way, as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit; I got on my horse again,

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Conflicts and trials, and imprisonments.  
Even the humble Pennington, whose mind  
Seemed purged and purified from dross  
Of human nature—who appeared as meek  
And harmless as an infant—was compelled  
To dwell in loathsome prisons.”

He was six times in jail, some of his imprisonments being long, yet borne with great quietness and constancy of mind. His first imprisonment was in Aylesbury jail in 1661 and 1662, being committed there for worshipping God in his own house. He was kept there seventeen weeks, great part of it in winter—in a cold and very incommodious room without a chimney, from which usage he contracted so severe an indisposition, that for several weeks after he was unable to turn himself in his bed.

In the sixty-third year of his age “he died as he lived, in the faith that overcomes the world.”

but the weight remained so that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely laden and burthened with the world's spirits, that my life was oppressed under them, I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or sleep. The next day John Rous and Alexander Parker went for London; and John Stubbs being come to me, we went over the ferry into Essex. We came to Hornchurch, where was a meeting on First-day. After it I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's house, whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceedingly weak, and at last lost both hearing and sight. Several Friends came to me from London: and I told them, that "I should be as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth." In this condition I continued some time. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who were honest-hearted, and who were not. Divers Friends who practised physic, came to see me, and would have given me medicines, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was sensible I had a travail to go through; and therefore desired none but solid, weighty Friends might be about me. Under great sufferings and travails, sorrows and oppressions, I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body, that few thought I could live. Some that were with me went away, saying "they would not see me die;" and it was reported both in London and in the country, that I was deceased; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me. When they that were about me had given me up to die, I spoke to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off; for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all. When I came to Gerrard's, he was very weak; and I was moved to speak to him, and encourage him. After I had stayed about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might safely go. When I had taken my leave of Gerrard, and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak, and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him, "he had been faithful as a man, and faithful to God; and that the immortal Seed of life was his crown." Many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I was then so weak, I was hardly able to stand; and within a few days after, Amor died. I went to the widow Dry's at Enfield, where I lay all that winter, warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world, that warred against truth and Friends. For there were great persecutions at this time; some meeting-houses were pulled down, and many were broken up by soldiers. Sometimes a troop of horse, or a company of foot came; and some broke their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes, with beating Friends; and many they wounded, so that their blood lay in the streets. Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, my old adversary Colonel Kirby was one; who, with a company of foot, went to break up several meetings; and he would often inquire for me at the meetings he broke up. One time as he went over the water to Horsleyclown, there happening some scuffle between some of his soldiers and some of the watermen, he bid his men "fire at them." They did so, and killed some.

I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them, and the priests that held them up, who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the flesh from off their bones. But as for true religion and worship, and ministers of God, alack! I saw there were



none amongst those of the world that pretended to it. For they that pretended to be the church, were but a company of men-eaters, men of cruel visages, and of long teeth; and, though they had cried against the men-eaters in America, I saw they were in the same nature. And as the great professing Jews did “eat up God's people like bread,” and the false prophets and priests then preached peace to people, so long as they “put into their mouths and fed them but if they fed them not, they prepared war against them, they ate their flesh off their bones, and chopped them for the caldron;” so these that profess themselves Christians now (both priests and professors), and are not in the same power and Spirit that Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in, are in the same nature that the old professing Jews were in, and are men-eaters as well as they. These stirred up persecution and set the wicked informers to work; so that a Friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family, before they sat down to eat meat, but some were ready to inform against them. A particular instance of which I have heard as follows:—

At Droitwich John Cartwright came to a Friend's house, and being moved of the Lord to speak a few words before he sat down to supper, there came an informer, and stood hearkening under the window. When he had heard the Friend speak, hoping to get some gain to himself, he went and informed, and got a warrant to distrain his goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his house; whereas there were none in the house at that time, but the Friend, the man of the house, his wife, and their maidservant. But this evil-minded man, as he came back with his warrant in the night, fell off his horse, and broke his neck. So there was a wretched end of a wicked informer, who hoped to enrich himself by spoiling Friends; but the Lord prevented him, and cut him off in his wickedness.

Now, though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, and his everlasting Seed prevailed; and Friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power. Some sober people of other professions would say, “if Friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery.”

Though by reason of my weakness, I could not travel amongst Friends as I used to do, yet in the motion of life, I sent the following lines as an encouraging testimony to them:—

“My Dear Friends,

“The Seed is above all. In it walk; in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather; for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion. All along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued; and the rage of the wicked, and his fiery darts, were quenched. Though the waves and storms are high, yet your faith will keep you so as to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the truth is without time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holiness, ye who are led to it by the light, where nothing shall hurt. Do not think that anything will outlast the truth, which standeth sure; and is over that which is out of the truth; for the good will overcome the evil; the light, darkness; the life, death; virtue, vice; and righteousness, unrighteousness. The false prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true

prophet, Christ, will overcome all the false. So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think the time long”

G. F.

After some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution; and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters, that had stirred it up, and carried it on to that height of cruelty, though I was outwardly very weak. And I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, took notice, that as the persecution ceased, I came from under the travails and sufferings, that had lain with such weight upon me; so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many, who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again.

Whilst I was under this spiritual suffering, the state of the New Jerusalem, which comes down out of heaven, was opened to me; which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city dropped out of the elements. I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. I saw, that all who are within the light of Christ, and in his faith, which he is the author of; and in the Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in; and within the grace, and truth, and power of God, which are the walls of the city;—such are within the city, are members of it, and have right to eat of the tree of life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But they that are out of the grace, truth, light, Spirit, and power of God; they who resist the Holy Ghost, quench, vex, and grieve the Spirit of God; who hate the light, turn the grace of God into wantonness, and do despite to the Spirit of Grace; they who have erred from the faith, and made shipwreck of it and of a good conscience, who abuse the power of God, and despise prophesying, revelation, and inspiration;—these are the dogs and unbelievers that are without the city. These make up the great city Babylon, confusion, and her cage, the power of darkness; and the evil spirit of error surrounds and covers them over. In this great city Babylon are the false prophets, in the false power and false spirit; the beast, in the dragon's power, and the whore that is gone a whoring from the Spirit of God, and from Christ her husband. But the Lord's power is over all this power of darkness, false prophets, and their worshippers, who are for the lake which burns with fire. Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in short, this holy city is within the light, and all that are within the light, are within the city; the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there), that all may come in. Christ's blood being shed for every man, he tasted death for every man, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; and his grace that brings salvation having appeared to all men, there is no place or language where his voice may not be heard. The Christians in the primitive times were called by Christ, “a city set upon a hill;” they were also called “the light of the world,” and “the salt of the earth;” but when Christians lost the light, and salt, and power of God, then they came to be trodden under foot, like unsavoury salt. Even as the Jews, who while they kept the law of God, were preserved above all nations; but when they turned their backs on God and his law, they were trodden under foot of other nations. Adam and Eve, while they obeyed God,

were kept in his image and in the paradise of God, in dominion over all the works of his hands; but when they disobeyed God, they lost his image, the righteousness and the holiness in which they were made; they lost their dominion, were driven out of paradise; and so fell under the dark power of Satan, and came under the chains of darkness. But the promise of God was, “that the Seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, should bruise the serpent's head,”—should break his power and authority, which had led into captivity, and had held man therein. So Christ, who is the first and the last, sets man free, and is the resurrection of the just and unjust, the judge of the quick and dead; and they that are in him are invested with everlasting rest and peace, out of all the labours, and travails, and miseries of Adam in the fall. So he is sufficient and of ability to restore man into the state he was in before he fell; and not into that state only, but into that also that never fell, even to himself.

I had also in this time a great exercise and travail of spirit upon me, concerning the powers and rulers of these nations, from the sense I had of the many tender visitations and faithful warnings, that had been given them, and of their great abuse thereof, who had refused to hear, and rejected the counsel of the Lord. And though I knew Friends would be clear of their blood, yet I could not but mourn over them, and gave forth these few lines following concerning them:—

“We have given them a visitation, have faithfully warned them, have declared to them our innocence and uprightness, and that we never did any hurt to the king, nor to any of his people. We have nothing in our hearts but love and good-will to him and his people, and desire their eternal welfare. But if they will not hear, the day of judgment and of sorrow, of torment, misery, and sudden destruction, will come from the Lord upon them, that have been the cause of the sufferings of many thousands of simple, innocent, harmless people that have done them no hurt, nor have had any ill-will towards him or them; but have desired their eternal good for the eternal truth's sake. Destruction will come upon them that turn the sword backward. Therefore do not blind your eyes, the Lord will bring swift destruction and misery upon you; surely he will do it, and will relieve his innocent people, who have groaned for deliverance from under your oppression, and have also groaned for your deliverance out of wickedness. Blessed be the Lord God, that he hath a people in this nation, that seek the good of all men upon the face of the earth; for we have the mind of the Lord Jesus Christ, that desires not the death of a sinner, but the salvation and good of all. Blessed be the name of the Lord our God for ever.”

G. F.

While I continued at Enfield, a sense came upon me of a hurt that sometimes happened, by persons under the profession of truth coming out of one country into another, to take a husband or wife amongst Friends, where they were strangers, and it was not known whether they were clear and orderly, or not. And it opened in me to recommend the following method unto Friends for preventing such inconveniences:—

“All Friends that marry, whether they be men or women, if they come out of another nation, island, or county, let them bring a certificate from the men's meeting of that county, nation, or

island from which they came, to the men's meeting where they propose their intention of marriage. For the men's meeting being made up of the faithful, this will stop all wrong spirits from roving up and down. When any come with a certificate, or letter of recommendation from one men's meeting to another, one is refreshed by another, and can set their hands and hearts to the thing. This will prevent a great deal of trouble. And then what ye have to say to them in the power of God, in admonishing and instructing them, ye are left to the power and Spirit of God to do it, and to let them know the duty of marriage, and what it is; that there may be unity and concord in the Spirit, and power, and light, and wisdom of God, throughout all the men's meetings in the whole world, in one, in the life.

“Let copies of this be sent to every county, and nation, and island where Friends are, that so all things may be kept holy, and pure, and righteous, in unity and peace; and God over all may be glorified among you, his lot, his people and inheritance, who are his adopted sons and daughters, and heirs of his life. So no more, but my love in that which changeth not.”

G. F.

14th of 1st Month, 1670-1671.

When I had recovered, so that I could walk a little, I went from Enfield to Gerrard Roberts's again, and thence to the women's school at Shacklewell, and so to the meeting at Grace-church-street, London; where, though I was yet but weak, the Lord's power upheld and enabled me to declare his eternal Word of life.

About this time I was moved to pray to the Lord as follows:—

“O Lord God Almighty! Prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land! Bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, cruelty and unmercifulness in the land; that mercy and righteousness may flourish!

“O Lord God! Set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery and vice, whoredoms and fornication, and this raping spirit, which causeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God! nor of their own souls or bodies; nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

“O Lord! Put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, violence, and cruelty, profaneness, cursing, and swearing; and to put down all those lewd houses and play-houses, which corrupt youth and people, and lead them from thy kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come! Such works lead people to hell! Lord! In mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.”

G. F.

This Prayer was written at night, the 17th of the 2nd Month, 1671.

## CHAPTER IV.

*1671-1672.—His wife being still detained a prisoner, George Fox puts two women Friends upon going to the king to procure her discharge, which he granted under the broad seal, to clear her person and estate after being a prisoner under premunire ten years—he sails for the plantations in America with several other Friends—chased by a Sallee man-of-war—the master in a strait asks advice of George Fox, who seeks counsel of the Lord, and is assured of their preservation—the event verifies the prediction—they land at Barbadoes after a seven weeks' passage—a man in the island, who was greatly incensed against George Fox without just cause, and who had threatened his life, died a few days before his landing—is laid up for some weeks—writes to Friends in England—exhorts Friends to care and watchfulness in regard to marriages, keeping registers and records, providing burial grounds, etc.—to deal mildly with their negroes, and, after certain years of servitude, to set them free—writes a further exhortation to Friends in England—visits the governor, who is very kind—has many large meetings, and there is a great convincement; Colonel Lyne testifies how much Friends exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what he had ever heard—the priests rage, and try in vain to stir up persecution—there is much clamour and cavilling against Friends, and many slanders and false reports are issued, which George Fox answers in a paper addressed to the governor—the governor visits him—writes to his wife—sails for Jamaica, where he has many meetings, and many are convinced—Elizabeth Hooton dies there.*

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I mentioned before, that, upon the notice I received of my wife's being imprisoned again, I sent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire, for her discharge. But though I expected she would be set at liberty thereby, this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on, the persecutors there found means to hold her still in prison. But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher and another woman Friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in faith, and in the Lord's power, who gave them favour with the king, so that he granted a discharge under the broad-seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, and premunired; the like whereof was scarcely to be heard of in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by a Friend; by whom also I wrote to her, informing her how to get it delivered to the justices, and acquainting her that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond the seas to visit America; and therefore desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently, after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got to Kingston, and stayed at John Rous's till my wife came up, and then I began to prepare for the voyage. But the Yearly Meeting being near at hand, I stayed till that was over. Many Friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious everlastingly-renowned Seed of life was exalted above all.

After this meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord in England, the ship and the

Friends that intended to go with me being ready, I went to Gravesend on the 12th of 6th month, my wife and several Friends accompanying me to the Downs. We went from Wapping in a barge to the ship, which lay a little below Gravesend, and there we found the Friends that were bound for the voyage with me, who had gone down to the ship the night before. Their names were Thomas Briggs, AVilliam Edmundson, John Rous, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers. The vessel was a yacht, called the Industry; the captain's name Thomas Forster, and the number of passengers about fifty. I lay that night on board, but most of the Friends at Gravesend. Early next morning the passengers, and those Friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs, being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderness of those that came with us to Gravesend only, and set sail about six in the morning for the Downs. Having a fair wind, we out-sailed all the ships that were outward-bound, and got thither by evening. Some of us went ashore that night, and lodged at Deal; where, we understood, an officer had orders from the governor to take our names in writing; which he did next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Gravesend. In the afternoon, the wind serving, I took leave of my wife and other Friends, and went on board. Before we could sail, there being two of the king's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them sent his press-master on board us, who took three of our seamen. This would certainly have delayed, if not wholly prevented, our voyage, had not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakiness of our vessel, and the length of our voyage, in compassion and much civility, spared us two of his own men. Before this was over, a custom-house officer came on board to peruse packets and get fees; so that we were kept from sailing till about sunset; during which delay a very considerable number of merchantmen, outward-bound, were got several leagues before us. Being clear, we set sail in the evening, and next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We soon reached the rest, and in a little time left them all behind; for our yacht was counted a very swift sailor. But she was very leaky, so that the seamen and some of the passengers did, for the most part, pump day and night. One day they observed, that in two hours' time she sucked in sixteen inches of water in the well.

When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we spied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said it was a Sallee man-of-war, that seemed to give us chase. Our master said, "Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him." This he spoke to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in God, and no fear upon their spirits. When the sun was gone down, I saw the ship out of my cabin making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also, and gained upon us. At night the master and others came into my cabin, and asked me, "what they should do?" I told them, "I was no mariner;" and I asked them, "what they thought was best to do?" They said, "There were but two ways, either to outrun him, or tack about, and hold the same course we were going before." I told them, "if he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we." They asked me again, "what they should do? for," they said, "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." I answered, "it was a trial of faith,

and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel." So retiring in spirit, the Lord showed me, "that his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us." I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I desired them also to put out all their candles, but the one they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. About eleven at night the watch called and said, "they were just upon us." That disquieted some of the passengers; whereupon I sat up in my cabin, and looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin; but remembering the word of the Lord, "that his life and power was placed between us and them," I lay down again. The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me, "if they might not steer such a point?" I told them, "they might do as they would." By this time the moon was quite down, a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; and we sailed briskly on and saw them no more. The next day, being the first day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship, as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's presence was greatly among us. And I desired the people "to mind the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them." About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers, that it was not a Turkish pirate that chased us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. When I heard of it, I asked them, "Why then did they speak so to me? why did they trouble the passengers? and why did they tack about from him and alter their course?" I told them "they should take heed of slighting the mercies of God."

Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, there came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people, "that one of the Sallee men-of-war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, and had her in chase, and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take." This confirmed us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

I was not sea-sick during the voyage, as many of the Friends and other passengers were; but the many hurts and bruises I had formerly received, and the infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardships, that I had undergone in many long and sore imprisonments, returned upon me at sea; so that I was very ill in my stomach, and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs. This was after I had been at sea about a month; for about three weeks after I came first to sea, I perspired abundantly, chiefly my head, and my body broke out in pimples, and my legs and feet swelled extremely, so that my stockings and slippers could not be drawn on without difficulty and great pain. Suddenly the sweating ceased, so that when I came into the hot climate, where others perspired most freely, I could not perspire at all; but my flesh was hot, dry, and burning; and that which before broke out in pimples, struck in again to my stomach and heart, so that I was very ill, and weak beyond expression. Thus I continued during the rest of the voyage, which was about a month; for we were above seven weeks at sea.

On the third of the eighth month, early in the morning, we discovered the island of Barbadoes, but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle-bay. We got on shore as soon as

we could, and I, with some others, walked to a Friend's house, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from the bridge. But being very ill and weak, I was so tired with that little walk, that I was in a manner spent by the time I got thither. There I abode very ill for several days, and though they several times gave me things to make me perspire, they could not effect it. But what they gave me did rather parch and dry up my body, and made me probably worse than otherwise I might have been. Thus I continued about three weeks after I landed, having much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, so that I could hardly get any rest; yet I was pretty cheerful, and my spirit kept above it all. Neither did my illness take me off from the service of truth, but both while I was at sea, and after I came to Barbadoes, before I was able to travel about, I gave forth several papers (having a Friend to write for me), some of which I sent by the first conveyance for England to be printed.

After I had rested three or four days at Biehard Forstall's, where many Friends came to visit me, John Rous<sup>111</sup> having borrowed a coach of Colonel Chamberlain, came to fetch me to his father, Thomas Rous's house. But it was late ere we could get thither, and little or no rest could I take that night. A few days after, Colonel Chamberlain, who had so kindly lent his coach, paid me a visit, and was very courteous towards me.

Soon after I came into the island, I was informed of a remarkable passage,<sup>112</sup> wherein the justice of God did eminently appear; it was thus: There was a young man of Barbadoes, whose name was John Drakes (a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer and wicked man), who, when in London, had a mind to marry a Friend's daughter, left by her mother very young, and with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several Friends, whereof I was one. He made application to me, that he might have my consent to marry this young maid. I told him, "I was one of her overseers appointed by her mother, who was a widow, to take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of another profession, she would have disposed of her accordingly; but she committed her to us, that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and therefore I should betray the trust reposed in me, if I should consent that he who was out of the fear of God, should marry her; which I would not do." When he saw that he could not obtain his desire, he returned to Barbadoes with great offence of mind against me, but without just cause. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he swore desperately, and threatened, that "if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there." Which, a Friend hearing, asked him, "what I had done to him,

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111 Thomas Rous was a wealthy sugar-planter of Barbadoes. John Rous was his son, and son-in-law to George Fox, having married his wife's eldest daughter. John Rous visited New England as a gospel minister when a young man, and suffered whipping and imprisonment there. After his release from Boston jail in 1658, except a visit which he paid to the island of Nevis towards the close of that year, we lose all trace of him until his marriage with Margaret, eldest daughter of Judge Fell, at Swarthmore Hall, in 1662. After his marriage he settled in London, in which, and in its vicinity, he appears to have resided during the remainder of his life. But few particulars respecting him are preserved, except a visit to the county of Kent in 1670, accompanied by Alexander Parker and George Whitehead; and to Barbadoes the following year with George Fox, as related in this Journal. Besides this, and a visit to the counties of York and Durham in 1689, we know nothing of his gospel labours after he settled in England. In his will, dated from Kingston in Surrey in 1692, he describes himself as a merchant, and his property, which, it appears was considerable, lay chiefly in Barbadoes. It is singular no record of his death has been found, but as his will was proved in 1695, it probably took place in that year.

112 The words "passage" and "passages" occur frequently in the journals and other writings of the early Friends. In this instance it signifies a remarkable occurrence, but is generally applied to gospel services, travels, etc.



that he was so violent against me?" He would not answer, but said again, "I'll have him burned." Whereupon the Friend replied, "Do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end." About ten days after, he was struck with a violent burning fever, of which he died; and by which his body was so scorched, that the people said, "it was as black as a coal." Three days before I landed, his body was laid in the dust. This was taken notice of as a sad example.

While I continued so weak, that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other Friends that came over with me, bestirred themselves in the Lord's work. The day but one after we landed, they had a great meeting at the bridge, and after that several others in different parts of the island; which alarmed the people of all sorts, so that many came to our meetings, and some of the chief rank. For they had got my name, understanding I was come upon the island, and expected to see me at those meetings, not knowing that I was unable to go abroad. And indeed, my weakness continued the longer on me, by reason that my spirit was much pressed down at first with the filth and dirt and unrighteousness of the people, which lay as a heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the island, my spirit became somewhat easier, and I began to recover in some measure my health and strength, and to get abroad among Friends. In the meantime, having opportunity to send to England, I wrote to Friends there, to let them know how it was with me, as follows:—

"Dear Friends,

"I have been very weak these seven weeks past, and not able to write myself. My desire is to you and for you all, that ye may live in the fear of God, and in love one unto another, and be subject one to another in the fear of God. I have been weaker in my body than ever I was in my life that I remember, yea, my pains have been such as I cannot express; yet my heart and spirit is strong. I have hardly perspired these seven weeks past, though I am come into a very hot climate, where hardly any but are well nigh continually perspiring; but as for me, my old bruises, colds, numbness, and pains, struck inwardly, even to my very heart. So that I have taken little rest, and the chief things that were comfortable to my stomach, were a little water and powdered ginger; but now I begin to drink a little beer as well as water, and sometimes a little wine and water mixed. Great pains and travails I have felt, and in measure am under; but it is well, my life is over all. This island was to me as all on a fire ere I came to it, but now it is somewhat quenched and abated. I came in weakness amongst those that are strong, and have so continued; but now I am got a little cheery, and over it. Many Friends, and some considerable persons of the world, have been with me. I tired out my body much when amongst you in England; it is the Lord's power that helps me; therefore I desire you all to prize the power of the Lord and his truth. I was but weak in body when I left you, after I had been in my great travail amongst you; but after that, it struck all back again into my body, which was not well settled after so sore travails in England. Then I was so tired at sea, that I could not rest, and have had little or no stomach a long time. Since I came into this island, my life hath been very much burthened; but I hope, if the Lord give me strength to manage his work, I shall work thoroughly, and bring things that have been out of course, into better order. So, dear Friends, live all in the

peaceable truth, and in the love of it, serving the Lord in newness of life; for glorious things and precious truths have been manifested among you plentifully, and to you the riches of the kingdom have been handed. I have been almost a month in this island, but have not been able to go abroad or ride out; only very lately I rode out twice, a quarter of a mile at a time, which wearied me much. My love in the truth is to you all.”

G. F.

Because I was not well able to travel, the Friends of the island concluded to have their men's and women's meeting for the service of the church at Thomas Kous's, where I lay; by which means I was present at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, divers disorders having crept in for want of care and watchfulness. I exhorted them, more especially at the men's meeting, “to be watchful and careful with respect to marriages, to prevent Friends marrying in near kindreds, and also to prevent over-hasty proceedings towards second marriages, after the death of a former husband or wife; advising that a decent regard might be had in such cases to the memory of the deceased husband or wife. As to Friends' children marrying too young, as at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I showed them the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniences and hurts that attend such childish marriages. I admonished them to purge the floor thoroughly, to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile, and to take care that nothing be spoken, out of their meetings, to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Concerning the registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such of them as returned again. I recommended to their care the providing of convenient burying-places for Friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by Friends for public uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the church. Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, those that were bought, and those born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude, they would make them free.”<sup>113</sup> Many sweet and precious things were opened

113 The interest of Friends in behalf of the Negro may be dated from the rise of the Society, at least from the time of their acquaintance with them at the above date. In proportion as intercourse was more frequently maintained with the distant colonies, and the abominations of Slavery were more generally known, Friends were more decided in their opposition to it. In 1727 the whole Society, at their Yearly Meeting in London, passed a general resolution: “That the importing of Negroes from their native country is not a commendable or allowable practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting.” At several subsequent meetings, through a series of years, minutes were passed to the same effect, but gradually increasing in strength. In 1758, the practice was declared to be in direct violation of the gospel rule, and Friends were warned carefully to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits arising from so iniquitous a practice. In 1761 all were disowned who persisted in a practice so repugnant to Christianity, and so reproachful to a Christian profession.

Clarkson, in alluding to this subject, observes, “I must beg leave to stop here for a moment, just to pay the Quakers a due tribute of respect for the proper estimation in which they have uniformly held these miserable outcasts of society. What a

in these meetings by the Spirit, and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

After these meetings, the vessel bound for England not being gone, I was moved to write another epistle to Friends there, as follows:—

“Dear Friends and brethren, to whom is my love in that which never changeth, but remains in glory, which is over all, the top and cornerstone. In this all have peace and life, as ye dwell in the blessed Seed, wherein all is blessed over that which brought the curse; where all shortness and narrowness of spirit, brittleness and peevishness are. Therefore keep the holy order of the gospel. Keep in this blessed Seed, where all may be preserved in temperance, patience, love, meekness, righteousness, holiness, and peace, in which the Lord may be seen amongst you, and no ways dishonoured, but glorified by you all. In all your meetings, in cities, towns, and countries, let righteousness flow among you, and the holy truth be uppermost; the pure Spirit your guide and leader, and the holy wisdom from above your orderer, which is gentle, and easy to be entreated. Keep in the religion that preserves from the spots of the world, which is pure and undefiled in God's sight. Keep in the pure and holy worship, in which the pure and holy God is worshipped, to wit, in the Spirit and in the truth, which the devil is out of, who is the author of all unholiness and of that which dishonours God. Be tender of God's glory, of his honour, and of his blessed and holy name, in which ye are gathered. All who profess the truth, see that ye walk in it, in righteousness, godliness, and holiness; for 'holiness becomes the house of God, the household of faith.' And that which becomes God's house, God loves; for he loves righteousness—the ornament which becomes his house, and all his family. Therefore see that righteousness run down in all your assemblies, that it flow, to drive away all unrighteousness. This preserves your peace with God; for in righteousness, ye have all peace with the righteous God of Peace, and one with another.

“Every one that bears the name of the Anointed, that high title of being a Christian, named after the Heavenly Man, see that ye be in the divine nature, made conformable unto his image, even the image of the Heavenly Divine Man, who was before that image which Adam and Eve got from Satan in the fall; so that in none of you that fallen image may appear, but his image, and you made conformable unto him. Here translation is showed forth in life and conversation, not in words only; yea, and conversion and repentance, which is a change of the nature of the mind and of the heart, of the spirit and affections, which have been below, and come to be set above; and so receive the things that are from above, and have your conversation in heaven, not that

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contrast does it afford to the sentiments of many others concerning them! How have we been compelled to prove, by a long chain of evidence, that Negroes have the same feelings and capacities as ourselves! How many, professing themselves enlightened, even now view them as of a different species. But by the Friends we have seen them uniformly represented, as persons 'ransomed by one and the same Saviour,' 'as visited by one and the same Spirit for salvation,' and 'as made equally for immortality as others.' These practical views of mankind, as they are highly honourable to the members of this Society, so they afford a proof both of the reality and of the consistency of their religion.”

See *Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, and *Copley's History of Slavery*.

conversation which is according to the power of the prince of the air, that now rules in the disobedient. So be faithful; this is the word of the Lord God unto you all. See that godliness and holiness, righteousness and truth, virtue, and the fruits of the good Spirit, flow over the bad and its fruits, that ye may answer that which is of God in all; for your heavenly Father is glorified in that you bring forth much fruit. Therefore ye, who are plants of his planting, and his trees of righteousness, see that every tree be full of fruit. Keep in true humility, and in the true love of God, which doth edify his body; that the true nourishment from the head, the refreshings, and springs, and rivers of water, and bread of life, may be plenteously known and felt amongst you; that so praises may ascend unto God. Be faithful to the Lord God, and just and true in all your dealings and doings with men. Be not negligent in your men's meetings to admonish, to exhort, and reprove in the spirit of love and of meekness; to seek that which is lost, and to bring back again that which hath been driven away. So let all minds and spirits, souls and hearts, be bended down under the yoke of Christ Jesus, the power of God.

“Much I could write, but am weak, and have been mostly since I left you. Burthens and travails I have been under, and gone through many ways; but it is well. The Lord Almighty knows my work, which he hath sent me forth to do by his everlasting arm and power; which is from everlasting to everlasting. Blessed be his holy name, which I am in, and in which my love is to you all.”

G. F.

After I was able to go about, and had been a little amongst Friends, I went to visit the governor; Lewis Morice, Thomas Rous, and some other Friends being with me. He received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly, making us dine with him; and keeping us most part of the day before he let us go away.

The same week I went to Bridge-town. There was to be a general meeting of Friends that week; and the visit I had made to the governor, and the kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, civil and military, many came to this meeting from most parts of the island, and those not of the meanest rank; several being judges or justices, colonels or captains; so that a very great meeting we had, both of Friends and others. The Lord's blessed power was plentifully with us; and although I was somewhat straightened for time, three other Friends having spoken before me, yet the Lord opened things through me to the general and great satisfaction of them that were present. Colonel Lewis Morice came to this meeting, and with him a neighbour of his, a judge in the country, whose name was Ralph Fretwell; who was very well satisfied, and received the truth.

Paul Gwin, a jangling Baptist, came into the meeting, and asked me, “How I spelt Cain? and whether I had the same spirit as the apostles had?” I told him, “Yes.” And he bade the judge take notice of it. I told him, “He that had not a measure of the same Holy Ghost as the apostles had, was possessed with an unclean spirit.” And then he went his way.

I went home with Lewis Morice that night, being about nine or ten miles, going part of the way by

boat, the rest on horseback. The place where his plantation was, I thought to be in the finest air of the island. The next day Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson came to see me, intending to leave the island the day following, to go on the Lord's service to Antigua and Nevis. Lewis Morice went with them; at Antigua they had several good meetings, to which there was a great resort of people; and many were convinced. But when they went to Nevis, the governor, an old persecutor, sent soldiers on board the vessel, to stop them, and would not suffer them to land. Wherefore, after Friends of the place had been on board the vessel with them, and they had been sweetly refreshed together, feeling the Lord's power and presence amongst them, they returned to Antigua; where having stayed a while longer, they came back again to Barbadoes, Thomas Briggs being weak and ill.

Of the other Friends that came over with me from England, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, were gone some time before to Jamaica, and others to other places, so that few remained in Barbadoes with me. We had many great and precious meetings, both for worship and for the affairs of the church; to the former of which many of other societies came. At one of these meetings Colonel Lyne, a sober person, was so well satisfied with what I declared, that he said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you; who say, you do not own Christ, nor that he died; whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what I have ever heard before."<sup>114</sup> This man, observing a person take in writing the heads of what I delivered, desired to have a copy of it; and stayed another day with us; so great a love was raised in him to the truth. Indeed a very great conviction there was in most parts of the island; which made the priests and professors rage. Our meetings were very large, and free from disturbance from the government, though the envious priests and some professors endeavoured to stir up the magistrates against us. When they found they could not prevail that way, some Baptists came to the meeting at the town, which was full of people of several ranks and qualities. A great company came with them; and they brought a slanderous paper, written by John Pennyman, with which they made a great noise. But the Lord gave me wisdom and utterance to answer their cavils; so that the auditory generally received satisfaction, and those quarrelsome professors lost ground. When they had wearied themselves with clamour, they went away; but the people staying, the meeting was continued; the things they cavilled about were further opened and cleared; and the life and power of God came over all. But the rage and envy in our adversaries did not cease; they endeavoured to defame Friends with many false and scandalous reports, which they spread abroad through the

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<sup>114</sup> The faith of the early Friends in the divinity and offices of our Saviour being called in question by some, they boldly resented such an inference. From a work published by Samuel Crisp, in 1704, take the following extracts:—

"Our faith is, and always has been in that Christ, the Son of God, who, according to the flesh, was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem: He is the object of our faith, to the merit of whose death and passion, with the work of his Spirit in our hearts, we trust only for life and salvation; with his stripes we are healed."

"As to what he (a libeller) says of our forcing ourselves to speak with a seeming reverence and respect of the outward Christ, his death and sufferings, I would hope that he knows better in his own conscience than thus to represent us. We bear a true reverence and respect to Jesus Christ, his death and sufferings, and can never be sufficiently thankful to him who was pleased to humble himself to death, even the death of the cross; that all that believe in him might, through the cross, be made heirs of life and immortality."

For further elucidation of the soundness of the early Friends in their belief as to the divinity and offices of Christ, see Evans' *Exposition of the Faith of the Society of Friends*, especially John Banks' "Testimony concerning his faith in Christ," and an "Essay drawn up by John Burnyeat and John Watson in 1685," contained in the above-mentioned work.

island. Whereupon we drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing of truth and Friends from those false reports. It was directed thus:—

*“For the Governor of Barbadoes, with his Council and Assembly, and all others in power, both civil and military, in this Island; from the people called Quakers.*

“Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that 'We deny God, and Christ Jesus, and the Scriptures of truth,' etc. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, clearly testify the contrary. Yet, for your satisfaction, we now plainly and sincerely declare, 'that we do own and believe in the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, the Creator of all things both in heaven and in earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore!'

“And we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the Invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven, and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, principalities, or powers, all things were created by him. And we own and believe that He was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we believe that there is no other foundation to be laid than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus; who tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world; according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.' John. i. 29. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the Captain of our Salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell, and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works; he is the Seed of the woman, that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. He is (as the Scriptures of truth say of him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. He alone is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls; He is our Prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you; and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.' Acts iii. 22, 23.

“He it is that is now come in the Spirit, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true. He rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. We have no life but by him; for he is the quickening Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God. He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending-, He being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace; the author and finisher of our faith. This Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly Man, the Emmanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; him whom the high-priest raged against, and said, he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and the elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason, who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, 'that his disciples came and stole him away by night, whilst they slept.' After he was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the Apostles sets forth, how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus, for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

“Concerning the Holy Scriptures, we do believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who (as the Scripture itself declares, 2 Pe. i. 21.) 'spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled (he that fulfils them, is Christ); and they are 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,' 2 Ti. iii. 16, and are 'able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus.' We believe that the Holy Scriptures are the words of God; for it is said, Ex. xx. 1, 'God spake all these words, saying,' etc., meaning the ten commandments given forth upon Mount Sinai. And in Rev. xxii. 18, saith John, 'I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy' (not the word), etc. So in Lu. i. 20, 'Because thou believest not my words.' And in John v. 47; xv. 7; xiv. 23; and xii. 47. So that we call the Holy Scriptures, as Christ and the apostles called them, and holy men of God called them, viz., the words of God.

“Another slander which they have cast upon us is, 'that we teach the negroes to rebel;' a thing we utterly abhor in our hearts; the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and can testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken to them is, 'to exhort and admonish them to be sober, and to fear God; to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their masters' service and business; and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them; also, that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands, neither should the men have many wives; that they should not steal, or be drunk,—should not commit adultery, or fornication,—should not curse, swear, lie, or give bad words to one another, or to any one else: for

there is something in them that tells them, they should not practise these or any other evils. But if, notwithstanding, they should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven, where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers and adulterers, murderers and liars go. To the one the Lord will say, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;' but to the other he will say, 'Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:' so 'the wicked go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.' Matt. xxv.

“Consider, Friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for some others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so: of the first the Lord said, Gen. xviii. 19, 'I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him.' And the latter said, Josh. xxiv. 15, 'Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' We declare that we esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for those in and belonging to our families, and to teach, instruct, and admonish them; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience whereunto will provoke his displeasure; as may be seen, Jer. x. 25, 'Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name.' Now Negroes, Tawnies, Indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required by him who comes to judge both quick and dead, at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be 'rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil:' at that day, we say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the bad, of the just and of the unjust, when 'the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day.' 2 Thess. i. 8, etc. See also 2 Pet. iii. 3, etc.”

This wicked slander (of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel) our adversaries took occasion to raise, from our having had some meetings with and amongst the negroes; for both I and other Friends had several meetings with them in several plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors; which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us.

As I had been to visit the governor as soon as I was well able, after I came thither; so, when I was at Thomas Rous's, the governor came to see me, carrying himself very courteously.

Having been three months or more in Barbadoes, and having visited Friends, thoroughly settled meetings, and despatched the service for which the Lord brought me thither, I felt my spirit clear of that



island, and found drawings to Jamaica. When I had communicated this to Friends, I acquainted the governor also, and divers of his council, that I intended shortly to leave the island, and go to Jamaica. This I did, that as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be. Before I left the island, I wrote the following letter to my wife; that she might understand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels:—

“My Dear Heart,

“To whom is my love, and to all the children in the Seed of Life that changeth not, but is over all; blessed be the Lord for ever. I have undergone great sufferings in my body and spirit, beyond words; but the God of heaven be praised, his truth is over all. I am now well; and, if the Lord permit, within a few days I pass from Barbadoes towards Jamaica; and I think to stay but little there. I desire that ye may be all kept free in the Seed of Life, out of all cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me to Friends that inquire after me. So no more, but my love in the Seed and Life that changeth not.”

G. F.

Barbadoes, 6th. of 11th Month, 1671.

I set sail from Barbadoes to Jamaica on the 8th of the 11th month, 1671; Robert Widders, William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton, going with me. Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained in Barbadoes; with whom were John Rous and William Bailey. We had a quick and easy passage to Jamaica, where we met with our Friends James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison again, who had been labouring there in the service of truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the island, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are, many of them, debauched and wicked. We had much service. There was a great convincement, and many received the truth; some of whom were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large, and very quiet. The people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the governor, and some other magistrates, who all carried themselves kindly towards me.

About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of great age, who had travelled much in truth's service, and suffered much for it, departed this life. She was well the day before she died; and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to truth at her departure.

When we had been about seven weeks in Jamaica, had brought Friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings amongst them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland, leaving Friends and truth prosperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and his blessed Seed reigning.

Before I left Jamaica, I wrote another letter to my wife, as follows:—

“My dear Heart,

“To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all Friends in those parts. I have been in Jamaica about five weeks. Friends here are generally well; and there is a convincement: but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me; but the blessed Seed is over all: the great Lord be praised, who is Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass from hence about the beginning of next month, towards Maryland, if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the Seed of God; in his truth I rest in love to you all.”

G. F.

Jamaica, 23rd of 12th Month, 1071.

## CHAPTER V.

*1672-1673.—George Fox embarks for Maryland, where he arrives after a seven weeks' voyage, and having experienced some remarkable deliverances—attends a General Meeting for Maryland, which held four days—several meetings for discipline established—has meetings with the Indian kings—travels towards New England—attends the half year's meeting on Long Island, which continued four days—has a meeting with some opposers—visits Rhode Island, where the Yearly Meeting for New England is held, which continued six days—attends a marriage there, and has a meeting with some Ranters—also one with some Indians on Shelter Island—one of his companions thrown from his horse and lays apparently dead, but soon recovers in an unexpected manner—they reach Maryland after nine days' travel overland between three and four hundred miles—visits a judge who is ill, but recovers—attends the General Meeting for Maryland, which held five days—sails for Virginia, and arrives in three days, a distance of 200 miles—thence proceeds towards Carolina—visits the Indians, and shows them that God made but one woman for one man—returns to Virginia—sails for Maryland—endures great extremes of heat and cold within a very short period—speaks to a woman who had been many years in trouble, and entreats the Lord for her, and she is thereupon restored—attends the General Meeting for Maryland, to the edification and comfort of Friends—sails for England, and arrives safe, after a six weeks' passage.*

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We went on board on the 8th of 1st Month, 1671-1672; and having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards, before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and dangerous, especially in passing through the Gulf of Florida, where we met with many

trials by winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of the sea and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was many times likely to be upset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would; then did we pray unto the Lord, who graciously heard us, calmed the winds and the seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation; blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, whom the winds and the seas obey.

We were between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Patuxent River, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon, us for shelter, in which were several people of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds' worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship. But provisions grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, were well nigh spent when they came to us; so that with their living with us too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard was so great, that all but Friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after, the Friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, through the good providence of the Lord, which we came to understand afterwards. For when we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, that were both bound for the same coast. One of these was a frigate, the other a yacht. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a-piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together; but what with calms and contrary winds, we were in a while separated. After that, the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards; by whom she was taken and plundered, and the master and mate made prisoners; afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand, we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous.

Here we found John Burnyeat<sup>115</sup> intending shortly to sail for England; but on our arrival he altered his

<sup>115</sup> John Burnyeat, a fellow-labourer in the gospel with George Fox, and who is several times named in this Journal, was born in Cumberland about the year 1631. He was well educated, and religiously inclined from his youth, and convinced by George Fox when he first came into Cumberland in 1653. He became an unwearied traveller in the gospel, both in this country and in America, boldly proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, for which he fell in for his share of abuse and imprisonments. Once at Kipon, when visiting twenty-four of his friends imprisoned there for the testimony of Jesus, speaking a few words to them he was haled away before the mayor, and several times knocked off his knees when at prayer, being sent to prison to his friends, and kept there fourteen weeks.

purpose, and joined us in the Lord's service. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together, and take his leave of them, before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God, that we landed just in time to reach that meeting; by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which, besides Friends, came many other people, many of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account; for there were amongst them five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note; who seemed well satisfied with the meeting. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began; wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof to their great satisfaction. After this we went to a place called the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed. We went some part of the way by land, the rest by water; and a storm arising, our boat was run on ground, in danger to be beaten to pieces; and the water came in upon us. I perspired much, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and was now wet with the water beside; yet having faith in the divine power, I was preserved from taking hurt; blessed be the Lord. To this meeting also many people came, and received the truth with reverence. We had also a men's meeting and a women's meeting, at which most of the backsliders came in again; and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church.

After these two general meetings, we parted company, dividing ourselves unto several coasts, for the service of truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmundson and three other Friends sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, went over by boat to the eastern shore, and had a meeting there on the First-day; where many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed. A very large and heavenly meeting it was; and several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were justices of the peace. It was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to that meeting; the emperor came and was at it; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach in time; yet they came after with their cockarooses. I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and confessed to it. What I spoke to them, I desired them to speak to their people; and let them know, that "God was raising up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up his standard and glorious ensign of righteousness." They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired "where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it;" yet they said, "they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now."

Next day we began our journey by land to New England; a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. We took horse at the head of Tredhaven Creek, and travelled through the woods, till we came a little above the head of Miles River; by which we passed, and rode to

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He married and settled in Ireland, where his service mostly lay in his latter days. In 1683 he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea in Dublin two months, for meeting and preaching. His wife died in 1688; and he, having finished his course, and kept the faith, departed in peace in 1690. His works, and testimonies concerning him, with an account of his conviction, and journal of his travels, was published in a 4to volume, to which the reader is referred. Also, *Piety Promoted*, vol. i. p. 179; and *Whiting's Memoirs*, p. 416-430.

the head of Wye River, and so to the head of Chester River; where, making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning we travelled through the woods till we came to Saxifrax River, which we went over in canoes (or Indian boats), causing our horses to swim by. Then we rode to Bohemia River; where in like manner swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little while at a plantation by the way, but not long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town; which we were desirous to do, and therefore rode hard for it. I with some others, whose horses were strong, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders being weaker-horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods that night also. The town we went to, was a Dutch town, called Newcastle, whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning. We departed thence and got over the River Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were over, we were troubled to procure guides; who were hard to get and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through, since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole day together, without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses. We came one night to an Indian town, and lay at the king's house, who was a very worthy man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day.<sup>116</sup> At another Indian town where we stayed, the

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116 The instances of heathen kindness and hospitality, experienced by George Fox and others who have visited the Indians in a friendly manner, contrast very favourably in comparison with the many acts of bigoted intolerance and cruelty recorded in these volumes on the part of those professedly civilized and Christian.

Many incidents might be related in proof of Indian kindness when unprovoked to opposite conduct. When the Quakers were under a cruel persecution by the magistrates of Boston, in New England, Nicholas Upshal, "a man of an unblameable conversation," and a church member of their communion, showed the sufferers kindness, by giving five shillings a week to the jailer to let those confined in prison have the sustenance necessary for life—the *magistrates having caused the jail window to be boarded up, that none might communicate with, or help them*. He proceeded afterwards to reason with the magistrates, and warn them not to be found fighting against Rod, for which he was fined £20, imprisoned, and then banished; though a weakly old man, and the season the depth of winter. In his banishment in the wilderness, he met an Indian, who, having understood how he had been dealt with, took compassion on him, and very kindly told him, *if he would live with him he would make him a warm house*; and further said, "What a God have these English, who deal so with one another about their God!"

See here the Red Indian's kindly care  
 Though he the name of *savage* bear.  
 Christian, more savage thou than he,  
 Blush for thy cruel deeds of infamy:  
 The Indian's unasked cup of charity  
 Is larger than as mixed by thee.  
 The white man ag'd, through frost and snows  
 A banish'd exile to his country goes,  
 Full many a welcome does he say,  
 To his warm house whate'er the day.  
 More Christian he who thus does prove  
 By practice kindred with a God of love.  
 More Christian he than they who thus pollute  
 Their faith, and for their God a brother persecute

king came to us, and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people, and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey, where there were some Friends, but we could not stay to have a meeting there at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits, to get to the half-year's meeting of Friends at Oyster-Bay in Long Island, which was very near at hand. We went with a Friend, Richard Hartshorn, brother to Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer, in London, who received us gladly at his house, where we refreshed ourselves, and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which occupied most part of the day getting over, and set us upon Long Island. We got that evening to Friends at Ghavesand, with whom we tarried that night, and next day got to Flushing, and the day following reached Oister-bay; several Friends of Gravesand and Flushing accompanying us. The half-year's meeting began next day, which was the first day of the week, and lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which people of all sorts came; on the third day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with some bad spirits, who had run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth, and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and likely would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know, that "if they had anything to object against the order of truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose." And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me, when I was far from them. The men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with these discontented people, to which as many of them as chose came, and as many Friends as desired were present also; and the Lord's power broke forth gloriously to the confounding of the gainsayers. Then some of those that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the truth, began to fawn upon me, and to cast the blame upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under. Which was of great service to truth, and to the satisfaction and comfort of Friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster-Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served we set sail, and arrived there on the thirtieth day of the third month; and were gladly received by Friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's house, who at that time was governor of the island; where we rested, being very weary with travelling. On First-day following we had a large meeting, to which the deputy-governor and several justices came, who were mightily affected with the truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way. This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for

worship, to which abundance of other people came; for they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they knocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and truth had a good reception. I have rarely observed people, in the state wherein they stood, hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days together; which also was taken notice of by other Friends. After these public meetings were over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty; and the day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn. These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the church, many weighty things were opened and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury amongst them. In these two meetings, several men's and women's meetings for other parts, were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the church; and to see, that all who profess truth, walk according to the glorious gospel of God. "When this great general meeting in Rhode Island was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their various habitations, in the several colonies where they lived."<sup>117</sup>

When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Widders and I stayed some time longer also upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings among them.

During this time a marriage took place amongst Friends in this island; and we were present. It was at a Friend's house, who had formerly been governor of the island; three justices of the peace, and many others not in profession with us, were there; and both they and Friends said, they never saw so solemn an assembly on such an occasion, so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others, for there were some present from many other places.

After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting which I was not at. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which he did to his praise and glory; blessed be his name for ever. There were at this meeting many Friends, and other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and

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<sup>117</sup> See Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, vol. i., p. 250-254.

other officers, who were generally well affected. One of the justices, who had been one twenty years, was convinced, and spoke highly of the truth; and more highly of me, than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.

Then we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people; I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance, and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priests, in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and his power went over them all; and his blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet, and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting. This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceedingly hot, and perspired much; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shone over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narraganset, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever! The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Island, before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them. At another place, I heard some of the magistrates said among themselves, "if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister." This was, where they did not well understand us, and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, "it was time for me to be gone; for if their eye was so much to me, or any of us, they would not come to their own teacher." For this thing (hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to his own teacher in himself.

I went from hence towards Shelter Island, having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barbadoes. We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very troublesome. Wherefore we went into our sloop again, put off from the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night. Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceedingly wet. Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Garner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at



length to Shelter Island; which, though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in reaching. The day after, being First-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week, I had another among the Indians; at which were their king, his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively, while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was truth. Next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and would not go away when it was over, till they had spoken with me; wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord, his name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson came to us, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia. From whence he travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roan-oak, where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord, in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide ran so strong for several hours, that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale. We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near to Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet. Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and got over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Faulcon Island, and came to the Main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over. Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well. We got safe to Oyster-bat in Long Island, on the seventh of sixth month, very early in the morning, which is about two hundred miles from Rhode Island. At Oyster-Bay we had a very large meeting. The same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder <sup>118</sup> went over the Bay to Bye, on the

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118 This is the only mention of Christopher Holder in these volumes. He was a great sufferer in the New England persecution. In 1057 he and another Friend being at Salem, went to the Puritan place of worship there, and after the priest had concluded, Christopher Holder addressing the assembly, was not allowed to proceed; one of the commissioners, with much fury, "seizing him by the hair of his head," and violently thrusting a glove and handkerchief into his mouth. These two Friends were subsequently sentenced, under "the law against Quakers," to receive thirty lashes. The brutal manner in which this sentence was carried out, was in accordance with the spirit that prompted the rulers to pass the cruel law. A three-corded knotted whip was used on the occasion; and the executioner, to make more sure of his blows, "measured his ground," and then "fetched his strokes with all his might." Thirty strokes thus inflicted, as will be readily imagined, left the sufferers miserably torn and lacerated; and in this state they were conveyed to their prison cell. Here, without any bedding, or even straw to lie on, the inhuman jailer kept them for three days without food or drink; and, in this dismal abode, often exposed to damp and cold, were these faithful men confined for the space of nine weeks. We may wonder that, under such aggravated cruelties, their lives were spared; but He, for whose holy cause they thus suffered, was near

continent, in Governor Winthrop's government, and had a meeting there. From Oyster-Bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting; many hundreds of people being there, some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (praised be the Lord God!) and the people were much satisfied. Meanwhile Christopher Holder and some other Friends went to a town in Long Island, called Jamaica, and had a meeting there. We passed from Flushing to Gravesand, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings; to which many would have come from New York, but the weather hindered them. Being clear of this place, we hired a sloop; and the wind serving, set out for the New Country, now called Jersey. Passing down the Bay by Conny Island, Natton Island, and Stratton Island, we came to Richard Hartshorn's, at Middletown-harbour, about break of day, the 27th of sixth Month. Next day we rode about thirty miles into the country through the woods and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest; the descent into which was so steep, that we were fain to slide down with our horses, and then let them lie and breathe, before they could go on. This place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and on First-day had a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came from far; and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey. They are building a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a monthly and general meeting set up; which will be of great service in those parts, in "keeping up the gospel order and government of Christ Jesus (of the increase of which there is no end), that they who are faithful, may see that all who profess the holy truth live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the gospel."

While we were at Shrewsbury an accident befell, which, for the time, was a great exercise to us. John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who came with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back; and the horse fell a-running, and cast him down upon his head, and broke his neck, as the people said. They that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could; and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood by him, pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my

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to support and console them. His ancient promise was fulfilled in their experience, and they rejoiced in the comforting presence of his living power.—*Bowden's History of Friends in America.*

Previous to this, Christopher Holder and his companion had been banished from Rhode Island. The governor having hired an Indian to convey them off the island, ordered the Friends to pay for the passage themselves. But not being willing to facilitate their own banishment, and not feeling that it was their Divine Master's will for them to leave the island, they declined to go, or to pay the Indian who was hired to take them. The governor directed the constable forcibly to obtain the requisite sum from the strangers, and gave peremptory orders to the natives to take them away in their canoes. The Algonquins, however, not being in any great haste to execute the bidding of the governor, contrary to the will of the Friends, and at a time too when the weather was stormy, entertained them for three days with marked kindness and hospitality. A change in the weather then taking place, and the banished onei feeling that it was no longer required of them to stay on the island, the Indians, at their own request, prepared to take them across. Before leaving the island, the Friends offered to remunerate the natives for their kindness, but these poor people, from the generous impulses of their hearts, acting more in unison with the spirit O, Christianity than those who were wont to be their teachers, declined to receive any reward. "You are strangers," they replied, "and Jehovah hath taught us to love strangers." Such simple and feeling language from the lips of North American Indians, was a striking rebuke to the bigotry and intolerance which marked the conduct of their highly professing teachers.—*Bowden's History of Friends in America.*

hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in the throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bid them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire. I bid them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak; but did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs, and over a river; where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this.

To this meeting came most of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had, and the truth was over all; blessed be the great Lord God for ever! After the meeting we went to Middletown-harbour about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning, through the woods towards Maryland; having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware-Bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. On the 9th of the 7th month we set forwards, and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs; and when we had rode about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and laid by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night, finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire and stayed there, at the head of Delaware-Bay. Next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock, and then to the mainland; having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and stayed that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made a fire at night, by which we lay, and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels. The next day we passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. Thence we came to Christian River, where we swam over our horses, and went over ourselves in canoes; but the sides of this river were so bad and miry, that some of the horses had like to have been laid up. Thence we came to Newcastle, heretofore called New Amsterdam; and being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we could buy some corn for our horses, the governor came and invited me to his house; and afterwards desired me to lodge there, saying he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome. So I stayed there, the other Friends being taken care of also. This was on the seventh day of the week; and he offering his house for a meeting, we had the next day a pretty large one; for most of the town were at it. There had never been a meeting here before, nor any within a great way of it; but this was a very precious one, many of the people were tender, and confessed to the truth; and some received it: blessed be the Lord for ever!

On the 16th of the 7th month we set forward again, and travelled, as near as we could compute, about fifty miles, through woods and over bogs, heading Bohemia and Saxierax Rivers. At night we made a fire in the woods, and lay there all night; and it being rainy weather, we got under some thick trees for

shelter, and afterwards dried ourselves again by the fire. Next day we waded through Chester River, a very broad water, and after passing through many bad bogs, lay that night also in the woods by a fire; not having gone above thirty miles that day. The day following we travelled hard; and though we had some troublesome bogs in our way, we rode about fifty miles; and got safe that night, but very weary, to Robert Harwood's, at Miles River in Maryland. This was the eighteenth of the month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with getting through the bogs in our journey, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and then to John Edmundson's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting the First-day following. Here was a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before; who was reached, and said after, "she had rather hear us once than the priests a thousand times." Many others also were very well satisfied; for the power of the Lord was eminently with us; blessed for ever be his holy name! We passed thence about twenty-two miles, and had a meeting upon the Kentish shore, to which one of the judges came; and a good meeting it was. Then, after another meeting hard by, at Henry Wilcock's house, where also we had good service for the Lord, we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were some hundreds of people, four justices of the peace, the high-sheriff of Delaware, an Indian emperor or governor, and two chiefs. With these Indians I had a good opportunity the night before. I spoke to them by an interpreter; they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving. A blessed meeting this was, and of great service, both for convincing and establishing in the truth them that were convinced of it. Blessed be the Lord, who causeth his blessed truth to spread! After the meeting a woman came to me, whose husband was one of the judges of that part of the country, and a member of the assembly, and told me, "her husband was sick, not likely to live; and desired me to go home with her to see him." It was three miles to her house; and being just come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet considering the service, I got a horse, went with her, visited her husband, and spoke what the Lord gave me to him. The man was much refreshed, and finally raised up by the power of the Lord; and he afterwards came to our meetings. I went back again to the Friends that night; and next day we departed thence about twenty miles to Tredhaven-Creek, to John Edmundson's again; whence, on the 3rd of the 8th month, we went to the general meeting for all Maryland Friends.

This held five days; the first three meetings for public worship, to which people of all sorts came; the other two men's and women's meetings. To the public meetings came many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country. There were so many, besides Friends, that it was thought there were sometimes a thousand people at one of these meetings. So that, though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again as it was before, it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day four or five miles to it, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, "there were never so many boats seen there together before." And one of the justices said, "he never saw so many people together in that country before." It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, and Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all; everlasting praises to his holy name for ever! After the public meetings

were over, the men's and women's meetings began, and were held the other two days; for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the truth.

On the 10th of the 8th Month we went thence about thirty miles by water, passing by Cranes Island, Swan Island, and Kent Island, in very foul weather and much rain; whereby (our boat being open) we were not only very much wet, but in great danger of being upset; insomuch that some thought we could not escape being cast away, till they saw us come to shore next morning. But blessed be God, we were very well. Having got to a little house, dried our clothes by the fire, and refreshed ourselves a little, we took to our boat again; and put off from land, sometimes sailing and sometimes rowing; but having very foul weather that day too, we could not get above twelve miles forward. At night we got to land, and made a fire; some lay by that, and some by a fire at a house a little way off. Next morning we passed over the Great-bay, and sailed about forty miles that day. Making to shore at night, we lay there, some in the boat, and some at an ale-house. Next morning, being First-day, we went six or seven miles to a Friend's house, who was a justice of the peace; where we had a meeting: this was a little above the head of the Great-Bay. We were almost four days on the water, weary with rowing, yet all was very well: blessed and praised be the Lord. We went next day to another Friend's house, near the head of Hatton's Island, where we had good service amongst Friends and others; as we had also the day following at George Wilson's,<sup>119</sup> a Friend that lived about three miles further; where we had a very

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119 This George Wilson, at whose house George Fox was entertained, is not mentioned elsewhere in the Journal. He was originally from Great Britain, and a great sufferer for the truth during the New England persecution. In 1661, it appears he was amongst twenty-seven other Friends in prison in Boston, who were liberated that year by an order from the home government. But these faithful messengers of the Lord, who were thus unexpectedly released from bondage, were concerned, almost immediately on leaving the jail, to preach to the inhabitants those truths for which they had suffered. The magistrates, already at their wits' end, in fruitlessly endeavouring to arrest the spread of Quaker principles, being impatient at this fresh manifestation of devotedness, ordered a guard of soldiers to drive all the Friends out of their territory into the wilderness; an order which was speedily executed. George Wilson was among those who were thus forcibly expelled; but, undismayed by the new law for the application of the whip, they returned at once to their homes. There they were quickly apprehended, and were sentenced to undergo a flogging through three towns, and to be put out of the limits of the colony. The executioner, desirous of lending his ingenuity to increase the severity of the sentence, provided himself with a singularly constructed whip, or as it is called, a "cruel instrument," with which he "miserably tore" the bodies of the sufferers. Such was the new and barbarous character of the weapon used on this occasion, that Friends endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain it to send to England, as another proof of the malignant cruelty which actuated the rulers of Massachusetts towards the new Society. At the conclusion of this whipping at Boston, George Wilson, in the midst of his persecutors, knelt in solemn supplication to the Most High.

Being on a gospel mission in Virginia, George Wilson became a victim to the reigning intolerance, and was incarcerated in the dungeon at James' Town. The circumstances of his case evinced great barbarity on the part of his persecutors. The place of his imprisonment was an extremely loathsome one, without light or ventilation. Here, after being cruelly scourged and heavily ironed for a long period, he had to feel the heartlessness of a persecuting and dominant hierarchy; until, at last, his flesh actually rotted from his bones, and, within the cold damp walls of the miserable dungeon of James' Town, he laid down his life a faithful martyr for the testimony of Jesus.

The patience and resignation with which George Wilson bore his aggravated sufferings, and his faithfulness unto death, form a striking instance of the inflexible adherence to conscientious conviction, which so remarkably characterized the early Friends. Living near to Him who is the fountain and fulness of love, his enemies also became the objects of his solicitude; and, whilst lingering in the wretched dungeon, his heart was lifted up in prayer for his persecutors. "For all their cruelty," he writes, "I can truly say, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."—*Bowden's History of Friends in America*.

precious meeting, there being great tenderness amongst the people.

After this meeting we sailed about ten miles to James Frizby's, a justice of the peace, where, on the 16th, we had a very large meeting, at which, besides Friends, were some hundreds of people it was supposed; amongst whom were several justices, captains, and the sheriff, with other persons of note. A blessed, heavenly meeting this was; a powerful, thundering testimony for truth was borne therein; a great sense there was upon the people, and much brokenness and tenderness amongst them. We stayed after meeting till about eleven at night, that the tide turned for us; then taking boat, we passed that night and next day about fifty miles, to another Friend's house. The two next days we made short journeys, visiting Friends, and on the twentieth we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting-house, but not large enough to hold the people. Divers chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people, and it gave them generally great satisfaction. Two days after we had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, and had good service. Then spending a day or two in visiting Friends, we passed to the Western-Shore; and on the twenty-fifth had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's,<sup>120</sup> where the speaker of their assembly, his wife, a justice, and several other people of quality were present. Next day we had a meeting six or seven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, where many of the magistrates and upper sort of people were, and the speaker of the assembly for that country was convinced: a blessed meeting it was, praised be the Lord! We travelled next day; and the day following, the 28th, had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the Cliffs, between thirty and forty miles distant from the former. Many of the magistrates and people of upper rank were at this meeting, and a heavenly meeting it was. The wife of one of the governor's council was convinced, and her husband was very loving to Friends. A justice from Virginia was convinced, and had a meeting afterwards at his house. Some Papists were at this meeting, and one of them threatened before he came, that he would dispute with me; but he was reached, and could not oppose. Blessed be the Lord, the truth reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good savour amongst them! After the meeting we went about eighteen miles, to James Preston's, a Friend that lived on Patuxent river; and thither came to us an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I spoke, and found they understood what I spoke of. Having finished our service in Maryland, and intending for Virginia, we had a meeting at Patuxent on the 4th of the 9th Month, to take our leave of Friends. Many people of all sorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

On the 5th we set sail for Virginia, and in three days came to a place called Nancemum, about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with foul weather, storms, and rain, and lay in the woods by a fire in the night. At Nancemum lived a Friend, called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting there, of Friends and others. There came to it Colonel Dewes, with several other officers

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<sup>120</sup> William Coale, a Friend of Maryland, was convinced about the year 1657. He was a man of an innocent and tender spirit; and a living and weighty minister of the gospel of Christ. He visited Friends in Virginia with George Wilson, and was very serviceable, some being turned to the Lord through his ministry, and many established in the truth. He suffered cruel imprisonment for the gospel, which injured him so much that he never recovered it. In the time of his last illness he was cheerful, freely given up to die, saying, "The living presence of the Lord is with me;" with many more words of the great satisfaction he had from the Lord concerning his peace; adding, "I bless the Lord, I have finished my course, and I have nothing to do but to wait on the Lord and die." He departed very peaceably and quietly about the year 1678.

and magistrates, who were much taken with the truth declared. After this, we hastened towards Carolina; yet had several meetings by the way, wherein we had good service for the Lord; one about four miles from Nancemum Water, which was very precious; and there was a men's and women's meeting settled, for taking care of the affairs of the church. Another very good one also we had at William Yarrow's, at Pagan Creek, which was so large, that we were fain to be abroad, the house not being large enough to contain the people. A great openness there was, the sound of truth spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of people: the Lord have the glory for ever!

After this our way to Carolina grew worse, being much of it plashy, and pretty full of great bogs and swamps; so that we were commonly wet to the knees, and lay abroad at nights in the woods by a fire; saving one night we got to a poor house, at Sommertown, and lay by the fire. The woman of the house had a sense of God upon her. The report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn some that lived beyond Sommertown, to that house, in expectation to see and hear us (so acceptable was the sound of truth in that wilderness country:) but they missed us. The next day, the 21st of the 9th Month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek; and there we lay that night by the fireside, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe, to Macocomocock River; and came to Hugh Smith's house, where the people of other professions came to see us (for there were no Friends in that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roan-Oak; he went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers, and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick, and given over by the physicians; and he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth: blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratick in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, and came to a captain's house, who was very loving, and lent us his boat, for we were much wet in the canoe, the water splashing in upon us. With this boat we went to the governor's house; but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat being laden, could not swim; so that we were fain to put off our shoes and stockings, and wade through the water some distance. The governor, with his wife, received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people, concerning the light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed that it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, "Whether or not, when he lied, or did wrong to any one, there was not something in him that reprov'd him for it?" he said, "There was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong." So we shamed the doctor before the governor and the people; insomuch that the poor man ran out so far, that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he

very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him, we entered our boat, and went that day about thirty miles to Joseph Scott's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting, to which the governor's secretary came, who was chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.

I went from this place among the Indians, and spoke unto them by an interpreter; showing them, "that God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God drowned the old world, because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spoke to them concerning Christ, showing them, that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others; and had enlightened them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil, he would burn them, but if they did well, they should not be burned." There was among them their young king; and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them. Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth upon the people there, we began to return towards Virginia, having several meetings in our way, wherein we had very good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord. We lay one night at the secretary's house, to which we had much to do to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore; but the secretary's wife seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe (her husband being from home) and brought us to land. Next morning our boat was sunk; but we got her up, mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough, and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord for ever! The people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain who was very loving, and acknowledged it to be truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a Pawaw, who sat soberly among the people. On the 9th of the 10th Month we got back to Bonner's Creek, where we had left our horses; having spent about eighteen days in North Carolina.

Our horses having rested, we set forward for Virginia again, travelling through the woods and bogs, as far as we could well reach that day; and at night lay by a fire in the woods. Next day we had a tedious journey through bogs and swamps, and were exceedingly wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourselves at night by a fire. We got that night to Sommertown. When we came near the house, the woman of the house seeing us, spoke to her son to fasten up their dogs (for both in Virginia and Carolina they generally keep great dogs to guard their houses, living lonely in the woods); but the son said, "he need not, for the dogs did not use to meddle with these people." Whereupon, when we were come into the house, she told us, "we were like the children of Israel, whom the dogs did not move their tongues against." Here we lay in our clothes by the fire, as we had done many a night before. Next day, before we went away, we had a meeting; for the people having heard of us, had a great desire to hear us; and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had one before; praised be the Lord for ever! After the meeting we hasted away. When we had rode about twenty miles, calling at a house to inquire the way, the people desired us to tarry all night with them, which we did. Next day we came among



Friends, after we had travelled about a hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia; in which time we observed a great variety of climates, having passed in a few days from a very cold, to a warm and spring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the same in all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the Lord for ever!

We spent about three weeks in travelling through Virginia, mostly among Friends, having many large and precious meetings in several parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where a great many magistrates, officers, and other high people came. A most heavenly meeting we had, wherein the power of the Lord was so great, that it struck a dread upon the assembly and chained all down, and brought a reverence upon the people's minds. Among the officers was a major, kinsman to the priest; he told me, "the priest threatened to come and oppose us." But the Lord's power was too strong for him, and stopped him; we were quiet and peaceable, and the people were wonderfully affected with the testimony of truth; blessed be the Lord for ever! Another very good meeting we had at Crickatrough, at which many considerable people were, many of whom had never heard a Friend before; and they were greatly satisfied with the meeting, praised be the Lord! We had also a very good and serviceable meeting at John Porter's, which consisted mostly of other people; in which the power of the Lord was gloriously seen and felt, and it brought the truth over all evil walkers and talkers; blessed be the Lord! Divers other meetings we had, and many opportunities of doing service for the Lord amongst the people where we came. The last week we stayed, we spent some time and pains among Friends, sweeping away that which was to be swept out, and working down a bad spirit that was got up in some; blessed for ever be the name of the Lord! he it is that gives victory over all.

Having finished what service lay upon us in Virginia, on the 30th we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But having a great storm, and being much wet, we were glad to get to shore before night; and, walking to a house at Willoughby Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the house was a widow, and a very tender person; she had never received Friends before; but she received us very kindly, and with tears in her eyes. We returned to our boat in the morning, and hoisted up our sail, getting forward as fast as we could; but towards evening a storm rising, we had much to do to get to shore; and our boat being open the water splashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were completely wet. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods, to warm and dry us, and there we lay all night, the wolves howling about us. On the 1st of the 11th Month we sailed again, but the wind being against us, we made but little way, and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort; for the weather was so cold, that though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, our water, that we had got for our use, was frozen near the fireside. We made to sea again next day; but the wind being strong and against us, we advanced but little, but were glad to get to land again, and travel about to find some house, where we might buy some provisions, for our store was spent. That night also we lay in the woods; and so extremely cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the frost and snow being great, that it was hard for some to abide it. On the 3rd, the wind setting pretty fair, we fetched it up by sailing and rowing, and got that night to Milford-haven, where we lay at Richard Long's, near Quince's Island. Next day we passed by Rappahannock River, where dwell much people; and Friends had a meeting there-aways at a justice's house, who had formerly been at a meeting

where I was. We passed over Potomac River also, the winds being high, the water very rough, our sloop open, and the weather extremely cold; and having a meeting there-aways also, some people were convinced; and when we parted thence, some of our company went amongst them. We steered our course for Patuxent River, I sat at the helm most part of the day, and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's house, on Patuxent River, which is about two hundred miles from Nancemum in Virginia. We were very weary; yet the next day, being the first of the week, we went to the meeting not far from thence. The same week we went to an Indian king's cabin, where several of the Indians were, with whom we had a good opportunity to discourse; and they carried themselves very lovingly. We went also that week to a general meeting; then about eighteen miles further to John Geary's, where we had a very precious meeting; praised be the Lord God for ever! After this the cold grew so exceedingly sharp, the frost and snow so extreme, beyond what was usual in that country, that we could hardly endure it. Neither was it easy or safe to stir out; yet we got, with some difficulty, six miles through the snow to John Mayor's, where we met with some Friends come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to see each other, after so long and tedious travels. By these Friends we understood, that William Edmundson, having been at Rhode Island and New England, was returned to Ireland; that Solomon Eccles, coming from Jamaica and landing at Boston in New England, was taken at a meeting there, and banished to Barbadoes; that John Stubbs and another Friend were gone into New Jersey, and several other Friends to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. It was matter of joy to us, to understand that the work of the Lord went on and prospered, and that Friends were unwearied and diligent in the service.

On the 27th we had a very precious meeting in a tobacco-house; and next day returned to James Preston's, about eighteen miles distant. When we came there, we found his house was burnt to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold. We made an observation, which was somewhat strange, but certainly true; that one day in the midst of this cold weather, the wind turning into the South, it grew so hot that we could hardly bear it; and the next day and night, the wind changing back into the North, we could hardly endure the cold.

The 2nd of 12th month we had a glorious meeting at Patuxent; and after it went to John Geary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the monthly meeting at the Cliffs, and a living one it was; praised be the Lord! This was on the 6th: another meeting we had on the 9th, wherein the glory of the Lord shone over all; blessed and magnified be his holy name for ever!

On the 12th month we set forward in our boat; and, travelling by night, ran aground in a creek near Hanaco River. There we were fain to stay till morning, when the tide came and lifted her off. In the meantime sitting in an open boat, and the weather being bitter cold, some of us had like to have lost the use of our hands, they were so frozen and benumbed with cold. In the morning, when the tide had set us afloat again, we got to land, and made a good fire, at which we warmed ourselves well. Then returning to our boat, we passed on about ten miles further to a Friend's house; where next day we had a very precious meeting, at which some of the chief of the place were. I went after it to a Friend's

house, about four miles off, at the head of Anamessey River, where, on the day following, the judge of the country and the justice with him came to me, and were very loving, and much satisfied with Friends' order. The next day we had a large meeting in the justice's barn, for his house could not hold the company. There were several of the great folks of that country, and among the rest an opposer; but all was preserved quiet and well; a precious meeting it was, and the people were much affected with the truth; blessed be the Lord! We went next day to see Captain Colburn, who was also a justice, and there we had some service; then returning again, we had a very glorious meeting at the same justice's, where we met before; to which came many people of account in the world, magistrates, officers, and others. It was large, and the power of the Lord was much felt, so that the people were generally well satisfied, and taken with the truth; and there being several merchants and masters of ships from New England, the truth was spread abroad; blessed be the Lord!

A day or two after, we travelled about sixteen miles through the woods and bogs, heading Anamessey River and Ahoroca River, part of which last we went over in a canoe, and came to Manaoke, to a friendly woman's house; where, on the 24th, we had a large meeting in a barn. The Lord's living presence was with us, and among the people; blessed be his holy name for evermore! Friends had never had a meeting in those parts before. After this we passed over the River Wicocomaco, through many bad and watery swamps and marshy ways, and came to James Jones's, a Friend, and a justice of the peace; where we had a large and very glorious meeting; praised be the Lord God! Then passing over the water in a boat, we took horse and travelled about twenty-four miles through woods and troublesome swamps, and came to another justice's house, where we had a very large meeting, much people, and many of considerable account being present; and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us, praised for ever be his holy name! This was on the 3rd of the 1st month, 1672-1673;<sup>121</sup> and on the 5th we had another living and heavenly meeting, at which divers of the justices, with their wives, and many other people, were; amongst whom we had very good service for the Lord; blessed be his holy name! At this meeting was a woman that lived at Anamessey, who had been many years in trouble of mind, and sometimes would sit moping near two months together, and hardly speak or mind anything. When I heard of her, I was moved of the Lord to go to her, and tell her, "that salvation was come to her house." After I had spoken the word of life to her, and entreated the Lord for her, she mended, went up and down with us to meetings, and is since well, blessed be the Lord!

Being now clear of these parts, we left Anamessey on the 7th, and passing by water about fifty miles, came to a friendly woman's house at Hunger River. We had very rough weather in our passage to this place, and were in great danger, for the boat had nearly been turned over; but through the good providence of God we got safe thither; praised be his name! At this place we had a meeting; and amongst the people were two Papists, a man and a woman; he was very tender, and she confessed to the truth. This meeting was not so large as it would have been, if many, who had intended, could have got to it; but the

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<sup>121</sup> The difference implied here and elsewhere in the date is between the old style and the new. The above may be read either, the 3rd of the 11th month, 1672; or the 3rd of the 1st month, 1673. It would appear that an alteration in the mode of reckoning did not take place generally till made by Act of Parliament in 1752, when the Friends also adopted a change in the mode of reckoning the months, which is explained at large in the *Buk of Discipline*, p. 73.

weather was so foul, and the water, by reason of high winds, so rough, that it was not safe to pass over it. I had no Friend now with me but Robert Widders, the rest having dispersed themselves into several parts of the country in the service of truth.

As soon as the wind would permit, we passed hence about forty miles by water, rowing most part of the way, and came to the head of Little Choptauk Kiveb, to Dr. Winsmore's, who was a justice, lately convinced. Here we met with some Friends, with whom we stayed a while; and then went on by land and water, and had a large meeting out of doors, for the house we were at could not receive the people. Divers of the magistrates and their wives were present, and a good meeting it was; blessed be the Lord, who is making his name known in that wilderness country! We returned thence to a Friend's house, named William Stephens, where we met the Friends that had been travelling in other parts; and were much refreshed in the Lord together, imparting to each other the good success we had had in the Lord's work, and the prosperity and spreading of truth in the places where we travelled. John Cartwright and another Friend had been in Virginia, where there were great desires in people after truth; and being now returned, they stayed a little with us here, and then set forward for Barbadoes. Before we left this place we had a very glorious meeting, at which were very many people; amongst others, the judge of that country, three justices, and the high-sheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians was one called their emperor, an Indian king and their speaker, who all sat very attentive, and carried themselves very lovingly. An establishing, settling meeting it was. This was on the 23rd of 1st month.

On the 24th we went by water ten miles to the Indian town where this emperor dwelt, whom I had acquainted before of my coming, and desired him to get their kings and councils together. In the morning the emperor came himself, and had me to the town; and they were generally come together, and had their speaker and other officers with them, and the old empress sat among them. They sat very grave and sober, and were all very attentive, beyond many called Christians. I had some with me that could interpret to them, and we had a very good meeting with them, and of very great service it was; for it gave them a good esteem for truth and Friends; blessed be the Lord.

After this we had many meetings in several parts of that country, one at William Stephens's, which was a general meeting once a month; others at Tredhaven Creek, Wye, Reconow Creek, and at Thomas Taylor's in the Island of Kent. Most of these were large, there being many people at them, divers of them of the most considerable account. The Lord's power and living presence were with us, and plenteously manifested amongst the people; by which their hearts were tendered and opened to receive the truth, which had a good savour amongst them; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever. Being clear of that side, we passed over the bay about fourteen miles to a Friend's house, where we met with several Friends. I sent for Thomas Thurston thither, and had a meeting with him, to bring the truth over his bad actions.

Having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations, having sounded the alarm to all people where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of these parts of the world, and draw towards Old England

again. Yet we were desirous, and felt freedom from the Lord, to stay over the general meeting for the province of Maryland (which drew nigh) that we might see Friends generally together before we departed. Wherefore spending our time, in the interim, in visiting Friends and friendly people, in attending meetings about the Cliffs and Patuxent, and in writing answers to cavilling objections, which some of truth's adversaries had raised and spread abroad, to hinder people from receiving the truth, we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord, until that general provincial meeting came on, which began on the 17th of the 3rd month, and lasted four days. On the first of these, the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened unto them, to their edification and comfort. The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, at which divers of considerable account in the government, and many others, were present, who were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful, glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

After this meeting we took our leave of Friends, parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, that was livingly felt amongst us; and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping, many Friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night. Next day, the 21st of the 3rd month, 1673, we set sail for England; the same day Richard Covell came on board our ship, having had his own taken from him by the Dutch. We had foul weather and contrary winds, which caused us to cast anchor often, so that we were till the 31st ere we could get past the capes of Virginia and come out into the main sea. But after this we made good speed, and on the 28th of the 4th month cast anchor at King's Road, which is the harbour for Bristol. We had on our passage very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceedingly rough, the waves rising like mountains; so that the masters and sailors wondered at it, and said they never saw the like before. But though the wind was strong, it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, of earth, and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of Providence that went with us, and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us safely back again; thanksgiving and praises be to his holy name for ever! Many sweet and precious meetings we had on board the ship during this voyage (commonly two a week), wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and often break in upon and tender the company.

## CHAPTER VI.

*1673-1675.—George Pox writes to his wife from Bristol—has a glorious powerful meeting there, in which he declares of three estates and three teachers—at Slattenford meets with much opposition to the settlement of women's meetings—the chief opposer, struck by the Lord's power, condemns his error—at*

*Armscott is arrested by Justice Parker, and sent to Worcester jail with Thomas Lower—writes to his wife—he and T. Lower write to Lord Windsor and other magistrates, with a statement of their case—they are examined at the sessions, but George Fox is ensnared with the oath, and re-committed for refusing to take it—Thomas Lower is discharged, and afterwards visits Justice Parker, and gives the priest of the parish (who instigated their imprisonment) a severe rebuke in his presence, though unknown—George Fox disputes with Dr. Crowder on swearing—he is removed to London by Habeas Corpus—but ultimately remanded to Worcester—is examined at the assizes by Judge Turner, but the case is referred to the sessions—disputes with a priest on perfection—brought up at the sessions and re-committed, but has liberty till the next sessions—is again removed by Habeas Corpus, and tenders in court a declaration instead of the oath—attends the Yearly Meeting in London—appears again at the sessions of Worcester, and points out the flaws in his indictment—yet he is brought in guilty and premunired—writes to the king respecting the principle of Friends—is seized with illness, and his life almost despaired of—Justice Parker writes to the jailer to relax the rigour of his imprisonment—his wife intercedes with the king for his release, which he is willing to grant by a pardon—this George Fox could not accept, as it implied guilt—he is once more removed by Habeas Corpus—the under-sheriff quarrels with him for calling their ministers priests—he is brought before the judges, and Counsellor Corbet starts a new plea, that the Court cannot imprison on a premunire—The indictment is quashed for error, and he is freed by proclamation after nearly fourteen months' imprisonment—he writes many papers and pamphlets in Worcester jail.*

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When we came into Bristol Harbour, there lay a man-of-war, and the press-master came on board us to press our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ship with the seamen before we went to shore, and the press-master sat down with us and stayed the meeting, and was very well satisfied with it. I spoke to him to leave two of the men he had pressed in our ship (for he had pressed four), one of whom was a lame man; and he said, “at my request, he would.”

We went on shore that afternoon, and got to Shirehampton, where we obtained horses, and rode to Bristol that night, where Friends received us with great joy. In the evening I wrote a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing; as follows:—

“Dear Heart,

“This day we came into Bristol near night, from the sea; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course! the God of the whole earth, of the seas and winds, who made the clouds his chariot, beyond all words, blessed be his name for ever! He is over all in his great power and wisdom, Amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaster<sup>122</sup> are with me, and

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<sup>122</sup> This is nearly the first mention of James Lancaster, whose name occurs so often in these volumes. Perhaps there was no one who associated so much in gospel labours with George Fox as he; not only accompanying him throughout his visit to the western hemisphere, but was also with him during his visit to Scotland in 1657, and to Ireland in 1669, and on these occasions it appears that he frequently acted as his amanuensis. James Lancaster's residence was on the island of Walney, in Lancashire, and he was convinced by George Fox during his first visit to that county in 1652. In the

we are well; glory to the Lord for ever, who hath carried us through many perils, perils by water, and in storms, perils by pirates and robbers, perils in the wilderness and amongst false professors! praises to him whose glory is over all for ever, Amen! Therefore mind the fresh life, and live all to God in it. I intend (if the Lord will) to stay a while this away; it may be till the fair. So no more, but my love to all Friends.”

G. F.

Bristol, 28th of 4th Month, 1673.

Between this and the fair, my wife came out of the North to Bristol to me, and her son-in-law Thomas Lower, with two of her daughters<sup>123</sup> came with her. Her other son-in-law John Rous, W. Penn and his wife, and Gerrard Roberts, came from London, and many Friends from several parts of the nation, to the fair; and glorious, powerful meetings we had at that time, for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the fresh openings whereof, I was moved to declare of

#### Three Estates, and Three Teachers,

Viz: “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 he 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 forbade them, 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 serpent's 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 whilst 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, from 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 saith, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him;' and who himself saith, '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 of all false religions, false ways, false worships, and false churches. Now Christ, who said, 'Learn of me' and of whom the Father said, 'Hear ye Mm,' 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, thereby they come into the Paradise of God, the state which man was in

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following year he came forth as a minister, and in 1654, went on a gospel mission to Scotland with Miles Halhead. In 1665, he visited many of the midland counties of England.

123 When George Fox married the widow of Judge Fell, she had one son; and seven daughters; viz., Margaret, who married John Rous; Bridgett, married to John Draper; Isabel; Sarah, married to William Mead; Mary, married to Thomas Lower; Susanna, married to—Ingram; and Rachel, married to Daniel Abraham.

before he fell; and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ that never fell. Therefore the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and the Redeemer; who laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his precious blood. We can challenge all the world. Who hath anything to say against our way? our Saviour? our Redeemer? our Prophet, whom God hath raised up that we may hear, and whom we must hear in all things? Who hath anything against our Shepherd, Christ, Jesus, who leads and feeds us, and we know his heavenly voice? Who hath anything against our Bishop, in whose mouth was never guile found, who doth oversee us in his pasture of life, that we do not go astray from God, and out of his fold? Who hath anything against our Priest, Christ Jesus, made higher than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give freely? Who hath anything to say against our Leader and Counsellor, Christ Jesus, who never sinned; but is holy, harmless, and separate from sinners? God hath commanded us to hear Him; and He saith, '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 savours of the devil's teaching, not of Christ's; but we resolve to hear the Son, as both he and the Father command, and in hearing the Son we hear the Father also, as the Scripture testifies. For the author to the Hebrews says, 'God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son;' mark that, God hath spoken unto us (his apostles, disciples, church), by his Son. And whereas 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 doth not speak now. The answer is, that 'as God did then speak by his Son in the days of his flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, doth now speak by his Spirit.' Wherefore John saith in the Revelations, 'He that hath an ear let him hear, what the Spirit saith to the churches,' Rev. ii. And Christ is said to 'speak from heaven,' Heb. xii. 25. 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from Him that speaketh from heaven.' They that resisted Moses' law, who spake on earth, died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but they that refuse Him that speaks from heaven, neglect and slight their own salvation, and so die a spiritual death through unbelief and hardness of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation,' etc. Heb. iii. 15, etc. So that they who neglect or refuse to hear the voice of Christ, now speaking from heaven in this his gospel-day, harden their hearts. Let all therefore mark well these three estates and teachers; the God of Truth was the first teacher, while man was in Paradise and in innocency. 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 saith, 'Learn of me' and of whom God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him;' and of whom the testimony of the saints of old was, 'That God hath 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 searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God. After I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I departed thence 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 there 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 and advantage of the church of Christ. “That faithful women, who were called to the belief of the truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation that men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be meet-helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil, or temporal things. That so 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, whereby the poor might be better taken care of, the younger instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reproved and admonished in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage more closely and strictly inquired 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.” But 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, and confessed his error before Friends; and afterwards gave forth a paper of condemnation, wherein he declared, “that he did wilfully oppose (although I often warned 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,” etc.

Notwithstanding the opposition at the meeting at Slattenford, yet a very good and serviceable one it was; for occasion was thereby administered to answer their objections and cavils, and to open the services of women in and for the church. At this 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; and then went a little beyond Ore, where we had a blessed meeting, and very large, as we had also soon after upon the border of Hampshire. Then turning into Oxfordshire, we visited Friends there; and then went to Reading, where we had a large meeting. Thence passing into Buckinghamshire, we had many precious meetings in that county. After which we visited Friends till we came to Kingston-Upon-Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me.

I made no long stay at Kingston, but went to London, where I found the Baptists and Socinians, with some old apostates, grown very rude, having printed many books against us; so that I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could get clear of 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 their schools, and returned soon to London. After some service there among Friends, I went to Kingston, and thence to Stephen Smith's in Surrey, where was a very large meeting, many hundreds of people attending it. I stayed in those parts till I had cleared myself of the service the Lord had given me to do there, and then returned by Kingston to London, whither I felt my spirit drawn; having heard that many Friends were taken before the magistrates, and divers imprisoned in London and other towns, for opening their shop-windows on holidays and fast-days (as they were called), and for bearing testimony against all such observations of days. Which Friends could not but do, knowing that the true Christians did not observe the Jews' holidays in the apostles' times, neither could we observe the Heathens' and Papists' holidays (so called) which have been set up amongst those called Christians, since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into the day which hath 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, labouring for some relief and ease to Friends in this case, I took leave of Friends there, and went into the country with my wife, and her daughter Rachel, to Hendon, in Middlesex, and thence to William Penn's at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, whither Thomas Lower, who married another of my wife's daughters, came next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited Friends thereabouts, we passed to a Friend's house near Aylesbury, and thence to Bray Doily's at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, where, on First-day, we had a large and precious meeting. Truth being well spread, and Friends in those parts much increased in number, two or three new meetings were then set up.

At night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken; yet I said nothing then to any one of it. But getting out next morning, we travelled into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's, at Armscott, where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with and amongst us. After the meeting, Friends being most of them gone, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some Friends, Henry Parker, a justice, came to the house, and with him one Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton, in Warwickshibe. This justice heard of the meeting by means of a woman Friend, who being nurse to a child of his, asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; and she speaking of it to her husband, he and the priest plotted together to come and break it up and apprehend me. But from their sitting long at dinner, it being the day on which his child was sprinkled, they did not come till the meeting was over, and Friends mostly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I being in the house, who was the person they aimed at, Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me; and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, 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 being made to me, being one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Worcester, that within the said parish of Tredington in the same county, there has of late been several meetings of divers persons, to the number of four hundred persons and upwards at a time, upon pretence of exercise of religion, otherwise than what is established by the laws of England. And many of the said persons, some of them were teachers, and came from the North, and others from the remote parts of the kingdom; which tends to the prejudice of the reformed and established religion, and may prove prejudicial to the public peace. And it appearing to me that there was, this present day, such a meeting as aforesaid, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, at Armscott, in the said 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 said meeting, and the said George Fox was teacher or speaker of the said meeting; and no satisfactory account of their settlement or place of habitation appearing to me, and forasmuch as the said George Fox and Thomas Lower refused to give sureties to appear at the next sessions of the peace to be holden for the said 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 will and require you, or either of you, forthwith to convey the bodies of the said George Fox and Thomas Lower to the county jail of Worcester aforesaid, and there safely to be kept, until they shall be from thence 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, etc.”

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 whence, by that time I thought my wife could be got home, I wrote her the following letter:—

“Dear Heart,

“Thou seemedst 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 Rous'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 I was 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!”

G. F.

“When we had been some time in the jail, we thought fit to lay our case before the Lord Windsor, who was lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants and other magistrates: which

we did by the following letter:—

“These are to inform you, the lord-lieutenant (so called), and the deputy-lieutenants, and the justices of the county of Worcestershire, how unchristianly and inhumanly we have been dealt withal by Henry Parker, a justice (so called), in our journey towards the North. We coming to our Friend, John Halford's house, on the 17th of the 10th month, 1673, and some Friends bringing us on the way, and others coming to visit us there, towards night there came the afore-said justice, and a priest, called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton, in Warwickshire, and demanded our names and places of abode. And though we were not in any meeting, but were discoursing together when they came in, yet he made a mittimus to send us to Worcester jail. Now, whereas he says in his mittimus, 'that complaint had been made to him of several by-past meetings of many hundreds at a time,' we know nothing of that, nor do we think that concerns us. And whereas he says further, 'that no satisfactory account of our settlement, or place of habitation appeared unto him.' This he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning therein the places of our abode and habitation, 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 fetch up 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 bringing forward his wife on her journey towards the North (who had been at London, to visit one of her daughters that had lately lain in). 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 relations there, and then to return to London again. But by his interrupting us on our journey, taking the husband from his wife, and 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 their hinderance. We asked the priest, 'whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers?' And we desired 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 whereas 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, that we may prosecute our intended journey.”

George Fox.

Thomas Lower.

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the 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, by his procurement, from Henry Savile, who was of the king's bed-chamber, to his brother, called the Lord Windsor, to the same effect; yet seeing it related only to his enlargement, not mine, so great was his love and regard to me that he would not seek his own liberty singly, but kept the letter by him unsent. So we were continued prisoners till the next general quarter sessions; at which time divers Friends from several places being in town, spoke to the justices concerning us, who answered fair, 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 answered them fair, so that it was the general discourse that we should be discharged. We heard also that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from Colonel Sands at London, to some of the justices in favour of us. Some of the justices also spoke to some Friends to acquaint us, that they would have us speak but little in the court, lest we should provoke any of the bench; and they would warrant we should be discharged.

We were not called till the last day of the sessions, which was the 21st of the 11th month, 1673. When we came in, they were stricken 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? Dare not the justices 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 that we had broken; adding, "that he thought it a milder course to send us two to jail, than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered, had he put the law in execution against conventicles." 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 neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his speech the justices spoke to us, and 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, but that 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 whereas Justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise 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 them, that "this was in a manner all but 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 but one Friend, a merchant there; who met us, as it were, providentially, 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 relation or account, is very innocent." Then he and Parker whispered a while 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 the 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 done, 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 the dungeon 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 ye know," said I, "in your own consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, or swear in any case, because Christ hath 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 the 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, and his power, and his religion, and abhor it with my heart." While I was speaking, they cried, "give him the book;" and I said, "the book saith, 'Swear not at all.'" Then they cried, "take him away, jailer;" and I still speaking on, they were urgent upon the 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 had away Thomas Lower was stayed behind in the court, and they told him, "he was at liberty." Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them, "why I might 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 be gone about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged." And this was all he could get from them. Wherefore after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, "what cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him;" and wishing them to consider whether this was not partiality, and would be a blemish to them. Whereupon Simpson threatened him, saying, "if you be 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 to 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 had not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had so great a 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 scarcely any auditors left?" "I have heard," replied Thomas Lower, "that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes), that it was but charity in my father to visit so forlorn and forsaken a flock; and therefore thou hadst no cause 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 amongst them only to seek for his 'gain from his quarter.'" Upon this the justice fell a laughing, for it seems Dr. Crowder (who was the priest they spoke of) was then in the room, 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 was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder, that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court, upon an action of defamation. Which when Thomas Lower heard, he sent him word, that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would; and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This cooled the doctor. Yet some time after, he came to the prison, pretending that 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 then a prebendary at Worcester.

When he came in, he asked me, "What I was in prison for?" "Dost thou not know that?" said I. "Wast not thou upon the bench when Justice Simpson and Parker tendered the oath to me? And hadst not thou 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 bid him 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. vi. 12. "And if," said he, "all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him." "By this argument," said I, "thou mayest 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," said he, "this contradicts the saying of St. Paul." Thereupon I called to the prisoners and the jailer, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down as orthodox, viz., "that drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and such like things, were lawful." Then he said, "he would give it under his hand;" and took a pen, but wrote another thing than that which he had spoken. Then, turning to Thomas Lower, he asked him, "whether he would answer what he had there written?" who undertook it. Whereupon, 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 bid him begin when he pleased, for he would answer him, and bring his parishioners in evidence against him, he went 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 never did, though he often sent him word he would do it.

Soon after the sessions, the term coming on, an *habeas corpus* was sent down to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the King's Bench bar. Whereupon, the under-sheriff, having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we set out the 29th of the 11th Month, 1673, and came to London the 2nd of the 12th; the ways being very deep, and the waters out. Next day, notice being given that I was brought up, the sheriff was ordered to bring me into court. I went accordingly, and appeared before Judge Wild; and both he and the lawyers were pretty fair, so that I had time to speak, to clear my innocency, and show my wrong 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:—

*Thursday, next after the morrow of the Purification of C 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 aforesaid; it is ordered, That the Return unto the *habeas corpus* be filed, and the defendant is committed unto the marshal of this court, to be safely kept until, etc.

“By motion of Mr. G. Stroude by the Court.”

In the morning, I walked in the hall, till the sheriff came to me (for he trusted me to go whither I would), and it being early, we went into the court of the King's Bench, and sat there among the lawyers almost an hour, till the judges came in. When they came in, 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 counsellor 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 he was at work. When they had done, I applied to the chief justice to 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 there, 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 “they would consider further of it; and if they found any error in the record, or in the justice's proceedings, I should be set at liberty.” So a tipstaff 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 Friend's house, where I lodged, and appointed to meet me at Edward Man's in Bishopsgate-Street, next day. But after this, Justice Parker, or some other of my adversaries, moved the court that I might be sent back to Worcester. Whereupon another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counsellors that pleaded against me. George Stroude, a counsellor, pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into court; but they bore 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 behaviour in the meantime. I told them, “I never was of ill behaviour in my life; and that they, the four judges, might as well put the oath to me there, as send me to Worcester to be ensnared by the justices, in their putting the oath to me, and then premuniring me, who never took oath in my life.” But I told them, “if I broke my Yea and Nay, I was content to suffer the same penalty that they should who break their oaths.” This alteration of the judges' minds in my case, proceeded, as was thought, from some false informations, that my adversary, Justice Parker, had given against me; for between the times of my former appearance and this, he had spread abroad a very false and malicious story, viz., “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 in the parliament house,



insomuch, that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I should have been stopped at Worcester, and Thomas would have been recommitted with me. But although these lies were easily disproved, and laid open to Parker's shame, yet would not the judges alter their last sentence, but remanded me to Worcester jail; only this favour was granted, that I might go down my own way, and at my own leisure; provided I would be without fail there by the assize, which was to begin on the 2nd of the 2nd month following. I stayed in and about London till toward the latter end of the 1st Month, 1674, and then went down leisurely (for I was not able to bear hasty and hard travelling), and came into Worcester on the last day of the 1st Month, 1674, being the day before the judges came to town. On the 2nd of the 2nd Month, I was brought from the jail to an inn near the hall, that I might be in readiness if I should be called. But not being called that day, the jailer came to me at night, and told me, "I might go home" (meaning to the jail). Whereupon Gerrard Roberts of London being with me, he and I walked down together to the jail without any keeper.

Next day being brought up again, they set a little boy of about eleven years old, to be my keeper. I came to understand that Justice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given order, that I should not be put into the calendar, that so I might not be brought before the judge; wherefore I got the judge's son to move in court, that "I might be called;" and thereupon I was called, and brought up to the bar before Judge Turner, my old adversary, who had tendered me the oaths and premunired me once before at Lancaster. After silence made, he asked me, "what I desired?" I answered, "My liberty, according to justice." He said, "I lay upon the oath;" and asked, "if I would take it." I desired he would hear the manner of my being taken and committed, and he being silent, I gave him an account thereof at large, as is before set down, letting him also know, that "since my imprisonment I had understood that my mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had desired to see me before she died, hearing that I was stopped and imprisoned in my journey, so that I was not likely to come to see her, was so struck by it, that she died soon after: which was a very hard thing to me." When I had done speaking, he again asked me "to take the oaths;" I told him I could not take any oath for conscience' sake, and that I believed he and they all knew in their consciences, that it was for conscience' sake I could not swear at all. I declared amongst them what I could say, and what I could sign, in owning the king's right to the government, and in denying the Pope and his pretended powers, 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, endeavoured to incense him against me, telling him, "that I was a ringleader; that many of the nation followed me, and he knew not what it might come to;" with many more envious words, which some that stood near took notice of; who also observed that the judge gave him no answer to it. 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 endeavour 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 till 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 people that came to visit me. At one time three nonconformist priests and two lawyers came to discourse with me; and one of the priests undertook to prove, “that the Scriptures are the only rule of life.” Whereupon, after I had plunged him about his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open unto them “the right and proper use, service, and excellency of the Scriptures; and also to show, that the Spirit of God, which was given to every one to profit withal—the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; that this, I say, is the most fit, proper, and universal rule, which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives by.”

Another time came a Common-Prayer priest, and some people with him. He asked me, “if I 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.” And 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 a 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; and for the perfecting of whom they had their gifts from Christ; therefore, they that denied perfection, denied the work of the ministry, and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints.” The priest said, “we must always be striving.” But I told him, “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.' 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: and the Devil was forced to confess that 'God had set a hedge about him,' which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible heavenly power.” The priest said, “Job said, 'He chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.'” I told him, “that was his mistake; for it was not Job who said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job.” “Well but,” said the priest, “what say you to that Scripture, 'The justest man that is sinneth 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 29th of the 2nd month, and I was called before the justices. The chairman's name was Street, who 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: that for the trial of my fidelity the oaths were put to me; and having had time to consider of 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 not any 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 thither, and one Friend of Bristol, who came accidentally, or rather providentially, to assist my wife homewards after we were taken) they that were with me were part of my own family, being my wife, her daughter, and her son-in-law. And we did not meet in any way 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 any one be produced, that could truly say he was terrified with our meeting. Besides, I told them, we were but in our journey, the occasion whereof I now related as before. Then as to the oaths, I showed why I could not take them (seeing Christ hath forbidden all swearing), and what I could say or sign in lieu of them, as I had done before.” Yet they caused the oaths to be read to me again, and afterwards read an indictment also, 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, “Nay, for it was a great bundle of lies, which I showed and proved to the judge in several particulars, which I instanced; asking him, if he did not know in his conscience that 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 “nay, I was not guilty of the matter, nor 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 what they should do, and what they should write on the backside of the indictment; and as he said, they did. But before they gave in their verdict, I told them, “that it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and the apostle's command, that I could not swear; and therefore, said I, take heed what ye do, for before his judgment-seat ye shall all be brought.” The judge said, “this is canting.” I said, “If to confess our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called 'canting' by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you: yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity, and my innocency 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 traversed; and then I was asked to put in bail till 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, that I could promise to appear, if the Lord gave health and strength, and I were at liberty. Some of the justices were loving, and would have hindered the rest from indicting me, or putting the oath to me; but Justice Street, who was the chairman, said, “he must go 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 to go at large till next quarter-sessions. These moderate justices, it was said, desired Justice Parker to write to the king for my liberty, or for a *Noli prosequi*, because they were satisfied I was not such a dangerous person as I had been represented. This, it was said, he promised them to do; but he 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 premunire me at Worcester, would needs be tampering again, to bring me before the judges of the King's Bench; whereupon I was brought again by a *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 hath 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 Yea or Nay, let me suffer the same penalty as they that break their oaths.”

George Fox.

But the business being so far proceeded in 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.

Meanwhile the Yearly Meeting of Friends came on, at which (through the liberty granted me till the sessions) I was present, and exceedingly glorious the meetings were beyond expression; blessed be the Lord.

After the Yearly Meeting I set forward for Worcester, the sessions drawing on, which were held in the 5th month. When I was called to the bar, and the indictment read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court, Justice Street, caused the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him, “I came now to try the traverse of my indictment, and that his tendering me the oaths anew, was a new snare.” I desired 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 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 there left the king out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the king and me, seeing 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: and 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 the proper place." I answered, "ye know we are a people that suffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore ye thus use us, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we leave our cause to the Lord." The judge said, "the oath has been tendered 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 desired to know, seeing they put the oath anew to me, whether the indictment was quashed or not? 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 he told them what they should do. I told him, "he should leave the jury to their own consciences." However, the jury, being put on by him, went forth, and soon came in again, and found me guilty. I asked the jury "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 make but little answer; yet one, who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand; but I put him by, saying, "How now Judas, hast thou betrayed me, and dost thou now come with a kiss?" So I bid him and them repent. Then the judge began to tell me, "how favourable 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 in my journey, when travelling upon my lawful occasions, and imprisoned without cause; and now had the oaths put to me only for a snare?" And I desired him to "answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all were, whether this oath was not tendered me in envy?" He would not answer that, but said, "Would you had never come here to trouble us and the country." I told him, "I came not thither 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 of 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 my liberty, and of all my goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during 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 bid the jailer take me away. I expected to be 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 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 generality of the people, were moderate and civil; and John Ashley, a lawyer, was very friendly, both the time before and now, speaking on my behalf, and pleading the errors of the indictment for me; but Justice Street, who was the judge of the court, would not regard, but 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;” and 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 those words, and brought to Worcester to be buried within a few days after. People took notice of the hand of God, how sudden it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his conduct afterwards showed.

After I was returned to prison, several came to see me; and amongst 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 in the indictment in writing.

The sessions being now over, and I fixed in prison by a premunire, my wife came out of the North to be with me; and the assizes coming on, in the 6th month, the state of my case being drawn up in writing, she and Thomas Lower delivered it to Judge Wild. In it were 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 premunired. 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;” and that 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 us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know that we are his. He dwelleth 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 plottings and contrivings against the king, or any man. The Spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness, as lying, theft, murder, adultery, fornication, and all uncleanness, debauchery, malice, hatred, deceit, cozening, 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 works and actions as the magistrates' sword takes hold upon. Our desire and labour are, that all, who profess themselves Christians, may walk in the Spirit of Christ; that they, through the Spirit, may mortify the deeds of the flesh, and by the sword of the Spirit 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 need kings or princes fear any of their subjects; if they all walked 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 much trouble; for it would lead all 'to do unto others, as they would have others to do unto them;' and so the royal law of liberty would be fulfilled. For if all, that are called Christians, did walk in the Spirit of Christ, by it to have the evil spirits and its fruits mortified and 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 magistrates' sword takes hold of, 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 much 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 magistrates' power, and with the righteous law; for the law being added because of transgression, that Spirit that leads out of transgression, must needs be one with that law that 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, is against the law, against the magistrates, and makes them much troublesome work. Now the manifestation of the good Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; 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, Neh. ix., 'The Lord gave them his good Spirit to instruct them, yet they rebelled against it.' But if all people did mind this manifestation of the Spirit, which God hath given to instruct them, it would lead them to forsake all manner of sin and evil, enmity, hatred, malice, and all manner of unrighteousness and ungodliness, and to mortify it. And 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. v. and James v. to keep to Yea and Nay, and 'not to swear at all; neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath, lest we go into evil, and fall into condemnation.' The words of Christ are these, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said by (or to) them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.' These were true and solemn oaths, which they who made, ought to have performed in old time; but these Christ and his apostle 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, as knowing that King Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and set up king of England, etc., over the heads of our old persecutors; and as for the Pope's supremacy, we do utterly deny it. But Christ and the apostle having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to Yea and Nay, we dare not break their commands; and therefore many have put the oaths to us, as a snare, that they might make a prey of us. Our denying to swear is not in wilfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle; and we are content, if we break our Yea and Nay, to suffer the same penalty that they should who break their oaths.

We desire, therefore, that the king would take this into consideration, and 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.”

G. F.

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some Friends began to doubt of my recovery. I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses; yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into 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.”

Endeavours were used to get me released, at least for a time, till I was grown 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; and I was not willing to be released by a pardon, which he would readily have given me, because I did not look upon that way as agreeable with the innocency of my cause. Edward Pitway, a Friend, having occasion to speak with Justice Parker, upon some other business, desired him to give order to the jailer, that, in regard of my weakness, I might have liberty to go out of the jail into the city. Whereupon Justice Parker wrote the following letter to the jailer, and sent it to the Friend to deliver.

“Mr. Harris,

“I have been much importuned by some friends to 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 favour 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 October, 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, whereby they had premunired me; so that I being 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 otherwise than by a pardon;” and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have been freed by a pardon, I need not have lain so long, for the king was willing to give me pardon long before, and told Thomas Moore, “that I need not



scruple 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 have one. For I had rather have lain in prison all my days, than have come out in any way dishonourable to truth; wherefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. And thereupon, having first had the opinion of a counsellor upon it (Thomas Corbet of London, whom Richard Davis of Welchpool was well acquainted with, and recommended to me), an *habeas corpus* was sent down 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 set forward with me the 4th of the 12th Month, there being with us in the coach the clerk of the peace and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now sought to ensnare me in discourse; but I saw, and 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 crown itself." He quarrelled with me for calling their ministers priests. I asked him, "if the law did not call them so?" Then he asked me, "what I thought of the church of England? were there no Christians among them?" I said, "they are called so, and there are many tender people amongst them." We came to London on the 8th, and on the 11th I was brought before the four judges at the King's Bench, where Counsellor Corbet pleaded my cause. He started a new plea; for he told the judges, "that they could not imprison any man upon a premunire." Whereupon 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 make a return sooner." Then said Judge Wild, "Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms; and if it be 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 premunire. The judge said, "there is summons in the statute." "Yes," said Corbet, "but summons is not imprisonment; for summons is in order to 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 till the next day.

The next day they chose rather to let this plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross, that the judges were all of opinion that "the indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to 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 some such reports, but he had also heard many more good reports of me;" and so he and 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 fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors in 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. Counsellor Corbet, who pleaded for me, obtained great fame by it, for many of the lawyers came to him, and told him he had brought that to light which had not been known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a premunire; and after the trial a judge said to him, "You have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court."

During the time of my imprisonment in Worcester, notwithstanding my illness and want of health, and my being so often hurried to and fro to London and back again, I wrote several books for the press; one of 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 love none but ourselves"*. Another entitled, *Our Testimony concerning Christ*. And another little book, *Concerning Swearing*; being the first of those two that were 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 had 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, endeavoured to discourage them from, especially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing of the affairs of the church of Christ.

## CHAPTER VII.

*1675-1677.—George Fox attends the Yearly Meeting, and afterwards sets forward towards the North—attends the Quarterly Meeting at Lancaster, and goes thence to Swarthmore—writes many books and papers for the Truth—the titles of several named—writes to Friends in 'Westmorland to keep in the power of God, and thereby avoid strife—writes an epistle to the Yearly Meeting—makes a collection and arrangement of his various papers and writings, and of the names of divers Friends engaged in particular service, or against the Truth—some meetings for discipline established in the North in 1653—recites his labours and travels for establishing meetings for discipline—a spirit of discord and separation appears in the church—the separatists are rebuked and reprov'd—the establishment of men's and women's meetings is much opposed—a narrative of the spreading of Truth, and of the opposition from the worldly powers—death of Priest Lampitt, a persecutor—George Fox travels again towards the South—writes to his wife from York—finds some slack in their testimony against Tithes—writes an epistle to Friends on the subject—attends the Yearly Meeting—with John Burnyeat, and other Friends, visits Wm. Penn at his house at Worminghurst, in Sussex—sets things in order for visiting Holland—precious meeting.*

Being now at liberty, I visited Friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went, to Kingston. I did not stay long, but 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 whereof had so much influence upon many of them, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief, if they had sat longer. I stayed in and near London till the Yearly Meeting, to which Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond the sea. A glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of

God.

This meeting being over, and the parliament also risen (who had done nothing for or against Friends), I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of Friends there, and had a glorious meeting with some of them at John Elson's in the morning, I set forward with my wife and her daughter Susan, by coach (for I was not able to travel on horseback) towards the North; 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, where, amongst others, came a woman, and brought her daughter, for me to see how well she was; putting me in mind, "that when I was there before, she had brought her to me, much troubled with the disease called the Jung's evil, and had then desired me to pray for her;" which I did, and she grew well upon it, praised be the Lord! From Cossel we went on by John Simcock's and William Gandy's, to Warrington and Preston, and so to Lancaster.

I had not been at Lancaster since I was carried prisoner from thence by the under-sheriff and jailer, towards Scarbro' Castle. I found the town full of people; for it was both the fair time, and the trained bands were met upon a general muster. Many Friends were also in town from several parts of the county, because the Quarterly Meeting was to be there the 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 meddled with us. Here met us Thomas Lower and his wife, Sarah Fell, James Lancaster, and Leonard Fell, Next day after the meeting, being the 25th of the 4th Month, we went over the Sands, with several other Friends, to Swarthmore.

After I had been a while at Swarthmore, several Friends from divers parts of the nation came to visit me, and some out of Scotland; by whom I understood that four young students of Aberdeen were convinced there this year, at a dispute held there by Robert Barclay, and George Keith, with some of the scholars of that university.<sup>124</sup>

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 had, they were commanded by him to break them up; and they were to come the next First-day." That day we had a very precious meeting, the Lord's presence was wonderfully amongst us, and the constables did not come to disturb us. The meetings have been quiet since, and have increased.

The illness I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me, that it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and as many things lay upon me to write, both for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time that I now stayed in the North;

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<sup>124</sup> Some particulars of the controversy here alluded to, may be seen in *Barclay's Works*; also in *Jaffray's Diary*, p. 328-330. The students who were convinced issued a written declaration, stating the grounds of their change, which remains on record.

but when Friends were not with me, spent much time in writing for truth's service. While I was at Swarthmore, I gave several books to be printed. One, Concerning Swearing. Another, showing, "that none are successors to the Prophets and Apostles, but who succeed them in the same power and Holy Ghost that they were in." Another, "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." Also the eight following books, viz.:—

To the Magistrates of Dantzic; Cain against Abel; or, an Answer to the New Englandmen's Laws; To Friends at Nevis, concerning Watching;<sup>125</sup> A General Epistle to all Friends in America; Concerning Casar's due, and God's due, etc.; Concerning the Ordering of Families; The Spiritual Man judgeth all things; Concerning the Higher Power.

Besides these, I wrote several epistles to Friends, both in England, and beyond the seas; and answers to divers papers concerning "the running out of some, who had opposed the order of the gospel, and had stirred up much strife and contention in Westmorland." Wherefore I was moved to write a few lines, particularly to Friends there.

"This is for Friends in Westmorland.

"All live in the power of God, in his Light and Spirit, which first convinced you; that in it ye 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, ye may all be serviceable in your men's and women's meetings, in the possession of the gospel-order; which gospel, the power of God, hath brought life and immortality to light; that in this ye may see over him that hath darkened you. In this power, the glorious gospel, 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 therefore, all Friends in Westmorland, keep in the power of God, which will and must preserve and cover you, if ye be preserved. Let your faith stand in the power of God, and not in the wisdom of men's words, lest ye fall. In God's power ye have peace, life, and unity; and for want of keeping in God's power, and in his righteousness and Holy Ghost, is all this strife come among you."

G. F.

I also wrote the following general epistle to Friends at the Yearly Meeting in London:—

"My Dear Friends And Brethren,

"Whom the Lord hath preserved by his eternal power to this day, over and through many troubles, storms, tempests, and prisons. Let, therefore, every one's faith stand in the power of God, which is over the Devil, and was before him. So your faith standing in the invisible power

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<sup>125</sup> See Selections from the *Epistles of George Fox*, by Samuel Tuke.

of God, 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 it stands in that which is over all, in which they are established. To this the apostle brought the church, the true Christians; and so now the faith of all true Christians, which Christ is the author of, must stand in the power of God, in which the everlasting kingdom stands. As every one's faith stands in the power of God, it keeps all in the power of godliness.

“For as it was in the days of the apostles, when some were crying up Paul and 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 amongst them; for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.' So it is to be now. Every one's faith must stand in the power of God, and not in men, nor in their speeches or good words. For we have seen by experience, when any begin to cry up men, and their faith stands in them, such men as would have people's faith stand in them, love popularity, and bring not people's faith to stand in the power of God. Such cannot exalt Christ; and when such fall, they draw a great company after them. Therefore the apostle would not know such after the flesh, but would know them that were in the power and Spirit; and struck down every one's faith that stood hi the words of man's wisdom, that they might stand in the power of God. So it must be now. They whose faith doth not stand in the power of God, cannot exalt his kingdom that stands in power; therefore every one'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. They, whose faith stands in men, will make sects; as in the days of J. N. and J. P. and others. The faith of such Christ is not the author of; and if he hath been, they have erred from it, and made shipwreck of it. All that 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 every one's eye ought to be to Jesus; and every just man and woman may live by their faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of. By this faith every man and woman may see God, who is invisible; this faith gives the victory, and by it he hath access to God. So every one's faith and hope standing in the power of God, all therein have unity, victory, and access to God's throne of grace; in which faith they please God. By this faith they are saved;—by this faith they obtain the good report, and subdue all the mountains that have been betwixt them and God.

“This power hath preserved Friends over their persecutors, over the wrath of men, and above the spoilings of their goods, and imprisonments; as seeing God who 'created all—who gives the increase of all, and upholds all by his word and power.' Therefore let every one'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, that 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 this 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 unsavoury.

“Adam, whilst 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; but he lost his image, his power and dominion, in which God had created him.

“The Jews received the law of God, and as long as they kept the law, which was just, holy, good, and perfect, it kept them good, just, holy, and savoury; but when they turned their backs on the Lord, and forsook his law, then they came under the power of darkness, under the powers of the earth, and were trodden under as unsavoury.

“So 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 saltness, and their shining. And as Christendom now does confess, they are not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in; so not in the same salt, nor upon the same hill. So they came to be trodden under; and the beast, the whore, and the false prophet are uppermost, the unsavoury. 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, that darkened man; and by this power of God, life and immortality are brought to light again. Therefore every one's faith is to stand in this power, that hath brought life and immortality to light in them, that so all may come to be heirs of the power of God, the gospel. Herein all have a right to the power of God, which is the authority of the men's and women's meetings, and of all other meetings set up thereby.

“Now, 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. They who love to be popular, would have people's faith to stand in them; and such do not preach Christ, but themselves. But such as preach Christ and his gospel, would have every man and woman to be in the possession of it,

and every man and woman's faith to stand in Christ, the author of it, and in the power of God. And as their faith stands in the power of God, nothing can get between them and God; for if any should fall amongst us, as too many have done, that [love of popularity] leads its followers either into the waters, or into the earth.

“If any should go from-the spirit of prophecy, that did open to them, and from the power, they may speak their experiences, which 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 of the manna, drank of the rock, came to Mount Sinai, and saw the glory of the Lord. So also might the false apostles speak of their experiences, and all those false Christians, that turned from the apostles and Christ. And so may those do now, that err from the Spirit, that are come out of Egypt (in spirit) 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 of the outward Egyptians; yet if they do not walk in the Spirit of God, in the light, unft in the grace, which keeps their hearts established, and their words seasoned, and also 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 unsavoury and trodden down; 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 apostle's days, and came to be unsavoury, and to be trodden under foot of men.

“Therefore, let every one'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 Christ Jesus. So all in Christ may be always fresh and green; for he is the green tree that never withers. All are fresh and green that are grafted into and abide in him, bringing 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, and many of the Christians fell from their prophecies, and erred from the faith, the Spirit, and the grace; and the stars have fallen, as was spoken in the Revelations: yet the Spirit, grace, faith, and power of God remain.

“Many such states have I seen within these twenty-eight years; though there is a state that shall never fall, nor be deceived, in the Elect before the world began. These are come to the end of the prophecies, are in Him where they end, and renewed by Christ into the image of God which man was in before he fell,—in that power where he had dominion over all that God made: and not only so, but they 'attain to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,' who never fell. In him is the sitting down in life eternal, where there 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, no quenching of the Spirit, no despising of prophecy either in men or women. For all must meet in the faith that Jesus is the author of, and in the light that comes from Jesus, and be so grafted into the life, that your knowledge may be there one of another, in Christ; and that there may be none slothful, nor sitting down in earthly things, minding them, like Demas of old; lest you 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 ye did not; be married, as if ye were not; and be loose to the world in the Lord's power; for God's oil will be above 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, who 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. The gospel 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 hath 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 the true ministers that preach the gospel, the power of God, must bring people into the possession of it again. I say, whosoever preaches the gospel of Christ and him to people or nations, those people and nations receiving the gospel, receive the power of God, that brings life and immortality to light in them; they see over the devil that hath darkened them, and over the beast, the whore, and her cage. So, by the power of God, life and immortality are 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.

“This is their possession and portion; and they are to labour in their possession and portion, and do God Almighty's business and service in the possession of the power of God, the gospel, which is a joyful, glorious, everlasting order. And 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 all have fellowship, a joyful fellowship, a joyful and comfortable assembly. This is the day when, in the eternal light, all are to take their possession of the gospel and its order, that power of God, which they are heirs of. 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, and are in the possession of, this gospel, the power of God, have all 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 in this gospel, the power of God, 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, by the life, and immortality, which are brought to light in them.

“The devil, the author of enmity, cannot get into this authority, power, order, nor fellowship of the gospel; nor into this life, light, nor unity of the faith, which gives victory over him that hath separated man from God. Into the unity of this faith the serpent cannot come, nor into the worship of God in Spirit and truth can the devil come, or any enmity. And they that are in this, are in unity over him. Therefore, let every one's faith stand in the power of God, the glorious gospel; and let all walk as becomes the gospel, and the order of it. As every one hath 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 may come to be heirs of the gospel, and into the possession of it; and to be heirs of Christ and of his government, of 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, which is the authority of your meetings; know one another in Christ Jesus, who is able to restore man out of the state of the fall, into the image of God, into that power and dominion that man had before he fell, and into Himself, that never fell, whence they shall go no more 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 vain disputes and janglings, both amongst yourselves and others; for that many times 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, that were amongst the Christians, about genealogies, circumcision, and 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 the apostles exhorted the churches, that every one'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 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; one faith in this head, Christ, who is the author of it, and hath the glory of it; one Lord to order all, who is the baptiser into this one body. So Christ hath the glory of this faith out of every man and woman; and God through him hath his glory, the Creator of all in his power, the gospel that hath 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 that have long been labourers, 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 those passages and sufferings which the Lord hath carried you through by his power, and how by Him ye have been supported from the first; that the Lord may be exalted by his power now, and in ages to come, who hath been the only support, defence, 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 for ever; who is the life, and strength, and health, and length of days of all his people. Therefore let there be no boasting, but in the Lord, and in his power and kingdom; this keeps all in humility.

“And, Friends, in the Lord's power and truth, what good yon can do for Friends in prison, or sufferers, by informing or helping them, every one 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 condition, in bonds, or in what trials and tribulations soever; you will have a fellow-feeling one of another, having one head, one Lord, and being one body in him. For God's heavenly flail hath brought out his seed, his heavenly plough hath turned up the fallow ground, and 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 this life; and such in the world without end will have life eternal. O, therefore, all keep wit bin; let your lights shine, and your lamps burn, that you all 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 the end everlasting life.

“The Lord God of power preserve you all in his power. Let your faith stand therein, that you may have unity in the faith, and in the power; and by this faith and belief you may be all grafted into Christ, the sure root, 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, and plants, and buds, that they may always be kept fresh and green, and never wither; bringing forth fresh and green, and living fruit, which is offered up to the living God, who is glorified in that 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 therein 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 him, so that with it they may come to know the Lord 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, and his light must go over darkness, and the power of God must go over the power of Satan.

“So, all ye 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 in the earth: a blessed reconciliation! Let every one'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, life, and power, are as the husk without the kernel, and do not nourish the immortal soul, nor the new-born babe; but that by which it is nourished, is the milk of the Word, whereby it groweth 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 passeth knowledge, and edifieth the living members of the body of Christ; which love of God come to be built up in, and in the holy faith. This love of God will bring you to bear all things, endure all things, and hope all things. From this love of God 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 spoiling of goods, neither 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 love of God 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.”

G. F.

“All Friends sit low in the life, the Lord's power. Keep your place in it, till the Lord and Master of the feast bid you 'sit higher lest you take the highest place, and be put down with shame. He that hath au car, let him hear.”

G. F.

“Friends, take heed of speaking the things of God in the words that men's wisdom hath taught; for those words will lift up the foolish, that have erred from the Spirit of God; which words and wisdom are for condemnation, and that which is lifted up by them, and they that thereby 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 desire 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 the world made any.

“This joyful order keeps all hearts pure to God, in everlasting peace, unity, and order; feel it, and keep the order of 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 of love and peace. So keep in this, that keeps you always pure; what men and women act in this, they act in that which will stand when the world is gone.

“There hath been some scruple 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 therein. Every one take care of God's honour, and keep all things in righteousness, in holiness which becomes God's house, and in that which honours the Lord God. It eased me, when those meetings were set up; for men and women, that are heirs of the gospel, have right to the gospel order; and it belongs to them. Then take your possessions, and practise in it; be not talkers only, but live and walk in the gospel, the power of God, which is the authority of your meetings.”

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 28th of the 2nd Mouth, 1676.

[Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, the 17th of the 3rd Month, 1676.]

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 of the several papers that I had written to O. Cromwell, and his son Richard, in the time of their protectorships; and to the parliaments and magistrates that were in their times. I collected also the papers I had written to King Charles II. 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 divers governors of places, judges, justices, parliament-men, and others, for the clearing of me from many slanders, which the envious priests and professors, both here and beyond the seas, had cast upon me. This I did for the truth's sake, as knowing that their design in slandering me, was to defame the truth published by me, and hinder the spreading thereof amongst 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 of 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 that went first to preach the gospel in other nations, countries, and places, in what years, and to what 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 significations; 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 at several times since the first breaking forth of truth in this latter age, and what became of them; noting particularly the repentance and return of such of them as came back to truth again. Some ran quite out, and never returned, but were cut off in their gainsaying and rebellion; for the word and power of God hath blasted and is blasting them, and the holy seed hath ground, and is grinding them to pieces. I have observed, that they 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 amongst Friends in

the truth, and to others. In these I have seen fulfilled what the Lord did long since show me, “that such should be greater deceivers than all the priests and professors.” For such as came as far as Cain, Balaam, Korah, and Dathan, and 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, 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 did sacrifice to God, and did talk 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 like manner, though they who are called Christians, can talk of Christ, and use his and his apostles' and disciples' words, yet not abiding in the truth, and power, and Spirit, that 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 abode in the light, and in the Spirit and power of Christ Jesus; but have turned against the power, and have opposed the work thereof; 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 must own their condemnation if ever they come to truth again. For to resist the heavenly power, and to oppose the workings and divine manifestations thereof through any, is not a light matter.

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 came not) 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 1653.

After this also, 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 of women's meetings also; 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 labour in God's vineyard, they being his hired servants, and he having given them the earnest of his Spirit. For a master that hires a servant, and gives him the earnest of his hire, expects he should 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 earnest of his Spirit, ought to labour with, by, and in his Spirit, power, and 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 labour in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and Spirit of Christ; which it hath been, and is, my travail and labour in the

Lord to turn all to.

Some that professed truth, and had made a great show therein, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into jangling, division, and a spirit of separation, endeavoured 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, for the discovering of that spirit, by which those opposers acted, its work and way, by which it wrought, 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 ye have life. That spirit that comes amongst 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 that follow that spirit, are none of Wisdom's children. There is a spirit that hath made a separation, and has been against men's and women's meetings; yet those of this spirit have set up one of their own, to which they have given power, and allow none to sit amongst them but such as they give power to, looking upon others as usurpers of authority. This spirit and its work is not of God, though it has made a jumble amongst some; and the path it may travel in, is through the earthly affections, amongst the unestablished, or apostates. But all that are in the life, Spirit, and light, in the grace, truth, and power of God, bar 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 you that are heirs of the kingdom, keep in your possession of it.

“Some of this spirit have said to me, 'they see no service in women's meetings.' My answer is, and hath been to such, if they be blind and without sight, they should not oppose others; for none impose anything 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 them; and all such keep the order of the gospel, the power of God, and their meetings therein, which preserves 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 meet-helps in this power, which is the authority of their meetings. Now I say to all of you, that are against women's meetings or the men's, and say, 'you see no service for the women's meetings,' and oppose them, you are therein out of the power of God, and his Spirit you live not in. 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 so they in his Spirit see now 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 meet-helps 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 much more are they to offer their spiritual sacrifices; for they are all called, both men and women, a royal priesthood; they are of the household of faith; they are the living stones that make up the spiritual building, which Christ is the head of; and are to be encouraged in their labour in the gospel; for all things that they do, both men and women, are to be done in the power of God. All such as see no service for these women's meetings, or the men's, but oppose them, and make strife amongst Friends, are in the spirit of the world, that is against, and forbids our other meetings;—are in the same spirit of the world, that hath been, and is against women's speaking in meetings, and say, 'they must be silent,' etc., though the same apostle commands, 'that men should keep silence as well as the women,' if there were not an interpreter. Therefore, you may see that the spirit of the world hath entered such opposers, though they come under another colour; for they would not have us to meet at all. And these are against the women's meetings, and some of them against the men's also, and say, 'they see no service for them;' then they may hold their tongues, and not oppose them that 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 ye 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 all one in the ground, and would bring you into bondage. Such are out of the peaceable gospel, who oppose its order; 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 so it would get over you. One while it will tell you, 'it sees no service for your meetings,' and another time oppose 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, that ye may stand up for your liberty in Christ Jesus, males and females, heirs of him and of his gospel, and his order. Stand up for your liberty in the gospel, and in the faith, which Christ Jesus hath been the author of; for if ye lose it, and let another spirit get over you, ye will not soon regain it. I knew the devil 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, therein to walk, and to watch one over another, to take care of God's glory and honour, and his precious truth; and to see that all walk in the truth, and as becomes the gospel, and that nothing be lacking; and so to exhort all whatsoever is decent, modest, virtuous, lovely, comely, righteous, and of good report, to follow after; to admonish all that are not faithful, and to rebuke all that do evil. I knew this would give such a check to all loose speakers, talkers, and walkers, that there would be an opposition against such meetings. But never heed, 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 ye have peace. I say all that 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 take them 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; and 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. And therefore, all keep your habitation in the truth, and therein ye may see what has become 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 therein they sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the Amen."

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 8th Month, 1676.

*Narrative of the spreading of Truth, and of the opposition thereto.*

"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 Westmorland 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 spoiling of goods, 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 afterwards withstood and outlasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660, that the king came in.

"Friends never feared their acts, prisons, jails, houses of correction, banishment, nor spoiling of goods, nay, nor the loss of life itself; nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw in the event it would be productive of good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, but 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 anywhere to be found but in jails.'

“And after the king came in, divers 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 desired 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 and destroying one another; for they destroyed the creation and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health, nor honour, 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,

“O! the number of sufferers in the Commonwealth's and Oliver Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were haled 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 pretence of breaking the Sabbath; and to meetings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meetings and on the highways.

“O! how great were the sufferings we then sustained upon these accounts! for sometimes they would drive Friends by droves into the prison-houses like penfolds, confine them on the First-days, 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 copyholds and customary tenements, 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 lay long in prison for not putting off their hats, which fines Friends could never pay, though they kept them in prison till they had satisfied their own wills, and at last turned them out, after keeping them a year or more in prison.

“Many books I gave forth 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 ye have received, freely give.' So all who do not obey the doctrine and command of Christ therein, we cannot receive them.

“I was also moved to give forth several books against swearing, and that our Yea and Nay might

be taken instead of an oath, which, if we broke, 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 parliament-men in England have acknowledged the reasonableness thereof. The magistrates, after some time, when they saw our faithfulness in Yea and Nay, they who were moderate, both before and since the king came in, would put Friends into offices without an oath; but the cruel and envious would fine Friends to get money off them, though they could not pay them any.

“Thus the Lord's power hath carried us through all, and over all, to his everlasting glory and praise; for God's power hath 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' bag, to preach the Word of life, which was in the beginning before they were; which 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.'

“By reason whereof eighty-nine have suffered till death; thirty-two of whom 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, etc., 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 divers laws were designed against us, yet never could any of them justly touch us, being wrested and misapplied in their execution by our adversaries, which some have been made to confess. All those laws that were made, and the oath which they imprisoned us for, 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 spoiling of goods 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, the devil himself could not; for if he did imprison them, and break up their meetings, they would meet again; and if he should beat them or knock them down, or kill some of them, all was one, they would meet, and not resist again.' Thus the Lord's power supported and kept 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, banishments, faithful Friends are as fresh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant for his name and truth.

“Some weak ones there were, when the king came in, who took the oath; but after they had so done, they were sore troubled for disobeying the command of Christ and the apostle, and went to the magistrates, condemned themselves, and offered to go to prison.

“Thus the Lord, in his everlasting power, hath 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.

In 1676, while I was at Swarthmore, died William Lampitt, the old priest of Ulverstone (which parish Swarthmore is in). He was an old deceiver, a 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 1652 he prophesied (and said he would wage his life upon it), “that the Quakers would all vanish, and come to nought within half a year:” but he came to nought himself. For he continued in his lying and false accusing of God's people, till a little before he died, and then he cried for a little rest. To one of his hearers that 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 had been so hard a thing to die.”

After I had finished the services which lay upon me then to do, feeling my spirit drawn again towards the south (though I was yet but weakly, and not able to travel far in a day), I left Swarthmore the 26th of the 1st Month, 1677, and went to Thomas Pearson's at Poobank, in Westmorland, where I had a meeting the next day; and thence to Thomas Camm's,<sup>126</sup> at Cam'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 next day, which was very large, and in which I was largely drawn forth in testimony to the truth. I had much discourse with some of that meeting, who were not in unity with the quarterly meeting they belonged to; but afterwards several of them that were somewhat tender, came to see their error, and gave forth condemnations against themselves. Next day John Blakelin came to Thomas Camm's, to

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<sup>126</sup> Thomas Camm, of Camsgill, in Westmorland, was born in 1641, and had a good education. He was from childhood inclined to be religious, was early convinced of Friends' principles, and after some time called to the work of the ministry. He counted nothing too near or dear to part with for truth's sake, but left all to follow the Lord, and, with his whole strength and substance, was given up to serve him. He was an able preacher, diligent and laborious in the work of the Lord, and instrumental to convince and establish many in the way of truth. His doctrine was sound, and his delivery in the demonstration of that Divine power which reached the witness of God in the hearts of his hearers.

Great and many were the sufferings he met with and went through, as, imprisonments, spoiling of goods, mockings and scoffings from those without, and suffering among false brethren; in all which, he stood firm and faithful, approving himself a true follower of Jesus Christ, suffering joyfully for his name's sake, who had counted him worthy not only to believe, but suffer for him. During an illness of some continuance, many were the weighty expressions that fell from him, often magnifying the Lord to the tendering of all hearts present. When grown very weak, being asked how he felt, he would say, “Weak of body, but strong in the Lord;” saying also, “In Abraham's bosom there is sweet repose.” Seeming to be faint, a friend gave him a little wine, thinking it might refresh him, but his stomach could not bear it; then looking at him he said, “Thou seest these things will not do; but one cup of new wine in the heavenly kingdom, with my dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, will make up oil.”—for further particulars, see *Piety Promoted*, vol ii., p. 101-108.

bring me to his house at Drawell in Sedbebbgh, whither I went with him, visiting Friends in 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 there, which were very large and precious. The First-day following I had a meeting at Bigflats, to which came most of the Friends from the several meetings round about, and a great concourse of others also; it was thought there were five or six hundred people. A very good meeting it was, wherein truth was largely declared and precious opened, to the comforting and refreshing of the faithful, and the drawing near of them that were afar off. I had another meeting at John Blakelin's, at which were many Friends that were going to the quarterly meeting at Kendal. With them my wife went back, who, with her daughter Rachel, had accompanied me thus far; and I, having Leonard Fell with me, passed on through Sedbergh and Garsdale, into Wensleydale, 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 over the hills to the widow Tenant's at Scarhouse, in Langstroth-Dale, which we had much difficulty to reach, the snow lay so deep, though it was a week in the 2nd Month. Here, on First-day, we had a large meeting, Friends coming to it from several parts round about; and the Lord gave me a very seasonable testimony to bear amongst them, which I did for several hours, to their great satisfaction and comfort. Thence passing through Bishopdale, Middleham, Barton, and so by Bedale and Northallerton, I came to George Robinson's at Burrowby; where also Friends coming out of several parts, we had a very large and good meeting, and very peaceable. But not long after, an envious justice, who lived not far off, hearing that 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 knew not 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 thereby to draw out some of the Friends to contradict him, and say, "that I had spoken in the meeting;" that so he might convict them upon their own confession, and fine 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 came out of Ireland, and were at this meeting, having another that evening about three miles off, this evil-minded justice got information thereof, and fined Friends, and plundered them very sorely for it.

I went from Burrowby to Isaac Lindley's, calling upon Friends as I went. Robert Lodge and other Friends being with me, we passed next day to York, and the day following, being First-day, I was at Friends' meeting there, which was large and peaceable. Second day also I stayed in York, and had two meetings with Friends at John Taylor's;<sup>127</sup> whence I wrote to my wife, as follows:—

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<sup>127</sup> John Taylor was an able minister amongst the early Friends, but a very brief account is preserved of his religious labours. He was born in Huntingdonshire (?) about the year 1638. He embarked on a gospel mission to America in 1660, being then only in the twenty-second year of his age. How long he was occupied there is not stated, but his religious Trusting to the never-failing arm of Divine guidance and protection, he travelled alone among the Indian tribes, and "had meetings in the woods and wilderness, to declare the truth to them," as he remarks, "and to turn them from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus in their own hearts." By these untutored sons of the forest the stripling preacher was "received with kindness," and in their wigwams he became a welcome guest, "They heard me soberly," he says, "and confessed to the truth I spoke, by an interpreter; and they were loving and kind afterwards to Friends."

“Dear Heart,

“To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and to all Friends that inquire after me. My desires are, that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting Seed, in whom ye 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 in the way. The road was many times deep and bad with snow, 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 there was a very large meeting, and another at Burrowby, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Durham; and many other meetings we have had. At York, yesterday, we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, Friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and well satisfied: O! the glory of the Lord shone over all. This day we have had a large men's and women's meeting, many Friends, both men and women, being come out of the country, and all was quiet; and 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<sup>128</sup> and others; Friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element, and holy work in the Lord, glory to his name for ever! To-morrow 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 with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide, ye will have refreshment of life, that by it ye 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 yon, I commit you all to his ordering.”

G. F.

York, the 16th of the 2nd Month, 1677.

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On his return from America, John Taylor, being on gospel service in London, was taken from a meeting and committed to prison. He visited America a second time, and resided some time in Jamaica, also in Barbadoes, where he became a merchant, but finally returned to England, and settled at York as a sugar-refiner. After which, he was also largely engaged in the ministry in different parts of the nation, and died in 1708, aged about seventy, a minister about fifty years.

John Taylor is described by a contemporary as “an able minister of the New Testament; in the publishing of which, the Spirit of God and of glory rested upon him, to the comforting and true refreshment of the churches, where the Lord ordered him, or his lot was cast.” services were not confined to the English settlers.

- 128 Robert Lodge, mentioned before, was of Masham, in Yorkshire, born about the year 1636. He was religiously inclined from his youth, was convinced about 1658, and became a valiant gospel minister. He was very serviceable in gathering many out of the ways of the world, into the way of life, travelling up and down in the service of his Lord, enduring many trials, exercises, and imprisonments, for his sake. John Whiting says of him, “He was an excellent minister; he had a fine refreshing testimony, and an extraordinary gift in prayer. He was instrumental to turn many to righteousness, and to build them up in the most holy faith. His testimony reached to the witness of God in the consciences of many; and was a consolation to the watering and refreshing many weary souls. He kept his first love and habitation in the truth to the last; and, towards his latter end, laboured much with and for the young generation, that they might come up in the footsteps of those who were gone before. He was a man of a sweet disposition, and left a good savour behind him. Much might be said of him, but I refer to the *Several Living Testimonies given forth by divers Friends concerning him, and his Faithful Labours and Travels*, printed in 1691.”

Leaving York, I visited Friends at Tadcaster, Knottingley, Doncaster, and Balby, having meetings as I went. At Balby I stayed the First-day meeting, and went next day to Thomas Stacy's at Ballowfield, where in the evening I had a meeting, to compose 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 first breaking forth of truth. Here I had a good meeting with Friends, and afterwards passed to Skegby in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to Nottingham, to John Reckless's. I had a meeting with Friends at his house that evening, and another next day in Friends' public meeting-house, which was peaceable and well.

I went the day following to John Fox's at Wimeswold 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 it, and heard the truth declared gladly. Next day I went to Leicester, where finding many Friends 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's house at Knighton, about a mile from Leicester. Next day I passed to Swannington, and had a meeting there; thence to Samuel Fretwell's at Hartshorn in Derbyshire, where I had a meeting also; then to Henry Sidon's, at Badgley in Warwickshire, and stayed the meeting there, which, it being First-day, was very large and peaceable, notwithstanding a justice had threatened to come and break it up. Having stayed a while with Friends, 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 divers places, till I came to Dingley, where a meeting was appointed before, which was very large, and truth was largely opened to the people. It was peaceable and quiet, and the people generally sober; saving that while I was showing how Christendom (so called) was gone from the pure religion that is undefiled, etc., one 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 Edward 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 Turvey in Bedfordshire, to which Friends came from several parts; so that it was very large. Here I met with William Dewsbury, who after the meeting took me to his son-in-law John Bush's of Kempston, where I stayed with William that night and most of next day, passing thence towards 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 day following Leonard Fell<sup>129</sup> and I had a meeting at Kensworth, which was pretty large and peaceable. After it we

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129 The above is the last mention of Leonard Fell, whose name has frequently occurred in the progress of this Journal. Very little is known of him but that he was a faithful minister amongst the early Friends. I feel inclined to insert an anecdote respecting him, as an instance among others that might be adduced, of the carrying out of the non-resistant principle. The conduct of several "Friends" who, having "fallen among thieves," were, of course, precluded from retaliating violence, even in their own defence, affords an exemplification of this feature in the Christian character.

went to Alban's, where we visited Friends; and next day passing through South Mims and Barnet, where also we visited Friends, we came that night to widow Hayley's at GuttersHedge in Hendon, in Middlesex. Next day, being First-day, we had a very large meeting there, several Friends coming from London. I stayed there Second-day, and on 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 were set over all, blessed be his name for ever!

Thus it pleased the Lord to bring me safe to London, though much wearied, for though I rode not very far in a day, yet through weakness of body, continual travelling was hard to me. Besides, I had not much rest at night to refresh nature; for I often sat up late with Friends, where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting; and when in bed, I was often hindered of sleep by great pains in my head and teeth, occasioned, as I thought, from cold 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 the truth, in keeping up the ancient testimony against tithes; for wherever that spirit got entrance, which wrought division in the church, and opposed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened those that received it in their testimony against tithes. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to issue a short "Epistle to Friends," to stir up the pure mind, and to encourage and strengthen them in their Christian testimony against that antichristian yoke and oppression:—

"My Dear Friends,

"Be faithful to the Lord in your testimony for Jesus, who ended the Levitical priesthood of Aaron, that took tithes, and sent his ministers forth freely, 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 that 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 these tithes, which have been set up by man, in the dark time of Popery, and not by God or

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Leonard Fell, when travelling alone, was attacked by a highwayman, who demanded his money, which he gave him; then he desired to have his horse; Leonard dismounted and let him take it. Then feeling the power of truth rise in his mind, he turned to the robber, and, under its authority, solemnly warned him of the evil of his ways; but he flying into a passion, asked the Friend why he preached to him, and threatened to blow out his brains. But Leonard replying to this effect, "Though I would not give my life for my money or my horse, I would give it to save thy soul," so struck the astonished robber, that he declared, if he was such a man as that, he would take neither his money nor his horse from him; and, returning both to the faithful Friend, went his way, leaving Leonard to the enjoyment of that peace, attending the honest discharge of his conscience, to obtain which he had not counted his life dear.

The courage and presence of mind exhibited by the true soldier of Jesus Christ, when permitted, in the course of Divine Providence, to be cast into straits and trying situations, is often conspicuous. He not only knows the strength of that preserving arm, which rules or overrules all circumstances for the good of those that are faithful, he not only is furnished for all occasions, and "out of weakness is made strong," so as even to "stop the mouths of lions," and "quench the violence of fire" (Heb. xi.), but is abundantly furnished with resignation to submit unto the Lord in all things; and, with one who was "in perils of robbers," and "in deaths oft," he can say, "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." (Rom. xiv. 8).

Christ. Now to cry against the priests in words, and yet to give them means, and put into their mouths, that they may not prepare war against you, is a contradiction. Therefore take heed; for if the Lord bless you with outward creatures, and you bestow them upon Baal's priests, he may justly require the outward things from you again, which he hath given you: who saith, 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 tithe, 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 tithe-mongers. Consider how many faithful servants and valiants of the Lord, have laid down their lives against them, in this day of the Lord; and in the days of the martyrs they did witness against them. Consider also what judgments have come upon those that spoiled Friends' goods, 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, lest 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, ye will receive from the Son of Peace, that peace which the beast, and the whore, and the world, with all their earthly teachers for the earth, made by man, cannot receive, nor bereave you of. Therefore keep your authority and dominion in the power, Spirit, and name of Jesus, in whom my love is to you.'

G. F.

3rd Month, 1677.

I came to London on the 23rd of the 3rd Month, ten or twelve days before the Yearly Meeting, in which time I fell in with Friends there in the service of truth, visiting them at the meetings. The parliament then sitting, we prepared something to lay before them, concerning the seizing of the third part of Friends' estates, as Popish recusants, which was a great suffering, and a grievance we complained of; but we obtained no redress.

To the Yearly Meeting many Friends came from most parts of the nation; and some out of Scotland, Holland, etc., and very glorious meetings we had, wherein 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 down with William Penn<sup>130</sup> to his house in

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130 A close intimacy existed between William Penn and George Fox, which enabled the former to indite so admirable an introduction to these volumes. The name of William Penn occurs frequently in these pages. Scarcely any name is more generally known or respected by those of other religious persuasions than his; indeed, so familiar are most readers with his history, that it would be superfluous to enter into much relating to him.

It may suffice briefly to state that his birth and education were both good; he being the son of Admiral Penn, who was knighted by Charles II; and became a great favourite with the Duke of York, afterwards James II. William, his son, was born at London in 1644. He imbibed religious impressions as early as his twelfth year. In his fifteenth year he entered a student at Christ church, Oxford. On his return home he exhibited a religious seriousness and manner of deportment, which (as likely to stand in the way of his worldly preferment) was so displeasing to his father that he turned him out of doors.

Ultimately he joined the despised Quakers, a step which highly displeased his father the Admiral; but he became quite



Sussex; John Burnyeat and some other Friends being with us. As we passed through Surrey, hearing the quarterly meeting was that day, William Penn, John Burnyeat, 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 Burnyeat and I answered a very envious and wicked book, which Roger Williams, a priest of New England (or some colony thereabouts) 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-away had been exceedingly plundered about two months before on the priest's account; for they took from Stephen Smith five kine (being all he had) for about fifty shillings' tithes. Thence 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. Wherefore setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of Friends at London; and with several other Friends went down to Colchester, in order to 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 one, but not so public, at John Furly's house, where I lodged. The day following I was at the women's meeting there, which also was very large. Thence next day we passed to Harwich, where Robert Duncan, and several other Friends out of the country, came to see us; and some from London came to us there, that intended to go over with me. The packet in which we were to go not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, by his overcoming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare his everlasting truth, and to praise and glorify him.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*1677.—George Fox sails for Holland, with several other Friends, and lands at Briel—attends the Quarterly Meeting at Amsterdam—writes an epistle to Friends against the spirit of separation—writes to the Princess Elizabeth—her answer—a Monthly Meeting is established at Frederickstadt—Friends are imprisoned and banished from Embden, and suffer greatly—a Monthly Meeting settled at Harlingen—a priest assents to the doctrine promulgated by George Fox—he is questioned for it by his*

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reconciled to him before his death. Penn continued to advance in religious growth, became a minister amongst the Quakers, and a considerable writer in defence of their principles, suffering persecution and imprisonment in consequence. It was whilst he was imprisoned in the Tower that he wrote that excellent work, *No Cross, No Crown*.

The persecution of Dissenters continuing to rage in England, notwithstanding their repeated applications to parliament for sufferance and protection, William Penn turned his thoughts towards a settlement in the New World, as a place where himself and his friends might enjoy their religious opinions without molestation, and where an example might be set to the nations of a just and righteous government. He therefore, in 1681, obtained a patent from Charles II., for a province in North America, in consideration of his father's services, and of a debt still due to him from the crown. He founded the colony of Pennsylvania, and watched it with a paternal eye till his death in 1718. Its prosperity is a lasting monument of his wisdom as a politician and a legislator. For further particulars, the reader is referred to Clarkson's *Life of William Penn*, a cheap edition of which has recently been published by Bradshaw and Blacklock, Manchester. It is a highly interesting work, well worthy of perusal.

*hearers—George Fox writes an epistle to Friends respecting the seducing spirit—he writes an epistle of encouragement to Friends under suffering at Dantzic—and again to Friends respecting the spirit of separation—spends considerable time at Amsterdam in writing on Truth's account—a warning to the magistrates and people of Oldenburg—an epistle concerning fasts, prayers, honour, persecution, true liberty, and the observance of days and times—a warning to the magistrates, priests, and people of Hamburg—to the ambassadors met to effect a treaty of peace in the city of Nimeguen—completes his travels in Holland—writes a book addressed to the Jews.*

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After the meeting at Harwich we returned to John Vandewall's, where I had lodged; and when the boat was ready, taking leave of Friends, we that were bound for Holland, went on board about nine in the evening, on 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 one in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair brisk wind, which by next morning brought us within sight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm we got forward little, till about four in the afternoon, when a fresh gale arose, which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed again, we cast anchor for that night, it being between the hours of nine and ten in the evening: but William Penn and Robert Barclay, understanding that Benjamin Furly was 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 without the gates, they lay in a fisherman'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, that were come thither to receive us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it, that 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 boat, with the Holland Friends, for Rotterdam, where we arrived about eleven that day, the 28th of the Month. I was very well this voyage, but some of the Friends were sea-sick. A fine passage we had, and all came safe and well to land; blessed and praised be the name of the Lord for ever!

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, a Friend of Amsterdam, interpreted, when any Friend declared. I spent the next day in visiting Friends there. The day following, William Penn and I, with other Friends, went towards Amsterdam with some Friends of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither. We took 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 is six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen English miles, and five hours' sail or travelling; for our boat was drawn by a horse that went on the shore. Next day taking boat

again, we went to Haarlem, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large; for 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 it we passed to Amsterdam, accompanied by several Friends of that city and of Alkmaar.

Next day was the quarterly meeting at Amsterdam, to which came Friends from Haarlem and Rotterdam, and with them those of our company, whom we had left at Rotterdam, viz.: Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, etc. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieson's house. A very large and serviceable one it was; for both 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, unto whom the way of life and salvation was largely and livingly opened; which they hearkened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the same place, but less, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of Friends only, wherein by joint agreement were settled several meetings; to wit, monthly, quarterly, and a yearly meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Frederickstadt, Dantzic, and other places in and about Germany; which Friends were 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 hath had since the beginning; and they will wither, as others have done; but all that keep in the Seed, which is always green, shall never wither; as Friends have been to this day kept. And if any have backslidden, and thrown off the cross, are grown loose and full, and are gone into strife and contention with their earthly spirits, and therein plead for liberty, this spirit taketh 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 alive, and may live again with the living. Upon this admonition, their spirits rise into contention, 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 it which doth deceive; but it is judged by that which doth undeceive and save.”

G. F.

Amsterdam in Holland, the 5th of the 6th Month, 1677.

This being First-day, we had a very large meeting again, there coming to it a great concourse of people of different opinions, as Baptists, Seekers, Socinians, Brownists, and some of the collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn, and I, declared the everlasting truth among them; opening the state of man in the fall, and showing by what way man and woman may come into the restoration by Christ Jesus. Indeed, 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 travelled 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 thy tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth, by some Friends that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters, which I have seen: it is indeed a great thing for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth; seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness, 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 it is not many mighty, nor 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. This wisdom is above that which is below; that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, by which men destroy one another, yea, about their religions, ways, worships, and churches; but this they have not from God nor 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: and by this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it to order all things to God's glory. This is the wisdom that is justified of her children. In this fear of God and this wisdom, my desire is, that thou mayest be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach his people himself, and to set up his ensign, that the nations may flow unto it. There hath 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 have people set up so many leaders without them, to give them knowledge; and also from the holy and precious faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of; which purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which 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 them that 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 unction in them again from the Holy One, by which they shall know all things, and shall not need any man to teach them, but as the anointing doth teach them; and also to know, what the righteousness of faith speaks, the Word nigh in 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 which it 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, and to receive faith from him, and not from men; to receive the gospel from him, their unction 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, in his Son Jesus Christ, is 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 the Speaker and Teacher, as Heb. i. 1; and from all the world's worshippers, to worship God in the Spirit and in the truth, which worship Christ set up above 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; 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; 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; Thess. i. 1, and to bring to the unity and fellowship in the Holy Spirit, that doth mortify, circumcise, and baptize, to plunge down sin and corruption, that has got up in man and woman by transgression. In this Holy Spirit there is a holy fellowship and unity: yea, it is the bond of the Prince of princes, and 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 are on heaps about those Scriptures, because they are not led by the same Holy Ghost as those were that gave forth 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, of Christ, and of 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 that name his name are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name with reverence, in

truth and righteousness. O therefore, feel the grace and truth in thy heart, that is come by Jesus Christ, that will teach thee how to live, and what to deny. It will establish thy heart, season thy words, and bring thy salvation; it will be a teacher unto thee at all times. By it thou mayest 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; if sons, then heirs of a life, a world, and kingdom, without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, who tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head, who is between man and God, that through Christ man may come to God again, and praise him through Jesus Christ, the Amen; who is the spiritual and 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 hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife, to visit thee.”

G. F.

*The Princess Elizabeth's Answer.*

“Dear Friend,

“I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and 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 been both 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, Hertford, the 30th of August, 1677.

“Elizabeth.”<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Elizabeth, Princess of the Rhine, was the eldest daughter of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, and king of Bohemia—her mother being a daughter of king James I. of England. This excellent princess is spoken of as a woman of great amiability and religious character. She possessed only a small territory; but she governed with great judgment, and attention to the happiness of her subjects. She made it a rule to hear, one day in the week, all such causes as were brought before her. On these occasions, her wisdom, justice, and moderation were very conspicuous. She frequently remitted forfeitures, in cases where the parties were poor, or in any respect worthy of favour. It was remarkable that she often introduced religious considerations, as motives to persuade the contending parties to harmony and peace. She was greatly beloved and respected by her subjects; and also by many persons of learning and virtue not resident in her dominions; for she patronised men of this character, whatever their country or their religious profession.

The respect in which this exemplary Christian held Friends and their principles, was unreservedly expressed in her letters to individuals connected with the English court; and her good offices were more than once exerted to preserve this persecuted people from the penalties of those laws which interdicted the exercise of public worship in conventicles, as all meeting-houses were then denominated. William Penn and Robert Barclay paid her two visits. She received them with great openness, and was much affected by the interview which, on the second visit, took place, as is related by William Penn. They went from Amsterdam to Herwerden, the residence of the Princess and of her intimate acquaint-

Next day John Claus and I took a boat and passed to Buyckslote, thence to Purmerent, where having refreshed ourselves, we went by waggon to Alkmaar, about thirty miles from Amsterdam. We went to a Friend's house there, whose name was Willem Willems, where I had a meeting that night. I had another next day, which was larger; for several professors came, and all was quiet and well. After the meeting, I visited some Friends; and then, taking boat, passed to Hoorn, which is counted the chief city in North Holland. We lodged at an inn; and, taking waggon early next morning, passed to Enckhuysen, where we took ship for Friesland; and landing in the afternoon at Workum, took waggon and rode upon the high bank of the Friezen Seas, till we met two Friends coming with a waggon to meet us; with whom (discharging our wagon at Mackum, a village hard by) we went to Harlingen, the chief seaport town in Friesland. We went to Hessel Jacobs', whither several Friends came to visit us that night. Next day we visited the Friends of the place; and I wrote a paper, "To all them that 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 amongst them, John Claus interpreting. They were all very civil, and heard attentively; and when it was done, departed peaceably, without making any opposition. After meeting I went to Hessel Jacobs' again, whither after a while 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 discourse with me, who seemed well satisfied also, and we parted lovingly. That evening I had another meeting with the Friends there, and next morning, when we had taken our leave of them, we passed to Leeuwarden, the chief city in Friesland, and lodged that night at a Friend's house there, whose name was Sybrand Doves.

Next morning early, taking boat, we passed to Dockum, and walking through the city, took boat again to Strobis, which is the utmost part of Friesland. There we baid at a commissary's house; and then

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ance, Anna Maria, Countess de Hornes, who dwelt much in her house, and was, as well as herself, a woman seeking after the best things, and a favourer of such (says Penn) as separate themselves from the world for the sake of righteousness.

The visitors were welcomed by the Princess and her friend the day after their arrival, and were invited to dine with them. They held a religious meeting together, which was so satisfactory that the Princess desired another might be appointed, at which several persons were present. William Penn thus speaks of it:—"The eternal word showed itself as a hammer this day; yea, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, between the joints and the marrow. Let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God, to us that day." The following day they paid two visits at this little court; and the day after, which was the first of the week, they held a meeting there, appointed by the direction of the Princess, which several others attended besides those of her household. Of this meeting Penn says: "The quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached them; and virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth." After this meeting, which was held late in the evening, the visitors took their leave, but not before they had been witnesses of the tender disposition of mind of the Princess; who, attempting to set forth her sense of the power and presence of God prevalent among them, could not proceed, but turned herself to the window, and said, "My heart is full, I cannot speak to you." Penn, on another occasion, says, "I cannot forget her last words when I took my leave of her: 'Let me desire you to remember me, though I live at so great a distance, and you should never see me more. I thank you for this good time. Be assured, though my condition subjects me to divers temptations, yet my soul has strong desires after the best things.'"

The Princess Elizabeth lived to the age of 60, departing this life in 1680, as much lamented, as she had been beloved, by her people.

taking boat again, passed to Groningen, the chief city of the province of Groningland. One of the magistrates of that city came with us from Leeuwarden, with whom I had some discourse on the way, and he was very loving. We walked nearly two miles through the city, and then took boat for Delfziel; and passing in the evening through a town called Appingdalem, where had been a great horse-fair that day; there came many officers rushing into the boat, and being somewhat in drink, they were very rude. I spoke to them, exhorting them to “fear the Lord, and beware of Solomon's vanities.” They were boisterous fellows; yet somewhat more civil afterwards. We landed at Delfziel about ten at night, having travelled about fifty English miles that day. We went to an inn to lodge, and as we passed through the guards, they examined John Claus, whether I was not a militia soldier; and when he had told them I was not, they let us pass peaceably.

Delfziel stands on the river Embs, over which we passed next day to Embden, a place where Friends had been cruelly persecuted, and from which they had been often 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; whither, after I had dined, I went also, understanding the old man was desirous to see me. In the afternoon John Claus and I walked through the city to the place where the waggon, which he had hired, was to meet us; and while we waited for it, the Friends that were in the city came to the house where we were, and we had a little meeting. When it was over, and the waggon came not, we sent to know the reason. The master of it sent us word, that he durst not let it go; for the bishop of Munster's soldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horses. So being disappointed of our passage, we returned to John Claus's father-in-law's house, where I left him, and went to my inn at night.

We took shipping next day, and passed about fifteen miles upon the river Embs, to a market-town in East-Friesland, called Leer, where lived a Friend that had been banished from Embden. When we had visited him, we hired a wagon in that town, and passed to a garrisoned town, called Strikehuysen, where the guards examined us; and then went on to Deieren, where, hiring another waggon, we passed to another garrisoned town, where we were very strictly examined. Thence we passed to Apre, in Denmark, where we lodged that night. In our travelling this day, we met the Earl of Oldenburg, going to the treaty of peace at Lembachie.

Next day, we passed by waggon to Oldenburg, lately a great and famous place, but then burnt down, and but few houses left standing in it. At this place we hired another waggon, and went to Delmenhurst; where, after we had been examined by the guards, we went to a burgher-master's to lodge, whose house was an inn. There being many people, I declared the way of truth to him and them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all evil-doers.

We passed next day by wagon to Bremen, a stately city in Germany; and thence, after a double examination, we went to a water called Overdeland, and there took boat to Fisherholder; where, finding many people together, I declared the way of God to them, and exhorted them to fear the Lord. There we took wagon again, and travelled in the bishop of Munster's country, to Closierseven; and having no inclina-



tion to stay there, got fresh horses, intending to travel all night. 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 being open, we had no defence against the rain, and our clothes were already wet with what had fallen for several days before. So we went to an inn, and got a little fresh straw, upon which we lay till about break of day; and then set out and travelled to Buxteiuuee.

The people in the bishop of Munster's country were very dark. As we passed amongst them, I preached truth to them, warning them of the great and notable day of the Lord; and 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 without the walls there 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 enough to get a meeting there that evening; and a good and glorious one it was. There were at it, amongst others, a Baptist teacher and his wife, and a great man of Sweden and his wife; and all was quiet, blessed be the Lord, whose power was exalted over all. Yet a dark, hard place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth.

At Hamburg was a woman that had spoken against me in John Perrot's time, though she had never seen me till 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 betimes next morning set forward towards Frederickstadt, two long days' journey from Hamburg. We went the first day to Elmshoorn, where we baited; and then rode on 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 in the inn, whom I exhorted to soberness, and to live in the fear of the Lord. Next morning we travelled to Hoghenhorn, 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 travelling on, we came to a river called Eyder, where we took boat and so went to Frederickstadt, to William Paul's, where several Friends came to us, for there is a pretty 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 travelled hard two days, and being 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 for ever!

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; inasmuch as Friends came to that city to enjoy liberty of conscience. Friends still enjoy their liberty there, and truth and they are of good report amongst the people, both in city and

country.

On First-day I had a meeting here, to which many people came, and some 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 Jew that was a Levite, concerning the coming of the Messiah, and he was much confounded in what he said; yet he carried himself lovingly, and invited me to his house. I went, and there I discoursed with another 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 at this city a Baptist teacher, who had reproached and belied Friends; wherefore John Claus went with two Friends of the town, to the house where he lodged, and cleared truth and Friends from his reproaches; and laid his lies and slanders upon his own head, to his shame.

Before we left this place I had another meeting with the Friends only, wherein I laid before them the usefulness and benefit 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. The thing answered the witness of God in their consciences, so that they readily agreed to have monthly meetings thenceforward among themselves, that both men and women might take care of the outward concerns of the church.

After this meeting, feeling my spirit clear of that place, we took leave of Friends there, whom we left in good order, and turned back again for Hamburg. When we had travelled one day's journey, and were come 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 discourse of the things of God? The innkeeper told me there were few such in that town. Next night we got to Hamburg; and having passed the guards, went to a Friend's house, being very weary; for we had been up those two mornings before three, and had travelled each day hard and late. Here we met with John Hill, an English Friend, who had been travelling in Germany, and being in a ship bound for Amsterdam, that waited for a wind, he had lain sick on board about two weeks. Hearing I was in the country, he left the ship and came hither to meet me, and go along with me.

The day after we came to Hamburg we had a very good meeting, and very peaceable. After it I had discourse with a Swede, an eminent man in his own country; who, having been banished thence on the account of his religion, was come to Hamburg, and was at the meeting I had there before. When I had done with him, I had another discourse with a Baptist concerning the sacraments, so called; in both which I had good service, having opportunity thereby to open truth unto them.

Being clear of Hamburg, we took leave of Friends there, whom we left well; and taking John Hill with us, passed by boat to a city in the Duke of Luneburg's country; where, after we were examined by the guards, we were had to the main-guard, and there examined more strictly; but after they found we were not soldiers, they were civil, and let us pass. In the afternoon we travelled by wagon, and the waters being much out, by reason of heavy rains, when it drew towards night, we hired a boy on the way to guide us through a great water we had to pass. When we came to it, the water was so deep before we

could come at the bridge, that the waggoner had to wade, and I drove the wagon. When we were come on the bridge, the horses broke part of it down, and one of them fell into the water, the wagon standing upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken; and it was the Lord's mercy to us that the waggon did not run into the brook. When they had got the horse out, he lay a while as if dead; but at length they got him up, put him to the wagon again, and laid the planks right; and then, through the goodness of the Lord to us, we got safe over.

After this we came to another water, which finding to be very deep, and it being in the night, we hired two men to help us through, who put cords to the wagon to hold it by, that the force of the water might not drive it from the way. But when we came into it, the stream was so strong, that it took one of the horses off his legs, and was carrying him down the stream. I called to the waggoner to pluck him 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 Borner-Haven, the town where the waggoner lived. It was the last day of the 6th month that we escaped these dangers; and it being about eleven at night when we came in here, 'we got some fresh straw and lay upon it, till about four in the morning. Then getting up, we set forward again towards Bremen, by wagon and boat. On the way I had good opportunities to publish truth among the people, especially at a market-town, where we stayed to change our passage; where 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 was 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, after we were examined, we went to an inn, and stayed till another wagon was provided to carry us further. Though I felt the Lord's power was over the city, and kept the wicked and unruly spirits down, yet my spirit suffered much in this place for the people's sake. When our wagon was ready, we left Bremen and travelled to Keby, where we lodged at an inn, and early next morning set out for Oldenburg. It was a lamentable sight to see so 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 the few houses that were left, the shops were open, and the people 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, yet I was burthened with their wickedness. Many times in mornings, noons, and nights, at the inns and on the ways as I travelled, 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 thereby they might be led out of evil.

Next day, passing through many great waters, we came at night to Lee, and the day following to Embden, where John Claus's wife's father lived; at whose house, when we went into Germany, we left a young man sick, who travelled with me, and used to write for me; whom now we found pretty well recovered. John Claus went to his father-in-law's; John Hill and I to an inn, where we dined. After dinner we went also to John Claus's father's, and had a good meeting there in the evening.

The day following we took shipping at Embden, passed to Delfziel, and went to an inn, where a Friend

came to us that then lived there, having been often banished from Embden; he was a goldsmith, and had a house and shop in Embden; and still as they banished him, he went again. Then they imprisoned him, and fed him with bread and water; and at length took his goods from him, and banished him, his wife, and children, leaving them neither place to come to, nor anything to subsist 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 took boat, and 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 next day had a good meeting in that city, to which several professors came, who were very peaceable and attentive. After meeting we passed by boat to Strobts, and so to Dockum, where we lodged at an inn. Taking boat again next morning we passed to Leeuwarden, the chief city of Friesland, where I found my daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amsterdam to meet me. That day we had a precious meeting at Sybrand Dowes's house. After the meeting I had discourse with some that were at it, who had been formerly convinced of truth, but were 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.

Next day we passed down the river to the lake of Hemfen-Sarmer, and thence by the lake Lugmer, and so to a town called Anderigo; whence sailing through the lake Whispool, we came to Gardick within night. We lodged at an inn; and next day, being First-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, which was very large, many of the town's-people coming in; amongst whom I declared the truth, in the power of the Lord that was upon me, which tendered the people, and they were very sober. After it we stayed a little while to refresh ourselves, and then went to take boat again; but the people observing us, gathered together at a bridge, which we were to pass; and there I spoke unto them again, declaring the way of life and salvation; and they were very attentive and civil.

We went back that evening to Leeuwarden, twenty-seven miles; but before we could reach it, the gates were shut, and the bridges drawn up, so that we could not get into the city, but lay in the boat all night. Next morning, there having been a man killed in the city that night, it was late before the gates were opened. When we could get in, we went to a Friend's house, where we stayed a while; then taking boat again, we passed through Franeker to Harlitngen, to Hessel Jacobs's, where we found several Dutch Friends, who were come to be at the meeting there next day. In the evening William Penn came to us from Amsterdam; who having returned two or three days before out of Germany, had been at a large meeting at Amsterdam on First-day; and after it, understanding I was at Harlingen, he came thither to me.

The next day was the monthly meeting for the men and women, to which we went; it was large and good. 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., amongst whom were a doctor of physic and a priest. After I had declared the truth

pretty largely to the people, opening the happy state that man and woman were in, whilst they kept under God's teaching, and abode in the Paradise of God; and on the other hand, the woe and misery that came upon them when they went from God's teaching, hearkening to the Serpent's—when they transgressed God's command, and were driven out of Paradise; and then came to set forth the way, whereby man and woman might come into that happy state again; the priest, an ancient, grave man, stood up, just as I had done 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 till the meeting ended, but having to preach that evening, he could not stay longer, the time for his own worship being come. Wherefore when he had made confession to the truth, he hastened away, that he might come again; and did come, it seems, to the meeting-place, but the meeting was ended first. After meeting we went to Hessel Jacobs's, where I had a meeting with Friends, and the doctor of physic came thither to discourse 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 left preaching that evening half an hour sooner than he used to do, that he might come to our meeting again, to hear more of that good doctrine. I heard afterwards that his hearers questioned him, for what he had said in our meeting; and that, he standing 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 Claus with him, passed from Harlingen for Leeuwarden, where he had appointed a meeting; intending after that, to travel into some other parts of Germany, to visit a tender people there. I with those Friends that were with me, took ship the same day for Amsterdam, where we arrived a little after midnight, but the gates being shut, we lay on board till morning; then went to Gertrude Dirick Nieson's, where many Friends came to see us, being glad of our safe return. Next day, feeling a concern upon my mind, with relation to those seducing spirits that made division among Friends, and being sensible that they endeavoured to insinuate themselves into the affectionate part, I was moved to write a few lines to Friends concerning them, as follows:—

“All these that set up themselves in the affections of the people, set up themselves, and the affections of the people, and not Christ. But Friends, your peaceable habitation in the truth, which is everlasting, and changes not, will outlast all the habitations of those that are out of the truth, be they ever so full of words. So they that are so keen for J. S. and J. W. let them take them, and the separation; and you, that have given your testimony against that spirit, stand in your testimony, till they answer by condemnation. Do not strive, nor make bargains with that which is out of the truth; nor save that alive to be a sacrifice for God, which should be slain, lest you lose your kingdom.”

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 14th of the 7th Month, 1677.

On the First-day following, I was at 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 time, several of the Friends that came over with me, were returned to England, as Egbert Barclay,<sup>132</sup> George Keith's wife, and others; and now my daughter Yeomans went back also; so that I was left alone at Amsterdam. While I was there, it came upon me to visit my suffering Friends at Dantzic 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 thereby set free from him that 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 be made free. Therefore be faithful unto what the Lord makes known unto you. I am glad the Lord hath witnesses in that city, to stand for his glory and name, and for Christ Jesus, the great Prophet, whom God hath raised up, who is to be heard in all things; so that ye 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 laid down his life for you: but follow none of the shepherds and hirelings, that are made by men, though they be angry, because ye will not follow them to their dry and barren mountains; who have been, and are, the thieves, persecutors, and robbers, that climb up another way, than by Christ. Set up Christ to be your Counsellor and Leader, and then, ye will have no need of any of the counsellors 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, that ye go not astray from God; by which ye may see over all the hireling-overseers made by men, who keep the people, that they do not go astray from the rudiments and formalities, fashions and customs of the world; which hath been and is their work. I am glad ye are 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

132 This being the last mention of Robert Barclay in these volumes, the following brief particulars may interest the reader who is not already acquainted with his history. He was the son of Colonel David Barclay, descended from the Barclays of Mathers, an ancient and honourable Scotch family, and of Katharine Gordon, from the Gordons of the house of the Duke of Gordon. He was born at Edinburgh in 1648, educated in France, and returned to Scotland in 1664. His father having joined the despised Quakers, Robert Barclay, though uninfluenced by him, soon followed his example, and came forth a zealous witness for the truth, receiving a gift in the ministry, in which he laboured to bring others to God. He was much exercised in controversy, from the many contradictions that fell upon truth, and upon him for its sake. He published several works in defence of the principles he had espoused, which he believed to be those of the New Testament, as promulgated by Christ and his apostles. His chief work was his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, which has gone through many editions, and remains incontrovertible.

In common with the early Friends, Robert Barclay suffered imprisonments and ill usage, which he bore with exemplary patience. He travelled extensively to spread the gospel of Christ, for he loved the truth above all the world; not ashamed of it before men, but bold and able in maintaining it, sound in judgment, strong in argument, of a pleasant disposition, yet solid and exemplary in his conversation. He was a learned man, a good Christian, an able minister, a tender and careful father, and a good and kind neighbour and friend. His last illness was short. James Dickenson of Cumberland, in his journey in Scotland, visiting him when on his deathbed, as he sat by him, the Lord's power and presence bowed their hearts together, and Robert Barclay was sweetly melted in the sense of God's love, and, with tears, expressed his love to all faithful brethren in England; and adding a message of love to dear George Fox, he said, “God is good still, and though I am under great weight of sickness and weakness as to my body, yet my peace flows, and this I know, whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, it shall tend to God's glory and my salvation, and in that I rest.”

He died at his own house, at Ury, in Scotland, in 1690, aged forty-two, leaving behind him four sons and three daughters.

apostle owned him in their days, Heb. vii., who is the High-Priest over the household of faith; which faith Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of: and this do all the children of the new covenant witness, who walk in the new and living way. Therefore my desire is, that ye all may be steadfast, whether in bonds or out, in the faith of Christ Jesus, which is the gift of God; by which faith all the valiants 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 hath been in other places, ye standing faithful to the Lord, who is all-sufficient. For your sufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worships, and make manifest what birth they are of; even that which persecutes him that is born of the Spirit: for ye know, that there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, than by the name of Jesus; therefore it is time to leave them, when there is no salvation by or in any of them.

“Now, Friends, I desire that you would take a list of the names of all those that belong to the king of Poland, and where they live, and how ye may send books or epistles to them, and keep a correspondence with them: also the name of the bishop or cardinal that I heard was with you; and, if ye can, get any of them that belong to the king to come and visit the prisoners, that they may inform the king of their cruel sufferings. Also I desire you to get as many books of mine as you can dispose of, that set forth your sufferings, and the cruelty of the magistrates of Dantzic; and give them to the king, his council, attendants, and bishops. And some of the women may speak to the queen, if they can, that she may signify to the king their cruel sufferings; and especially some of the sufferers' wives, if there be any of a capacity to do it. You may likewise give his attendants any other Friends' books; what books ye lack, send for to Amsterdam, where ye may be furnished with them, to answer every tender desirer, and inquiring mind after the Lord. So let all your minds be bended with the Lord's power, to spread his truth abroad; and where ye hear of any, or have any correspondence in outward trading with any sober people, far or near, send them books, that their understandings may be opened after 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 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 ye have life, knowledge, wisdom, and salvation; and through him live to the praise and glory of God, who is blessed for evermore. Amen.”

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 18th of the 7th Month, 1677, English style.

Next day, the fourth of the week and 19th 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 from Amsterdam, many Friends going with me, to Landsmeer in Waterland (a town in which, they say, there are above a hundred bridges), where I had a very good meeting, to which several professors came. After it I returned with Friends to Amsterdam, where I stayed till 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 tarried there next day, and in the night following had a great exercise upon my spirit concerning that loose spirit, that was run out into strife and contention among Friends, and had drawn some after it into division and separation; the way, work, and end whereof the Lord opened to me: wherefore 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 this last night, as I was lying in my bed at Amsterdam, I had a great travail 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 did seek not only to get over the Seed, but to destroy it, and to eat out the minds of the people from it by strife and contention; and, under pretence of standing for the ancient truth, its work is to root it out, and destroy the appearance of it, to set up itself. It is a creeping spirit, seeking whom it can get into; and what it cannot do itself it stirreth up others to do, and setteth their spirits afloat, with the dark wisdom to destroy the simple. This spirit is managed by the prince of the air, and leadeth some to do things which they would have been ashamed to have done as men, which doth unman them; and they would not have suffered them if they had kept to the tender principle of God, which leadeth to peace. It is a despising, backbiting, secret-whispering spirit, a sower of dissension, and a taker of advantage of all prejudiced spirits, that are disobedient to their first principle, and love of truth, and begetteth into hatred; so it begetteth all into that spirit, whose work is to destroy both the good within, and the good order without. Nay, 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 pretence of crying down man, is setting up man, and gathering into a separation of disobedient men, who float above their conditions. This spirit, which neither liveth in the truth nor its order, but opposeth them that do, I cannot express it, as I see it and its work, whose end will be accordingly. Therefore, Friends, I am to warn you all, that have not lost your simplicity, not to touch it, nor to have any unity with it, lest you be defiled, and lose your eternal estate and everlasting portion; and that your inward man, which is after God, may be preserved, and Christ may reign in all your hearts. It will be very hard for those that are joined with them, ever to come down to truth in themselves, to see their own conditions, and to have that spirit of strife and contention (which eateth as a canker) brought down in them; which is carnal, and slayeth the tender babe, which was once begotten in themselves. The Philistine is got up in them, that stoppeth the wells and springs, maketh a great bustle, and is crying up men, and pleading for them, instead of Christ. So, Friends, strive not with them, but let those take them that cry them up. Keep you to the Lord Jesus Christ with his



light, that cometh from him, that he may be your Lord; and ye 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 Saviour; and out of and from that mischievous spirit, which is idle and slothful as to the work of the power, and Spirit, and light of God and Christ. Its very act worketh strife and disturbance against the peace of the church of Christ. It thinks, in its wilfulness, stubbornness, and unruliness, to set up 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, feigned, or rough words; for Satan is transforming himself, as an angel of light, to deceive; but God's foundation standeth sure, and God knoweth who are his, and will preserve them 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 it, after ye have borne your testimony in the Lord's power and truth against it, then keep in the truth; for it hath a life in scribbling, strife, and jangling, because it would enlarge itself, and bring others into its misery with the airy power, and would get power over the good, disjoin people from it, and so commit rapes upon the simplicity by its subtilty. But I do believe the Lord will defend his people, though he may try them and exercise them with this spirit for a time, as he hath done in days past, in other vessels it hath made use of, as it doth of these now; who have a more seeming fair outside, but foul, rough, and rugged enough within, against the Seed of Christ, as ever were the Pharisees to destroy it. They, under a pretence of preaching Christ, are destroyers and crucifiers of him, and killers of the just, not only in themselves, but are endeavouring, with all their might, to destroy it in others, where it is born. Pharaoh and Herod slay the young Jews in the Spirit, as the old did; I feel it worrying them. That is got up to be king which knew not suffering Joseph. But God will plague him, and the Seed will have more rest, and be better entertained in Egypt, than under Herod, into whom old Pharaoh's spirit is entered. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear; and an eye to see, let him see, how this spirit hath transformed in all ages against the just and righteous; but mark, what hath been its end? The Seed reigneth; glory to the Lord God over all for ever! His truth spreadeth, 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 bringing forth much fruit that is heavenly and spiritual. Amen."

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 25th of the 7th Month, 1677.

After I had given forth the foregoing epistle, whereby my spirit was in some measure eased 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 next day to Haarlem; but a fast being appointed to be kept that day, I was stopped in

my spirit, and moved to stay at Friends' meeting that day at Amsterdam. We had a very large meeting, a great concourse of people coming to it, and amongst them many great persons. The Lord's power was over the meeting; and in the openings thereof 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 unto them, "I showed them the difference between the true fast and the false; manifesting, that the professed Christians, Jews, and Turks, were out of the true fast, and fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, wherewith they were smiting one another; but the pure hands were not lifted up to God. And though they did all appear to men to fast, and did hang down their heads for a day like a bulrush, yet that was not the fast which God did accept; 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, from strife and debate, from violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil." These things were opened to the astonishment of the fasters; and the meeting ended peaceably and well.

I went to Haarlem the day following, having before appointed 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 amongst them, Gertrude interpreting. When the meeting was done, the priest said "he had heard nothing but what was according to the Word of God; and desired that 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 understandings before."

We stayed that night at Haarlem at a Friend's house, whose name was Dirick Klassen; and, returning next day to Amsterdam, went to Gertrude's house; where we had not been long, before a priest of great note, who had formerly belonged to the Emperor of Germany, and with him another German priest came, desiring to have some conference with me. I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth unto them, opening unto 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, nor by 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.

On the First-day following I was at Friends' meeting at Amsterdam; where, amongst several sorts of professors that were present, was a doctor from Poland, who for his religion was banished the place he lived in; and being affected with the testimony of truth in the meeting, he came afterwards to have some discourse with me; and after we had been some time together, 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 in writing books, papers, or epistles on truth's behalf. I wrote several epistles from Amsterdam to Friends in England and elsewhere, on several occa-

sions, as the Lord moved me by his Spirit thereunto. I wrote also from thence, “A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Oldenburg, which was lately burnt down;” also, “A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Hamburg,” both of which were as follows

*A Warning to the Magistrates and People of the City of Oldenburg.*

“Friends,

“Have you not 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, and soldiers playing at shuffle-board, 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. O therefore repent, lest the all-seeing God, who sees all your actions and is over all, bring swift judgment upon you in his wrath, fury, and indignation. Repent, and lay aside all manner of evil and 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, and burn up all the proud and wicked, and neither leave them root nor branch. Therefore, all ye 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 judgment of God upon you and your city, in burning it. All return, and come to the light of Christ in your hearts, and to God's Spirit, and to the grace and truth in your hearts, that comes by Jesus Christ; that with it ye may search your hearts. Do not grieve, nor vex, nor quench God's good Spirit in your hearts, and walk not despitefully against the Spirit of grace, nor turn from it into wantonness; and yet make a profession of God and Christ in words, when your hearts are afar 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; and so dishonouring God, and Christ, and Christianity, and making a profession and a trade of the Scriptures, keeping people always learning, that they maybe always paying.

“Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and look unto the Lord, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved; for the Lord God of heaven, and earth is come, to teach his people himself by his light, Spirit, grace, and truth, and to bring them off all the world's teachers. God hath raised up Christ Jesus, his Prophet, whom people should hear; and saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him j' and Christ saith, 'Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life; and no man comes to the Father, hat by me.' There is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven than by the name of Jesus, who saith, '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 hath anointed Christ Jesus to preach, if you will hear him; and God hath given Christ for a Counsellor and a Leader, if you will be led and counselled by him; and God hath 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 who tasted death for every man? Doth not Christ say to his ministers, 'Freely ye have received, freely give?' And the apostle saith, 'We covet no man's gold, silver, or apparel.' They laboured with their hands, and kept the gospel without charge. Have they that are called ministers amongst you done the same, and kept this command of Christ Jesus? Let them be examined and examine themselves. Have you not trimmed your outsides? but look within with the light and Spirit of Christ Jesus, and see if your insides be not black and foul. For Christ Jesus, who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, with the life in himself, saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light.' With the light ye may see all the evil and ungodly deeds that ye have committed; all your ungodly words you have spoken; and all your ungodly thoughts ye think; that ye may turn from them to Christ, from whom the light comes; who is your Saviour and Redeemer, who hath 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 iii.

“Therefore be warned now in your day, and while you have time, turn to the Lord. Do not quench the Spirit of the Father, by which he draws to his 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 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, who is 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 and 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 in 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, honour, and glorify the living God, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed for evermore. Amen.

“Ye 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.”

Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th Month, 1677

*“A Warning to the Magistrates, Priests, and People, of the City of Hamburg, to humble themselves before the Lord, and not 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, which he hath enlightened you and every man that cometh into the world withal, and with it you may see how foul your hearts and insides are with sin and evil, which Christ tells you ye should make clean; who told the Pharisees how they 'painted the sepulchres 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 sepulchres of the righteous apostles, and make a trade and a profession of their words, without the same Holy Ghost, and power, and 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 his immediate, almighty protection. For not all your works, nor all your own strength, and power, and defence, can protect you; it is not for you to look at them, and think yourselves secure, to sit down in your security, and in it let your hearts be merry, and at rest and ease. But when the Lord brings a scourge upon you, that you are filled with terrors and fears, remember you were warned, that you were set down, but not in the true rest. Then all your own strength and force will stand you in no stead; and you will acknowledge that it must be God that must protect you. Therefore take warning; for your priests and people are too high, and are swallowed up too much in this world. The vanities of it carry your minds away from God, and 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. Know you not, 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 to you to profit withal; that with this grace, and truth, light, and Spirit of Christ, you may turn to Christ Jesus, from whence it comes, who saith, 'Learn of me;' and God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him.' So all the children of the new covenant, that walk in the new and living way, hear Christ their Prophet, that God has raised up, and anointed to be their Teacher and Priest. So now, God doth 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 all the world's teachers that are made by men since the apostles' days; who have kept people always learning, that they may be always paying them. 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, etc. 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 in truth they will worship him, and know what and whom they worship. Also the Lord is 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 Ghost. 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, that 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 lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' It is called the light in man and woman, and the life in Christ the Word: and Christ saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may be the children of 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 are evil, 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 every one must believe in the light, if they receive Christ Jesus; and as many as receive him, he gives them 'power to become the sons of God.' He that hath the Son of God, hath life; and they that have not the Son of God, have not life: if then you have not life, what good doth all your profession of the Scriptures from Genesis to Revelations 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, even 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,' which would teach you, and bring your salvation; nor turn from it unto wantonness. If you do, 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. It will 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 evil-doers. This is a warning to you, both for your temporal and eternal good; to read in your assemblies, and your priests in their churches, that all people may hear and fear; as you will answer it at the terrible and dreadful day of judgment."

Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th Month, 1677.

I wrote also an Epistle to the ambassadors that were treating about a peace at Nimeguen,<sup>133</sup> as follows:

*“For the Ambassadors, that are met to treat for Peace at the City of Nimeguen, in the States’ dominions.*

“Christ Jesus saith, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God,' Matt. v. 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. iii. 11. God hath called all true Christians unto peace, 1 Cor. vii., and 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. vi., which is the peace of the wicked. And the apostle saith to the Christians, 'Be at peace among yourselves,' 1 Thess. v. Now all Christians should obey this command, and be at peace among themselves; not in wars and strife. And further, the apostle exhorts the 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 be 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 to keep. Herein they may honour Christ, in bringing forth the fruits of peace, which are love and charity. For the apostle tells you, 'The fruit of the good Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness,' etc. Gal. v.

“And the apostle exhorts the Christians, and saith, 'If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men:' this should be the endeavour of all Christians. For it is no honour to Christ, that Christians should war and destroy one another, that profess his name, who saith, 'He came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them.' Christians have enemies enough abroad without them, and therefore they should love one another, as Christ commands, who saith, 'By this ye shall be known to be my disciples, if ye love one another.' For Christians are commanded to love enemies; therefore much more, one another. And Christ saith, 'As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love,' John xv. 8, and 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,' John xiii. 35. But if Christians war

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<sup>133</sup> These ambassadors were deputies from the King of France, the United Netherlands, and several other potentates of Europe, who met to consult the peace of Christendom. George Fox's Epistle to them was translated and printed in Latin. Robert Barclay also wrote a treatise in Latin, which was addressed and presented to each of the ambassadors, with a copy of his principal work, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity. In the former, Barclay strongly urged them to promote the good work for which they were assembled, pointing out the true causes of war, and its incompatibility with Christian principles. Before the year ended, a peace was concluded.

and destroy one another, this will make Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens say, that 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, that Christians were called the household of faith, the household of God, a holy nation, a peculiar people: and they are commanded to be 'zealous of good works,' not of bad: and Christians are also commanded not to bite and devour one another, lest they 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 Turks, Tartars, Jews, and Heathens, when they should 'love one another, and do unto all men, as they would have them do unto them?' Such devouring work as this, will open the mouths of Jews and Turks, Tartars and Heathens, to blaspheme the name of Christ, who is 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. Therefore all Christians are to mind God and Christ's teaching, who teacheth Christians to love one another, yea enemies; and persuade all 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 tares, 'Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest (which is the end of the world) lest 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 tares. So Christ tells you, that 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. Hath not all this persecution, banishing, and imprisoning, and putting to death, concerning religion, been the pretence of plucking up tares? and hath not all this been before the harvest, before the end of the world? And therefore, have not all these been actors against the express command of Christ, the King of Heaven? All kings and rulers, especially they that call themselves Christians, should obey their Lord and Saviour's command: 'Let the tares and the wheat grow together, till the harvest;' and the harvest is the end of the world. Christ also told some of his disciples, that in their zeal would have had fire to come down from heaven, to destroy such as would not receive him, 'That they did not know what spirit they were of:' and rebuked them, and said, 'He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' And therefore all such as have destroyed men's lives concerning religion, and the worship of God, have they known what spirit they have been of? Have they not done that which they should not do? done that which Christ forbade, who saith, 'Lest ye should pluck up the wheat with the tares,' and saith, 'It is the angels' work at the end of the world?' And hath 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. xii. 14. Why should Christians war and strive one with another, seeing they all own in words one King, Lord, and Saviour, 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, saith, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you,' John xv. 12, and John xiii. And the apostle saith, Christians ought to 'be patient towards all men,' 1 Thess. v. 14.

“From him, who is a lover of truth, righteousness, and peace, who desires your temporal and eternal good; and that in the wisdom of God, that is from above, pure, gentle, and peaceable, you may be ordered, and order all things, that God hath committed to you, to his glory; and stop those things among Christians, so far as you have power, which dishonour God, Christ, and Christianity!”

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 21st of the 7th Month, 1677.

To the magistrates and priests of Embden I wrote, showing them their unchristian practices in persecuting Friends.<sup>134</sup> And several other books I wrote, in answer to priests and others of Hamburg, Dantzic, and other places, to clear the truth and Friends from their charges and false slanders.

*“An Epistle concerning true Fasting, true Prayer, true Honour, and against Persecution, and for the true Liberty in Christ Jesus; that all may have a care, that the apostle hath not bestowed his labour in vain upon you in your observing of Days, Months, Times, Feasts, and Years, and of coming under the beggarly elements 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 holidays or feast-days? Let us see where it is written in the Scriptures of the New Testament, in the four Evangelists, or 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 Whitsuntide, or Peter's or Paul's, Mark's, Luke's, or any other saint's day?

“You, that profess yourselves to be the 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 practised or forced any such thing, or that Christ and his apostles gave any such command to the churches that they should practise and observe any such days? Let us see where this command is written. Did not the apostle say unto the Galatians in the fourth chapter, 'But now, alter that ye have known God,

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<sup>134</sup> William Penn also addressed the Council and Senate of the city of Embden, relative to the sufferings of Friends there. Though these appeals did not procure any immediate relief, yet, in about ten years after, Friends enjoyed perfect liberty there. See *Sewell's History*, vol. ii., 420-425.

or rather ye are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.' And in the third of Galatians it is said, 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth,' etc. And in Galatians the fifth, the apostle exhorts them to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free;' and moreover said, 'Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.'

“Now doth not this manifest, that there were some teachers, that were drawing the church of the Galatians into these beggarly elements, and bringing them again into bondage, in observing days, months, times, and years? It was the apostle's work to bring them out of those bondages and beggarly elements; and therefore, when they were going back again into observing days, months, times, and years, he was afraid that he had 'bestowed his labour upon them in vain;' and he exhorts them to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ Jesus hath 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 beggarly elements.' But O! how are people, called Christians, since the apostles' days, gone again under this yoke of bondage, and these beggarly elements, in observing days, months, times, and years, let their practice declare. Nay, do not both Papists and Protestants force people to observe days, months, and times? And therefore is not the apostle's labour and travail bestowed upon Christendom in vain, which was to bring people from under such beggarly elements, and that yoke of bondage (which the law did require), to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage?' It was and is Christ, that hath made and doth make his people free from these beggarly elements; therefore, they that are redeemed, are to 'stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free.' This liberty all true Christians are to stand fast in; 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 are 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, beggarly elements, they 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 to such things again, seeing he hath made them free. For they that are in such things, and would force others to them, are gone from that which gives the knowledge of God, and have not stood fast in the liberty wherewith Christ makes free.

“Concerning Prayer, we do not read that ever Christ or his apostles did seek by force to compel any to fast or pray with them. But Christ taught them how they should pray, and be distinct from the hypocrites. His words are as follows:—'When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men,' etc. 'But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father, which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them;

for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him,' etc. As the apostles and saints did, so do we; we pray in secret, and we pray in public, as the Spirit gives us utterance, which helps our infirmities, as it did the apostles and true Christians; after this manner we pray for ourselves, and for all men both high and low.

“Concerning Fasting, Christ saith, 'Moreover when ye 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 thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.'

“You may see in Isaiah the lviith, what the true fast is which the Lord requires; where it is said to the prophet, 'Cry aloud, and spare not, lift up thy 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. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness, ye shall not fast, as ye 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? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord; to loose the hands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?' So this fast that the Lord requires, is not to lay yokes, to oppress, and lay heavy burthens, and to make fast the bands of wickedness; but to loose and to break such things.

“And further, concerning the true fast the Lord requires, 'Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, that are cast out, to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh? (Do you keep this true fast?) Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am; if thou take away from the midst of thee the yokes, the putting forth of the finger and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light arise out of obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not,' etc.

“Now here is the practice of the true fast the Lord requires of his people; and to them that observe this fast, the Lord saith, '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, smite with the fists of wickedness, and make their voices to be heard on high; who afflict their souls for a day, bow down their head as a bulrush, and loose not the bands of wickedness; who do not undo every heavy burthen, break not off every yoke, nor let the oppressed go free; who do not deal their bread to the hungry, clothe not the naked, nor bring the poor to their house, but hide themselves from their own flesh:—such fasts and fasters the Lord doth not accept, neither hath he chosen them. But these appear to men with their disfigured faces, and hang down their heads as a bulrush for a day, like the hypocrites, to fast, as Christ speaks in Matt. vi.

“And 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 saith in Isaiah, he 'doth not accept?' for he saith, '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,' etc. 'Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?' Isa. Iviii.

“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, and undoes every heavy burthen; breaks every yoke, and lets the oppressed go free; deals bread to the hungry, clothes the naked, and brings the poor that are cast out to his own house. Every one 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, and make their bones fat; and they shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. Now you, that 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?' Doth 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? But 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 saith, '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, 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, beggarly elements, that entangles 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 wherewith Christ hath 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 nor 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 holidays, 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 force people to observe holidays, or times, or months, or years, but that they 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, etc. 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 neighbours as themselves,' seeing so many debauched, evil, and seared consciences, as with a 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 hath its liberty to be exercised in all manner of evil things all Christendom over j which is a great shame and dishonour to God, and Christ, and Christianity, yea, and humanity. Therefore why should not God's people have their liberty to exercise their good and tender consciences towards God and man? For 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 dishonours both God and Christ, and true Christianity? If not, how are they a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evil-doers?

“Concerning the not putting off our hats to men. Many that go under the name of Christians, have taken offence at us, because we could not put off our hats, and bow down to them; for which we find no command from Christ or his apostles, but rather to the contrary. For Christ saith, 'I receive not honour of men' (mark, he did not receive honour of men); and further Christ saith, 'How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that comes from God only?' Now Christ declares it to be a mark of unbelievers, that seek 'honour one of another,' and seek not that 'honour that comes from God only;' and is not the putting off the hat, and bowing with it, an honour to men, which they seek one of another, and are offended if they have it not? Nay, have they not fined, persecuted, and imprisoned some, because they did not put off their hats to them? Nay, do not the very Turks mock at the Christians in their proverb, saying that 'the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare head to one another?' But should not those be beyond the Turks, that bear the noble name of Christian, above seeking honour one of another, and persecuting them that will not give it, when all true believing Christians should seek the honour that comes from God

only? which is the duty of all true believers in Christ Jesus, for he would not receive honour of men. And 'He that believeth on the Son of God, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him,' John iii. 36. 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? Nay, 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 their bare heads? Have you not made a law against such, that they must forfeit two guilders if they do not? Do you not seek to compel and force them to do it, and fine such as do not, as at Lansmeer in Waterland? Is not this the honour that you seek one of another? Did not the Pharisees and Jews do the same?

“As for your saying, 'the apostle commands to honour all men; and such as rule well are worthy of double honour.' If this 'honouring 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 this to all men generally; and if they that rule well must have double hat-honour, then they must put off their hats twice; and show them their bare heads. If this hat-honour, and showing the bare head, be an invention of men, and not from God, and ye cannot prove it by Scripture, yet say, 'it is your rule;' then you act beside 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, 'honour 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 honour 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, and malice, and hatred, and murder in their hearts one against another; and give them that honour, as you call it, and yet speak or wish bad things to them, when they have turned their backs on them. The true honour 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 men, and especially to them that rule well, who have the double esteem, whom God hath placed over people. There is no evil in the heart that gives this respect, esteem, or honour, and brings them to love their neighbours 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 honour of putting off the hats once to all men, and twice to them that are worthy of the double honour, as you may call it. But we

would ask Christians that practise this hat-honour, and show one another their bare heads, Who invented this single honour and double honour, seeing they cannot prove, that ever Christ or the apostles did command or practise any such thing, or Moses in the time of the law? Now, 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 honour that is below, and seek the honour that comes from above, when we came to be true believers in Christ Jesus.

“Now concerning persecuting, imprisoning, and banishing God's people, in whom Christ is manifest, and dwells in their hearts; doth 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, and suffer them not to meet together to enjoy him amongst 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, banish the truth and Christ out of your hearts 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 doth bring upon you, when you are left to yourselves; yea, fears and troubles, one judgment after another, come upon you; you are even filled with them. But the banished, 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 ever so full of words without life and truth. The life and the truth will outlast all airy notions, and Christ, the Lamb and patient Seed, will overcome the devourer and the 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. For Christ saith to his learners, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world,' the persecuting world. He said also to his disciples, 'If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated 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, and 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 bade them, that would have been plucking up the tares, 'Let the tares and 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.”

G. F.

Harlinge in Friesland, the 11th of the 6th Month, 1677.

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; but not having time to finish the dispute then, they met again two days after, and the Baptist was much confounded, and truth gained ground.<sup>135</sup> Between these two disputes we had a very great meeting at Friends' meeting-place, at which many hundreds of people were, and some of high rank in the world's account. An earl, a lord, and divers other eminent persons, were present, who all behaved themselves very civilly. But when the meeting was ended, some priests began to make opposition; which, 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 declared. After the meeting several of them came to Gertrude's, where we were, with whom George Keith had much discourse in Latin.

Having now finished our service at Amsterdam, we took leave of the Friends there, and passed by waggon to Leyden, about twenty-five miles; where we stayed a day or two, seeking out and visiting some tender people we heard of there. We met with a German, who was partly convinced. He informed us of an eminent man that was inquiring 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, that lived a little out of Leyden, who, they said, 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 we visited one of the judges of Holland, with whom we had pretty much discourse. 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 thence to Rotterdam that night, where we stayed some days, and had several meetings. While I was here I gave forth a book for the Jews; with whom, when I was at Amsterdam, I had a desire to have some discourse, but they would not. Here also I reviewed several other books and papers which I had given forth before, and which were now transcribed.

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<sup>135</sup> It appears that Galenus Abrahams asserted that nobody in the present day could be accepted as a messenger of God, unless he confirmed his doctrine by miracles. See *Sewell's History*, vol. ii., 366-368.



## CHAPTER IX.

*1677—1680.—George Fox, with other Friends, sails for England, and lands at list, wich, after a hazardous voyage of three days—has a large meeting at Colchester, and proceeds thence to London—writes to his wife—receives further accounts of persecution in New England—travels into Buckinghamshire, and meets with some false brethren, who are unruly and troublesome at meetings—Friends have a special meeting with them afterwards—at Reading meets with opposition to the settlement of a women's meeting—visits Bristol during the fair; where are many Friends from various parts—the separatists there are very rude and abusive—he aids Friends in drawing up a breviat of their sufferings, to present to the judges at Gloucester assizes—meets with some separatists at Finchcomb—is engaged with other Friends in soliciting Parliament to grant them relief from the statutes made against Popish recusants—attends the Yearly Meeting, which was a glorious and heavenly one—Friends greatly united in testifying against the spirit of separation—not one mouth opened on its behalf—the Truth prospers at home and abroad—George Fox writes to his wife—writes to the king of Poland to dissuade him from persecution—to Friends in Amsterdam—Friends again press their suit for relief from the statutes made against Popish recusants without success—are much exercised with the spirit of separation, which opposes the order and discipline of the church—George Fox writes a paper to open the understandings of the weak, and as a reproof to a censorious judging spirit—has conferences with some of the opposers at Hertford—writes again to Friends to warn them of this spirit of false liberty—visits Friends in prison at Leicester—advises Friends how to end their differences—writes an epistle to Friends in London—writes to Friends in prison to console them under suffering—writes an epistle to the Yearly Meeting—an encouragement to Friends to be valiant for the Truth—also a caution to Friends to keep in humility—travels again towards the South—visits prisoners in York Castle—recommends Friends to lay their sufferings before the judge at the assizes—attends the Yearly Meeting in London—writes to the Great Turk and to the Dey of Algiers—to the latter particularly respecting Friends who are captives there—at Hertford meets with John Story (the schismatic) and some of his party, but the Truth prevails—has a meeting with some of the opposers—solicits the Parliament to grant relief to Friends under suffering—writes a paper against plots and plotters.*

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Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of Friends of Rotterdam, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day for England; several Friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and some of Amsterdam, who were come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet not coming in till night, we lodged that night at the Briel; and next day, being the 21st of the 8th month, and the First-day of the week, we went on board, and set sail about ten, viz., William Penn, George Keith, and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children.

We were in all about sixty passengers, and had a long and hazardous passage; for the winds were contrary, and the weather stormy; the boat also was very leaky, insomuch that we had to have two

pumps continually going, day and night; so that, it was thought, there was quite as much water pumped out as the vessel would have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease, and the raging waves of the sea calm, yea, 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 on the 23rd, at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea. Next morning William Penn and George Keith took horse for Colchester; but I stayed, and had a meeting at Harwich; and there being no Colchester coach there, and the post-master's wife being unreasonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it also after we had hired it, 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 there till First-day, having a desire to be at Friends' meeting that day; and a very large and weighty one it was; for Friends, hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from several parts of the country, and many of the town's-people coming in also, it was thought there were about a thousand people at it; and all was peaceable. Having stayed a day or two longer at Colchester, I travelled through Essex, visiting Friends at Halstead, Braintree, Felstead, and Saling, and having meetings with them. At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening; and there being many Friends prisoners, they got liberty and came to the meeting; and we were all refreshed together in the Lord. Next day, the 9th of the 9th month, I got to London, where Friends received me with great joy; and on the First-day following 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 for ever beyond all words! who hath carried me through and over many trials and dangers, in his eternal power! I have been twice at Gracechurch Street meeting; and though the opposite spirits were there, yet all was quiet; the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of the Lord shone over all. Every day I am fain to be at meetings about business, and sufferings, which are great abroad; and now many Friends are concerned with many persons about them: so in haste, with my love to you all—”

G. F.

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-like proceedings against Friends there, whipping and abusing them very shame-

fully; for they whipped many women Friends. One woman they tied to a cart, and dragged her along the street, stripped above the waist. They whipped some masters of ships that were not Friends, only for bringing Friends thither. And at that very time, while they were persecuting Friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians slew threescore of their men, took one of their captains, and flayed the skin off his head while he was alive, and earned it 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.”<sup>136</sup> Great exercise I had in seeking relief here for our 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 a month or five weeks, visiting meetings, and helping and encouraging Friends to labour for the deliverance of their suffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards I went down to Kingston, and visited Friends there and thereaway. Having stayed a little among Friends there, looking over a book I had then ready to go to press, I went into Buckinghamshire, visiting Friends, and having several meetings amongst them, as at Amersham, Hunger-hill, Jordans, Hedgerly, Wickham, and Turville-heath. In some of which, they that were gone out from the unity of Friends in truth into strife, opposition, and division, were very unruly and troublesome; particularly at the men's meeting at Thomas Ellwood's at Hunger-hill, where the chief of them came from Wickham, endeavouring 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 its service; but rather, if they were dissatisfied with Friends' proceedings, and had anything to object, let a meeting be appointed on purpose some other day. So Friends offered them to give them a meeting another day: and at length it was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's<sup>137</sup> the week following. Accordingly Friends met them there, and the meeting was in the barn; for there came so many, that the house could not receive them. After we had sat a while they began their jangling. 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, and things

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136 For full particulars of the great intolerance and spirit of persecution manifested by the Puritans of New England towards the Quakers, the reader is referred to Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, vol. v., from the commencement to p. 308.

137 Thomas Ellwood is only mentioned twice incidentally in these volumes. It was he who, after the death of George Fox, transcribed this excellent work for the press. (*See Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 213.) He was also the author of several works, including *A Life of David*, in verse; a work on tithes; a *Sacred History*, etc. Ellwood was born in 1639, at Crowell, in Oxfordshire, and joined Friends when about twenty years of age. Brought up in ease, luxury, and fashion, he had much to learn; much to unlearn, much to forsake, of the manners, the pride, and the willworship of the world; and to follow after that plainness and purity of life unto which the spirit of truth leads. Nothing but religion could have enabled one, with a disposition naturally so high and resolute as his, to submit, as he did, to buffetings, beatings, cruel treatment, and persecution, with becoming meekness and patience.

In 1662, Ellwood became the companion of the poet Milton, and it was he who suggested to the latter the writing of *Paradise Regained*. He had a peculiar gift for government in the church, and was very serviceable therein; an ornament to the meeting he belonged to, and much missed when he died. According to his biographer, he was “a man of a comely aspect, of a free and generous disposition, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleasant conversation; a gentleman born and bred; a scholar, a true Christian, an eminent author, a good neighbour, a kind friend.” He proved a very useful and acceptable elder in the church, devoting nearly the whole of his time and talents to its service. He died in 1713, and was buried at Jordans, leaving behind him a most interesting autobiography, to which the reader is referred for further particulars.

were opened to the people; a good opportunity it was, and serviceable to the truth; for many that before were 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 springings of life amongst us. For the power arose, and life sprung, and in the arising thereof many living testimonies were borne against that wicked, dividing, rending spirit, which those opposers 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 had a meeting again with the opposers at Wickham, where they again showed their envy, and were made manifest to the upright-hearted.

After I had visited Friends in that upper side of Buckinghamshire, I called upon Friends at Henley in Oxfordshire, and afterwards went by Corsham to Heading, where I was at meeting on First-day, and in the evening had a large meeting with Friends. Next day there being another meeting about settling a women's meeting, some of them that had let in the spirit of division, fell into jangling, and were disorderly for a while, till the weight of truth brought them down. After this I passed on, visiting Friends, and having meetings in several places, through Berkshire and Wiltshire, till I came to Bristol, which was on the 21st of the 11th Month, just before the fair.

I stayed at Bristol all the time of the fair, and some time after. Many sweet and precious meetings we had; many Friends being there from several parts of the nation, some on account of trade, and some in the service of truth. Great was the love and unity of Friends that abode faithful in the truth, though some who were gone out of the holy unity, and were run into strife, division, and enmity, were rude and abusive, and behaved themselves in a very unchristian manner towards me. But the Lord's power was over all; by which being preserved in heavenly patience, which can bear injuries for his name's sake, I felt dominion therein over the rough, rude, and unruly spirits; and left them to the Lord, who knew my innocency, and would plead my cause. The more these laboured to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of Friends, that were sincere and upright-hearted, abound towards me; and some that had been betrayed by the adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behaviour, broke off from them; who have cause to bless the Lord for their deliverance.

When I left Bristol, I went with Richard Snead to his house in the country, and thence to Hezekiah Coale's at Winterbourne, in Gloucestershire, whither came several Friends that were under great sufferings for truth's sake, whom I had invited to meet me there. Stephen Smith,<sup>138</sup> Richard Snead, and I, drew up a breviat of their sufferings, setting forth the illegal proceedings against them, which was

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<sup>138</sup> This being the last mention of Stephen Smith, it may be added, that he was born in 1023, and being convinced in 1655, suffered both in person and estate by imprisonment and spoiling of goods, for his testimony on behalf of Christ. He was a man of account in the world, who, in his younger years, travelled much abroad, having resided some time at Scanderoon, in Syria, as a merchant, and afterwards published a work called, *Wholesome Advice and Information*, wherein he shows how much some of the Turks exceeded some Christians in their dealings.

He was an honest upright man, one that feared God and was of good report, being a preacher of righteousness in his daily conduct, ever ready to do good. He became a valiant gospel minister, and spoke to the comfort and encouragement of those that heard him, travelling in many parts of England in gospel service. He died in peace at his own house, near Guildford, in Surrey, in 1678. He wrote many serviceable works, which were collected and published in an Svo volume, entitled, *The True Light Discovered to all who Desire to Walk in the Day*.

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 there, which at that time was of very good service. We went next day to Nathaniel Crips's at Tedbury, and thence passed on to Nailsworth; where on First-day we had a brave meeting, and large. Thence we went to the quarterly meeting at Finchcomb, where were several of the opposite spirit, who, it was thought, intended to make some disturbance amongst Friends; but the Lord's power was over, and kept them down, and good service for the Lord we had at that meeting. We returned from Finchcomb to Nailsworth, and had another very precious meeting there, to which Friends came from the several meetings thereabouts; which made it very large also.

We went from Nailsworth the 1st of the 1st Month, 1678, and travelled through the country visiting Friends and having many meetings at Cirencester, Crown-Allins, Cheltenham, Stoke-orchard, Tewkesbury, etc., so went to Worcester, where I had formerly suffered imprisonment above a year for truth's sake; and Friends rejoiced greatly to see me there again. Here I stayed several days, and had many very precious meetings in the city, and much service amongst Friends. After which, I had meetings at Pershore and Evesham; and then struck to Kagle in Warwickshire, to visit the Lady Conway,<sup>139</sup> who I understood was very desirous to see me, and whom I found tender and loving, and willing to detain me longer than I had freedom to stay. About two miles hence I had two meetings at a Friend's house, whose name was John Stanley, whither William Dewsbury came, and stayed with me about half a day. Afterwards I visited Friends in their meetings, at Stratford, Lamcoat, and Armscott (whence I was sent prisoner to Worcester in 1673), and thence passed into Oxfordshire, visiting Friends, and having meetings at Sibford, North Newton, Banbury, Adderbury, etc. Then visiting Friends through Buckinghamshire, at Long-crendon, Ilmere, Mendle, Weston, Cholsberry, Chesham, etc., I came to Isaac Pennington's, where I stayed a few days; and then turning into Hertfordshire, visited Friends at Charlewood, Watford, Hempstead, and Market-street, at which places I had meetings with Friends. From Market-Street I went in the morning to Luton in Bedfordshire, to see John Crook, with whom I spent good part of the day, and went towards evening to Alban's, where I lay that night at an inn. And visiting Friends at Southmims, Barnet, and Hendon, where I had meetings, I came to London the 8th of the 3rd Month. It being the fourth day of the week, I went to Graecechurch-Street meeting, which was peaceable and well; and many Friends, not knowing I was 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 sitting when I came to town, and Friends having laid their sufferings before them, were waiting on them for relief against the laws made against Popish recusants, which they knew we were not; though some malicious magistrates took advantages to prosecute us in several parts of the nation upon those statutes. Friends attending on that service when I came, I joined them therein; and

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139 Lady Conway was a person of great piety, and a favourer of Friends. In a letter to the learned and excellent Dr. Henry More, who was her particular friend, she thus expresses herself concerning them:—

“Your conversation with them (the Friends) at London might be, as you express it, charitably intended, like that of a physician frequenting his patients for the increase or confirmation of their health; but must confess, that my converse with them is, to receive health and refreshment from them.”—See Appendix to Barclay's second edition of *Isaac Pennington's Letters*, p. 311.

there was some probability that something might be obtained towards Friends' ease and relief in that case, many of the parliament-men being tender and loving towards us, believing we were much misrepresented by our adversaries. But when I went down one morning with George Whitehead to the parliament house, to attend upon them on Friends' behalf, suddenly they were prorogued, though but for a short time.

About two weeks after I came to London, the Yearly Meeting began, to which Friends came up out of most parts of the nation, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. O the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom, and unity, that were amongst us! The power reigned over all, and many testimonies were borne therein against that ungodly spirit, which sought to make rents and divisions amongst the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongst us in its defence, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts 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, the copy whereof here follows;—

“Dear Heart,

“To whom is my love in the everlasting Seed of life that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all, the like hath not been. The Lord hath in his power knit Friends wonderfully together, and his glorious presence did appear among them. And now the meetings are over, blessed be the Lord! in quietness and peace. From Holland I hear things are well there: some Friends are gone that way, to be at their Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished are got into the city again. At Dantzic, Friends are in prison, and the magistrates threatened them with harder imprisonment; but the next day the Lutherans rose, and plucked down (or defaced) the Popish monastery; so they have work enough among themselves. The King of Poland received my letter, and read it himself; and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the half-yearly meeting in Ireland, I hear that they are all in love there. At Barbadoes, Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antigua also and Nevis, truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New England and other places, things concerning truth and Friends are well; and 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, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all in his glory, and in his kingdom; glory to his name for ever, Amen. In haste, with my love to you all, and to all Friends.” “

G. F.

London, the 26th of the 3rd Month, 1678.

The letter to the King of Poland mentioned is as follows:—

“To Johannes III. King of Poland, etc.

“O King!”

“We desire thy 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 thy 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 it do serve, worship, and honour 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 bring 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 thee, O king, is, that we may have liberty of conscience 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. 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 with our neighbour, according to our proportion. We never read in all the Scriptures of the New Testament, that Christ or his disciples banished or imprisoned any that were not of their faith or religion, and would not hear them, or gave them any such command; but, on the contrary, let the tares and the wheat grow together, till the harvest; and the harvest is the end of the world. Then Christ will send his angels to sever the wheat from the tares, etc. He rebuked such as would have had fire from heaven to consume those that would not receive Christ; and told them that they did not know what spirit they were of. He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

“We desire the king to consider how much persecution there 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 manifest? None can say that the world is ended; and 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 pretence of plucking up tares; 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. O! 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 do own God and 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 belongeth not to me to reform the consciences; I have always gladly given that over to God, which belongeth to him; and so shall I do now, and also for the future. I will suffer the weeds to grow till the time of harvest, for I know that the number of believers is 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 written in French by W. M., anno 1576, hath 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 saith, 'Seeing Christ is a Lamb, whom you profess to be your head and captain, then it behoveth you to be sheep, and to use the same weapons that he made use of; for he will not be a shepherd of wolves and wild beasts, but only of sheep. Wherefore, 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 he not be your captain,' etc.

“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 of blood.' And furthermore he said, 'it was usually the condition of Christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute.'

“King Charles said, in his prayer to God, 'Thou seest how much cruelty amongst Christians is acted under the colour 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 disputations 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 all.'

“Pages 91, 92, 'In point of true conscientious tenderness I have so often declared, how little I desire my laws and sceptre should entrench on God's sovereignty, who is the only King of conscience.'

“Page 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 thou Sovereign of our souls, the only Commander of our consciences!'

“Page 346 (In his 'Meditations on Death'), 'It is indeed a sad state 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 exercise of religion.'

“Where hast thou read in thy 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 so do are certainly of the Pharisaical generation, who resisted the Holy Ghost.'

“Erasmus said, 'That though they take our money 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.

“Lucernns said, 'He that commandeth anything, wherewith he bindeth the conscience, this is an antichrist.'—*In de Bemise Disp.* fol. 71.

“Irenffius 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.'

“Constuntins, the emperor, said, 'That 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 every one to his own understanding, according to the account he will give before the judgmentseat 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 any wise.'—*Sebast. Frank, Chron.* fol. 127.

“Augustinus said, 'Some disturbed the peace of the church while they went about to root out the tares before their time; and through this error of blindness (said he) are they themselves separated so much the more from being united unto Christ.'

“Retnaldus testified, 'That he who, with imprisoning and persecuting, seeketh to spread the gospel, and greaseth 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, etc.'—[*Vid. Chron. Van de Underg.* 2. deel, p. 1514.1

“Ennins 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; with the restoring of communication and society may bring them into the right way of truth: let none give molestation to any; let every one 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 mischiefs, which are arguments against the permission of conventicles, are arguments for the public permission of differing religions, etc., they being restrained and made miserable, endears the discontented persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations.'

“The like counsel, 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 unblessed, 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 till 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 forbade him: and this he did for the space of two years in his own hired house at Home, and received all that came to him.

“Now, O king, seeing these noble testimonies concerning liberty of conscience from 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 Dantzic to meet together in our own hired houses; which cannot be any prejudice, either to the king or the city, for us to meet together to wait upon the Lord, and pray unto him, and to serve and worship him in Spirit and in 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: yea, them that persecute us. Therefore, O king, consider, and the city of

Dantzic, 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 you unto others as you would have them do unto you;' do not you that unto others, which you would not have them do unto you; for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And so in love to thy immortal soul, and for thy eternal good, this is written.”

G. F.

*“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 defence 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.”

*“Dear 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 one from Dantzic: I have written something directed to you, to the King of Poland, which you may translate into High Dutch, and send to Friends there to give to the king; or you may print it, after it be 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 the 9th Month, 1677.

I continued yet in and about London some weeks, the parliament sitting again, and Friends attending to get some redress of our sufferings, which about this time were very great, and heavy upon many Friends in divers parts of the nation; being very unduly prosecuted upon the statutes made against Popish recusants; though our persecutors could not but know that 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 each house were kind to Friends, and willing to do something for their ease, yet having much business, they were hindered from doing the good they would, so that the sufferings of Friends continued. But that which added much to the grief and exercise of Friends, was, that some who made a profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into a fleshly liberty, and labouring to draw others after them, opposed the order and discipline, which Gou by his power had set up and established in his church; and made a great noise and clamour against prescriptions; whereby they easily drew after them such as were loosely inclined, and desired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Some also that were more simple, but young in truth, or weak in judgment, were apt to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of Satan in these wiles; for whose sake I was moved to write the following paper, for undeceiving the deceived, and opening the understandings of the weak in this matter:—

“All you that deny prescriptions without distinction, may as well deny all the Scriptures, which were given forth by the power and Spirit of God. For do not they prescribe how men should walk towards God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yea, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis, what people ought to believe and trust in, and all along, till ye 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 favour with him? In the days of Christ, did not he prescribe and teach, how people should walk and believe? And after him, did not the apostles prescribe to people how they might come to believe, and receive the gospel and the kingdom of God, directing to 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 withstand that which they gave forth from the Spirit of God? And hath there not been the like 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 but in the same spirit which hath 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 themselves that opposed; these 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 cries now for liberty, which the power and Spirit of Christ cannot give—cries, 'Imposition,' and yet is imposing;—cries, 'liberty of conscience,' and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; and 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; and we must not judge spirits, nor religions,' etc. 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 overcometh the world, or that

which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy, and doth 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, and apostles, and messengers, whether they be of Satan or of Christ; they judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yea, the least member of the church hath power to judge of such things, having the one true measure, and true weight to weigh things, and measure things withal, 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; who keep their habitation, and who do not; 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, 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 it is restless, unruly, out of patience, and ready to curse his God, and that which reigns over him, because it hath not its will. It works with all subtilty and evasion with its restless spirit, to get in and defile the minds of the simple, and to make rapes upon 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 hath 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, of growths and states, from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savour of death, and to whom they are a savour of life; 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, and 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. Bulk, such as have lost their eye-salve, and whose 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 discernings; and so set the heavenly, spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which dishonours God, and leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity, which stands in the heavenly Spirit, which brings into conformity 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, of which Christ is the head; and so keep one fellowship and unity in the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes' peace. And they that cry so much against judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apostates, professors, or profane, are the most judging with their censorious, false spirits, and judgment; and yet they cannot bear the true judgment of the Spirit of God, nor stand in his judgment. This hath been manifest from the beginning, they having the false measures, and the false weights; for none have the true measure and true weight but they who keep in the light, power, and Spirit of Christ. And now there is a loose spirit, that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing ways, both by words and writings. The same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, and yet is judging with a wrong spirit. This is given forth in reproof to that spirit.”

G. F.

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 some days, having much service for the Lord there, both amongst Friends in their meetings, and in conferences with such as having let in evil surmisings and jealousies concerning Friends, stood in opposition to the order of truth: and in answering some books written against truth and Friends. While I was here, it came upon me to write a few lines, and send them abroad amongst 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 ye may all feel the everlasting holy peace with God, through Christ Jesus, your Saviour, and sit down in Him, your life and glorious rest, the holy rock and foundation, that standeth sure over all from everlasting to everlasting, in whom all the fulness of blessedness is; so that ye may glory in Him that liveth for evermore, Amen! who is your eternal joy, life, and happiness; through whom you have peace with God. This holy Seed bruise the head of the

serpent, and will outlive all his wrath and rage, malice and envy; who was before he and it were, and remains when he and it are gone into the fire that burns with brimstone. The Seed, Christ, will reign; and so will ye, as ye do live and walk in Him, sit down in Him, and build up one another in the love of God.”

G. F.

Hertford, the 10th of the 5th Month, 1678.

Next day a fresh exercise came upon me, with respect to those unruly and disorderly spirits, that were gone out from us, and were labouring to draw others after them into a false liberty. In the sense I had of the hurt and mischief these might do, where they were given way to, 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, under a pretence of conscience, and drawing into looseness and false liberty, dangerous to the welfare of youth. They that do encourage them, will be guilty of their destruction, and set up a sturdy will, 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 liberty in themselves, nor in others; thus they shut up the kingdom of heaven in themselves, and also in others. So a loose spirit getting up under a pretence of liberty of conscience; or a stubborn will, making a profession of the words of truth in a form without power, all looseness and vileness will be sheltered and covered under this pretence, which is for eternal judgment: for that doth dishonour God. Therefore, keep to the tender Spirit of God in all humility, that in it you may know that ye are all members of one another, and all have 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.”

G. F.

Hertford, the 11th of the 5th Month, 1678.

I went from Hertford to a meeting at Rabley-Heath, and thence to Edward Crouch's, of Stevenage. Next day to Baldock, where I had a meeting that evening; and after that 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 amongst Friends; labouring to convince gainsayers, and to confirm and strengthen Friends in the way and work of the Lord. At Ives, in Huntingdonshire, George Whitehead came to me, and travelled with me, in the

work of the Lord, for five or six days in that county, and in some part of Northamptonshire; and leaving me in Great Bowden in Leicestershire, he went towards Westmorland. I stayed longer in Leicestershire, visiting Friends at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sileby, Swannington, and divers other places; where I had very precious meetings, and good service amongst Friends and other people: for there was great openness, and many weighty and excellent truths did the Lord give me to deliver amongst them.

At Leicester I went to the jail to visit the Friends that were in prison there 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 them, I spoke with the jailer, desiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could, to visit their families sometimes.

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 therein. 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 ye may all strive to be of one mind in the Lord's power and truth, which is peaceable, and into which strife and enmity cannot come; 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 with, and in this heavenly wisdom, you may be all ordered, and do what ye do, to God's glory. And, dear Friends, if there should happen at any time anything that tends 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 youth amongst you may not be hurt, through hearing of 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 ye will preserve the peace of all your meetings. If any man or woman have anything against any one, let them speak to one another, and end it between themselves; if they cannot so decide, let them take two or three to end it. In case these determine it not, let it be laid before the church; and let half a dozen, or such a 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 her own, but bears all things, have the dominion in all your meetings; for that doth edify 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; it will keep down that which would vaunt itself, or be puffed up, or behave itself unseemly, or is easily provoked; it hath a sway over all such fruits, as are not of the Spirit, the fruit of which is love, etc. And that with this Holy Spirit ye may all be baptized into one body, and be made to drink into one Spirit; in which Spirit ye will have unity,



in which is the bond of the King of kings', and Lord of lords' peace. They that 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."

G. F.

Staffordshire, the 20th of the 6th Month, 1678.

Out of Staffordshire I went to visit John Gratton<sup>140</sup> at Monyash in Derbyshire, with whom I tarried 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; wherein was opened the blessed state of man 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, travelling from place to place amongst Friends in the Lord's service; and many heavenly meetings I had in that county. Then visiting Robert Widders, at Kellet, in Lancashire, I passed to Arnside, in Westmorland, where I had a precious, living meeting in the Lord's blessed power, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends, who came from divers parts to it. 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 amongst us.

I had not been long at Swarthmore, ere a concern came upon me to visit the churches of Christ in London and elsewhere, by an epistle, as follows:—

"Dear, Friends,

"To whom is my love in the heavenly Seed, in whom all nations are blessed. O, keep all in this Seed, in which ye 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 ye, are blessed, which bruise the head of the seed that brought the curse, and separated man from God; this is the Seed which reconciles you to God, this is the Seed in which ye are blessed both in temporals and spirituals; through which ye have an inheritance among the sanctified, that cannot be defiled, neither can any defiled

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<sup>140</sup> John Gratton was born about the year 1641. He was first brought under religious conviction when he was a shepherd boy about eleven years old, but he remained in a halting state till he attained to manhood, after which he became more devoted in heart to the Lord. He was brought into great grief on observing the instability of some professed preachers of the gospel, in times of persecution. In 1670 he began to preach among the Baptists, but soon left this people because they also flinched in the day of trial, and becoming convinced of the soundness of the principles held by Friends, and seeing their constancy under suffering, he joined them in 1671. The third time he attended a Friends' meeting, he spoke under the constraining influence of the Divine Spirit; and he soon became an able minister of Christ. He often left his temporal concerns to make apostolic visits to various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, he also suffered imprisonment for about five years and a half for the gospel's sake. His residence was for many years at Monyash, in Derbyshire, but in 1708 he removed to Needham, and resided with a daughter, at whose house he died in 1711, aged 68—a minister about forty years.

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, which leavens into the old lump, upon which the Sun of Righteousness goes down and sets; but it 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 ye 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, and served, and worshipped; and that ye may all be as the salt of the earth, to make the unseasoned savoury. And in the name of Jesus keep your meetings, who are gathered into it, in whose name ye have salvation; he being in the midst of you, whose name is above every name under the whole heaven. So ye have a Prophet, Bishop, Shepherd, Priest, and Counsellor (above all the counsellors and priests, bishops, prophets, and shepherds under the whole heaven) to exercise his offices among you, in your meetings, that are 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, the worship that he hath set up, and his fellowship in the gospel, are above all historical faiths, and the faiths that men have made, together with their worships 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, that ye may see over him that hath darkened, and kept from the knowledge of the things of God: for it is he and his instruments which have darkened you from life and immortality, that would throw down your men's and women's meetings, and would darken you again from this life and immortality, which the gospel hath brought to light, and will preserve you, as your faith stands in this power, in which every one sees his work and service for God. Every heir in the power of God, the gospel, hath right to this authority, which is not of man, nor by man; which power of God is everlasting, an everlasting order and fellowship; and in the gospel is everlasting joy, comfort, and peace, which will outlast all those joys, comforts, and peaces, that will have an end; and that spirit also, that opposes its order, and the glorious fellowship, peace, and comfort in it.

"And, dear Friends, my desire is, that ye 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 ye may see and bear witness thereto, and all drink into the one Spirit; which all people upon 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, yea, the King of kings' and Lord of lords' peace; which it is the duty of all true Christians to keep, who are inwardly united to Christ. My love to you all in the everlasting Seed."

G. F.

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 in their sufferings; having a true sense of their sufferings upon my spirit, sympathizing with them therein. 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 ye 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 his head), in whom ye have both election and salvation. For his elect's sake the Lord hath done much from 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 all God's suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him: for they shall be as Mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ, their rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and the 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; and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his Holy Spirit of Faith. Amen.”

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 12th Month, 1678.

I abode in the North at this time above a year, having service for the Lord amongst 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 thereof, and be gathered thereunto. Several epistles also to Friends I wrote in this time, on divers occasions; one was to the Yearly Meeting of Friends 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 rocks and foundations 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. Such builders therefore could not receive the law of life from Christ, the precious Stone laid in Sion, nor the word from heavenly Jerusalem. But you, my dear Friends, that have received this law from heavenly Sion, 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 all may keep in the law of life and love, which ye have in Christ Jesus, by which love the body is edified, knit, and united together to Christ Jesus, the Head. This love beareth all things, and fulfils the law; and it will preserve all in humility, to be of one mind, heart, and soul; so that all may come to drink into that one Spirit that doth baptize and circumcise them; plunging down and cutting off the body of the sins of the flesh, that is gotten 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 ye 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 whence it comes; and by the grace and truth which came 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, and in 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 be unto the Lord for ever!

“Now, Friends, in this grace and truth is your heavenly, gracious, and true liberty to every spiritual mind, that 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, and by which faith ye have access to God again, through Jesus Christ. So in this divine and holy faith, ye have divine, holy, and precious liberty, yea, 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 of the sins of the flesh, that is gotten 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 (the power of God, which is over the power of Satan) is the true liberty, and the gospel-fellowship and order. So that the evil spirit or conscience, or false, dead faith, and that which is ungracious and 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 the 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 hath brought all mankind into bondage. So in this heavenly, peaceable Spirit, and 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, and sense, feeling, discerning, and savour,

yea, unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father, heavenly eternal fellowship. So all being subject to the grace, and truth, 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 go they down into death with Christ by baptism; and therefore such are not like to reign with him in his resurrection, who are not buried with him in 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 thing which doth 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 amongst the beasts 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 may follow the Lamb. For the power of God keeps all in order, subjection, and humility—in that which is lovely and virtuous, decent, comely, temperate, and moderate; so that their moderation appears 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 ye may be the salt of the earth, to salt and season it, and make it savoury to God, and you all seasoned with it. Then all your sacrifices will be a sweet savour to the Lord, and ye 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 unsavoury, and 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 continually, 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 the head of the serpent, both within and without, may be all your crown and life, and ye 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 hath received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him in the humility which he teaches; and shun the occasions of strife, vain janglings, and disputings with men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth: for the truth is peaceable, and the gospel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God; his wisdom is peaceable and gentle, and his kingdom stands in peace. O, his glory shines over all his works! and in Christ Jesus, who is not of the world, ye will have peace, yea, a peace that the world cannot take away: for the peace which ye 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 for ever and ever! Amen.

“And now, my dear Friends, the Lord doth require more of you than he doth of other people; because he hath 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 herein is he glorified (as Christ said) in your bringing forth much fruit—fruits of righteousness, holiness, godliness, virtue, truth, and purity; so that ye 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 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 ye have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken, except ye go from the Spirit; and then ye lose this unity and bond of peace, which ye 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, and 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 have denied what their tongues have professed and declared.

“And, dear Friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye 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 honour, that in nowise his power may be abused, or his name evil spoken of, by any evil talkers or walkers: but that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls, and spirits, the little time ye 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 ye all have life and salvation, and your election and peace with God, through Jesus Christ, who destroys him that hath 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 amongst you all. The Lord God Almighty by his mighty power, by which he hath preserved all 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.”

G. F.

The 24th of the 3rd Month, 1679.

Divers other epistles and papers I wrote to Friends, during my stay in the North; one was in a few lines, to encourage Friends to be bold and valiant for the Truth, which the Lord had called them to bear witness to; it was thus:—

“Dear Friends,

“All be valiant for the Lord's Truth upon the earth, which the serpent, Satan, and the devil is out of; and in the truth keep him out, in which you all have peace and life, and unity with God and

his Son, and one with another. Let the love of God fill all your hearts, that in it ye 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 Saviour; 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 waxeth old; and arm you with his heavenly weapons and armour, that ye may stand faithful witnesses for God and his Son, who is come, and hath given you an understanding to know Him, and ye are in him. So walk in Him, in whom ye all have life and salvation, and peace with God. My love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have laboured; and God Almighty, in his eternal power and wisdom, preserve you all to his glory. Amen.”

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 29th of the 10th Month, 1679.

The next day, having a sense upon me that some who had received the Truth, and had openings thereof, for want of keeping low, had run out therefrom, I was moved to give forth the following epistle, as “a warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility.”—

“My Dear Friends,

“Whom the Lord in his tender mercies, hath visited with the dayspring from on high, and hath opened you to confess and bow to his name; keep low in your minds, and learn of Christ, who teacheth you humility, to keep in it; so that in nowise, ye that are younger, be exalted, or puffed up, or conceited through your openings, and by that means lose your conditions, by being carried up into presumption; and then fall 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 therein, that they all might be comprehended into the truth, which they spoke to others, that they might not be preachers to others, and themselves cast-aways. Therefore it doth concern you to be comprehended into that, which ye do preach to others, and to 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, or its motions, grieve it, or err from it; but be led by it, which keeps all in their tents; which giveth an understanding, how to serve, worship, and please the holy, pure God, the 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 teacheth the holy, gentle, meek, and quiet lowly mind to answer the seed, that Christ hath 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 ye may bring forth fruits to his praise. Amen.”

Swarthmore, the 30th of the 10th Month, 1079.

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel into the South again. I set forward in the beginning of the first month, 1679-80; and passing through part of Westmorland and Lancashire, I visited Friends at several meetings, and came into Yorkshire. Divers large and weighty meetings I had in Yorkshire, before I came to York. When I came there it was the assize time; and there being many Friends in prison for truth's sake, I put those, that were at liberty, upon drawing up the sufferings of Friends in prison, to lay before the judges; and I assisted them therein. There were then in York many Friends from several parts of the county, for the quarterly meeting was at that time; so that I had a brave 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 to the outward state of the church, how each member ought to walk and act, according to his place in the body. I spent several days in York, having divers meetings; and all was peaceable and well. I went also to the castle, to visit Friends that were prisoners; with whom I spent some time, encouraging and strengthening them in their testimony.

Then leaving York, I travelled southward, having meetings in many places amongst Friends, till I came to Barton in Lincolnshire; where, on First-day, I had a large and precious meeting. Then turning into Nottinghamshire, I travelled through good part of that county, in which I had several good meetings; and then passed into Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, having meetings all along as I went, till I came to Warwick; there William Dewsbury came to me, and several other Friends, and we had a little meeting in that town. Then passing through Southam and Radway, at each of which places I had a very good meeting, I came to Nathaniel Ball's of North Newton in Oxfordshire, and so to Banbury to a monthly meeting there. And after I had visited Friends in the bordering parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire, I passed to Kichard Baker's<sup>141</sup> of Biddlesdon in Buckinghamshire; and next day, being First-day, I had a very large meeting in Biddlesdon, at an old abbey-house, which a Friend rented and dwelt in. Many Friends and people came to it 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 Bugbrooke. Then going to Stony-Stratford, I went from thence into some parts of Bedfordshire, till I came to Edward Chester's of Dunstable. Passing on by Market Street, I had a meeting at Alban's; and calling on Friends at Mims and Barnet, I came to the widow Hayley's, at Guttershedge, in Hendon, Middlesex, on a Seventh-day night, and had a very large and good meeting there the day following.

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141 Richard Baker is described as a man of circumspect life, and a pattern of good works. He suffered cheerfully for Christ both the spoiling of his goods and imprisonment of his body; and would often say, "If people did but know the pleasure of godliness, they would not live in the earth as they did." He was a zealous labourer, a vigilant watchman, a sharp reprover of evil, an encourager of the good, and a faithful minister, endeavouring to bring those he ministered to into an inward exercise of spirit towards God, and to a greater acquaintance with, and subjection to, the power of God. Concerning this he wrote a treatise entitled, *A Testimony to the Power of God, being Greater than the Power of Satan*. He died in 1697, having often said in his last sickness, "All is well," and testified that the power and strength of God was with him.



I passed thence to London on 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 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 a month or five weeks in and about London, labouring 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 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 in London, in writing letters to Friends in divers parts of England, and in Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several 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 Dey of Algiers severally, to warn them, and the people under them, to turn from their wickedness, fear the Lord, and do justly; lest the judgments of God should come upon them, and destroy them without remedy. To the Algerines I wrote more particularly, concerning the cruelty they exercised towards Friends and others, whom they held captives in Algiers.<sup>142</sup> When I had finished that service, and visited Friends in their meetings at Kingston, I went further into the country, and had meetings amongst Friends at Worplesdon, Guildford, Esher, Capel, PatchGate, Worminghurst, Bletchington, Horsham, Ifield, Reigate, Gatton, etc., and so came back to Kingston again; and thence to Hammersmith. And having spent some days in the service of truth amongst Friends at Hammersmith, Battersea, Wandsworth, and thereabouts, I crossed over, by Kensington, to Hendon, where I had a very good meeting on a First-day; and went thence 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 educating of Friends' children. I had

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142 There appear to have been at this time a number of Friends captured at Algiers. In the early times of the Society many of its members were seafaring men; and to such, of whatever religious profession, it was no uncommon thing to be taken at sea by the Algerines or other corsairs, who continually scoured the Mediterranean, and ventured occasionally beyond its limits to make prize of merchant ships, and consign their crews to slavery.

Great care was exercised towards these captive Friends by the Society, and efforts made for their redemption. They are mentioned in the Yearly Meeting epistles of 1682-1687, and in most of the succeeding ones. In the epistle of 1698 it is stated, "Divers of our Friends who were captives at Mequinez, and suffered great hardships there, are dead; and there yet remain five, for whose ransom great endeavours have been used, but it is not yet effected." The epistle of the following year states, "Earnest endeavours have again lately been used for the liberty of our Friends, captives in Barbary, though not as yet obtained; and there being at this time some negotiations on foot, by the tenderness and care of the government, for the redemption of all the English there; and though the persons in Barbary, employed therein by Friends, do wait some time to see the effect of that, yet we shall continue our further endeavours for their discharge, and in the meantime take care to send them supplies for food, they having little allowance in that country, of anything to support their bodies, under the great severities of labour, and undeserved stripes, that captives often endure."

In the epistle of 1702 the conclusion of the Barbary captives is stated, namely, that five Friends, being all who remained alive in that long and sore captivity, *have been this year redeemed*, whose ransom (including a Friend's son from Pennsylvania) cost the Society upwards of £480. The redeemed tenderly and gratefully acknowledged Friends' love and care of them.

some service here amongst the youth; and then went towards Hertford, visiting several Friends on the way. At Hertford I met with John Story, and some others of his party;<sup>143</sup> 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 the rather, because some in that place had let in a disesteem of them. Wherefore I was moved to open the service of those meetings, and the usefulness and benefit thereof to the church of Christ, as the Lord opened the thing in 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 wherein they were wrong; and having cleared myself of them, I left them to the Lord. Then, after another public meeting in the town, I returned towards London by Waltham Abbey, where I had a public meeting on the First-day following; and another with Friends in the evening. Next day I went to Christopher Taylor's at Edmonton, and stayed there a day or two, having some things upon me to write, which were for the service of truth. When I had finished that service, I went to London by Shacklewell, where was a school kept by Friends, for the bringing up of young women that were Friends' daughters.

I abode at London most part of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in and out of meetings: for as it was a time of great suffering among Friends, I was drawn in spirit to visit Friends' meetings more frequently; to encourage and strengthen them both by exhortation and example. The parliament also was sitting, and Friends were diligent in waiting 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. In seeking relief for my suffering brethren I spent much time; together with other Friends, who were freely given up to that service, attending at the parliament-house for many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either house, as would hear our just complaints. And indeed, some of these were very courteous to us, and appeared willing to help us if they could; but the parliament being then earnest in examining the Popish plot, and contriving ways to discover such as were Popishly affected, our adversaries took advantages against us (because they knew we could not swear nor fight) to expose us to those penalties that were made against Papists; though they knew in their consciences that we were no Papists, and had had experience of us, that we

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143 A schism, of which Story and Wilkinson were at the head, is frequently referred to in the writings of some of the early Friends. It commenced and spread mostly in the north. There were, however, those in London, Bristol, and some southern counties, who, through ease and unwatchfulness, having lost their first love and the discerning spirit, were deceived by a specious bait, and became the cause of much exercise and trouble to their brethren.

The ground of difference was alleged by them to be, their objection to those meetings for regulating the affairs of the church, exercising a salutary discipline over its members; and more especially against the establishment of women's meetings, which G. Fox and other Friends "were moved to set up." They stated, with a show of plausibility which gained some, chiefly the looser sort, to their ranks, "That such meetings were needless, some years having been passed in peace and unity without them; and that every individual ought to be guided by the Spirit, and left free to act; that meetings for discipline were a form, and the exercise of that discipline an infringement upon individual liberty." Great endeavours were made for their enlightenment and restoration. In 2d Month 1676, a meeting was held at Drawell, which lasted four days, in which "many Friends laboured much for their preservation, but they were too far gone in a separate spirit to be reclaimed." They, therefore, became out of unity with the body who, "walking by the same rule, minded the same thing." They fell to jangling, and, after a while, the best among them came to see how they had been deceived; and the rest, after having had separate meetings, are said to have "vanished as snow in the fields."—See *Sewell's History*, folio edition, pp. 583, 584.

were no plotters. Wherefore, to clear our innocency, and to 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 of all his subjects. Wherefore we declare, that we will endeavour, 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, ye know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we desire you to relieve us, and free us from these sufferings; and that ye 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.”

G. F.

## CHAPTER X.

*1681-1683.—George Fox answers two envious books written abroad—writes to magistrates to persuade them to moderation—writes to the Quarterly Meetings—attends the judges at Chambers, respecting a tithe-suit against himself and his wife—George Fox had bound himself not to intermeddle with his wife's estate—this is shown to the judges in court, at which they wonder—his counsel thereon founds an argument in his favour—he again writes against the spirit of strife and division in the church—writes to the magistrates who had illegally condemned Friends upon ex-parte evidence—writes two papers respecting the choice of sheriffs—Friends are interrupted at Gracechurch Street Meeting by a civil and military force—George Fox writes divers books and papers in support and defence of the Truth—the Spirit of God directed to as the rule to distinguish between Truth and error, whereby the evil of persecution may be avoided—an epistle to encourage Friends under their sufferings, both from the outward powers, and from false brethren—the laws are now more strictly enforced against Dissenters—an epistle to Friends, commending them to the power of God in themselves—writes to Friends imprisoned at Denbigh, to console them in their sufferings, and exhorting them to faithfulness—Friends are kept out of their meeting-houses, and fined for speaking—a Friend is speedily restored from a sudden illness, in a remarkable manner, through the prayers of George Fox—persecution is now hot, and George Fox writes to Friends not to risk the loss of other people's goods through their sufferings.*

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. They were both full of gross falsehoods, and reproachful slanders. I found it upon me to answer them both; and that I might not be much interrupted therein 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. That 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, tranquillity, life, and salvation in Christ Jesus, the Lord of Glory, and Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, who 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 ye may be not only sayers, but doers of the word; not only professors and talkers of Christ, but letting him rule in your hearts by faith, and be walkers in Christ. For as his great apostle saith, 'As every one hath 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, yea, 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 entreated (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 is come and coming; and the Lord God is come to teach his people himself by his Son, Heb. i., 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, who was the Teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, before they fell and disobeyed the Lord, 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 honour be to God through Jesus Christ, who hath called us by his Son into his glorious image, to serve and worship him in Spirit and truth; which Holy Spirit and truth the devil is out of, and into which

he cannot come.

“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 saith, 'Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest;' and he forbade such as would be plucking up tares: the reason was, 'lest they should pluck up the wheat also;' for Christ said, it should be his angels' work, to separate the tares 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! O, lay these things to heart! A day of judgment will come, vengeance and recompense upon every one according to his works.

“To those disciples who would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume them that would not receive them, Christ turned him about, rebuked them, and told them, 'they knew not 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 lives since the apostles' days, because they could 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 reprov'd by, and come under the judgment of Christ? Therefore let all persecution be laid aside concerning religion; let love bear the sway, to overcome evil and enemies; and let patience overshadow 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, and upon Christendom. Therefore be in unity, and let not the name of God and Christ be blasphemed amongst them by means of any that bear the name of Christians. So God may be glorified by 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 came to 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? Are 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? And ye may be sure that spirit that stirs you up to persecution, let it be in whomsoever it will, 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, and a haler to prison, before he was converted to Christianity; but never after. And therefore, are not all in Saul's nature, let them be of what name or profession soever, that are persecutors, and unconverted into Paul's life of Christianity? He said, the life that he lived after he was converted, was 'by the faith of the Son of God;' and that he lived, yet not he, but 'Christ lived in him,' who came to save men's lives, and 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 saith, '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 and disobedient, for the ungodly, and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, for liars, and for perjured persons,' 1 Tim. i. 8-10. So the law, in its place, is good against such. Again the apostle says, 'The law was added because of transgression,' Gal. iii. 19. Here all magistrates may see what the law in its place is good against; what it was made for and against; and what evils, the apostle says, it takes hold of. 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 ye have nothing in their lives and conversations, only because they differ from you in matters of religion; letting man-slayers, whoremongers, perjured persons, ungodly, profane persons, liars, etc., go unpunished; such do not use, nor execute the law lawfully, as the apostle says, 'The law is good, if a man use it lawfully.' Therefore it ought to be used lawfully; which law, the apostle says, 'is for the punishment of evildoers, and a praise for them that do well,' as may be seen, Rom. xiii. So, as the apostle said, 'We do not break the law, nor make it void; but we establish the law,' Rom. iii. 31.

“This is from him who desires the eternal good and salvation of you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.”

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the 4th of the 1st Month, 1680-1.

After I had finished these services I returned to London, where I stayed about a month, labouring amongst 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 Waxtham Abbey, where I had a very precious meeting; and another at Flamstead Heath. Having spent

some time among Friends thereabouts, and had divers 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 3rd month, 1681. It was a very precious time, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting it came upon me to write the following epistle:—

“To the Men's and Women's Quarterly 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, Saviour, Sanctifier, and Reconciler of his sons and daughters (his church) to God, I say, his presence (to wit, Christ's) feel 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 ye do not go astray from God. And as Christ is a Shepherd, feel, see, and hear him exercising that office, who laid down his life for his sheep, feeding them in his living pastures of life, and making 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, joy in the Holy Ghost, over Satan and his power, and all unrighteousness. So all ye subjects to Christ's kingdom of peace, if ye want wisdom, or knowledge, life, or salvation, Christ is the treasure; feel Him the treasure among you. And all, as ye have received Christ, walk in him, in whom ye have peace; who bruises the head of the serpent, the author of all strife, distraction, and confusion: yea, 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 ye may bear the marks of Christ's disciples, and it may appear that Christ is in you, and ye in Him; so that God Almighty may be glorified among you. Whatever ye 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, yea, the Holy King of kings' and Lord of lords' peace. And in this holy, pure Spirit is your eternal unity and fellowship; in which ye serve and worship the God of Truth, who is over all, blessed for ever, Amen. So the Lord guide you all with his Word of patience, 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, and who is overall, the First and the Last.”

G. F.

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 and several other Friends, were sued in Cartmel-Wapentake Court in Lancashire, for small

tithes, and we had demurred to the jurisdiction of that court. Whereupon the plaintiff prosecuted us in the Exchequer Court at Westminster, where they run us up to a writ of rebellion, for not answering the bill upon oath; and got an order of court to the sergeant, 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 him to have done it, lodging at the places where I used to do, 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 there was a warrant out against me, as soon as the Yearly Meeting was over, I took William Mead with me, and went to several of the judges' chambers to speak with them about it; and to let them understand both the state of the case, and the ground and reason of our refusing to pay tithes. The first I 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 she had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid or 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, or 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, and 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; and 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; and with him I had much discourse concerning tithes. Whereupon 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 that they had brought those charges upon us, by requiring us to put in our answer upon oath: which they knew before 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 thence to Judge Atkyns's 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 there. Wherefore leaving him we went to one of the most noted counsellors, 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 till the next term (called Michaelmas), and then it was brought before the four judges again. Then William Mead told the judges that I had engaged not 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 divers 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 they granted a sequestration against me and my wife together. Thereupon, 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 broke forth in a great rage against me in the open court; but shortly after he died.

After the Yearly Meeting, I tarried about a month in London; and then went into Sussex, to visit Friends there, amongst whom I had many large and very precious meetings in divers parts of that county. Yet I spent not much time now in Sussex, but returned pretty soon to London, whither I felt drawings in spirit; and had very good service for the Lord there, both in public meetings and amongst Friends. When I had tarried some time in London, I went to Edmonton; thence into Buckinghamshire, where I visited Friends at several meetings in that county: and then went by Henley to Reading, where I tarried several meetings. I went no farther westward at this time than to 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 shone over all. Many Friends came to it out of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire. Thence I passed to Ilmore in the vale of Buckinghamshire, where we had a glorious meeting; and the day following I returned to Mary Penington's, visiting the men's and women's monthly meetings at Hunger-hill, and some other meetings thereabouts; and then passed to Watford, where was a marriage of two Friends, at which I was present. A very large meeting we had on that occasion, and the Lord's power was over all. I went from Watford to Longford in Middlesex, visiting Friends at Uxbridge in the way. At Longford we had a large meeting on First-day, and the presence of the Lord was preciousely felt amongst us; blessed be his name! I passed from Longford to Kingston, visiting Friends as I went, at Staines and Suneury. At Kingston I abode with Friends two meetings, wherein we were sweetly refreshed together in the Lord. Passing thence towards London, I had a very precious meeting at Wandsworth: then crossing over to Hammersmith, I had a good meeting there, which was larger on account of a burial; and there being openness in the people, I had a fine opportunity to open the way of truth amongst them.

After I was come 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 habitations in the truth, that is over all, see that it is the same spirit that leads the backsliders and apostates now, from the spiritual fellowship and unity of God's people, and the church of Christ, that led Adam and Eve from God, and the Jews from God and his law, to rebel against his Spirit. This spirit is the same that was in the world, which got into the Jews,

when they were gone from the Spirit of God; and then they turned against God and his prophets, and against Christ and his apostles. This spirit led them to be as bad as Pilate, or worse. The enmity or adversary got within them against the truth, and them 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 them that walked in it, when true Christianity was planted among the possessors of the light, grace, and truth, and the holy gospel faith and Spirit, who enjoyed Christ in their hearts. 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 thereof; and troubled the churches in the apostles' days. When the spirit of Satan had got into such, they were more troublesome to the church than the open persecutors that were without: these got into the assemblies to deceive the hearts of the simple, having the good words, fair speeches, and 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, this spirit is tried, and its fruits. So the apostates went from the power and Spirit of God, and turned against the prophets, and the 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, the beast, and false prophets, all made war against the Lamb and the saints; but the Lamb and the saints will overcome them all, and will have the victory. And now the everlasting gospel is preached again to all nations, tongues, and peoples; and many are gathered into the gospel, the power of God, are turned to the light, which is the life in Christ, are 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; yea, it is the same that opposed Christ, and disdained him, that disdaineth 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, wilful, jealous spirit, that persecutes some with the hands, and others with the tongue. It is the same spirit of enmity, the adversary and destroyer, that tempted Adam and Eve to disobey God, and deceived them; which deceived the Jews and tempted them, and deceived all those that went from the church in the apostles' days. And 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 who have fair speeches, good words, and sheep's clothing, in a form of godliness, and under pretence of light and liberty, but who deny the power thereof, and inwardly are ravening wolves; and if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. But the elect are in

the covenant of light and life, and in the power of God over them, and in Christ, who will grind them to pieces; and will 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.”

G. F.

Sufferings continuing severe upon Friends at London, I found my service lay mostly there; wherefore I went but little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the most 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 about from house to house, visiting Friends that had their goods taken away for their testimony to truth. And because the wicked informers were grown very audacious, by reason that they had too much countenance 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 right, but even contrary to 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; which was as follows:

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“Whereas informers have obtained warrants of some justices of peace, who have convicted many of us without a hearing, or once summoning us to appear before them; by which proceedings many have had their goods seized and taken away, being generally fined ten pounds each for an unknown speaker: and some of those persons so fined, have not been at the meetings they were fined for; and the speaker notwithstanding has himself been fined for the same meeting, the same day the others were fined for the unknown speaker. By this the justices may see the wickedness of these informers, by whose false oaths we have been convicted for an unknown preacher, when the preacher has been both known and fined. Also in their swearing such persons to have been at such a meeting such a day, when indeed they, whom they have so sworn against, have not been at that meeting. By which proceedings several families of the king's peaceable subjects are likely to be ruined, if a speedy stop be not put thereunto. Therefore we hope and desire, that you, the king's justices, for the time to come, when any informers shall come to any of you with information against any of us, will summon such as are accused to appear before you, and hear us and our accusers face to face; that none for the time to come may suffer for that they are not guilty of. For Pilate the governor heard Christ and his accusers, face to face, before he condemned him, John xix. 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 vii. The Roman captain heard Paul and his accusers face to face, Acts xxiii. Felix the governor heard Paul, and Ananias the high priest, and the elders that accused Paul, face to face, Acts xxiv. 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 xxv. Doth the law of God, or did the Roman law, or doth 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, that had been illegally prosecuted and fined, entered their appeals; and upon trial were acquitted, and the informers cast: which was a great discouragement to the informers, and some relief to Friends.

A little before the time for choosing new sheriffs for the city, they who put up to be chosen desiring our Friends to give their voices for them, I wrote a few lines, tending to discover what spirit they were of, and how they stood affected to true liberty; and it was by way of inquiry, thus:—

“Do any here in London, who stand to be chosen sheriffs, own that Christ, that was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, to be the light of the world, that 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world' who saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may become children of light?' Are any of you against persecuting people for their religion and worship of God in Spirit and in truth, as Christ commandeth? For Christ said, 'I am not of this world, nor my kingdom;' therefore he doth not uphold his spiritual worship and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. Christ said, 'Swear not at all;' and his apostle James saith the same; but will not you force us to swear, and so to break Christ's and his apostle's commands, in putting oaths to us? Christ saith to his apostles, 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' Will not you force us to give tithes and maintenance to such teachers as we know God hath not sent? Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his and his Son's commands, if we give our voices freely for you? For we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods.”

But whatever they were that stood to be chosen, I observed heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I wrote a few lines to be spread amongst them, directed thus:—

“To the People who are choosing Sheriffs in London.

“People,—All keep in the gentle and peaceable wisdom of God, which is above all that which is earthly, sensual, and devilish; and live in that love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unseemly; which envieth not, but beareth and endureth all things. In this love ye will seek the good and peace of all, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, and 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 every one according to his works; and what every man soweth, that shall he reap.”

Now I had some inclination to go into the country to a meeting, but hearing that there would be a bustle at our meetings, and feeling a great disquietness in people's spirits in the city about choosing sheriff's, it was upon me to stay in the city, and go to the meeting in Gracechurch Street upon the First-day of the week, William Penn went with me, and spoke; and while he was declaring the truth to the people, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down; but he continued,

declaring truth in the power of God. After a while the constable drew back, and when William Penn had done, I stood up, and declared to the people the everlasting gospel, which was preached in the apostles' days, and to Abraham; and which the church in the apostles' days received, and came to be heirs of. 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 ye hear in all things;' so, said I, 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 bid me give over speaking, and come down; but, feeling the power of the Lord with me, I spoke on therein, both to 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 come with their staves amongst us, who were met 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; and while I was speaking, the constables drew out 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, both 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 being come in again, but without the soldiers; and indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us; and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a Friend went down and told them, that if they would have anything with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us 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 therein we found, that the informer was one Hilton, a North-countryman, who was reputed to be a Baptist. The constable was asked, whether he would arrest us by his warrant on that day; it being the First-day of the week, which in their law was called the Lord's day; he said, he thought he could not. He told us also, that 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; yet to free him from all fear of danger, we were free to go to the alderman that granted the warrant. Then a Friend that was present said, he would go with the constable to speak with the alderman; which they did, and came presently back again, the alderman being gone from home. Seeing

the constable in a strait, and finding him to be a tender man, we bid him fix an hour to come to us again, or send for us, and we would come to him. So he appointed five in the afternoon; but neither came, nor sent for us; and a Friend meeting him afterwards in the evening, the constable told him, he thought it would come to nothing, and therefore did not look after us. So the Lord's power was over all; to him be the glory!

On the Fourth-day following, it was upon me to go to Gracechurch Street meeting again; for I had heard that they would come to break it up that day. The neighbours, it seems, were informed so; a justice had granted a warrant for that purpose, and the constable told a Friend, that Hilton the informer had been with him about it. The constable would have had the informer to go with him to the meeting, but he would not; but would have the constable to go without him; whether that put the constable by, I know not; but he did not come. I was in a travail of spirit in the power of God, and was moved in it to go to the meeting; and the Lord's power chained all down. Though they threatened to bring the red coats, none came, nor was there any disturbance; but a glorious, powerful meeting it was, and very peaceable. Glory, honour, and praises be to the Lord over all for ever. Amen!

During the time I thus abode at London, as I had leisure between meetings, and from other public services, I wrote divers books and papers, some of which were printed, and others 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 neighbour 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 stand in outward observances and ceremonies; pressing them from those words of the apostle Paul to the Galatians, chap, v. ver. 2-4, 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye 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 do 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 evil-doers, they might not themselves do evil in persecuting the righteous." That paper, being short, is here inserted:—

"The Spirit of God, which he hath poured upon all, giveth an understanding to all that are led by it; and to those who do not quench the motions of it, it giveth 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 them 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. They 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 taketh away the sins of the world; and they will not follow the hirelings, nor the strangers, to be led into strange ways, doctrines, religions, worships, and churches; for the lambs of Christ follow Christ, the Lamb of God, and know his heavenly voice. They know also, that they 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 to come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. They that do good to all, do hurt to none; for that spirit that doth hurt to any, is not of God; but that spirit which doth good to all, 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, that corrupts men, and makes them deaf and blind to the things of God, and to halt out of God's way. They that obey the evil one and forsake the Lord, such the destroyer doth destroy; but Christ destroys that destroyer; and in Christ all have life."

G. F.

I wrote another paper also concerning meditation, delight, exercise, and study; showing from the Scriptures of truth, what the true Christians ought to meditate upon, and to exercise their minds in; what they should take delight in, and what they should study to do. For in these things, not the profane and loose people only, but even the great professors of religion are very much mistaken; taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things; whereas they ought to meditate on heavenly things, delight in the law of God after the inward man, and exercise themselves to have always "a conscience void of offence towards God, and towards men," as the apostle Paul did.

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 that were brought upon them, both from the outward magistrates, and by false brethren and apostates, whose wicked books and filthy slanders grieved the upright-hearted. This epistle I wrote at Dalston, whither I went to visit an ancient Friend that lay sick:

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"Friends and brethren in Christ Jesus, whom the Lord hath called and gathered into himself, in him abide; for without him ye can do nothing, and through him ye can do all things. He is your strength and support in all your trials, temptations, imprisonments, and sufferings, who for Christ's sake are accounted as sheep for the slaughter: in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Christ who hath loved us. And therefore, Friends, though you suffer by the

outward powers, ye know that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, suffered by the unconverted. And though ye suffer by false brethren and false apostates for a time, and by their filthy books and tongues; whose tongues indeed are become no 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 manifested 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 profane against us, and to speak evil of the way of truth, God's judgments will overtake them, and come upon them, as sure as they have come upon those that are gone before them. Let their pretence be ever so high, mark their end; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the grass upon the top of the house. Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the Seed is on the head of such, and will grind them to powder; which Seed bruises 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 taketh pleasure in his people that are faithful, that serve and worship him. Therefore let the saints be joyful in glory; and the God of peace, 'the God of all grace, who hath called us into his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after that ye have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you.' Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you. And, dearly beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial that is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you; for it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing: and rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator; for unto you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. So it is given, or is a gift from Christ, to suffer for his name; and therefore rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. If ye be reproached, or evil spoken of for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth 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 let them glorify God on this behalf, though now for a season ye are in sufferings, and trials, and temptations, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than that of gold, which perishes, though it be tried with fire, may be found unto praise, honour, and glory, who are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation. Therefore mind your Keeper, wherever ye are, or what sufferings soever ye be in; and mind the example of the apostle, how he suffered trouble as an evil-doer unto bonds. But the Word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures for ever; and they who are in that, which is not everlasting, and doth not endure for ever, 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 abide faithful. Therefore strive not about words to no profit, but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness; that ye may be vessels of honour, sanctified and meet for Christ your Master's use, and prepared unto 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 ye lay hold on eternal life, and have access unto God, 'who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who, by patient continuing in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, 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 doeth evil; but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good.' Christ said to his disciples, 'If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.' And, 'If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.' And John, in his general epistle to the church, saith, 'Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' And Christ, in his prayer to his Father, saith of his followers, 'As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world; and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one.' And, therefore, all ye 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 ye may be all settled upon Christ, the rock and foundation."

G. F.

Dalston, the 3rd of the 8th Month, 1682.

I made but little stay at Dalston, but returned to London, where I continued most part of the winter, labouring in the service of truth amongst Friends; save that I was a little while at Kingston, in the 10th month of this year, where I wrote a book, setting forth "The state of the birth temporal, and the birth spiritual; and the duty and state of a child, youth, young men, aged men, and fathers in the truth," etc. But I stayed not long at Kingston, for the heat of persecution still continuing, I felt my service to be chiefly at London; where our meetings were for the most part disturbed and broken up, or Friends were forced to meet without doors, being kept out of their meeting-houses by the officers. Yet sometimes, beyond expectation, we got a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houses. One time I intended to go a mile or two out of town, to visit a Friend that was not well; but hearing that the king had sent to the mayor to put the laws in execution against Dissenters, and that the magistrates thereupon intended to nail up the meeting-house doors, I had not freedom to go out of town, but was moved to go to the meeting in Gracechurch Street; and notwithstanding all the threats, a great meeting it was, and very quiet; 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 sessions were holden the same day at Hicks's-Hall. I went to the Peel in the morning; and William Mead being to appear at the sessions-house for not going to the steeple-house worship, came once or twice from Hicks's-Hall to me at the Peel; which some ill-minded people observing, went and informed the justices at the bench, that he was gone to a meeting at the Peel. Whereupon the justices sent a messenger, to see if there was a

meeting; but this being in the forenoon, there was none; so the messenger, when he had looked about, went back and told them. Then others informed the justices that there would be one there in the afternoon; whereupon they sent for the chief constable, and asked him “why he suffered a meeting to be at the Peel, so near him?” He told them, “he did not know of any meeting there.” They asked him, “how he could not know, and live so near it?” He said, “he was never there in his life, and did not know that there was a meeting there.” They would have persuaded him that he must needs know of it; but he standing steadfast in the denial of it, they said, “they should take order to have it looked after in the afternoon.” But a multitude of business coming before them at the sessions, when dinner time came, they hastened to it, without giving order, and when they came to the bench again after dinner, the Lord put it out of their minds, so that they sent no officer. The meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a blessed one we had, the Lord's presence being precious amongst us. Many Friends had a concern upon their minds, when they saw me come into the meeting, lest I should be taken; but I was freely given up to suffer, if it was the Lord's will, before I went to the meeting; and had nothing in my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory. I do believe the Lord put it out of their minds, that they should not send to break up our meeting that day. Yet the First-day after, three or four justices (as I heard) came to the Peel, and put Friends out of their meeting there, and kept them out; and inquired for William Mead,<sup>144</sup> 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 it up, or keep Friends out; and many hundreds of people came to see what would be done to us. But the officers came not; 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 amongst us, and his power came over all; glory to his name for ever, who is over all!

I had seen the mayor's printed speech for putting the laws in execution against Dissenters; and it was much in my mind that 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 behaviour both towards the king and the government. Accordingly a paper was drawn up and signed, and delivered to the mayor; copies of which were also 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 hath gathered you to himself, by his power and Spirit, to be a

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<sup>144</sup> William Mead is often mentioned in these pages; and his trial, along with William Penn, is alluded to in a previous note. Of his life and ministry we have much less account than of most others of note in his day. George Fox sometimes calls him his son, he having married Sarah, a daughter of Judge Fell; George Fox's wife being her mother. Before his joining Friends, William Mead appears to have been a captain in the army. In his remarks in court on the term, *vi et armis*, during his trial, he observes, “Time was when *I had freedom to use a carnal weapon*, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man.” He died in 1713, aged eighty-six.

people to serve and worship him. So you may all strive to excel one another in virtue, and in that love that beareth all things, and edifieth 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, that 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 ye have peace with God, who is the First and the Last, the Beginning and the Ending. So let all be gathered up to God, into Him who reconcileth 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 hath no place among them to lay his head; He is your rest. So in him is my love to you all.”

G F.

London, the 20th of the 11th Month, 1682.

Not long after this, 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 ye will feel the presence of Christ with you. Look at Him, who suffered for you, who hath bought you, and will feed you; who saith, '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 ye 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 true. Christ is the same to-day as he was yesterday; a rock and foundation for your age and generation, for you to build upon. I have written concerning you (since I heard your letter) to Friends in Cheshire to visit you, understanding that you belong to their quarterly meeting; and therefore I desire that some Friends of your county would go, and lay your suffering condition before the monthly or quarterly meeting in Cheshire. I have written likewise to Richard Davis,<sup>145</sup> 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 is your alone support.”

<sup>145</sup> Richard Davis—some account of whose life, written by himself, was published after his decease, and a third edition of the volume in 1771—was convinced of the truth about the year 1657. He resided in Montgomeryshire; and his life contains an interesting account of the first spreading of truth in Wales. Richard Davis was a faithful minister of the gospel, endued with spiritual gifts, and serviceable in the exercise thereof in the churches of Christ; sound in doctrine, and exemplary in conversation.

London, the 27th of the 11th Month, 1682.

Now because the magistrates were many of them 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 abroad. 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 sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages; but the constables were 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, nor durst not; for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it." I told them I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone; the constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak; and in my declaration, I said, "they need not 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 pretence of religion, to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections; but to worship God in Spirit and in truth. We had Christ to be 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 then sat down; and after a while I was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people, the constables, and soldiers, put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.

After this I went up and down, visiting Friends at their houses, who had their goods taken from them for worshipping God. We took an account of what had been taken from them; and 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. Whereupon they made aa order, "that the officers should not sell the goods 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.

Next First-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy; and by the time it was gathered the beadle 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 12th month, 1682.

Ia the 1st month, 1683, I went to Kingston-Upon-Thames; and it being then a time of persecution, as I went to the meeting, I met the chief constable, who had been at the meeting-place, and had set

watchmen there to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let Friends have a couple of forms out, to sit upon in the highway; so we 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 the 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 bustle to pull him down, and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak; and I said, "Heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool; and will ye 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 cleared myself, 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 in Lombard Street, and another at the gate in Gracechurch Street, to keep Friends out of the meeting-place; so we had to meet in the street. After some time I got a chair, stood up on it, and spoke largely to the people, opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths concerning magistracy, and concerning the Lord's prayer." There were, besides Friends, a great multitude of people, and amongst them many professors; 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.

The 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 also), was suddenly taken ill with so violent a fit, that he could neither stand nor lie; but, through the extremity of pain, cried out. When I heard it, I was much exercised 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 through faith in that power he had speedy ease, so that he quickly fell into a sleep. When he awoke, he was so well, that next day he rode with me five-and-twenty miles in a coach; though he used formerly (as he said) to lie sometimes two weeks, sometimes a month, in one of those fits. But the Lord was entreated for him, and by his power soon gave him ease at this time; blessed and praised be his holy name therefore!

After I had had some meetings in Sussex and Surrey, and had visited Friends thereaway, I returned to London by Kingston, where I had a meeting on the 1st of the 2nd month, being First-day. We were kept out of the meeting-house by a constable and watchmen, as before, and so were obliged to meet in the highway. But it being the monthly meeting day, and many people being there, the meeting was pretty large, and very quiet; and the Lord's blessed presence was amongst us; blessed be his name for ever!

Being come to London, I went to the meeting at Wheeler Street, near Spitalfields, which that day proved very large; and a glorious, blessed time it was; for the Lord's power and truth were over all, and many deep and weighty things were opened to the people, to their great satisfaction.

I tarried in and near London, visiting Friends' meetings, and labouring in the service of the gospel, till the Yearly Meeting came on, which began on the 28th of the 3rd month. It was a time of great sufferings; and much concerned I was, lest Friends that came up out of the country on the church's service, should be taken and imprisoned at London. But the Lord was with us; his power preserved us, and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon him, to be refreshed together in him, and to perform his services for his truth and people for which we met. As it was a time of great persecution, and we understood that in most counties Friends were under great sufferings, either by imprisonments or spoiling of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me lest any Friends that were sufferers, especially such as were traders and dealers in the world, should hazard the losing of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings. Wherefore, as the thing opened in me, I drew up an epistle of caution to Friends in that case, which I communicated to the Yearly Meeting; and from thence it was sent forth 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, spoiling of goods, and imprisonments! Let every one's eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and in earth given unto him; so that none can touch a hair of your head, nor you, nor anything ye have, except it be permitted or suffered in this day, to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord, or in outward things. Dear Friends, take care that all your offerings be free, and of your own, that has cost you something; so that ye may not offer of that which is another man's, or that which ye are entrusted withal and not your own, or fatherless' or widows' estates; but all such things settle and establish in their places. You may remember many years ago, in a time of great persecution, divers Friends, who were traders, shop-keepers, and others, had the concerns of widows and fatherless, and other people's estates in their hands. And when a great suffering, persecution, and spoiling of goods came upon Friends, especial care was taken that all might offer up to the Lord in their sufferings what 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 another body's, but that which 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 goods of the shopkeepers at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors whom they had their goods of, entreating them to take their goods again. And some Friends came to London themselves, and treated with their creditors, letting them understand 'that they lay liable to have all that they had taken from them;' and told them, 'they would not have any man to suffer by them: neither would they by suffering offer up anything but what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for.' Upon which several took their goods again. This wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many people, when they saw such a righteous, just, and honest principle in Friends, that would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus should be really and truly their own, not other people's. In this they owed nothing to any, but love. So in this every man and woman stands in the free offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or temporal, which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly, nor outwardly.

Ornan said unto David, 'I give thee the thrashing-floor, etc., and the oxen for burnt-offerings, and the thrashing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat-offering; I give it all.' But king David said unto Ornan, 'Nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price; for I will not take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer burnt-offerings without cost,' 1 Chron. xxi. 22, etc. So it should be his own; and so should it be every man's 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, Psal. cxii. 5. 'A good man will guide his affairs with discretion.'

"Let this be read in your monthly and quarterly men's and women's meetings."

G. F.

London, the 2nd of the 4th Month, 1683.

## CHAPTER XI.

*1683-1685.—A salutation of love to Friends, designed to stir up the pure mind—an epistle to Friends commending them to Christ, the rock and sure foundation—an epistle of counsel to Friends—George Fox taken from a meeting and examined by a magistrate, but soon released—writes an epistle to the faithful to beware of a seducing spirit—after the Yearly Meeting sails for Holland, and lands at the Briel—attends the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam—writes to Galenus Abrahams, a Mennonist or Baptist, who, seven years before, bid him "keep his eyes off him," for he said "they pierced him," but now he was become very loving and tender, as well as his family—George Fox returns to England—writes to the Duke of Holstein an able defence of women's preaching—writes an epistle of counsel to Friends—advises with, and assists them in, drawing up an account of sufferings, which is printed and spread amongst Parliament-men—writes a caution to Friends to keep out of the world's spirit, etc.—and a warning against pride and excess in apparel.*

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Some time after the Yearly Meeting I went down to Kingston-Upon-Thames to visit Friends there; 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;—who are grafted into Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and are gathered in the name of Jesus, in whom ye have salvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven.

For Christ Jesus saith, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,' Matt. xviii. 20. So you being gathered in the name of Jesus, he is in the midst of you, a Saviour, a Mediator, a Prophet, a Shepherd, a Bishop, a Leader, a Counsellor, 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 to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For you are made partakers of Christ, if ye hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast to the end, Heb. iii. 14. Therefore hear Christ's voice, for he is in the midst of you a teacher. Take heed, lest there be 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 to-day hear his voice, and let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering (for he is faithful that hath promised and hath called you), not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; (mark) as the manner of some is, that did and do forsake the assembling of themselves together: but exhorting one another, and so much the more as you see the day of light appearing. For if we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sins; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries, Heb. x. And 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 saith, 'Learn of me; the way, the truth, and the life.' We being many, are one body in Christ, gathered in his name, and every one members one of another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given us, whether they be prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; and let those that minister, wait on their ministry; those that be teachers, on their teaching; and him that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; and he that ruleth, with diligence; and he that sheweth mercy, is to do it with cheerfulness. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring 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 lieth in you, live peaceably with all men, Rom. xii. 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 ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost. I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and are able also to admonish one another, Rom. xv. 13, 14. Here the church of Christ, in which He was in the midst a teacher and the head of the church, were and are able through him to admonish one another. Let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which ye 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, etc, Col. iii. Whatsoever ye 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 put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. The apostle said to Timothy, 'Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me, his prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God, who hath 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. i. 8, 9. It concerns every one not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, who hath 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 saith, 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, not of men; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God gives, not of the ability of men's arts and sciences, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ,' etc. 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, etc. Every true Christian hath the presence of Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given him, to support him with his power, light, and life. Christ saith 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, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak: for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth 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 Beelzebub, what will they do to his servant. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, etc. A sparrow shall not fall to the ground without your heavenly Father, etc. The hairs of your head are all numbered; ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father who is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, who is in heaven. And whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed,' etc. Matt. x. And again Christ saith, 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy angels.' Mark viii. 38. And Christ saith to his disciples, 'He that receiveth you receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me: he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.' Matt. x. 40-42. Here ye may see how Christ encourages his disciples, and them that receive them. And John saith, 'Among the chief rulers of the Jews many believed in Christ; but because of the Pharisees, they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue,' John xii. 42. Too many such believers there are now-a-days, who dare not confess

Christ, lest they should lose the favour of men. But Christ encouraged the faithful disciples, and told them they would put them out of their synagogues; yea, that the time should come, that whosoever killed them would think they did God service: And 'these things,' said he, 'will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me. But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them,' John xvi. 2—4. Here ye may see what Christ told his disciples should come to pass to them. And Saul, before he was converted, compelled the Christians to blaspheme, and made havoc of the church of Christ, Acts viii. and chap. xxii. and xxvi. And did not the beast in the Revelations compel both small and great to worship him and his image? And did not all worship it, but they who had their names written in the Lamb's book of life? Did not Nebuchadnezzar set up an image 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 hath set up: and whoso falleth not down, and worshippeth, shall the same hour be cast into the midst of the fiery furnace?' And were not Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, cast into the furnace? Dan. iii. But God delivered them. Therefore it is good to be faithful to God and his worship in Spirit and in truth. The Jews agreed, that if any man should confess Christ, he should be put out of their synagogue, John ix. 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 whoso believes on him, shall not be ashamed.' 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 believed 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 light. Therefore ye that are believers in the light, and are become children of light, walk in Christ, your way, life, and salvation."

G. F.

Kingston, the 5th Month, 1083.

Before I left Kingston, something further opened in me, which I was moved to write, and send amongst Friends; as follows:—

"Dear Friends,

"My love is to you all in the holy Seed, that reigns over all. And my desire is, that every one, both male and female, may feel the Seed Christ in you, which is heir of the promise of life eternal, that ye may all grow up in Christ Jesus your head, and be built upon Him, the rock and foundation that God hath laid, which stands sure over all rocks and foundations in the world;—that ye may eat and drink of this spiritual rock, the spiritual water and food; so that ye may truly and inwardly say, that your rock and foundation, your bread and water of life, is from heaven, and your bread and water is sure; and that ye know his voice that feeds you, and leads you into the pastures of life, which are always fresh and green. In this, your affections are set on things

that are above, seeking that which comes down from above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, making intercession for you; who is your Mediator, making peace between God and you; who is your heavenly Bishop to oversee you, that ye 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 therein; who is your Prophet, to open to you the fulfilling of the promises and prophecies, himself being the substance; that ye may live in him, and he in you, yea, and reign in your hearts, there to exercise his offices, his prophetic, priestly, and kingly office, who is heavenly and spiritual;—that ye may know the three, that bear witness in the earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, which is the life of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin; the Water that washes and refreshes you; and the Spirit that baptizes and circumcises you, and leads you into all truth; that ye 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, ye 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 heaven, and God in the earth. Therefore I desire, that ye 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 humility, and in the true divinity; to be courteous, kind, and tender one towards another, and to 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 ye all live in the seed of the gospel, the seed of the kingdom of God, in which all nations are blessed. In that ye 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 savour to the witness of God in the hearts of all; and that savour being kept in, the salt doth not come under the feet of men. So my love to you all in Christ Jesus, whom God hath 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 a 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.”

G. F.

Kingston, the 27th of the 5th Month, 1683.

Having visited Friends at and about Kingston, I returned to London; for it being a suffering time with Friends there, I had not freedom to be long from the city. I went to the meeting at the Peel, which but a little before the justices and constables had broken up, and had carried themselves very roughly; but that day it was in the house, and quiet; and a glorious one it was, blessed be the Lord.

On the First-day following I went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street. When I came there, I found three constables in the meetinghouse, who kept Friends out; so we met in the court. After I had been some time there, I stood up and spoke to the people, and continued speaking some time. Then one of the constables came, and 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 pulled me down, and had 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, being hot. When the meeting was ended, for one prayed after I was taken away, the constables asked some Friends, "which of them would pass their words that I should appear, if they should be questioned about me; but the Friends telling them, they need not require that, for I was a man well known in the city, to be one that would neither fly nor shrink; they went away, and I heard no further of it. The same week I was at the meeting at the Savoy, which used to be kept out and disturbed; but that day it was within doors and peaceable; and a precious time 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 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 peaceableness 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, he gives grace to the humble, and resisteth the proud. Heaven is his throne, and the earth ye walk upon is his footstool; happy are ye, that see and know him, that is invisible. And now, Friends, let all things be done in your meetings, and otherwise, in love, without strife or vainglory. For love fulfils the law, love overcomes, and edifies the body of Christ. There is neither self nor envy in love, neither is it puffed up; but abides and bears all things. See that this love of God have the sway in you all and over you all. Christ saith, '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 do 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 peace-makers; 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 ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'

"Now Friends, here is a great deal in these words; and all must be in these states and conditions,

if they have these blessings. The children of God are peace-makers, and strive to make peace in the truth; and to live in peace with all men, if it be possible. So live in peace and good-will to all men; which good-will is both for their sanctification and salvation. And, Friends, consider, the wisdom of God, which is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, 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 easy to be entreated, and is full of mercy and good fruits, be exercised and practised in all the true churches of Christ, so that wisdom may be justified of her children. For the works of the flesh, or fleshly spirit, are hatred, variance, wrath, strife, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, adultery, fornication, lasciviousness, uncleanness, 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, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, etc. So, dear Friends and brethren, strive to exceed one another, and all people upon the earth, in humility, meekness, gentleness, temperance, love, patience, pureness, and in mercy; then ye 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; ye will be the salt of the earth, the light of the world set on a hill, that cannot be hid; and your moderation will appear to all men. Be ye just and righteous, faithful and true in all your words, dealings, and conversations, so that ye may answer the truth in all people; for Christ saith, his Father is glorified by such as bring forth fruits, when men do see their good works; for he that doeth righteousness, is accepted with God. And he that dwells in love, dwells in God; for love is his habitation. Let that be the habitation of every one that hath received the truth; for if it be not, such do not dwell in God, let them profess what they will. Therefore my desire is, that all you who have received Christ, the Seed, which bruises the serpent's head, may walk in Him, your sanctuary, life, and salvation, your rest and peace. Amen.”

G. F.

London, the 14th of the 6th Month, 1683.

I continued yet at London, labouring 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 up their spirits 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 amongst 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 Scripture, which were given forth from the Spirit of God; and that by the Spirit of God, they might know God, and Christ whom God hath 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 Saviour, 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 is got into man by transgression; but Christ gathereth his wheat into his garner. So all that are baptized with Christ's baptism, their wheat is in God's garner; and no spoiler can get into God's garner to meddle with the wheat there, though they may be permitted to meddle with the outward goods," etc. As I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, suddenly the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea. One of the constables said to me, "Come down;" and he laid hands on me. I asked him, "Art thou a Christian? We are Christians." He had hold of my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down; but I stood still, and spoke a few words to the people; desiring of the Lord that the blessings of God might rest upon them all. The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a staff take me, and carry me to prison. That man led me to another officer's house, who was more civil; and after a while they brought in four Friends more, whom they had taken. I was very weary and in a great perspiration; and several Friends hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house; but I bid them all go their ways, lest the constables and informers should stop them. After a while the constables led us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man; who, after he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, upon the constable's informing him that "I preached in the meeting," said in an angry manner, "Do not you know, that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such conventicles, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England?" There was present one Shad (a wicked informer, who was said to have broken jail at Coventry, and to have been burned in the hand at 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 22nd 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." The informer hearing that, and seeing the justice angry, went away in a fret; so he was disappointed of his purpose. I thought he would have sworn somebody against me, whereupon 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 confessed what God and Christ had done for my soul, and praised God; and I thought I might have done that in the streets, and in all places, viz., praise God and confess Christ Jesus; and this 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 no such laws against our meetings; but if he meant that Act that was made against such as met to plot, contrive, and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people, but abhorred all such actions; and bore true love and goodwill to the king, and to all men upon the earth." The justice then asked me, "if I had been in orders;" I told him, "No." Then he took his law-books and searched for laws against us; bidding his clerk take the names of the rest in the mean time: but when he could find no other law against us, the clerk swore the constable against us. Some of the Friends bid the constable "take heed what he swore, lest he were

perjured; for he took them in the entry, and 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 might 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 when 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 passed away. And as we went the constable took some Friends' word, that I should come to his house the next morning by eight. Accordingly I went with those Friends; and then the constable told us, that he went to the justice for the mittimus after he had dined, and he 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 the constable for turning informer, and swearing against us; and he said he would do so no more. Next day the justice meeting with Gilbert Latey, asked him, “if he would pay twenty pounds for George Fox's fine.” He said, “No.” “Then,” said the justice, “I am disappointed; for being but a lodger I cannot come by his fine, and he having been brought before me, and being of ability himself, I cannot lay his fine on any other.”

After I was discharged, I went into the city. The same week the sessions coming on, where many Friends were concerned, some as prisoners, and some on trials of appeals upon the conventicle act, I went to a Friend's house not far off, that I might be in readiness to assist them with counsel, or otherwise, as occasion should offer; and I found service in it. But as my spirit was concerned on behalf of Friends, with respect to their outward sufferings by the persecutors without; so an exercise also came weightily upon me at this time, in the sense I had of the mischievous working of that adulterated spirit, which, being gone out from the heavenly unity, and having drawn out some that professed truth into enmity and opposition against Friends, endeavoured to trouble the church of Christ with their janglings and contention. 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; but their foundations have proved rotten, and come to nought; and they themselves have come to loss. Many, since the day of Christ and the truth hath appeared in this nation, have had some openings and sights, and come among us for a time; and then gone out from us again; these have been the comers and goers, like those in the apostles' days. Such had an outward profession of the truth, and have gone from the true foundation, Christ Jesus, and so from the heavenly society and unity of the saints in light. Then they set up foundations of their own; and having a form of godliness, but out of the power thereof, out of the order

thereof, such have turned to janglings and vain disputings. This sort of spirit you have been acquainted with, who have kept your habitations in Christ Jesus, the First and the Last. 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 the seas, against the faithful. It is very well that the Lord hath suffered them to publish their own shame in print, that truth's enemies may be discovered; that their fruits and spirits have appeared and manifested themselves both in print and otherwise. And I do believe, that the Lord will yet suffer this spirit so to publish its fruits, its shame and nakedness, to professor and profane, and to all sober, moderate, and innocent people, that its shame and nakedness shall more fully appear. Though for a time it hath been hid and covered with the fig-leaves of an outward profession, and sometimes with fawning and flattering words, as at other times, it hath discovered itself by rough, lying, and defaming words; yet the Lord God will blast all such vain talkers, that do not walk in the order of life, truth, and the gospel. Therefore, ye that are faithful, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free in his government. It is upon his shoulders; he bears it up; of the increase of it, and of its peace, there is no end. For all quarrellers against his order and government are not in him, nor in his heavenly, spiritual government and peace. Therefore, ye faithful ones, who have stood the trial through many persecutions, imprisonments, spoilings of goods; you know that there is a crown of glory laid up for you. You that suffer with Christ, shall reign with him in his kingdom of glory; ye that die with Christ, shall live with him in eternal life, in the world that hath 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 the persecutors of the faithful with their tongues; and by printing and publishing their lying, defaming books against the faithful, these have stirred up the magistrates and priests, who were willing to get any occasion to speak evil of the right way, and precious truth of Christ, by which his people are made free; it would have been better for such had they never been born. But God hath brought them to light, and their fruits and ravenous spirit are seen, savoured, and known; who are become Judases, and sons of perdition, to betray Christ now within (where he is made manifest) to the priests, magistrates, and profane, as Judas betrayed Christ without to the priests and Pilate; though some of the magistrates and sober people see their envy and folly, and that they have more malice than matter against the faithful. But 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 got as high as Judas without (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, and his people that live and walk in Christ, who hath 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, perse-



cutors with the tongue, Judases, sons of perdition to betray, or the outward powers to imprison, or spoil goods; all these are limited by Christ's power, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given to him. Every one's faith is to stand in him and his power, and 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. In his Spirit is the holy unity and bond of peace; though ye be absent in body one from another, yet all joying and rejoicing, being present in his Spirit, and beholding in the same Spirit your spiritual order, unity, and fellowship, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ Jesus, who is steadfast for ever, the First and the Last, whose presence is among his people, and who is their head. Here is heavenly Sion 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, 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.”

G. F.

London, the 14th of the 8th Month, 1683.

“Read this in your assemblies amongst the faithful.”

I tarried a little in London, visiting Friends and meetings, and labouring in the work of the Lord there. And being on a First-day at the Bulland-Mouth, where the meeting had long been kept out, it was that day in the house, peaceable and large; the people were so affected with the truth, and refreshed with the powerful presence of the Lord, that when it was ended, they were loth to go away.

After some time, having several things upon me to write, I went to Kingston, that I might be free from interruptions. When I came there, I understood the officers had been very rude at the meeting, abusing Friends, and had driven them out of the meeting-place, and very abusive they continued to be for some time. Whilst I was there I wrote a little book (printed soon after), entitled, “The Saints' heavenly and spiritual worship, unity, and communion, etc., wherein is set forth what the true gospel worship is, and in what the true unity and communion of the saints stands; with a discovery of those that were gone from this holy unity and communion, and were turned against the saints, that abode therein.”

When I had finished the services for which I went thither, 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, made some stay at the widow Stot's, where I wrote an epistle to Friends, which may be read amongst my other printed books.

I came from Dalston to London, and next day was sent for in haste to my son Rous's at Kingston, whose daughter, Margaret, lay very sick, and had a desire to see me. I tarried now at Kingston about a week, and then returned to London; where I continued for the most part of the winter and the spring following, until the general meeting in 1684, save that I went once as far as Enfield, to visit Friends

thereabouts. In this time I ceased not to labour 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 the people to receive it.<sup>146</sup>

The Yearly meeting was in the 3rd month. A blessed weighty one it was, wherein Friends were sweetly refreshed together; for the Lord was with us, and opened his heavenly treasures amongst us. And though it was a time of great difficulty and danger, by reason of informers and persecuting magistrates, yet the Lord was a defence and place of safety to his people.

Now had I drawings in Spirit to go into Holland, to visit the Seed of God there. And as soon as the Yearly Meeting was over I prepared for my journey. There went with me from London Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who also had drawings into that country.

We took coach the 31st of the 3rd 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, yet our being there was presently spread over the town, and in several places in the country at seven and ten miles distance; so that abundance of Friends came in doublehorses, which made the meeting very large. I had a concern and travail in my mind, lest this great gathering should have stirred up the town, and been more than the magistrates could well bear; but it was very quiet and peaceable, and a glorious meeting we had, to the settling and establishing of Friends both in town and country; for the Lord's power was over all; blessed be his name for ever! Truly the Lord's power and presence was beyond words; for I was but weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reason of a cold I had taken) was sore; but God

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<sup>146</sup> Frequent mention being made by George Fox of his being engaged with his pen on behalf of the truth, it may be well to apprise the reader that these volumes contain only a very small portion of his writings. Many others of his works were collected and printed in 1706, forming a large volume, entitled, *Gospel Truth Demonstrated*, in a collection of *Doctrinal Books*, given forth by that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox, etc. This collection consists of above 1000 folio pages, comprising about 160 pieces, the dates from 1653-1689.

In addition to treatises in explanation or defence of the principles and doctrines taught by George Fox, this volume contains many others of a more extended character. There are three addressed to the Jews; and papers in behalf of the doctrine of the gospel, and against persecution, to be delivered to the following rulers:—The Great Turk, the magistrates of Malta, the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and the Emperor of China. And in 1688, Sultan Mahomet IV. having sent a defiance to the Emperor Leopold in his Christian character, threatening to ruin him, and pursue his crucified God, George Fox wrote a Reply to this public document; warning the Turk to fear the great God that made him and all things, and showing him, out of their own Koran, that the founder of their religion wrote more respectfully of Christ; whom he then proceeds to set forth to the notice of the Sultan by citations from the Scriptures.

In the books and treatises forming the above collection, the doctrine of our blessed Lord, and these matters essential to salvation and true Christianity, are plainly asserted and fully demonstrated according to the Scriptures. For although he gave preference to the Holy Spirit (as all true spiritual Christians do), yet his true love to, and sincere esteem of, the Holy Scriptures (as being given by Divine inspiration), is clearly manifest: 1st, In his frequent advice to Friends to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, controversy, and conversation; and not to be imposed upon and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom. 2nd, In his great industry in searching the Scriptures, and frequently quoting, reciting, aptly applying and opening the same in his writings, as appears in the above-named work. He truly testified, both in his ministry and writings, of Christ Jesus, his power, and coming, in the flesh and in the spirit. He was both for the sacred history and mystery of Christ revealed according to the Scripture testimonies of him, respecting his sufferings without, the work of his power within, and his kingdom and glory; and, under his guidance, he faithfully warred against the spirit of Anti-christ and persecution—against the false church—the corruptions of the world, its deceit and hypocrisy, under all professions.

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, I think above a hundred Friends of the town and country came to see me at John Furley's, and very glad we were to see one another, and greatly refreshed together, being tilled with the love and riches of the Lord; blessed be his name for ever! We tarried at Colchester two days more; which we spent in visiting Friends, both at their meetings for business and at their houses. Then early in the morning of Fourth-day we took coach for Harwich, where we met William Bingley, and Samuel Waldenfield, who went over with us. About eight at night we went on board the packet, Richard Gray master; but by reason of contrary winds it was one in the morning before we sailed. We had a very good passage; and about five in the afternoon next day we landed at the Bkiel in Holland, where we stayed that night. Early next morning we went to Rotterdam, where we abode some days. The day after we came to Rotterdam, one Wilbert Frouzen, a burgomaster, and kinsman of Aarent Sunneman's, hearing I was there, invited me to his country house, having a desire to speak with me about some business, relating to Aarent Sunneman's daughters. I took George Watts with me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman's had us thither. The burgomaster received us very kindly, and was very glad to see me; and entering into discourse about his kinsman's daughters, I found he was apprehensive that, their father being dead, and having left them considerable portions, they might be stolen and married to their disadvantage. Wherefore I told him, "that it was our principle and practice, that none should marry amongst 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 natural 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 there came many great people to 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 had conversed with him on several things, I took my leave of him, and he very kindly sent me to Rotterdam in his chariot.

Next day being First-day, we were at the meeting at Rotterdam, which was pretty large, and declared to the people by an interpreter. The day following Alderman Gaul came to speak with me, with whom we had much discourse about religious matters; he seemed to be well satisfied, and was very tender. Several other persons of account had intended to come to speak with me that day, but being hindered by extraordinary business (as I understood), they came not.

We went next day to Amsterdam, where we had a large and very precious meeting. In the afternoon I was at another meeting with Friends there, about business.

There is a Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam for the Friends of Holland and Germany, etc., which begun now on the 8th of the 4th month, and ended on the 12th. Here we had a fine opportunity of seeing Friends from many parts, and of being refreshed together in the love of God. After this meeting, before those that came out of the several provinces were gone, 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 who among them were suitable persons to go along with us for interpreters. When this was concluded on, William Bingley<sup>147</sup> and Samuel Waldenfield<sup>148</sup> took shipping for Friesland, with Jacob Claus, their interpreter.

Alexander Parker and George Watts remained with me. We tarried a few days longer at Amsterdam, where I had further service. Before I left I went to visit one Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the Mennonites, or Baptists. I had been with him when I was in Holland about seven years before; and William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him. He was then very high and shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him (by his good will), but bid me “Keep my eyes off him, for,” he said, “they pierced him.” But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth; his wife also and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly.

Feeling our spirits drawn towards Friesland, Alexander Parker, George Watts, and I, having John Claus of Amsterdam with us for our interpreter, took shipping, and having sailed nine or ten leagues, we left the ship and travelled through Friesland, sometimes by boat, sometimes by waggon, visiting Friends and tender people in the towns and villages where we came; having one or two meetings in a day. After we had been at Leuwarden, we passed by Franeker to Harxingen in West Friesland, which was the furthest place we went to that way. And having been six days from Amsterdam, and had very good service in that time, visiting Friends and publishing truth amongst the people, we took ship at Harlingen for Amsterdam on the 26th of 4th month, and arrived there that night. The First-day following we were at the meeting at Amsterdam, which was very large and precious. Many of the people were there, their teachers, and some great persons also. They seemed very attentive; and a good opportunity we all had, one after another, to declare the word of the Lord and open the way of truth amongst them, John Claus interpreting for us. I tarried next day at Amsterdam; but George Watts went to a burial at Haarlem, attended by many hundreds of people, amongst whom he had a good opportunity, and came back at night to us.

The day following we went by boat to Osan-Overton in Waterland, and thence, in another small boat,

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147 William Bingley became a minister among Friends while residing in Yorkshire, and visited Ireland in 1675 and in 1682. He settled in London as a stuff merchant when in the meridian of life; and in 1684 accompanied Samuel Waldenfield on an apostolic journey in Holland and the Netherlands. He was one of the Friends who preached at the funeral of George Fox, in 1690; and he appears to have paid religious visits to different parts of Great Britain at various periods. He died in London in 1714, aged sixty-four years.

148 Samuel Waldenfield, born at Edmondsbury, in Suffolk, in 1652, was religiously inclined in his youth, and a hearer of the Independents. But becoming convinced of the principles of truth, as held by Friends, about the year 1670, he came forth a powerful preacher of the word of life; and, with the Lord's blessing on his labours, many were convinced of the truth, and turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and were as the seals of his ministry. In 1684 he married, and settled in London, continuing faithful and diligent in the work he was called unto; and suffered for his testimony by imprisonment, etc. His travels on gospel service, to the year 1700, were near 40,000 miles, which were also, subsequently, very considerable. Samuel Waldenfield is spoken of as being very considerate of the poor, humble and merciful, and as an elder worthy of double honour. He was a bright ornament to our religion in his conversation, gaining great reputation to truth and Friends among rich and poor. He was ill about two months before his decease, during which time he uttered many expressions worthy of being noted. He died in great peace in 1715.—See *Piety Promoted*, vol. ii., pp. 218-252.

about a league over a small river, where we passed over and by a hundred bridges, and so went to Lansmeer to a Friend's house whose name was Timon Peters; where we had a very good meeting. We returned to Amsterdam that night, and were at the meeting there next day. Many were at this meeting besides Friends, and among the rest the great Baptist teacher, Galenus, who was very attentive to the testimony of the truth, and when it was over, came and got me by the hand very lovingly.

We went next day by boat to Alkmaar, about eight leagues from Amsterdam, passing through Sardam, the great town of ship-carpenters, and several other towns in the way. At Alkmaar, which is a pretty city, we stayed, and had a meeting next day at William Williams's. There were, besides Friends, many very sober people at this meeting, who were very attentive to the testimonies of truth, that were borne both by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and myself, John Claus being our interpreter. This was on a sixth day, and on the seventh we returned to Amsterdam, being willing to be at the meeting at Amsterdam on First-day, because it was likely to be the last we should have there. Accordingly we were at it, and a very large and open meeting it was. Many great persons were at it, some earls, we were told, with their attendants, out of Germany, who were very grave and sober, and the everlasting gospel was preached unto them.

After this we took leave of the Friends of Amsterdam; and next morning departed thence to Haarlem, where we had a meeting at a Friend's house, whose name is Abraham Frondenberg. Great numbers of people were at this meeting, and of great service it was. After it a watchmaker of Amsterdam, who, with his wife, attended it, desired to speak with me concerning religion. I had much discourse with him, and both he and his wife were very low and tender, received with gladness what I spoke to them, and seemed well satisfied when they went away.

We went next day to Rotterdam, where we tarried two meetings; and on the 16th of the 5th month went to the Briel, to take ship for England.

About four in the afternoon we went on board the packet, William Sherman master, and set sail from the Briel. But when we had gone over the Maese about a league, we cast anchor at a place called the Pitt, because it is near to the sands, where we stayed till about four next morning; when, having a pretty fair wind, and the tide with us, we weighed anchor, and by four next day were within five leagues of Harwich, over against Aldborough Castle; but the wind falling short, and the tide being weak, it was one in the afternoon before we came so near to Harwich that boats could come to receive the passengers and goods. There were on board about forty passengers in all; English, Scotch, Dutch, French, Spanish, Flemish, and some Jews.

I spent a day with Friends at Harwich, while Alexander Parker and George Watts went by water to visit Friends at Ipswich, and returned at night. Next morning early we all took coach for Colchester, and were at the meeting there, which was large and peaceable; after it, we travelled to Witham, and lodged there that night. Next day, William Mead meeting us on the way at Hare Street, I went with him to his house, the other Friends going on for London.

Here, being weak with travel and continual exercise, I spent some time to rest myself, and recover my health; visiting in the mean time the Friends in that part of the country, as I was able to get abroad.<sup>149</sup>

When I was a little recovered, I went to Enfield, visiting Friends there and thereabouts; and so to Dalston to see the widow Stot; and thence to London, some Friends being come over from New Jersey in America, about business, which I was desired to be present at.

It was the latter end of the summer when I came to London, where I stayed the winter following; saving that once or twice, my wife being in town with me, I went with her to her son Rous's at Kingston. And though my body was very weak; yet I was in continual service, either in public meetings, when I was able to bear them, or in particular business amongst Friends, and visiting those that were sufferers for truth, either by imprisonment or loss of goods. Many things also in this time I wrote, some for the press, and some for particular service; as letters to the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, on behalf of Friends that were sufferers in their dominions; of the latter, the following is a copy:—

*“For the Duke of Holstein, whom I entreat, in the love of God, to read over this, which is sent in love to him.*

“I understand that formerly, by some evil-minded persons, it was reported to thee, 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, etc. Upon which thou gave forth an order to the rulers of Frederickstadt, 'to make the said people leave that place forthwith, or to send them away.' But the said rulers being Arminians, and they, or their fathers, having come to live there, as a persecuted people in Holland, not much above threescore years ago, made answer to the duke, 'they were not willing to persecute others for conscience' sake, who had looked upon persecution on that account in their own case as antichristian,' etc. But after that, the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, wrote unto thee, O duke, from Fredrickstadt; and since that time they have had their liberty, and their meetings peaceable, to serve and worship God almost these twenty years at Fredrickstadt, and thereabouts, freely without any molestation; which liberty they have acknowledged as a great favour and kindness from thee.

“And now, O duke, thou 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

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<sup>149</sup> After returning from his last visit to Holland, George Fox did not travel far from London, his usual residence during the latter part of his life. His health had been gradually declining for some years, in consequence of his many and grievous imprisonments, and the great fatigue of body and mind, occasioned by his long travels for the promotion of the cause of truth, and by his incessant labours in “defence of the gospel” against the clamour and opposition of apostate brethren, and the unfounded imputations of others, decidedly hostile to the truth as it is in Jesus. His solicitude, however, to promote the welfare of the Society, and procure relief to his Friends under suffering, both at home and abroad, remained undiminished. In the course of his declining state, he wrote many epistles to his friends, some of sympathy and consolation, to encourage and strengthen them in their deep sufferings; others of counsel, exhortation, and reproof, “stirring up the pure mind by way of remembrance,” and labouring to build them up in the most holy faith; and, on all occasions, seeking not his own honour, but the honour of God only, and the edification of his church and people.

New Testament, do not you use many women's words in your service and worship out of the Old and New Testament? The apostle saith, '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 will learn anything, to ask her husband at home; for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church.' And 1 Tim. ii. 11,13. 'Women are to learn in silence and not suffered to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.' 1 Cor. xiv. 34. Now, here the duke may see, what sort of women were to be in silence and in 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 women 'not to plait or broider their hair, nor to wear gold, pearls, or costly array.' These things were forbidden by the apostle; and such women, as 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, and pearls and gaudy apparel, or costly array, and plait and broider their hair, speak in your church, when your priest 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 then silent? Though the apostle forbids such women before-mentioned to speak in the church, yet in another place the apostle encourages the good or holy women to be teachers of good things, as in Tit. ii. 8, 4. The apostle said, 'I entreat thee, true yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are written in the book of life.' Here he owns these holy women, and encourages them, which laboured with him in the gospel, and did not forbid them; Phil. iv. 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 becometh saints:' and to 'assist her in whatsoever business she had need of; for she had been a succourer of many and of himself also.' And he said, 'Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles.' Now here the duke may see these were good, holy women, whom the apostle did not forbid speaking, Rom. xvi. 1—4, but commended them. And Priscilla and Aquila instructed and expounded unto Apollos the way of God more perfectly, Acts xviii. 26. So here Priscilla was an instructor as well as Aquila; which holy women the apostle doth not forbid. Neither did the apostle forbid Philip's four daughters, which were virgins, to prophesy. Women might pray and prophesy in the church, 1 Cor. xi. 5.

“The apostles showed to the Jews the fulfilling of Joel's prophecy: 'That in the last days God would pour 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 ii. 28; Acts ii. 17, 18. 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? and was not this in the church? Exod. xv. 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 not you make use of Deborah's and Miriam's words in your service and worship? See (Judg. v. 1—31) Deborah's large speech or song. Barak did not forbid her, nor any 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 highpriest, who did not forbid her, 1 Sam. ii. 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 xxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. 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.

“And in Luke i. 41—55, 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 hand-maid,' etc. And do not you make use in your worship and service of Mary's and Elizabeth's words from Luke i. 41—55, in your churches, and yet forbid women's speaking in your churches? Yet all sorts of women speak in your churches, when they sing, and say Amen. In Luke ii. 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 ii. 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 woman indeed (namely, Eve) was first in transgression; and so they were women that first preached the resurrection of Christ Jesus; for Christ said to Mary, etc., '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 xx. 17. And Luke xxiv. 10, it was Mary Magdalene and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, who told the apostles, 'that 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,' *ibid.* ver. 11. And ver. 22, '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. xiv. 11; and 'Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father,' Phil. ii. 11. So here it is clear, that women must confess Christ as well as men, if every tongue must confess. And the apostle saith, 'There is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' Gal. iii. 28.



“And whereas it is said, 'Women must ask their husbands at home,' etc., the duke knows very well 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 set the case, that a Turk's wife should be a 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 is come by Jesus; 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.”

G. F.

London, 26th of the 8th Month, 1684.

Besides the foregoing, I wrote also epistles to Friends; of one of which the following is a copy:—

“Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom you have all life, peace, and salvation; walk in Him, who is your heavenly Rock and Foundation, that stands sure, who hath 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, ye may be preserved and kept to God's glory, out of all snares and temptations; so 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 his Spirit and truth, and valiant for it upon the earth. For, as the apostle saith, '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 hath everlasting life in Christ Jesus, their rest and everlasting day. For Christ the Rest bruise the serpent's head, and through death destroyeth death, and the devil, the power of death, and his works. He is the Eternal Rest, that giveth eternal life to his sheep. Christ fulfilleth the prophets, and all the figures, shadows, and ceremonies, as in the Old Testament; and all the promises are yea 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 the last, who is 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. Wherefore I say again, in Him who is your Rest, live and abide; for in Him ye 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.”

G. F.

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 the meeting there on » First-day, which was very large and peaceable. Then returning through Enfield and Edmonton Side, I came back to London in the 3rd Month, to advise with and assist Friends, in laying their sufferings before the Parliament then sitting. We drew up a short account thereof, which we caused to be printed and spread among the Parliament-men.

The Yearly Meeting coming on, I was much concerned for the Friends that came up to it out of the country, lest they should meet with any trouble or disturbance in their passages up or down; and the rather, because about that time a great bustle arose in the nation on the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West. But the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve Friends in safety, gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with his living, refreshing presence; blessed for ever be his holy name!

Now, 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 the trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth;” as follows:—

“Dear Friends And Brethren,

“Whom the Lord hath called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your Life and Salvation, in whom ye have all rest and peace with God; the Lord God by his mighty power, which is over all, hath preserved and supported you to this day, to be a peculiar, holy people to himself, so that by his eternal Spirit and power ye might be all kept out of the world; for in the world is trouble. And now, 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 day of Christ's appearing. Therefore, dear Friends and brethren, dwell in the Seed, Christ Jesus, the Rock and Foundation, that cannot be shaken; that ye may see with the light and Spirit of Christ, that ye 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, the clouds without water, and trees without fruit. That which may be shaken, will be shaken; as will all they 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 ye have life, rest and peace; for Christ saith, 'In me ye shall have peace; but in the world trouble.' And the apostle saith, 'They that believe, are entered into their rest,' namely, Christ, who hath overcome the world, who bruise 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 yea and amen; who is the first and the last, the beginning and the ending—the Eternal Rest. So keep and walk in Christ, your Rest, every one that have received him.

”And now, dear Friends and brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, tumults and 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 ye seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which 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, and 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, who is your Prophet, whom God hath raised up in the New Testament, to be heard in all things; who opens to you, and no man can shut; and shuts, and no man can open; who is your Priest, made higher than the heavens by the power of an endless life, by whom you are made a royal priesthood, to offer up to God spiritual sacrifice; who is the Bishop of your souls, to oversee you, that ye do not go astray from God; who is the good Shepherd, that hath laid down his life for his sheep; and they hear his voice, and follow him, and he gives them eternal life.

“And now, dear Friends and brethren, abide in Christ, the vine, that ye may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. And as every one hath received Christ, walk in Him, who is not of the world, that lies in wickedness; so that ye 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 ye 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 ye may show forth righteousness, holiness, and godliness; that so God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and through you all, who is above all, blessed and praised for ever. Amen.”

London, the 11th of the 4th Month, 1685.

Several other letters also I wrote at this time to Friends in divers foreign countries, from whom I had received letters about the affairs of truth. Which when I had despatched, the Yearly Meeting being over, and country Friends for the most part being gone, I got a little way out of town; being much spent with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual business. I went at first to South Street, where I abode some days. And among other services I had there, a great sense entered me of the growth and increase of pride, vanity, and excess in apparel; and that not only amongst the people of the world, but too much also amongst some that came among us, and seemed to make profession of the truth. In the sense I had of the evil thereof, it came upon me to give forth the following, as a reproof and check thereunto:—<sup>150</sup>

“The apostle Peter saith (in 1 Pet. iii.) 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 the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves.’

“Here ye may see what is the ornament of the holy women, which was in the sight of God of great price, and which the holy women, who trusted in God, adorned themselves with. But the unholy women, that trust not in God, their ornament is not a meek and a quiet spirit; they adorn themselves with plaiting the hair, putting on of apparel, and wearing of gold; which is forbidden

<sup>150</sup> Those Christians whose experience enters most deeply into the spiritual nature of the gospel dispensation, will find that it leads them into simplicity as regards their outward appearance. The practice in the primitive church, as regards “outward adorning,” is thus spoken of by Coleman, in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*:—

“Nothing may appear more purely a matter of indifference than the fashion and colour of dress; and yet, in the circumstances of the primitive Christians, articles of that nature did acquire such an importance that they gradually fell into a style of clothing peculiar to themselves. Not that they affected any singularities in their personal appearance, for their habiliments were made and worn in the ordinary fashion of the time and place; and Christians, whether found in the high, the middle, or the lower ranks, were accustomed to equip themselves in a manner suited to the decencies of the state or profession to which they belonged; but, looking to the moral influence of dress, and desirous of avoiding everything that might minister to vanity, or lead the wearer to forget, in attending to the outward man, the ornament of a ‘meek and quiet spirit,’ they studiously rejected all finery as unbecoming the humility of their character, and confined themselves to a suit of apparel, remarkable not so much for the plainness of the material as for the absence of all superfluous ornament. Everything gaudy or sumptuous, that partook of the costly stuffs or the crimson dyes that suited the luxurious taste of the times, was discountenanced by the spiritually-minded followers of Christ. The same simplicity reigned throughout their domestic establishments; and even those of their number who were persons of rank and opulence, chose to content themselves with such things as were recommended by their utility rather than their elegance, and calculated to answer the purposes of necessity and comfort, rather than to gratify ‘the lust of the eye, and the pride of life.’ And however refined or exquisite the taste, which, through education and the habits of society, any of them had acquired, they learned to subject it to the higher principle of denying themselves to everything that tended too much to captivate the senses, and increase their love to a world, the fashion whereof, they thought, was soon to pass away.”

The remarks of John Wesley on simplicity in dress are excellent, but too long to be quoted here. He says that “following the fashions of the world is directly at war with the spirit of the gospel.” See *Select Miscellanies*, vol. v., p. 288, for Wesley's views on this subject; also of T. A. Kempis, and others.

by the apostle in his general epistle to the church of Christ, the true Christians.

“And the apostle saith (1 Tim. ii. 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 becometh women professing godliness) with good works.'

“Here ye may see what the women were not to adorn themselves with, who professed godliness; they were not to adorn themselves with brodered hair, nor gold, nor pearls, nor 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 doth 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 last of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father. All holy men and women are to mind that which is more precious than gold; who are 'redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of 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 hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation,' 1 Pet. i. 14, 15.

“Christ saith, 'The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment,' Luke xii. 23.

“I read of a wise moral philosopher, who, meeting a woman with her neck and breast bare, laid his hand upon her, and said, 'Woman, wilt thou sell this flesh?' and she replying, No; 'Then pray,' said he, 'shut up thy 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 they 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, declared 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, and there see how that holy prophet was grieved with the foolish women's vain attire, and how he was sent by the Lord to reprove them. Envious, persecuting Jezebel's 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. Doth not pride go before a fall, and a haughty mind before destruction' God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Solomon saith, 'The Lord will destroy the house of the proud,' Prov. xv. 25. 'For the day of the Lord shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, etc., and he shall be brought low,' Isa. ii. 12, and Mai. iv. Therefore take heed of calling the proud happy; for 'the Lord will scatter the proud in the imaginations of their own hearts, and exalt them of low degree.' And you may read in the Revelations (chap. xvii. 4, and xviii. 10), 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 as not abusing it; for the fashion of this world passeth away; but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever. 'The Lord taketh pleasure in his people, he will beautify the meek with salvation,' Psa. cxlix. 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, and 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 ye have life and peace with God." South-street, the 24th of the 4th Month, 1685.

G. F.

## CHAPTER XII.

*1685-1686.—George Fox tarries in London, labouring in the service of Truth—removes to Epping on account of his health—writes an epistle to Friends—returns to London—writes a paper concerning order in the Church of God—and a warning to backsliders—assists in distributing money raised for sufferers by Friends in Ireland—writes an epistle to the king of Poland, on behalf of Friends of Dantzic, who suffer imprisonment for conscience' sake—a paper concerning judging—looks diligently after Friends' sufferings in London, and obtains a general release of prisoners—writes an epistle to Friends, many having been recently liberated from prison—another on a similar occasion—an epistle to Friends to keep in the unity in the Truth—another to remind them of the evidence and seal they had received of their meetings for discipline having been set up in the power and spirit of God—a paper concerning the state of the true Church—a paper respecting the “falling away” foretold by the apostle Paid, 2 Thess. ii. 3—a paper showing how the Lord, in all ages, called the righteous out from amongst the wicked, before he destroyed the latter.*

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After I had been some weeks at South Street and Enfield, in which time I had several meetings with Friends, I returned to London. Amongst other services I found there, one was to assist Friends in drawing up a testimony to clear our Friends from being concerned in the late rebellion in the West, and from all plots against the government: which was delivered to the chief justice, who was then going down into the West with commission to try prisoners.

I tarried some time in London, visiting meetings, and labouring 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. While I was 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 hath upholden in all your sufferings (and some to death) for the Lord and his truth's sake. Christ saith, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world; in me ye have peace; but in the world ye have trouble.' The children of the Seed, who are heirs of the kingdom, know this is true. And though ye have trials by false brethren, Judases and sons of perdition, that are got 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 ye be tried by powers or principalities, yet there is nothing able to separate you from the love of God, which ye 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 giveth his grace plentifully, and such he teacheth. 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, the bond of peace, which is the King of kings' heavenly peace. In that you are all bound to good behaviour, 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 ye may eye and behold the Lord in all your actions; that his blessings ye may all feel to rest upon you. Whether ye be the Lord's prisoners for his name and truth's sake, or at liberty, in all things labour to be content, for that is a continual feast; and let no trouble move you; then ye will be as Mount Sion, 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: and whatsoever ye do, let it be done to the praise and glory of God in the name of Jesus Christ. All they that 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 not visit it in prison. You may read that Christ saith, such must go into everlasting punishment. That is a sad punishment and prison. All such as become apostates and backsliders, that crucify to themselves Christ afresh, put him to open shame, and 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 rebel against them that walk in it. 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 unto the earth, that hath 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 hath supported you to this day, and will 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 ye 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 ye may feel his presence: and that, when ye have finished your testimony, ye may receive the crown of

glory, which God hath laid up for them that fear and serve him. Amen.”

G. F.

The 15th of the 7th Month, 1685.

Having spent about a week in the country, I returned to London; where I continued about two months, visiting meetings, and labouring to get relief for Friends from their sufferings, which yet lay heavy upon them in many parts of the nation. Several papers also I wrote relating to the service of truth, one of which was concerning order in the church of God, which some that were gone out of the unity of Friends much opposed. It was as follows:—

“Among all societies, families, or nations of people in the world, there exists some sort of order. There was the order of Aaron in the Old Testament; and the order of Melchizedeck before that, after whose order Christ Jesus came; and he 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, that pass from death to life, are in the order of the Holy Spirit, power, light, life, and government of Christ Jesus, of the increase whereof there is no end. This is a mystery to all those disorderly people, who have written and printed so much against the order which the Lord's power and Spirit hath brought forth among his people. And you that cry so much against order, is it not manifest that you are gone into a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death, into disorder, and where the light is as darkness? Is not this your condition seen by all them that live and walk in the truth, 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. In Salem is God's tabernacle; and his tabernacle is in Shiloh; these are far beyond the tabernacles of Ham (Ps. lxxvi. and lxxviii.).

“All the figures and shadows were and are comprehended 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 lieth in wickedness, and by its wisdom knoweth not God, that made the world and all things therein; for the god of the world and prince of the air ruleth in the hearts of all that disobey the living God that made them. So the God of this wicked world hath blinded the eyes of the infidels or heathen; so that by their wisdom they know not the living God.

“In the Old Testament the Lord said, 'With all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt,' Lev. ii. 13. And Christ saith in his new covenant, 'Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will you season it? Have salt in yourselves; and have peace one with another,' Mark ix. 49, 50.



“We have received the earnest of the Spirit, which is the earnest of the inheritance, that fadeth not away. For God poureth out of 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 doth witness to our souls and spirits, that this Spirit of God 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 xxxvi. 10-12. So the disobedient that do not turn from their iniquity have not this prosperity and pleasure, but die without the knowledge of God; and their ears are shut to this discipline, which God opens to his people.”

G. F.

When I had been about two months in London, I was sent for to my son Rous's at Kingston, to visit a daughter of his, who at that time lay very sick; but recovered. Whilst I stayed there I had several meetings with Friends; and returning by Hammersmith, stayed the First-day meeting there, which was large and peaceable. Having visited Friends thereabouts, I came back to London again, being very intent upon the business of getting redress for suffering Friends. In this and other services I continued at London, till the latter end of the 11th month; save that I went to visit an ancient Friend at Bethnal-green, with whom I tarried three or four days. While I was there, I was much exercised in the sense of the enemy's 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 to all such:—

“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, and went a whoring after Balaam's ways, and became like the wild ass's colt, snuffing up the wind, as in Jer. ii. 24. And in Jer. iii., see how Judah played the harlot under every green tree, and upon every high mountain; and 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, 'they committed adultery, and assembled themselves together in harlots' houses.' Jer. v. 7. 'And with their whoredom they defiled the land, and committed, adultery with stocks and stones.' Jer. iii. 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, which the Jews worshipped, and committed adultery withal. When they forsook the living God, and his way and worship, they forsook the worship at the temple at Jerusalem, 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; as in Jer. xiii. 27.

“And now, if the children of New Jerusalem that is above, should forsake the worship, that Christ in his New Testament set up (which is in Spirit and in truth) and follow the worships of

nations, which men have set up, will not they that do so, commit adultery with them, in forsaking God's worship, and Christ, the new and living way?

“In Jer. xlv., ye 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 ye may see God's judgments pronounced against them to their destruction. And what will become of those that forsake the worship in Spirit and in truth, which Christ set up, and worship the works of their own hands in spiritual Egypt, and follow spiritual Egypt's will-worship, which they invented? may not this be called whoredom in them that forsake Christ, the new and living way, and his pure religion, and his worship, that he hath set up? And they that forsake the Lord's way, and his worship that he set up, and follow the world's ways and worships that they set up, do not they, whose way they follow, become at last their enemies? as in Lam. i. See how the Jews forsook the Lord's way and worship, and doted on their lovers (the Assyrians, etc.), and with all their idols they were defiled; and how they did not leave the whoredoms brought from Egypt, and how they were polluted with the Babylonians' bed; as ye may read in Ezek. xxiii. 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 other lovers, and committed adultery with them.

“Ye may see in Ezek. xvi. the state of the Jews was likened unto that of their sister Sodom, and how they had played the harlot with the Assyrians, and committed fornication with the Egyptians, and had increased their whoredoms in following their abominable idols. And therefore the Lord carried away the two tribes that forsook him into Babylon; as you may see in Ezek. xvii. 20. And they that forsake Christ, the new and living Way, and the worship of God in Spirit and in truth, which Christ set up in his New Testament, go into captivity in spiritual Babylon.

“In Hosea ii., see how he discovers the whoredoms and idolatry of the Jews, who forsook the Lord, and compares them to a harlot. And in chap. viii., the destruction threatened against the Jews, for their impiety and idolatry. In chap. ix. also, the distress and captivity of the Jews is threatened for their sins and idolatry. And again they are reproved and threatened for their impiety and idolatry, Hos. x. This was for forsaking the Lord and his way, and following the ways of their own inventions, and the ways of the heathen.

“Doth not Isaiah say, 'That the Lord would visit Tyre, and that she should commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth;' and therefore the Lord threatened destruction upon her, chap. xxiii. And in chap. lvii. see how the Lord reproved the Jews for their whorish idolatry, and said, 'Upon a high and lofty mountain hast thou set thy bed; even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifices. Thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed, where thou sawest it.' This was a joining to the heathen's religions, altars, and sacrifices, and a forsaking of 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 his Spirit 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 like to offer spiritual sacrifices to God; the sacrifice of such God doth not accept, no more than he did that of the heathens, or of the Jews, who rebelled against his good Spirit, that he gave to instruct them.

“And ye may see in the xviith, xviiiith, and xixth chapters of the Revelations, the punishment of the great whore, Babylon, the mother of harlots; and the victory of the Lamb, and how he calleth 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 ye may read her judgment and her downfall. This whore are they, that are whored from the Spirit of God, and so from God and from his holy worship in spirit and in truth, from the pure, undefiled religion, that keeps from the spots of the world, and from the new and living way, 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 hath 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 in truth Christ hath set up, as it was in the apostles' days. Hallelujah!”

G. F.

I soon returned to London, but made no long stay there, my body not being able to bear the closeness of the city long together. While I was in town, besides the usual services of visiting Friends, and looking after their sufferings to get them eased, I assisted 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 money was distributed amongst poor, suffering Friends in the several counties, in proportion as we understood their need.

Before I left the city, I heard of a great doctor lately come from Poland; whom I invited to my lodging, and had much discourse with him. After I had informed myself by him of such things as I had a desire to know, I wrote a letter to the King of Poland on behalf of Friends at Dantzic, who had long been under grievous sufferings. A copy whereof follows:—

*“To John the Third, King of Poland, great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, and Prussia, Defender of the city of Dantzic, etc. Concerning the innocent and afflicted people, in scorn called Quakers, who are now fed with bread and water in Bridewell of the aforesaid city, under close confinement, where their friends, wives, and children, are hardly suffered to come to see them,*

“O king!

“The magistrates of the city of Dantzic say, that it is thy order and command, that these inno-

cent and afflicted people should suffer such oppression. Now this punishment is inflicted upon them only because they come together in the name of Jesus Christ, their Redeemer and Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen from the dead for their justification; who is their Prophet, whom God hath raised up like unto 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 Pet. ii. 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 x.

“Now, O King! I understand that thou openly professest 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 in earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, O king, it seems hard to us, that any who openly confess Christ Jesus (yea, the magistrates of Dantzic do the same) should inflict those punishments upon an innocent and harmless people, by reason of their tender conscience, only because they come together to serve and worship the Eternal God, who made them, in Spirit and in truth; which worship Christ Jesus set up sixteen hundred years ago; as we read in John iv. 23, 24.

“I beseech the king, 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 were not conformable in every particular to their religion, faith, and worship? Where did the apostles exercise such things in the true church after Christ's ascension? Is not this the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, that his followers should 'love their enemies, and pray for them that hate them, and persecute and despitefully use them?' Matt. v.

“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 them who would not receive him? and did not he 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 not good for all to know, by the Spirit of Christ, what spirit they are of? For the apostle says, Rom. viii. 9, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' And 2 Cor. x. 4, 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual,' etc. And 'We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness,' etc. Thus we see, that the fight of the first Christians, and their weapons in the days of the apostles, were spiritual.

“Now would not the king and the magistrates of Dantzic 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 Dantzic, and contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced to the religion

of the King of Poland? or to the King of Poland, if he should be compelled to the religion of the magistrates of Dantzic? And if they would not be subject thereunto, that then 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?

“Therefore we beseech the king with all Christian humility, and the magistrates, that they would order 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 neighbour as themselves.' For we have this charity, that we hope and believe, that the King of Poland and his people, with the magistrates of Dantzic, own the writings of the New Testament, as well as of the Old; and therefore we beseech the king and magistrates 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, and 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 order to set the innocent prisoners, our friends, called Quakers, at liberty from their strict confinement in Dantzic; that they may have freedom to serve and worship the Living God in Spirit and in truth, to go home to their habitations, 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, yea 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 hands.

“From him who desires that 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.”

G. F.

London, the 10th of the 3rd Month, commonly called May, 1684.

*“Postscript.”*—The king may please to consider, that his and all men's consciences are the prerogative of God.”

After this I went to Enfield, where, and in the country around, several Friends had country-houses, amongst whom I tarried some time, visiting and being visited by Friends, and having meetings with them. Several things I wrote in this time, relating to the service of truth; one was 'Concerning judging:' for some, who had departed from the truth, were so afraid of its judgment, that they made it much of their business to cry out against judging. Wherefore I wrote a paper, proving by the Scriptures of truth, that the church of Christ has power and ability to judge those that profess to be 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 receiveth 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 judgeth all things (mark) all things; yet he himself is judged of no man,' 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15. So the natural man cannot judge of those things he receives not, for they are foolishness to him; but he is comprehended by the spiritual man, and his foolishness, and is judged, though he cannot judge the spiritual man.

“Do not ye judge them that are within?" saith the apostle (this power the church had, and hath), therefore put away from amongst yourselves that wicked person.' Did not this wicked person, think you, profess and plead for liberty for his wickedness, and his freedom, as he was a Christian, who was looked upon as a member of the church?

“The apostle saith, 'For I verily, as absent in body, yet present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this wicked deed,' 1 Cor. v. 3, 12. Here the apostle judged, though afar off, and set up judgment in the church against false liberty, under what pretence soever it was.

“And the apostle saith, '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 amongst themselves, and not for the unjust to judge of their matters. 'Do ye not know the saints shall judge the world?' So the saints are to judge the unjust, and not the unjust to judge their matters.

“And farther, the apostle saith, 'If the world shall be judged by you (to wit, the saints), are you unworthy to judge the smallest matters amongst you?"

“It is clear that the saints have a judgment given them of 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 amongst themselves; and if they carry them before the unjust, they show their unworthiness of the saints' judgment.

“Again, 'Know ye not that we shall judge angels? (and angels are spirits) how much more things which pertain to this life?"

“If ye then have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set them up to judge who are least esteemed in the church,' 1 Cor. vi. 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 are 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 also the saints have a judgment to judge angels that kept not their habitations, and the world. As in Jude, 'He judged the angels that kept not their habitations, their first state.' Did not he judge in divine matters here? He judged the state of Cain, and Balaam, and Core, and such Christians as were gotten into their steps, and were gone as far as they, though they professed themselves Christians? Here again he judged in divine matters; and of their states and beings, who stood in the divine principle, and who were fallen from it.

“The apostle saith, 'Try the spirits, and believe not every spirit,' 1 John iv. Here again was a judgment in divine matters; and he judged such as went out from them; these, whilst they were with them, had sight of things and openings; but when they went from them they went from the anointing; and therefore he exhorts the saints to keep to the anointing. Such as went from them that had the anointing, 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 iii. 12. Paul judged and tried such messengers and apostles, and transformers of themselves like to the apostles of Christ; and would have the church to try such, and have the same judgment that he had, 2 Cor. xi.

“The apostle Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira, and the thoughts of Simon Magus, who would have been a worker of miracles for money. Was not all this judgment in divine matters? And the apostle Paul judged the preachers of circumcision, both in the Romans and Galatians. For it was the faith and liberty of those preachers to preach up circumcision, though it was a wrong faith. Did not the apostle here again judge in divine 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 from the pure religion, and distinguished them.

“Paul judged of the false brethren, that would spy out the liberty of the true; to whom he would give no place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with the saints; as in Gal. ii. Did not the apostle here judge in divine 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 of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ,' Gal. i. 12. So here was a judgment to distinguish the gospel of Christ from all other gospels, which were accursed, which are after man, received and taught of man, and not by the revelation of Jesus Christ, Gal. i. And he had a 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 the 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. vi. Did he not set up a clear judgment here in divine matters in the church?

“And the apostle judged such libertines as through their knowledge could sit at meat in the idol's temple; who through their knowledge and liberty caused the weak brother to perish, for whom Christ died. These, it is like, did profess it was their faith and their liberty; yet they did not keep in the unity of the true faith, but went about to destroy it, 1 Cor. viii.

“Peter gives judgment upon the angels that sinned, and were cast down into hell; upon the state of the old world, and of Sodom, and the state of the false prophets then amongst them, that could speak great swelling words of vanity; and whilst they promised them liberty, they themselves were the servants of corruption. And had not Peter here a judgment in divine matters? These were such whose work was to bring into bondage, and these were 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 as, with their fair words and men's wisdom, 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 cress of Christ, the righteous power of God, that slew all deceit, and the deeds of the old man, agreeably 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 divine matters, of such as walked in the divine power, and such as did not?

“Christ sets up a judgment in his seven churches, and commends them that did keep 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 commended 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, for they had 'hated the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which he also hated:' and had not these Nicolaitanes sprung from Nicolas, one of the deacons? and were not these become a sect of Christians? though they might talk and preach of Christ, yet Christ hated their doctrine.

“Christ saith to the church of Smyrna, 'I know the blasphemy of them which 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 to distinguish the Jews in the Spirit from such as are not, but of the synagogue of Satan.

“To the church in Pergamos Christ saith, 'I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrines of Balaam,' etc., and 'also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.' Now, these that held the doctrine of Balaam, and the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, were got into the church, and might look upon themselves to be high Christians, and take great liberty to go into Balaam's doctrine, and Nicolas's 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, saith Christ, 'I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest



the woman Jezebel to teach, which seduces my people,' etc. Here was a suffering, which should have been a judgment by Christ's Spirit, upon that Jezebel, which was erred from his Spirit, and so from Christ. Such as these were high preachers. And is not the church to beware of suffering such now, lest they 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 such as would have a name, but not the nature; a name to live, but are dead. All the members of Christ's church must be in Christ, living members, and live to his name. This church had a few names that had not defiled their garments, that did walk in white; but such as have a name to live, but are dead, whilst they are in the dead state, cannot walk in white, nor judge in divine matters. 'Behold,' saith Christ, 'I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come, and to worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee,' Rev. iii. 9.

“And to the church of Laodicea, that was 'neither cold nor hot,' but lukewarm.; 'I would thou wert cold or hot: I will spew thee out of my mouth, because thou saidst thou wast rich, and wanted nothing;' when thou wast 'wretched, miserable, poor, blind, and naked.' Now this was for want of living 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, and Spirit, the 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 them that are faithful in his power, and Spirit, and light, to judge of temporal things, and the things of this life; and to judge of eternal and divine things and states; of angels and wicked men, and such as go from truth; and of the states of election and reprobation; yea, and of the devils who are out of truth; these being 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 by which all things are upheld, 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 yet, if they had not love, all this was nothing, but as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Therefore they are to be tried by the fruits of the good Spirit, which is love. So here the apostle not only judged himself in divine things, but set up a judgment in the church in those spiritual and divine matters.

“The apostle James judges of fountains, and of fig-trees, of the wisdom from below, and of the wisdom from above, and of the fruits of both, James iii. And Paul judged in divine matters when he said, 'The Spirit spake expressly, that in the latter times some should depart from the faith,'

1 Tim. iv. And he judged in divine matters, when he judged all those teachers that were high-minded, and had got the form of godliness, but denied the power; and termed them like unto Jannes and Jambres, who 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 divine matters, who judged such as had gotten the form of godliness, but denied the divine power? 2 Tim. iii.

“When the apostle said, 'the priesthood of Aaron was changed, and the law was changed, and the commandment disannulled, that gave them their tithes, 'did not he judge here in divine and spiritual matters? and was not the law spiritual, which served till the Seed came?

“Did not the apostle judge in divine and spiritual matters, in the sixth of the Hebrews, where he saith, 'Let us go on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, and of the doctrine 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,' etc. 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; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?' Heb. vi. Were not these spiritual, eternal, and divine matters and states, that the apostle judged of? and have not the saints the same judgment given unto them in the same Spirit? Have not the apostles and the church a spiritual judgment to judge of prophets, mysteries, faith, apostles, angels, the world, and the devil? And is not this judgment given them of God in divine matters, besides the judgment given them in matters pertaining unto this life?

“And had not they judgment to discern the true gospel from the false? and all such as had a profession of the form, and did not live in the power? and such as spoke the things of God, in the words that man's wisdom did teach? which things of God were not to be spoken in the words which man's wisdom taught, but in the words 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? for the kingdom of God stands not in word, but in power.

“Had not all the prophets a divine judgment to judge in divine matters? as Jeremiah, when he judged the prophets. Ezekiel also judged all such as came with a pretence of the Word of the Lord, using their tongues, and saying, 'Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord never spoke unto them;' as in Jer. xxiii. Ezek. xiii., and many other places might be instanced. Did not he judge Hananiah, who prophesied falsely? and did not this Hananiah pretend to speak the Word of the Lord to the priests and people? as in Jer. xxviii.

“Did not Isaiah judge in divine matters, when he judged the watchmen and the shepherds? Isa. lvi. 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 of priests, prophets, and judges,

though they would lean upon the Lord, and say, 'Is not the Lord amongst us, and no evil can come unto us;' yet did not he let them see their states and conditions, and divide the precious from the vile? Mic. iii. And so the rest of the prophets. You may see they judged for God in his divine matters, 'who served him, and who served him not; and who lived in truth, and who not;' and likewise the apostles. And this divine, spiritual, and heavenly judgment was given of God to his holy men and women.

“They that judge in God's divine matters, must live in his divine Spirit, power, and light now, as they did then; which 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.

“Nay, the church has a power given them, which is farther than a judgment: 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 has Christ given to his living members, the church.”

G. F. to Friends.

The 20th of the 12th Month, 1685-6.

I came back to London in the 1st month, 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, from which we had now some hopes of getting relief. The sessions came on in the 2nd month at Hicks's Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried; with whom I was from day to day, to advise and see that no opportunity were slipped, nor advantage lost; and they generally succeeded well. Soon after also the king was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, to give order for the “releasing of all prisoners for conscience' sake; that 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 for many years been restrained in bonds, came now up to the Yearly Meeting, which was in the 3rd 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 amongst us. After the meeting I was moved to write a few lines, to be sent amongst Friends: the tenor whereof was thus:—

“Dear Friends,

“My love is to you all in the holy Seed, Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works; and who hath all power in heaven and in earth given him. Let every one's faith stand in Him, and in his power, who is the author and finisher of your faith. And now for you, who have been partakers of his power, and are sensible of it in this day of his power, that is over darkness and its power; by whose power the hearts of the king and rulers

have been opened, and your outward prison-doors 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 ye 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 hath given you for a sanctuary, God Almighty keep you, in whom ye 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 now may be exercised in, and may practise this wisdom in holy lives and conversations; so that this wisdom may be justified of all her children, and they exercised 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 Spirit and in 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; and in the truth, and in the love of it. All study to be approved unto God in innocency, virtue, simplicity, and faithfulness, labouring and studying to be quiet in the will of God. 'And whatsoever ye 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 hath refreshed his people, and by his eternal arm and power hath kept and preserved them to this day; glory to his name over all for ever. Amen! Christ hath 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 perfectness in his body. This love edifies the body of Christ; which body and all his 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 ruleth 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 again, who reigns over all, and liveth for

evermore, blessed for ever; Hallelujah. Amen!

“Greet one another with a holy kiss of charity. Love or charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. It envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, nor doth it behave itself unseemly. It rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth. Charity is not easily provoked, and thinks no evil, but suffereth long and is kind. Charity never faileth. I say, greet one another with this holy kiss of charity, and peace be with you all, that are in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation.”

G. F.

The 30th of the 3rd Month, 1686.

I remained most part of this year in London, save that sometimes I got out to Bethnal-Green for a night or two, or as far as Enfield and thereabouts amongst Friends, and once or twice to Chiswick, where an ancient Friend had set up a school for the educating of Friends' children; in all which places I found service for the Lord. At London, I spent my time amongst Friends, either in public meetings (as the Lord drew me) or visiting those that were not well, and in looking after the sufferings of Friends. For though many were released out of prisons, yet some remained prisoners still for tithes, etc., and sufferings of several sorts lay heavy on Friends in many places. Yet inasmuch as many Friends, that had been prisoners, were now set at liberty, I felt a concern upon me, that none might look too much at man, but might eye the Lord therein, from whom deliverance comes. Wherefore I wrote an epistle to them, as follows:—

“Friends,

“The Lord, by his eternal power, hath opened the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which-about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and hath given a check to the informers; so that in many places our meetings are pretty 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 to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the seas, allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. Therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in jails and prisons, the Lord did, by his eternal arm and power, uphold you, and sanctified them to you (and unto some he made them as a sanctuary), and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. In all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;' and that He was in all places; 'who crowneth the year with his goodness,' Psal. lxxv. 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, which 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 that destroyeth the devil and his work, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's people's 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 and Foundation of God standeth sure.

Upon this the Lord God establish all his people. Amen.”

G. F.

London, the 25th of the 7th Month, 1686.

Divers other epistles and papers I wrote this year; one of which was an exhortation “to Friends to keep in unity in the truth, in which there is no division nor separation;” it was thus:—

“Dear Friends And Brethren In The Lord Jesus Christ,

“In whom ye have all peace and life, and in whom there is no division, schism, rent, strife, nor separation; for Christ is not divided: 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 hath made them free, and in Him there is no division, schism, rent, or separation; but peace, life, and reconciliation to God, and to one another. So in Christ, male and female are all one; for whether they be 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 beareth and endureth all things; nor in the Word of God's grace, for it is pure and endureth for ever. Many, you see, have lost the Word of patience and the Word of wisdom, that is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated: then they run into the wisdom that is below, that is 'earthly, sensual, and devilish,' and very uneasy to be entreated. They go from the love of God that beareth all things, endureth all things, thinketh no evil, and doth not behave itself unseemly: then they cannot bear, but grow brittle, and are easily provoked, run into unseemly things, and are in that, that vaunteth itself, are puffed up, 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 they 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 endureth and beareth 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 borne again, feed on the milk thereof, and live and grow by it. My desires are, that ye may all be of one heart, mind, soul, and spirit in Christ Jesus. Amen."

G. F.

Soon after this, finding those apostates, whom the enemy had drawn out into division and separation from Friends, continued their clamour 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 so they might not be shaken by the adversaries. I wrote as follows:—

"My Dear Friends In The Lord Jesus Christ!

"All you, that are gathered in his holy name, know, that your meetings for worship, your quarterly and other 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 hath with his Spirit sealed to you, that your meetings are of his ordering and gathering, and he hath owned them, by honouring you with his blessed presence in them; and you have had great experience of his furnishing you with his 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 hath sealed your meetings by his Spirit to you, and that your gathering together hath been by the Lord, to Christ his Son, and in his name; and not by man. So the Lord hath the glory and praise of them and in them, who hath 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 doth reign over them all, in which he doth preserve his sons and daughters to his glory, by his eternal arm and power, in his work and service, as 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 ye may serve the Lord in Christ Jesus, your Rock and Foundation, in your age and generation. Amen."

G. F.

London, the 3rd of 11th Month, 1686-7.

A little after it came upon me to write something concerning the state of the true church, and of the true members thereof, 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 a spiritual household, children of the promise, and of the Seed and flesh of Christ; and as the apostle saith, 'Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his

bone.' They are the good seed, the children of the everlasting kingdom written in heaven; and 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, as Rev. xii. So all changeable things, that are in the world, all changeable religions, worships, ways, fellowships, churches, and teachers in the world, are as the moon; for the moon changes, but the sun doth not change. The Sun of Righteousness never changeth, nor goes down; but all the ways, religions, worships, fellowships of the world, and the teachers thereof, change like the moon. The true church, which Christ is the head of, which is in God, the Father, 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 doth not change, and hath 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 and all his members, which are clothed with the Sun, their worship is in Spirit, and in truth, which doth not change; which truth the devil, the foul, unclean spirit, is out of, and cannot get into this worship in Spirit and in truth. Their religion is pure and undefiled before God, that keeps from the spots of the world, etc., and their way is the new and living way, Christ Jesus. So the church of Christ, that is clothed with the Sun, that hath the moon and all changeable religions and ways under her feet, hath an unchangeable worship, religion, and way, an unchangeable Rock and Foundation, Christ Jesus, and an unchangeable High Priest; and so are children of the New Testament, and in the everlasting Covenant of Light and Life.

“Now all, that 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 be not in them.' Therefore 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, changeable religions, ways, worships, teachers, rocks, and foundations. But Christ, the Son of God, and Sun of Righteousness, doth 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 filleth 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 of all his. And Christ Jesus saith to the outward professors, the Jews, 'I am from above,' ye are from below, 'ye 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 changeth 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, doth 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 hath redeemed his people from the world, and its changeable rudiments, elements, and old things, and from its changeable teachers, faiths, and beliefs. For Christ is the author and finisher of his church's faith, who is from above, and saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may become



children of 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 righteous, 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 doth not say, the corrupt seed of the Gentiles: so, according to the flesh, he was of the holy seed of Abraham and of 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 amongst 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 he was quickened again by the Spirit, and is alive, and liveth for evermore; he hath all power in heaven and in earth given to him, and reigneth 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 says, '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 eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life: for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.' He that eats not his flesh and-drinks not his blood, which is the life of the flesh, hath not eternal life. As the apostle saith, all died in Adam; then all are dead. Now all coming spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ, the second Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and flesh gives all the dead in Adam life, and quickens them out of their sins and trespasses, in which they were dead; so they come to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, living members of the church of Christ, that he is the head of; 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 and 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 from one church to another; and yet their hearts are not changed. The letter of Scripture is read by the Christians like the Jews; but the mystery is hid: they have the sheep's clothing, the outside, but are inwardly ravened from the Spirit, which should bring them into the Lamb's and Sheep's nature. The Scripture saith, 'All the uncircumcised must go down into the pit:' and 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 of 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, that never fell, and be clothed with Him, the Sun of Righteousness.”

G. F.

Towards the latter end of this year I went to Kingston to visit Friends there; and stayed some time at my son Rous's. I wrote there a paper concerning "the falling away" foretold by the apostle Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3, as follows:—

"The apostle saith that there must be 'a falling away' first, before the wicked one, that man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed, which betrayeth Christ within, as the son of perdition betrayed Christ without; and they that betray Christ within, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame. Before the apostles died, this man of sin, the son of perdition, was revealed: for they saw antichrist come, and false prophets, false apostles, and deceivers come, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. They saw the wolves dressed in the sheep's clothing, and such as 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 such as were enemies to the cross of Christ, that 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. And now, 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 ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, and the spirit of Cain, Korah, Balaam, Jezebel, the antichrists, false prophets, and false apostles, and such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, who serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies; and crucify Christ to themselves, and put him to open shame. This Spirit have we 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 hath chosen unto salvation in Christ from the beginning,' through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth,' stand stedfast in Christ Jesus; and are thankful to God, by and through his Son, their rock and salvation, who is their happiness and eternal inheritance.

"The apostle saith, 'Ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.' So when people are returned 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 and holy men and women; and come to be members of the church of Christ. Then a spiritual care cometh upon the elders in Christ, that all the members walk in Christ, in his light, grace, Spirit, and truth, that they may adorn their 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. And 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 may see their work and service in it, to look after the poor, widows, and fatherless, and to see that nothing be lacking; and that all honour the Lord in their lives and conversations.

“When the whole house of Israel were in their graves and sepulchres, 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 they may be said to be in their graves and sepulchres, dead from the heavenly breath of life, the Spirit and Word of life, that gathereth to God. Though they can speak, and are alive outwardly, yet they remain in the congregations or churches of the dead, that want the virtue of life. 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, came to be dry scattered bones, and were turned into their graves and sepulchres. So Christendom, that is turned from the grace, truth, and light of Christ, and the Spirit, that God poureth upon all flesh, they are become the scattered dry bones, are in their graves and sepulchres, and are the congregations or churches of the dead, though they can speak, and are alive outwardly.

“Christ saith, '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 saith, 'I am the resurrection and the life;' and, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto 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 Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen for their justification; who was dead and is alive again, and liveth for evermore. All whom he hath 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 Flock 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; even Christ, the heavenly tree, which beareth 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 hath 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 they that 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. They that 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

naught. For what they know is natural, by their natural tongues, arts, sciences; in which they corrupt themselves. This is the state of the dead in Adam: but the quickened, they that are made alive by Christ, discern between the living and the dead.”

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the 12th Month, 1636-7.

While I was at Kingston, I wrote also another paper, showing “that the Lord, in all ages, called the righteous out from amongst the wicked, before he destroyed them;” 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 out of Jerusalem:' and he said, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings! and ye would not,' Luke xiii. 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, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation,' Luke xi. 49-51. And he said to the Jews, 'Behold your house is left unto you desolate,' Matt. xxiii. 34, etc. 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, Matt. xxiv. 2. 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,' Matt. xvi. 21. And Christ said, 'When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know the desolation thereof is nigh.' 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 xxi. 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 reports in his Ecclesiastical History, that the Christians at Jerusalem had a vision, or a revelation to depart out of Jerusalem. Being forewarned also by Christ, that when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, its desolation was nigh; and that the temple should be thrown down, and not one stone left upon another; it is said, that 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 fore-spoken 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, that Titus destroyed the temple and Jerusalem about forty-two years after Christ was crucified, and risen again; and that with so great a destruction, that the Jews never built the city again, nor the temple (as Sodom was never built again, nor the cities of the old world). But the Jews for above these 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, and all his hosts and chariots.

“John says, he heard a voice, saying, 'Come out of her, my people, (to wit, out of Babylon, the false church), that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities,' Rev. xviii. 4, 5. Here ye 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, ver. 8, 9, 21.

“Was not Nebuchadnezzar's empire thrown down and ended by Cyrus and Darins, who were of the seed of the Hedes, 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,' Isa. xlv. Was not this fulfilled in Cyrus's and Darins's time? For did not then the Jews go out of captivity into their own land,' Ezra i. 2-4; vi. 1, 12; Isa. xlv. 28; xlv. 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 Darins, in whose days the 'loins of kings were loosed, and the two-leaved gates of brass and iron were opened?' and had not Israel and Jacob 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 amongst those persecutors, before they were over-

thrown and brought to confusion. All that are wise, see these things, and learn by such examples and way-marks to shun such bogs. The righteous are safe, that keep in Christ, their everlasting sanctuary, that changes not; in whom they have rest and peace with God. Amen.”

G. F.

Kingston, the 29th of the 12th Month, 1686-7.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*1686-1687—The first and the second Adam compared—the two seeds distinguished—George Fox is daily exercised in London in services relating to the church, visiting the sick or afflicted, and writing in defence of Truth, or refuting error—true prayer distinguished from the practice of the Papists—visits his son-in-law William Mead—a distinction between the true offering, and sacrifice, and the false, under the old and new covenant—a general toleration and liberty being now granted, George Fox writes a word of counsel and caution to Friends, to walk circumspectly in a time of liberty—how redemption by Christ is known and witnessed—repentance must precede the reception of the gospel, baptism, etc.—a paper showing wherein God's people are to be like him—the right way to Christ—the kingdom of God is to be measurably known in this life—George Fox is benefited by being three months in the country—has much service in London again—at Kingston writes a paper, showing how the Jews, by disobedience, lost the Holy City and the Holy Land, designed as a warning to Christians—everlasting life through, and in, Christ, to be received and witnessed in this life—the stone cut out of the mountain signifies the kingdom and power of Christ—a miscellaneous paper, being a collection of Scripture passages respecting regeneration, sanctification, etc.*

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While I was at Kingston, one day, as I was 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 Saviour, 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 they that believe on 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 whence 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 favour with God; and that every tongue should confess, that 'Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'”

I wrote also a paper there, concerning the two seeds, distinguishing the seed wherein 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 thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,' Gen. xxii. 18. 'And thy 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,' chap. xiii. 16; xv. 5; xxii. 17. In this seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed; but not in the seed of evil-doers and of falsehood, nor in the seed of the adulterer and the whore, Isa. i. 4, and lvii. 3, 4; 'for the seed of the wicked shall be cut off,' saith the Lord, Psal. xxxvii. 28. The Lord said to David, 'That his seed should endure for ever,' Psal. lxxxix. 36. And again it is said, Psal. cii. 28, 'The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee.' Here is a distinction between the two seeds; for the seed of evil-doers, of the adulterer, and of the wicked, shall be cut off; and so it is not blessed. But Christ bruises the head of the serpent, and his seed which he soweth in them, that 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 his 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 of Christ, and are blessed with faithful Abraham. Whoever are of the saving, divine, precious faith, are of Abraham, walk in the steps of the seed and faith of Abraham, and are blessed with him, yea, of all nations, and all the families of the earth.

“And the Lord said to Abraham, 'Thy 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,' Gen. xv. 13, 14. Here ye may see, that which afflicts God's seed, he will judge, and did judge; for he destroyed the first-born of Pharaoh, and overthrew him and his host.

“A holy man said, 'Except the Lord of Sabath had left us a seed or remnant, we had been as Sodom,' etc., 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. 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. lix. 21. So it is not the first-birth's talking of the words of Christ, the Seed, in whose mouth the word of God doth not abide; that makes an outward profession, like the Jews who killed and persecuted the prophets, and crucified Christ, the Seed, and substance of the law and prophets, which the Jews professed in words, but they denied Christ, the Seed and Life. And 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; and so, neither Jews nor Christians are blessed, except they be in Christ, the Seed of Life.

“But though Christ is said to be of 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 son of Joseph, but was the Son of God. His name was called Jesus, because he should 'save his people from their sins;' and Emmanuel, 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. i. 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,' tho apostle calls 'The mystery, which hath been hid from ages and generations; but now is made manifest to the saints,' or sanctified ones, Col. i. 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,' ver. 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 out 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', and Christ's, and his apostles' words ever so much; yet if Christ be not in them, they are incomplete, imperfect, deformed, reprobates. But the apostle tells the church of Christ, 'Ye are complete in Christ, which is the head of all principality and power,' Col. ii. 10 (for he hath all power in heaven and in earth given to him, Matt. xxviii. 18). So all the saints are made perfect and complete in Christ Jesus; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever, through Jesus Christ. Amen, Amen.”

G. F.



Kingston, the 15th of the 1st Month, 1686-7.

Quickly after this I 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, and 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 many unsettled people going to view them at it, a great talk there was of their praying to saints, and by beads, etc., whereupon I wrote a short paper concerning prayer; as follows:—

“Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, 'When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,' etc. Christ doth not say, that they should pray to Mary, the mother of Christ; nor doth he say, that 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 maketh intercession; and the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth 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. And he hath given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor 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 that refused the running waters of Shiloh, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity; and they that refuse the waters of Christ, are overflowed with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, were in the spirit of error and whoredom; they were gone a whoring from God. Hos. iv. 12. And they that joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them, Psal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye 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, Eccl. ix. 5. 'Woe to the rebellious children, saith 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. xxx. 1.

G. F.

When I had stayed about a month in London, I got out of town again; for by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body was grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together; but was obliged to go a little into the country, for the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law William Mead, to his countryhouse called Gooses in Essex, where I stayed about two weeks; and among other services 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 saith, 'He that sacrificeth to any God, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed.' Exod. xxii. 20. So no God is to be minded, nor sacrificed to, but the Lord God: it is death to sacrifice to any other God, save the Lord. The Lord saith also, 'Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.' Exod. xxiii. 18. So that sour, heavy leaven, must not be offered with the Lord's sacrifice. Again the Lord saith, 'Thou shalt not build an altar of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it,' Exod. xx. 25. Therefore have a care of polluting the altar with your own tools, you that 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 ii. 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, Hos. iv. 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 Mai. i. and many other places. So they that offer spiritual sacrifice, must not offer the blind, lame, blemished, or deformed sacrifice to God.”

“The scribe saith unto 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 neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices,' Mark xii. 33. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God,' v. 34. To love God, and their neighbour 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 be not love to God, and to their neighbour as themselves, avail nothing.

“David said, 'Let them sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing,' Psal. cvii. 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 thee, as incense; and the lifting up of my hands, as the evening sacrifice,' Psal. cxli. 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, thou wilt not despise,' Psal. li. 17. (See also Isa. lvii. 15; lxvi. 2.) These are the sacrifices that David said God would accept, and not despise; which are beyond 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 unto them, 'Let us build with you, for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him.' But the Jews refused them, and said, 'You have nothing to do with us, to build a house unto our God,' Ezra iv. 2, 3. Here ye may see that God's people refused their building

with them, and their sacrifice. Solomon saith, 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord,' Prov. xv. 8. (See also Isa. i. 11; lxvi. 3.) Solomon also saith, 'Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifices with strife,' Prov. xvii. 1. Now let all people consider, what good your house full of sacrifices doth with strife, when a dry morsel and quietness therewith is better? Consider, all people, if ye live in wickedness, your sacrifice is an abomination to the Lord.

“Again, Solomon speaking of the sacrifice of fools, saith, 'They consider not that they do evil,' Eccl. v. 1. Fools are such as do not walk in the Spirit of God, or begin 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 up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost,' Rom. xv. 16. So ye may see, that all the acceptable offerings and sacrifices to God must be sanctified by the Holy Ghost. The same apostle saith to the Corinthians, 'Ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's,' 1 Cor. vi. 20. And to the Romans, he saith, 'I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service,' Rom. xii. 1. This is the duty of all true Christians.

“Peter also saith, in his general epistle to the church of Christ, 'Ye 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. ii. 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 saith, 'Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,' Mark ix. 49. And in the Old Testament ye may see, all their outward offerings they were to season with salt, Lev. ii. 13, a type and figure of Christ, who gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour, Eph. v. 2. Therefore all his people must be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, 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, 'Hath 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 hearken, than the fat of rams,' 1 Sam. xv. 22. So ye may see, all offerings and sacrifices are nothing, if there be not a hearkening to the Lord in his Spirit, and an obeying of his voice. Christ told the Jews, that were outward sacrificers, that he would have mercy, and not sacrifice; and bid them 'Go and learn what that meaneth,'" Matt. ix. 13.

G. F.

Gooses, the 28th of the 2nd Month, 1687.

The beginning of the 3rd month I returned to London, and continued there till after the Yearly Meeting, which began on the 16th of the same, and was very large, Friends having more freedom to come up out of the counties to it, by reason of the general toleration and liberty now granted. The meeting lasted several days; and at the close thereof it was upon me to write the following lines, to be dispersed amongst 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, and great spoiling of goods, and tedious imprisonments, only for serving and worshipping the living God that made you; who gave up wife and children, and goods, and suffered the spoil of them, and imprisonment for his truth and name's sake;—the Lord, by his infinite power and mercy, having been pleased to open the king's heart towards you, by which you are set at liberty from jails, and the spoilers of your goods are stopped, whereby ye may follow your callings, confess Christ Jesus, and call him Lord by the Holy Ghost, in your assemblies and meetings, without being cast into jails, or having your goods spoiled; a great concern lies upon me from the Lord to write unto you, dear brethren, 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 getting up into ease, looseness, and false liberty. And now, seeing that ye have not the outward persecutors to war with in sufferings, with the spiritual weapons 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 ye may all show forth good ensamples of true believers in Christ, in virtue, and holiness, answering that which may be known of God in all people, that ye are the sons and daughters of God; standing fast in that righteous, holy liberty in Christ, the just and holy One, that has made you free, over the loose or false; shunning 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 ye have received Christ, live and walk in Him, who bruises the serpent's head, who is your safe sanctuary, in whom ye have election, reconciliation, and peace with God. Therefore live in the peace which ye 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 peacemakers. Labour 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 ye may be as a city set on God's Sion-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 ye abide in Christ, the vine, in this his day of life, power, and light, that shines over all. Therefore all you that believe in the light, walk in the light, as children of the light, and of Christ's everlasting day; that in the light ye 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.”

G. F.

By that time the Yearly Meeting was over, I was very much wearied and spent; wherefore, about a week after the meeting, I got out of town to a Friend's house a little beyond Edmonton, where, and at South Street, I abode some time, and had meetings amongst Friends there; and at Winchmore-hill and Berry Street. And 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 mankind, though they have transgressed his commands and laws, rebelled against him, hated his light, grieved his Spirit, and walked despitefully against his Spirit of grace; God, who is merciful, would yet 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, all that know and find the grace and truth which comes by Jesus, do know and find it in their hearts. And 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 they come to the light and truth in their hearts, all are strangers to these things,—are in Adam, in the fall from the image of God, and from his light, power, Spirit, and kingdom. But Christ that never fell, brings man and woman that follow him again to know these things, to know the truth, and Him the Saviour, 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 hath stopped men's eyes, ears, and hearts from the truth, who is called the god of the world; who hath blinded the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Christ, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, doth open men's hearts, eyes, and ears. He is their Saviour and Redeemer, and giveth life eternal to his people that obey him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord for ever through Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam; who is a propitiation 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, so by Christ's obedience unto death justification of life is come upon all; and he that believeth in Christ hath eternal life; but he that doth 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 Saviour; and in Him there is no condemnation.”

G. F.

After I had been a while here, I went to a monthly meeting at Enfield, and thence 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 amongst them. Then passing to Waltham Abbey, I had a very good meeting with Friends there: and next day went thence to another place, to compose a difference, which, for want of a right understanding of each other, had happened between some Friends. I returned; to Waltham that night; and next day went with some Friends to William Mead's house, in Essex.

Here I stayed some weeks, yet was not idle, but often visited the meetings thereabouts; as at Wanstead, Barking, and at John Harding's. Between meeting and meeting I wrote many things for the spreading of truth, and for the opening of 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, or be baptized; after this manner:—

“John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, 'Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' Matt. iii. 2. And 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 ye, and believe the gospel,' Mark i. 14, 15. Matthew also says, 'From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' Matt., iv. 17. And when Christ sent forth his twelve disciples, two and two, they went out and preached that men should repent, Mark vi. 12. Christ said to the Jews, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish,' Luke xiii. 3, 5. When the publicans and sinners came to hear Christ, and the Pharisees and Scribes murmured saying, 'This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them,' Luke xv. 1, 2, Christ reproveth them by a parable, and then told them, 'Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance,' ver. 7, adding, 'There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth,' ver. 10. Christ, after he was risen, said unto his disciples, 'That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem,' Luke xxiv. 47. Peter said unto the Jews, 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,' Acts ii. 38. And Paul said, 'The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent,' Acts xvii. 30. Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it, Acts viii. 22. And the apostle Paul preached at Damascus, and 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 xxvi. 20.

“Here ye may see that 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, be turned from darkness to the light of Christ, and

from, the power of Satan unto God, before they receive his Holy Spirit, and his gospel of life and salvation. The Lord commands all men everywhere to repent, and do works meet for repentance. They must show forth that their lives and conversations are changed, and that they serve God in newness of life, with new tongues and new hearts.”

G. F.

Gooses, the 6th Month, 1687

Another short paper I wrote about the same time, showing wherein God's people should be like unto him. It was 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 holily. 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 unto all. God is love; and they that dwell in love dwell in God. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law,' Rom. xiii. 10. The apostle says, 'All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' Gal. v. 14. 'As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love,' John xv. 9. This should be the practice of all God's people.”

G. F.

Gooses, the 6th Month, 1687.

And because most people would confess, that God's people should be thus, but few know how to come to this state; therefore in the openings of the Spirit of truth I wrote another short paper, directing to “the right way and means, whereby people might come unto Christ, and so be made like unto God.” Thus:—

“Christ saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me,' John xiv. 6. And again, 'No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him,' John vL 44. Now, what is the means by which God doth draw people to his Son, but by his Holy Spirit, who 'poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh.' By this Holy Spirit, the holy and righteous God doth draw 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, and whom people should 'hear in all things: and they that would not hear him, should be cut off.' They that do not hear the Son of God, the great Prophet, do not mind the drawing of the Father by his Holy Spirit to his Son; but to them that mind the drawings of the good Spirit of the Father to his Son, the Spirit giveth 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 unto God but by and through his Son, who is their Shepherd to feed them in his pastures and springs of life; and 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 careth not for the sheep; for they are not the hireling's, but Christ's, who hath laid down his life for his sheep. He that robs and steals his neighbour's words, that climbeth up another way, and entereth 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, and makes their peace with God; and they know that Christ is their High-priest, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their sins, doth cleanse them with his blood, is risen for their justification; and is able to the utmost to save all that come to God by him."

G. F.

Gooses, the 6th Month, 1687.

Before I left this place I wrote another paper, to show, by many instances from the Holy Scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people talk of at a distance, and refer altogether to another life, is in some measure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance thereinto, but such as are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following is a copy:—

"Christ saith, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,' John iii. 3. 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit,' ver. 6. So, 'except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' ver. 5. And John, writing to the seven churches in Asia, calls himself their brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, Rev. i. 9. Here you may see, that John was in the kingdom; so he was born again: for he not only saw the kingdom, but was in it.

"And John saith, 'Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God; therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not,' 1 John iii. 1. 'Beloved, now are we the sons of God,' ver. 2. 'If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him,' chap. ii. 29. 'Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God,' chap. iii. 9. Again John saith, 'Let us love one another; for love is of God; and every one that loveth, is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love,' chap. iv. 7, 8. 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God,' chap. v. 1. And, 'Whosoever is born of God, overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith,' ver. 4. Were not these, that were born of God, in the kingdom of God? And seeing, John says, every one that doeth righteousness, is born of God, do not such see the kingdom of God that stands in righteousness, and enter into it?



“Peter, in his first general epistle to the church of Christ, saith, 'As new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby,' 1 Pet. ii. 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 marvellous light, ver. 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, ver. 5. Did not these new-born babes, these lively stones, spiritual household, royal priesthood, holy nation, and chosen generation, who were called out of darkness into Christ's marvellous light, see, and enter into his holy kingdom, being heirs of the same? who were born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God; which liveth and abideth for ever, 1 Pet. i. 23. And had these not an entrance ministered to them into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

“James, in his general epistle to the church of Christ, says, 'Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom, which he hath promised to them that love him?' James ii. 5. The apostle Paul says, 'God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, etc., to redeem them that were under the law; that we might receive the adoption of sons; and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ,' Gal iv. 4—7. The same apostle says, 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God;' and tells the saints at Rome, 'Ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth 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 so be we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together (namely, with Christ),' Rom. viii. 14-17. Now seeing they are the sons of God that are led by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit beareth witness unto their spirit, that they are the children of God, and 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 saith in Hosea i. 10, 'Where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.' Did not this relate to the gospel-days of the new covenant? see Rom. ix. 26. And what the Lord said by the prophet Jeremiah, chap, xxxi. 1, the apostle applies to the gospel-days, and says, 'Be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty, 2 Cor. vi. 18. 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 saith 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. xliii. 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 xxxviii. 7, where did these sons of God shout for joy? Was it not in his kingdom of glory?

“Christ saith, 'The least in the kingdom of God is greater than John,' Luke vii. 28. And in chap. xvi. 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 presseth into it.'

“The good seed are the children of the kingdom,' Matt. xiii. 38. And 'the righteous shall shine forth, as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father,' ver. 43. Christ said unto his disciples, 'Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,' Mark iv. 11. And Christ lifted up his eyes upon his disciples, and said, 'Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God,' Luke vi. 20. And 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 xii. 32. And, 'I appoint unto you a kingdom,' said Christ, 'as my Father hath appointed unto me,' chap. xxii. 29. The Lord said, 'He that overcometh, shall inherit all things: and I will be his God, and he shall be my son,' Rev. xxi. 7. And John saith, 'I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one,' 1 John ii. 14. And Christ, by whom are all things, is said 'to bring many sons to glory,' Heb. ii. 10.

“Christ said, 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer them that are entering, to go in,' Matt. xxiii. 13. He also said, 'Woe unto you, lawyers; for you have taken away the key of knowledge; ye enter not in yourselves; and them that were entering in ye hindered,' Luke xi. 52. Christ gives unto his children the key of the kingdom, his Spirit; but the scribes, and the Pharisees, and the lawyers, great professors, who were erred from the Spirit, like the great professors in our age that 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.' So the Spirit is the key, by which the kingdom of God, and the things of God, are revealed and discerned, and known, according to 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 13, 14. The apostle names some in his epistle to the Colossians, and says, 'These are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God,' Col. iv. 11. And he tells that church, that 'God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son,' chap. i. 13. So ye may see these were born again, that 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, Matt. v. 45. He bids them be perfect, even as their Father which is in heaven, is perfect; ver. 48. The apostle saith to the church at Philippi, 'That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life,' etc. Phil. ii. 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 Thess. ii. 12.

“The Lord had promised by the prophet Joel, that he would 'pour out his Spirit upon all flesh,' and that 'sons and daughters should prophesy, old men should dream dreams, and young men see visions,' Joel ii. 28. Now the cause 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 poureth upon them: but as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God.

“John saith, Christ was the 'true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' John i. 9; and that 'As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God;' ver 12, 'which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God,' ver. 13. Now, 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-in-the-lantern. Such are not like 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.' They that 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 every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved,' John iii. 19, 20. But the children of the light, that walk in the light, come to heavenly Jerusalem, and to the city of the living God, to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, that are written in heaven, and can sing Hallelujah!”

G. F.

Gooses, the 2nd of the 7th Month, 1687.

Having been more than a quarter of a year in the country, I returned to London, somewhat better in

health than formerly, having received much benefit by the country air. And it being now a time of general liberty, and great openness amongst the people, I had much service for the Lord in the city; being almost daily at public meetings, and frequently taken up in visiting Friends that were sick, and in other services of the church. I continued at London about three months; and then finding my strength much spent, with continual labouring in the work of the Lord, and my body much stopped for want of fresh air, I went down to my son Rous's, by Kingston, where I abode 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 to instruct them, rebelled against his law, set up idols and images, and defiled the land and the city, the Lord sent his prophets to cry against them, 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 should 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 and 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 have never had power to obtain the land since, nor to build Jerusalem, nor the temple; but the Turk hath both the land of Canaan, and that which is called 'the city of Jerusalem.' Now, the Turk neither makes images, nor worships images; and 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 hath it, who neither makes images, nor idols, nor worships them. The Jews must never hope, believe, nor expect, that ever they shall 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, fee., for burnt-offerings; for Christ, the one offering, hath offered himself once for all, and by this one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. And Christ hath changed the priesthood of Aaron, that offered sacrifices, that was made after the power of a carnal commandment; but Christ was made after the power of an endless life, a Priest for ever, who is holy, harmless, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens. This is the Priest that gives power to all that 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, and is free; but Jerusalem that is below, is in bondage with her children. They that 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 iv. This is the worship that Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago; and 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 more. For Christ, by the offering up of himself once for all, for the sins of the whole world, hath ended all the Jews' offerings, and changed the priesthood, and the law by which it was made; and hath 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, and New Covenant, and heavenly New Jerusalem, that is above. He is their Prophet that openeth 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.”

G. F.

Kingston, the 9th of the 10th Month, 1687.

After this I went to Guildford to visit Friends there, and stayed three days with them; having a large and very good meeting there on First-day. After which I came back to Kingston again, and tarried about two weeks longer, visiting Friends, and having meetings amongst them, both at their public meeting-house and in their families. Many things I wrote while I was at Kingston; among which was the following:—

“God So loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish (mark, not perish), but have everlasting life,' John iii. 16. Again, he saith, 'He that believeth on the Son of God, hath (mark, hath) everlasting life,' ver. 36. So these believers have everlasting life while they are upon the earth. And 'He that believeth on Christ is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him.' And, 'He that heareth Christ's word, and believeth on God that sent him, hath (mark, hath) everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death,' the death in the first Adam, 'unto life,' the life in Christ, the second Adam, John v. 24. And that meat which Christ doth give, endureth unto everlasting life, as in John vi. 27. And the water that Christ doth give, shall be in him that drinks it, 'a well of water springing up into everlasting life,' John iv. 14. Christ said to the Jews, 'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life,' John v. 39, 40. Here ye may see 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 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 hath given eternal life, out of his hand. Christ said to Martha, 'I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead (mark,

though he were dead) yet shall he live; (mark, live, though he were dead); and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. Believest thou this? Martha said, Yea, Lord,' John xxv. 26. This is the true and substantial belief, which they that believe, shall not perish, but have everlasting life. John saith, 'This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son,' 1 John v. 11. 'The life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us,' 1 John i. 2. So these were the believers, that had eternal life in the Son of God, and showed it unto others. 'He that hath the Son hath life,' says John, 'and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life,' 1 John v. 12. Christ says, 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life,' Matt. xix. 29. The wicked that do not receive Christ, shall go into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into eternal 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 eternal 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 them that 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."

G. F.

Kingston, the 6th of the 11th Month, 1687.

Another paper I wrote there, concerning the Stone spoken of by Daniel, chap, ii, 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, and the breast of silver, and the belly of brass, and the legs of iron, and the feet part iron part clay (which were the four monarchies, to wit, the Babylonian and Mede, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman), and had ended the outward Jews' typical kingdom; Daniel saith, 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed,' Dan. ii. 44. Christ saith, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,' Matt. xxviii. 18. And, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' John xviii. 36. 'Christ is the image of the invisible God, the Firstborn 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. i. 15-17. Here ye may see, all things consist by Jesus Christ, and all things were created by Christ, and for him, whether they be

things in heaven, or things in earth, visible or invisible, they were created by him and for him; yea, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, these were all created by him and for him. So Christ 'is King of kings and Lord of lords,' Rev. xix. 16. And the 'Prince of the kings of the earth,' chap. i. 5. Out of his mouth goeth 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 rules 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 in earth is given unto him, and all things were created by him and for him; so then they are Christ's, and he hath power over all things, for all are his. So, as the Scripture saith, 'Byrne kings reign, and princes decree justice,' Prov. viii. 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 and know the weight of his rod of iron, by which he will rule such as abuse his power. That is decreed by Him, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given to him, and rules in the kingdoms of men."

G. F.

Kingston, the 11th Month, 1687.

Several other things I wrote while at Kingston; for my spirit being continually exercised towards God, I had many precious openings of divine matters; and divers portions of Scripture, both in the Old Testament and in the New, relating to a state of regeneration, and sanctification, etc, were brought to my remembrance by the Holy Spirit; some of which I committed to writing, as follows:—

"They that touched the dead were unclean, and were to be cleansed by the water of purification, Num. xix. And they 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 do arise, and wash and cleanse 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. xxi. 20, etc. 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. xxi. And it is said, 'The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous,' Psal. i. 5. But 'God standeth in the congregation of the mighty,'" Psal. lxxxii. 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 (even of 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. xxxi. So all must be circumcised and baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and be cleansed with the blood of Christ, and washed with the water of the Word, before they come into the kingdom of God, and into heavenly Jerusalem.”

“The apostle Paul says, '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 of life,' 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, 4. Here is (we in the earthly house of this tabernacle) which (we) are they that have received Christ, and are 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 meet, 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 hath showed me,' 2 Pet. i. 13, 14. So 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.”

“The apostle Paul says, 'The first man is of the earth, earthly' (mark, earthly), 1 Cor. xv. 47. 'And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly' (mark, the heavenly), ver. 09. And, 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels,' etc., 2 Cor. iv. 7. 'And I live,' said he, 'yet not I, but Christ liveth in me,' Gal. ii. 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 calleth 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 unto him,' Luke xx. 37, 38. So, 'None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth 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, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living,' Rom. xiv. 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 that 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 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 ye say ye believe them. But what life do ye live? Are ye through the law dead to the law, that ye may live unto God? Are ye crucified with Christ? and doth Christ live in you? Is the life that ye now live in the flesh by the faith of the Son of God; and ye do not live, but Christ liveth in you, who gave himself for you? Is this your present life? for the just live by the faith which Christ is the author and finisher of: by which holy, divine, and 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 fulfilleth the law and the prophets. For the law and the prophets were until John; and since that the kingdom of God hath been preached, and men 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 ye are in the kingdom that stands in peace, and righteousness, and joy in the Holy Ghost, or not. Christ, 'who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature, was before any creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, principalities or powers, all things were created by him and for him; he was before all things, and by him all things consist: and he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead.' So here ye may see that all things were made by Christ Jesus, and created for him, and by him all things consist and have their being, who is the firstborn from the dead, and dieth no more. It pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell; and by Christ to reconcile all things unto 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 in earth is given to him,' the first-born of every creature, and the firstborn from the dead, who liveth for evermore 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 that disobeyed God, did slay the Lamb; and the blind Jews, that disobeyed God, crucified Christ Jesus; and the outward Christians, that live and walk not in Christ, but in sin and evil, though they make an outward profession of Christ, yet crucify to themselves Christ afresh. But 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 any more as to himself: but what the killers, crucifiers, and persecutors do now upon the earth, is against Christ, as in themselves, and in his members; as Christ said to Saul, 'Why persecutest thou me,' Acts ix. 4. For what is done to his members Christ takes as done to himself, Matt. xxv. 40, 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, that ruleth 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, hath all power in heaven and in earth, and openeth the prison doors, and the eyes of the blind, and takes captive him that hath led into captivity, and gives gifts unto men. So Christ binds the strong man of sin, spoils his goods, and casts him out; hallelujah! For the strong mail of sin is the god of the world, and his house is the whole world, that lieth in wickedness. And this god of the world hath kept his house, and his goods have been in peace, until a stronger than he comes and binds and casts him out; and then destroys him and his goods. So Christ, the Son of God, who is stronger than the devil, having destroyed the devil and his works, setteth up his own house. All the 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 for evermore: glory to God in the highest, through Jesus Christ. Amen.”

“God spoke by the mouth of all his holy prophets concerning Christ Jesus, his Son, the Holy One: so they were holy men, and not unholy, that God spoke by. Therefore all that name the name of the Lord Jesus Christ are to depart from iniquity.”

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the 11th Month, 1687.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*1687-1690.—George Fox continues to have service in London and the neighbourhood—writes a paper respecting the gospel and the seed; being also an incentive to diligence—a general epistle to Friends, forewarning them of an approaching storm—Moses and Christ both faithful under their respective dispensations—Christ is on his throne—George Fox's health declining, he visits William Mead again for a few weeks—the world's teachers, and the emptiness of their teaching—those who turn people from the inward manifestation of Christ in the heart, remove them from the heavenly landmark, and bring a curse on themselves—the prophets, apostles, and holy men of old, were husbandmen and tradesmen, unlike the world's teachers—the vanity of being too much busied with, and spending the time in, hearing and telling news—though still declining, George Fox attends at the Parliament-house many days on behalf of his Friends—writes to Peter Hendricks, and to Friends at Dantzic, to strengthen and comfort them under their sufferings—to the magistrates and priests of Dantzic, showing the evil of persecution, and persuading to Christian moderation—an appendix to the Yearly Meeting's epistle—an epistle to the Northern Yearly Meeting, to be held at York—George Fox's health still impaired—writes an epistle to Friends in Barbadoes—to Friends in Pennsylvania and other parts of America—to all that profess the Truth of God; being a warning to the young against the world's fashions, and to the old against going into the earthly things—Christ is the “Ensign,” prophesied of by Isaiah—an appendix to the Yearly Meeting's epistle—an epistle to Friends in the ministry—to Friends*

*in the ministry gone to America—to suffering Friends in Ireland—death of George Fox in 1690—  
epistle written with his hand and found scaled up—some account of the interment.*

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I returned to London towards the latter end of the eleventh month, 1687, visiting Friends in the way at Chiswick, and at Hammersmith, where I had two meetings, one on a First-day, the other upon the occasion of a marriage there, at which were many people of other denominations, amongst whom I had a very seasonable opportunity of opening the way of truth.

Being come to London, I visited Friends' meetings in and about the city, as the Lord led me, in whose service I continued labouring in the city until the middle of the first month, 1687-8. At which time I went down towards Enfield, and visited Friends there and thereabouts, and at Babnet, 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 labouring in the work of the gospel, till after the Yearly Meeting, which this year was about the beginning of the fourth month. A precious meeting it was; and a very refreshing season Friends had together, the Lord vouchsafing to honour our assemblies with his living and 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 amongst Friends:—

“All you believers in the light, that are 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 shine, that people may see your good works, and glorify your Father, which is in heaven. For a good tree bringeth forth good fruit; therefore be ye 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. Ye may all drink water out of your own cisterns, running water out of your own wells; and eat every one of his own fig-tree, and of his own vine: having salt every one in yourselves, to season every one's sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; and like unto the wise virgins, that have oil in their lamps, follow the Lamb, and enter in with the bridegroom. Now is the time to labour, while it is day (yea, the day of Christ), to stir up every one's pure mind, and the gift of God that is in them; and to improve your talents, that Christ hath bestowed upon you, that ye may profit; and to walk every one according to the measure that Christ hath given you; for 'the manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every one to profit withal.'

“Consider what you have profited in spiritual and heavenly things, with the heavenly Spirit of God. Be not like the wicked and slothful, that hid his talent, from whom it was taken, and he cast into utter darkness. A dwarf, or one that had any blemish, was not to come nigh 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 ye may grow in grace, and in faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ: and feeding upon the milk of the word, may grow by it, that ye 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 they that are not diligent in the Spirit of God, and the power, which is the wall, a sure fence. The Spirit of God will weed 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 vineyard clean with the Spirit and power of Christ. Sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the Lord in your hearts, that ye may be a holy people to the Lord, who saith, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy:' that ye may be the holy members of the church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, and hath the moon under her feet; the changeable world with all her changeable worships, religions, churches, and teachers. Be ye new and heavenly Jerusalem's children: for new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is above, is the mother of all the children of light, and that are born of the Spirit. These are they that have been persecuted, and have suffered by the false church, mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots.

“And now, all heavenly Jerusalem's and Sion's children, that are from above, labour in the gospel, the power of God, and the Seed, in which all nations, and all the families of the earth are blessed: which Seed, Christ, bruises the serpent's head, and 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 thy 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, and 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 unto his apostles, who preached it; which is not of man, nor from man. Now, God and Christ hath revealed the same gospel unto 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 laboured, and do labour, 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 them, that dwell upon the earth; and they that believe it, and receive it, receive the blessing, the peace, joy, and comfort of it; and 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 that 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.”

G. F.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, I went to my son Mead's house, in Essex, and abode there some weeks; often visiting Friends' meetings near, and sometimes at Barking. After I had been a while there,

I went to visit Friends at Waltham Abbey, Hoddesdon, Enfield, South Street, Ford Green, and Winchmore Hill; where I had several very serviceable meetings, the Lord opening many deep and weighty things through me, for informing the understandings of inquirers, building up those that were gathered into the truth, and establishing them therein.

In the 7th month I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which was very much impaired; so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time; and often after a meeting had to lie down on a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from the service of the Lord, but I continued to labour in and out of meetings, in his work, as he gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been long in London before a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great bustles and troubles, revolution and change, which soon after came to pass. In the sense whereof, and in the movings 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 power to become his sons and daughters; in Him ye have life and peace, and in his everlasting kingdom, that is established and cannot be shaken, but 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. Therefore, dear Friends and brethren, every one in the faith of Jesus, stand in His power, who has all power in heaven and in earth given to him, and will 'rule the nations with his rod of iron, and dash them to pieces, like a potter's vessel,' that are not subject and obedient to his power; whose voice will shake the heavens and the earth, that that which 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 them that love him;

"And now, dear Friends and brethren, though these waves, and storms, and tempests, be in the world, yet you may all appear the harmless and innocent lambs of Christ, walking in his peaceable truth, keeping in the Word of power, wisdom, and patience; and this Word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations, that will come 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 all God's people in all ages wisdom, power, and patience. Therefore let your dwelling and walking be in Christ Jesus, who is called the Word of God; and in his power, which is over all. Set your 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 on those things that are below, which will change, and pass away. Blessed be the Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power hath gathered a people to himself; and hath preserved his, faithful to himself through many troubles, trials, and temptations; his power and Seed, Christ, is over all, and in Him ye have life and peace with God. Therefore in Him all stand, and see your salvation, who is the

First and Last, the Amen. God Almighty preserve and keep you all in Him, your ark and sanctuary; 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.

G. F.

London, the 17th of the 8th Month, 1688.

About this time great exercise and weights came upon me (as had usually done before the great revolutions and changes of government), and my strength departed from me; so that I reeled, and was ready to fall, as I went along the streets. At length I could not go abroad at all, I was so weak, for some time, till 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, how

*“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. v. 7, and all the Israelites were called the house of Israel. Israel signifies 'a prince with God, and a prevailer with men,' Gen. xxxii. 28. When Peter preached Christ to the house of Israel, he said, 'Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made the same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ,' Acts ii. 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 are we, if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end,' Heb. iii. 5, 6. Here it is manifest, that Moses was faithful in all his house, as a servant, viz., 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 the church of Christ), 'They were fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,' Eph. ii. 19. And the saints are called 'the household of faith,' Gal. vi. 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. ii. 9. And that as lively stones, they were built up 'a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ,' ver. 5. The apostle says 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. v. 1. And Christ said to his disciples, 'Let not your hearts be troubled; ye 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, that where I am, there ye may be also,' John xiv. 1—3. The Psalmist saith, 'Those that be

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,' Psal. xcii. 13,14. Again, 'Holiness becomes thine house, O Lord, for ever,' Psal. xciii. 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. ii. 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 and 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 ye, 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 ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord, ver. 3-5. Here ye 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; yea, the house of Jacob. Jacob signifies a supplanter; he supplanted profane Esau, who is hated, and Jacob is loved. Now these two births must be known within; and 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 ploughshares, 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 withal. Christ, the Son of God, is over his house and great family, the children of the light, that believe in it, 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 are 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 hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous 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."

G. F.

London, the 10th Month, 1688.

Some time after this, my body continuing weak, I went down 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, of which somewhere printed soon after, others were spread abroad in manuscript; and amongst 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 the Last, over all. And that the Lord will make way and room for himself, and for them that are born of his Spirit, who 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 thus:—

“Doth not all that, which is called Christendom, live in talking of Christ's, and of the apostles' and prophets' words, and the letter of the Scriptures? And do not their priests minister the letter, with their own conceptions thereupon, for money, though the Holy Scriptures were freely given forth from God and Christ, and his prophets and apostles? Yet the apostle says, 'The letter killeth; but the Spirit giveth life,' 2 Cor. iii. 6. The 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 spending time about old authors, and talking of them, and of the outward letter, this doth not feed their souls. For talking of victuals and clothes, doth 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 having them, may starve both their bodies and their souls. Therefore, quench not the Spirit of God, which will lead 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 land-mark,' Deut. xix. 14. They that did so, or that caused the blind to wander, were cursed in the Old Covenant, Deut. xxvii. 17. In the New Covenant the apostle saith, 'Let him be accursed, that preacheth any other gospel than that which he had preached,' Gal. i. 8. Now the gospel that he preached, was 'The power of God unto salvation, to everyone that believeth,' Rom. i. 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.' And in order to bring men to this blessed state, God poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh; and Christ doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; and the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth Christians, the true believers in Christ; and God doth write his law in the true Christians' hearts, and putteth it in their minds, that they may 'all know the Lord, from the greatest to the least;' and he giveth 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 doth teach them. Now all such as turn people from the Light, Spirit, Grace, Word, and Anointing within, remove them from their 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 to remove them from their heav-



only landmark.”

G. F.

I wrote also a paper to show, by instances from the 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 unlike to them the world's teachers now are:—“Righteous Abel was a shepherd, 'a keeper of sheep,' Gen. iv. 2. Noah was a husbandman; and he was a 'just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God,' Gen. ix. 20; vi. 9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a husbandman, and had great flocks of cattle; and just Lot was a husbandman, and had great flocks and herds, Gen. xiii. Isaac also was a husbandman, and had great 'flocks and herds of cattle, and great store of corn,' Gen. xxvi. 12, 14. And the promise was with Isaac; for the Lord said to Abraham, 'In Isaac shall thy seed be called,' Gen. xxi. 12. Jacob was a husbandman, and his sons 'keepers of flocks of cattle,' Gen. lxvi. 32, 34, and God loved Jacob. Moses kept sheep, Exod. iii. 1, and the Lord spake to him when he was keeping sheep, ver. 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. xvii. 15, 28. And the Lord God called him from the sheepcotes to feed his sheep, the house of Israel, and to defend them from the spiritual wolves, bears, and lions; and he did it to purpose, who was a man after God's own heart.

“Elisha was a ploughman, 1 Kings xix. 19. He was called from the plough, to teach God's people, the children of Israel, to plough up the fallow ground of their hearts, that they might bring forth seed and fruits to God, their Creator.

“The word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the herdsmen of Tekoa, Amos i. 1. And 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,' chap. vii. 13. Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, 'I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a 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,' ver. 14,15. Here ye may see, how the Lord made use of a poor man, and how he called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to follow his people or flock, the children of Israel.

“Christ called Peter and Andrew his brother, when they were fishing, and casting their net into the sea (for they were fishers); 'and he said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men,' Matt. iv. 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,' ver. 21, 22. He gave them power (a net that will hold, and not want 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, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and other disciples, went a fishing together, and that night caught nothing, in the morning Jesus appeared to them and said, 'Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find;' and they did so, and caught so great a multitude, that they were not able to draw them to shore. When thereupon one of the other disciples said unto Peter, 'It is the Lord,' Peter hearing that it was the Lord, 'girded his fisher's coat unto him,' John xxi. 2-7. This was after Christ was risen. So here ye 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 at the receipt of custom, and he said unto him, Follow me; and he arose and followed him,' Matt. ix. 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 physician spiritual; which was better than outward.

“Paul was a tent-maker; and being one of the same craft with Aquila and Priscilla, he abode with them at Corinth, and wrought (for by their occupation they were tent-makers), Acts xviii. 3.”

G. F.

Gooses, the 1st Month, 1688-9.

It was now a time of much talk; and people busied their minds and spent their time too much in hearing and telling news. To show them the vanity thereof, and to draw them from it, I wrote the following lines:—

“In the low region, in the airy life, all news is uncertain; there nothing is stable; but in the higher region, in the kingdom of Christ, there all things are stable and sure, and the news always good and certain. For Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, ruleth in the kingdoms of men; and he, who doth inherit the heathen, and possess the utmost parts 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 vessel, the vessels of dishonour, and the leaky vessels, that will not hold his living water; and he doth preserve his elect vessels of mercy and honour. His power is certain, and changes not, by which he removes the mountains and hills, and shakes the heavens and the earth. Leaky, dishonourable vessels, the hills and mountains, and the old heavens and the earth, are all to be shaken, and removed, and broken to pieces, though they do not see it, nor him that doth it; but his elect and faithful both see it and know him, and his power, that cannot be shaken, and which changeth not.” The 5th of the 1st Month, 1688-9.

G. F.

About the middle of the first month, 1688-9, I went to London, the parliament then sitting, and engaged about the bill for indulgence. 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 for many days, with other Friends, at the parliament-house, labouring with the members, that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually.

In this, and other services, I continued till towards the end of the second month, when, being much spent with continual labour, I got out of town for a little while as far 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 the Friends at Dantzic, who at this time were under great persecution. And as I wrote to encourage and strengthen them in their testimony, and comfort them in their sufferings for the truth, so also I wrote a paper to their persecutors, the magistrates of Dantzic, laying before them the evil of persecution, and persuading them to Christian moderation, and “to do unto others in matters of religion as they would be done unto.” Which papers were as follows:—

“To Peter Hendricks at Amsterdam, and to Friends at Dantzic who are under persecution.

“Dear Friend P. H.

“With my love to thee and thy 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 that Friends are well everywhere, except at 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 to 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.<sup>151</sup>

“Concerning the dear Friends at Dantzic, whom the Lord hath supported by 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

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151 William Caton, whose service was much in Holland, died at Amsterdam in 1005. Tie was one of the earliest associates of George Fox, being convinced by him in 1652, and is often mentioned in the earlier part of this Journal. He was not only a literary man, but zealous for religion; and being of a courteous and affable disposition, was in general esteem. When about fourteen years of age he went to reside in Judge Fell's family at Swarthmore Hall, as a companion for his son, sharing with him both in instruction and recreation. He was very early inclined to religion, and, as he grew in years, he advanced in godliness.

After joining Friends, he travelled considerably as a gospel minister, and underwent many sufferings for Christ's sake. At Maidstone, in 1654, he and another Friend were stripped, their necks and arms put in the stocks, and, in that condition, they were desperately whipped. At Yarmouth he was, with seven other Friends, taken from a religious meeting on the first day of the week, and confined six months in prison.

A valuable collection of letters of early Friends was met with at Swarthmore some years ago, written nearly throughout by William Caton, and appears to have been intended by him for publication. It has a title page, dated Swarthmore, 23rd of 6th Month, 1659; and a preface signed by himself, dated 7th of 2nd Month, 1660. The life of Caton, George Fox mentions having been printed, was re-published in 1839, by John Barclay, forming one of the Select Series, to which the reader is referred for further particulars.

native soil. Which shows both their immorality, inhumanity, and unchristianity, and that they want the counsel of a Gamaliel amongst them; whose actions are below the law of God, to 'do unto others as they would have others to do unto them.' God will not bless the doings of such. I desire, however, that Friends may mind the Lord's power, that is over all; be valiant for his truth, and keep upon their rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, that stands sure in this time of the heat of persecution, which is so hot upon you, that they will not suffer you to have so much as your houses to work and sleep in, nor to meet, nor serve God in. The Lord beholds all such actors and their actions. 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."

G. F.

Southgate, the 28th of the 2nd Mouth, 1680.

*"To the Magistrates of Dantzic:—Christian Shroder, President of the Council, and Emanuel Dilger, N. Gadecken, and N. Fraterus, Deputies 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 threatened to do the same to, with great punishment, if they return. Likewise you threaten those with punishment they rent their houses of, if they let them have them either to live in, or meet in to serve and worship the Lord that made them. Truly I am heartily sorry for both your magistrates and priests, that go under the name of Christians, and show such immoral, inhuman, and unchristian actions, below the royal law of God, which is, to 'do to others as you would have them do unto you.' For would you think it was moral, human, 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, but this was according to the law of God, 'to do unto you as you have done unto others?' But if you say that you have the sword, the horn, and the power; blessed be the Lord that hath shortened your sword, your power, and your horn, that it reaches no further than your jurisdiction at Dantzic; and you do not know how long God may suffer you to have your horn, your power, and your sword. We are sure you have not the mind nor the Spirit of Christ; and the apostle saith, 'They that have not the Spirit of Christ are none of his,' Rom. viii. And Christ bids Peter 'put up his sword:' they that draw the sword concerning him, to defend him and his worship and faith, should perish with the sword. Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword after; 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 hangmen that were not of their religion, and would not receive it. Are not you worse than the Turks, who let many

religions be in their country, yea, Christians, and to meet peaceably? Yea, the Turkish patroons let our Friends that were captives meet together at Algiers, and said, 'it was good so to do.' You are worse than those barbarous people at Sallee who do not profess Christianity, for you profess Christ in words, but in works deny him. And 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, all of whom you exceed 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 their natural air, neither natural nor spiritual, in your dominions. I pray, where had you these commands from? Neither from Christ nor his apostles. Do not you 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 justly, and love mercy; call home your banished ones, and love and cherish them: yea, 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 thinking the 'Lord may do to you the same!' You cannot be without sense and feeling, except you be given over to reprobation, and your consciences seared with a hot iron. But Christian charity hopes that you are not all in that state; but that there may be some relenting or consideration 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.”

G. F.

Middlesex, the 28th of the 2nd Month, 1689.

“Peter, thou mayest translate this into high Dutch, and send them; and you may print it, if you will, and send it abroad; and translate that part of the letter that is to Friends into high Dutch, and send 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, and was a very solemn, weighty meeting; the Lord, as formerly, visiting his people, and honouring the assembly with his glorious presence, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends. After the business 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 hath preserved you upon the heavenly rock and foundation, and hath built your house upon it; you have known many winds, tempests, and storms, that have risen out of that 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 be great shakings in the world, the Lord's power is over all, and his kingdom cannot be shaken. Therefore all ye children of God, children of the light, and heirs of his kingdom, a joyful, peaceable habitation keep in; keeping out of all the contentions and disputes about things below. Lay hand on no man, nor nothing suddenly, lest they should be puffed up with that which fades, and so come to loss: but mind the Lord's power, that keeps open your heavenly eye, to see things present and to come; and in that ye will see and handle the word of life.

“Dear Friends everywhere, have power over your own spirits. As God hath blessed you with his outward things, have a care of trusting in them, or falling into difference one with another about these outward things that are below, which will 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 charity, and overcome evil with good to all; for what good have all the tinklers done, with their cymbals and sounding brass? They 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. Therefore, it is good for all the children of God to keep in their possession 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, and Christ reigns; and the Lord saith, 'No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper,' Isa. liv. 17. Now, Friends, you are not insensible how many weapons have been formed against us, who are the sons and daughters of God; and the Lord hath restrained them according to his promise; they have not prospered. The Lord said, 'Every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee, thou shalt condemn:' so God hath 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, saith the Lord.' You are not insensible of the many tongues that have risen up against us in judgment, yea, of apostates and profane. But in and with the truth, the power of God, according to the promise of God, 'Every tongue that riseth against thee, thou shalt condemn.' It is not one tongue only thou shalt condemn, but 'every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee, thou shalt condemn.' The Lord giveth this power to his servants and children, to judge the evil tongues; and he doth restrain the weapons formed against them, so that they shall not prosper against his children that he hath begotten. Praises and honour be to his holy name for ever! Amen.”

G. F.

Soon after this, the Yearly Meeting began at York; which because of the largeness of that county, and for the conveniency of Friends in the northern parts, had for some years been held there. And inasmuch as there had been some hurt done in that place, by some that were gone out of the unity of Friends, it was upon me to write a few lines to that meeting, “to exhort them to keep in the pure, heavenly love, which brings into, and keeps in, the true unity.” Which was thus:—

“Dear Friends And Brethren In Christ Jesus,”

“Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath 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, concord, and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have all peace with God. So walk in him, that ye may be ordered in his peaceable, heavenly wisdom, to the glory of God, and the comfort one of another. Amen.”

G. F.

London, the 27th of the 3rd Month, 1689.

Being much wearied and spent with many large meetings, and much business with Friends, during the time of the Yearly Meeting, and finding my health much impaired thereby, I went out of town with my daughter Bous, to their country-house near Kingston, and tarried there most of the remaining part of the summer. In which time I sometimes visited Friends at Kingston, and wrote divers things for the service of truth and Friends. One was an epistle to Friends in Barbadoes; as follows:—

*“To all Friends in Barbadoes, that are convinced of God's truth!”*

“My desires are that ye may live and walk in his peaceable truth, and show forth that ye are children of the light and of the truth; for the heavenly, gentle, and peaceable wisdom is justified of her children. But debate, strife, wilfulness, and 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 from the Spirit of Jesus, which covers that which is uncomely, and can forgive. Now, 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 entreated; and sometimes will not be entreated at all. Pray see you excel the world in wisdom, in virtue, in kindness, in love that is over hatred, in meekness and humility, in sobriety, civility, and modesty, in temperance and patience, and in all morality and humanity, which will not act anything below men or unmanly. Show forth true Christianity, and that ye are the converted and translated believers in Christ, dwelling in the love of God, that beareth all things, endureth all things, is not puffed up, and envies not. For they that are out of this love of God and Christian charity, 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 they are no disciples of Christ: 'For he that loveth not his brother, abides in death; and whosoever hates his brother, is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. But they that love the brethren, are passed from death to life,' 1 John iii. 14,15. And, 'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from God, that he who loveth God, love his brother also,' chap. iv. 20, 21. Therefore, 'love one another;' for love is of God, and hatred is of the devil; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knows God. All are children of God by creation; therefore in that state they are to love their neighbours as themselves; and to do unto all men as they would have them do unto them. Secondly, God poureth his Spirit upon all flesh (or all men and women); 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 every one that talks of the light, of the word, of righteousness, of Christ, and of God, but he that 'doeth 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 ye may be valiant for the truth upon earth, for the Lord and his glorious name; that ye may all serve him in your generation, and in his new creation in Christ Jesus. Amen.

“And now, that you are come into so much favour with the magistrates and powers, that they let you serve the office of constable, etc., without swearing or taking any oaths, hereby Christ's doctrine and command, and his apostle's is set up. Therefore, I desire, that you may double your diligence in your offices, in doing that which is just, and true, and righteous; so that ye may excel and exceed all, that are tied or bound by oaths to perform their offices; and you can do it upon your Yea and Nay; 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, Matt. v.; James v. My love in the Lord is to you all.”

G. F.

Kingston-Upon-Thames, the 10th of the 5th Month, 1689.

I stayed at Kingston till the beginning of the seventh month, where not only Friends came to visit me, but some considerable people of the world, with whom I discoursed about the things of God. Then



leaving Kingston, I went to London by water, visiting Friends as I went, and taking Hammersmith meeting in my way. Having recovered some strength by being in the country, when I was come to London, I went from meeting to meeting, labouring diligently in the work of the Lord, and opening the divine mysteries of the heavenly things, as God by his Spirit opened them in me. But I found my body would not long bear the city; wherefore, when I had travelled amongst Friends there about a month, I went to Tottenham-high-cross, and thence to Edward Man's country-house near Winchmore-Hill, and to Enfield, spending three weeks among Friends thereabouts; and had meetings at all those places. Then, being a little refreshed with being in the country, I went back to London; where I tarried, labouring in the work of the ministry, till the middle of the ninth month; at which time I went down with my son Mead to his house in Essex, and abode there all the winter. During which I stirred not much abroad, unless it were sometimes to the meeting, to which that family belonged, which was about half a mile from thence; but I had meetings often in the house with the family, and those Friends that came thither. Many things also I wrote, 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 thus:—

“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 ye 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 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 Christendom, so called, keep their feasts with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness? which makes them so sour, and their hearts so 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 surfeited with these outward things, or with the cares of the world, which will pass away; but mind ye the world and the life that is without end, that ye may be heirs of it. And Friends, you should strive to excel all, both professor and profane, 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, and that you are the children of the living God, children of the light, and of the 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 your 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 profane, 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 amongst yourselves. For, blessed be the Lord, truth gains ground in these parts, and 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."

G. F.

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 earthly things. And that concern coming now again weightily upon me, I was moved to give forth the following paper, 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 may walk in humility 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 these I was to be a stranger. And now, Friends, I see too many young people that profess the truth, grow up into the fashions of the world, and too many parents indulge them; and amongst the elder, some are going 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. ii. 6). For if you have not power over the earthly spirit, and that which leadeth 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 but 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 ye might have fellowship with him in his resurrection. Therefore it is good for all to bow to the name of Jesus, their Saviour, 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 earthly things, and many going into a loose and false liberty, till at last they go quite out into the spirit of the world, as some have done. The house of such hath been built upon the sand on the sea-shore, not upon Christ, the Rock, that they are so soon in the world again, under a pretence 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.”

G. F.

Gooses, the 1st of the 2nd 'Month, 1690.

Another paper I wrote 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 saith, '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. xi. 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,' ver. 10. 'And he shall reign over the Gentiles, and in him shall the Gentiles trust,' Rom. xv. 12. This Ensign is Christ, who was prophesied of by the prophet; which prophecy the apostle, who was a minister to the Gentiles, showeth was fulfilled in the New Testament. And in this day of Christ, Isaiah saith, '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,' ver. 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 'enlighteneth every man that cometh into 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 saith, 'The Redeemer shall come to Sion,' etc., Isa. lix. 20. And, 'This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, my Spirit, that is upon thee (to wit, Christ), and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever,' ver. 21. 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee,' chap. lx. 1. 'And the Gentiles shall come to thy light,' ver. 3. 'And the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee,' ver. 5 (the sea is the world). 'The Lord shall be thy everlasting light,' ver. 20. And, 'Thou shalt call thy walls, Salvation, and thy gates, Praise,' ver. 18. And the Lord saith, 'I will make the place of my feet glorious,' ver. 13. 'Heaven is his throne, and the earth is his footstool,' chap. lxvi. 1. 'And he that puts his trust in me, saith the Lord, shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain,' chap. lvii. 13. Which mountain is established above all the mountains and hills, Isa. ii. 2. The Lord saith (speaking of Christ), 'I have put my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles,' Isa. xlii. 1. And he saith of him, 'I will give thee 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 the prison-house. I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images,' ver. 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 Geutilea witness fulfilled, that 'Salvation is come to the Gentiles,' Rom. xi. 11. God gave his glory to his Son; and Christ saith, 'The glory, which thou gavest me, I have given them (namely, his believers and followers), that they may be one, even as we are one,' John xvii. 22. Now here you may see, the promises and prophecies are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given for an Ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and the Captain of their salvation; and he doth enlighten every one that cometh into 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, etc. He is the same Ensign and Captain to-day that he was yesterday, and so for ever, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the Ending, the Lord of all 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 hath 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 armour, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, the armour 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 bur n up all the strongholds of Satan. Also he clothed his soldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his righteousness, and shoeth 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, 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, and sharp rocks and mountains, and never be hurt, nor ever wear out their shoes; but their feet are 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 are not waxen old upon you,

and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot,' Deut. xxix. 5. Here ye may see the Jews in the Old Testament, their clothes and their shoes did not wax old; so they who are Christ's followers, whom he shoeth with his everlasting gospel of peace, clothes with his fine linen, his righteousness, and arms with his arms and armour, are clothed, shod, and armed, with that which will never decay, or wax old, never canker, or rust, corrupt, or grow blunt. Now, all (whether Christians, or Jews, or Gentiles) that hate the Light of Christ, and 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 armour; so such as are blind and deaf, whose eyes are closed, and ears stopped to the heavenly Light of Christ, he is not likely to clothe them with his Cue linen, and arm them with his heavenly and spiritual armour; neither are they like to be heavenly and spiritually disciplined, to see and know his holy, spiritual, living camp, nor 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 salvation, and who hath brought, and doth bring many sons unto glory; praises, honour, and glory be unto the Lord over all, who liveth for ever. Amen."

G. F.

Gooses, the 14th of the 2nd Month, 1090.

A week after this I returned to London; and after a little stay there went to visit Friends at Kingston, where I stayed not long; but came back to London, and remained there in the Lord's work till after the Yearly Meeting, which was in the fourth month this year; in which the wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed presence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom in and unto them; whereby many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of Friends and to the honour and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimously concluded.

After, the meeting I wrote the following paper to Friends, to be added to the epistle which from the Yearly Meeting was 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 therein 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; who are erred from his Spirit.

"But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, who, by his eternal arm and power hath settled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that stands sure; whom he hath 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 hath all power in heaven and in 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 than by the name of Jesus. 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 hath raised up in his New Testament and Covenant, to open to them; and their living Shepherd, that hath purchased, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood.

“Christ, the living One, feeds his living sheep in his pastures of life and they 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 without Christ, the door. Christ's living children likewise know him, 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. They also 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 hath perfected for ever 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, offerings, etc., but 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 liveth to make intercession for his people: and is able to save to the uttermost 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 hath all power in heaven and in 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: of which holy faith Christ, the holy One, is the author and finisher. By this holy faith all the just live; in which divine and precious faith all the just and holy ones have unity; by it they quench all the fiery darts of Satan, have access to the pure God, and in it please him.

“Christ, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, in his New Testament and New Covenant, is the minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle which the Lord hath 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 (mark, with the unleavened bread) of sincerity and truth. My desires are, that all the flock of Christ everywhere may keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly passover, with his heavenly, unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen.”

G. F.

I stayed in town three weeks or a month after the Yearly Meeting; and then went to Tottenham-High-Cross, where was a meeting on First-day, which I was at; and then went to Edward Man's house, at Ford-Green, near Winchmore-Hill; and on the First-day following to the meeting at Enfield, where the Lord gave me many precious openings to declare to the people. Afterwards moving amongst Friends thereabouts, I visited the meetings at Chestnut, “Waltham Abbey, Enfield, Tottenham, and Winchmore-hill, frequently; the Lord being with me, and opening 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 what the Lord had given me for them. Then passing to Ware, I made a little stay amongst Friends there, and was at their meeting. After which, returning, amongst Friends about Edmonton side and Tottenham, and taking meetings as I went, I came back to London the end of the seventh month.

I remained at London till 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 therein, or in other services relating to the church of God. For the parliament now sitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends attended 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 discoursing the matter with several of the members.

Having stayed more than a month in London, and much spent myself in these services, I went to Tottenham; and some time after to Ford\_Green; at which places I continued several weeks, visiting Friends' meetings round about there, at Tottenham, Enfield, and Winchmore-Hill. In this time several things came upon me to write; one was “an epistle to Friends in the ministry,” as follows:—

“All Friends in the ministry everywhere, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who travel up and down in it, do not 'hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel, nor cumber or entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world.' For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the 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, and improve it; do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world, that will have an end; lest ye 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 thereof, 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 ye may reap life everlasting. Go on in the Spirit, ploughing with it in the purifying hope; and thrashing, 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 plough 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 is over him, and before he was. My desires are, that all may fulfil their ministry, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath 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 power to become the sons of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; whom he calleth brethren; and he gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing up as a river 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 beggarly elements of the world, which are below the spiritual region, to Christ the Head; and may hold Him, who bruise the head of enmity, and was before it was; that ye 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 be 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 the last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory. Amen.

“From him, who is translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, with all his saints, a heavenly salutation. Salute one another with a holy kiss of charity, that never faileth.”

G. F.

Ford-Green, the 25th of the 9th Month, 1690.

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, Exporters, and Admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaway. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents, that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the Blacks, and the Whites, that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign, that God hath 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 ye may be the salt of the earth, that ye 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 savour to God. All grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that ye 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 having your minds in earthly things, coveting and striving for them; 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 charity. O therefore, be awakened to righteousness, and keep awakened: for the enemy soweth his tares, 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 straggling, and ploughing with their ox and their ass, in their woollen and linen garments, mixed stuff, feeding upon torn food that dieth of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating 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 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 hath need of the hand, and the hand of the foot; the ear hath 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 despise the least member.

“Have a care to keep down that greedy, earthly mind, that raveneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world, lest ye fall into the low region, like the Gentiles or heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God, that is everlasting: but seek that first, and God knows what things ye 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.” Tottenham, the 11th of the 10th Month, 1690.

G. F.

Not long after I returned to London, and was almost daily with Friends at meetings. When I had been

near two weeks in town, the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings that Friends had been and were under in Ireland,<sup>152</sup> coming with great weight upon me, 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 hath 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 the faithful Friends, who have been partakers with you in your sufferings; and who cannot but suffer with the Lord's people that suffer. My confidence hath 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 one nor other 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, ye 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 for ever; 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 ye have not been all swallowed up, seeing with what spirits ye have been compassed about. But the Lord carrieth 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 in 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, etc. So he hath power over all; for all power in heaven and in earth is given to him; and to you that have received him, he hath given power to become the sons and daughters of God; so living members of Christ, the living head, grafted into Him, in whom ye 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 ye have salvation, life, rest, and peace with God.

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152 The sufferings of Friends in Ireland at this time were very great. The havoc and spoil they underwent were enormous, as related by the historians Sewell and Ruffy, and more minutely by Besse, in his *Collection of Sufferings*, to which allusion has been made before, and to which the reader is now finally referred. The loss sustained by Friends from persecution in a single year (1689) was estimated at £100,000, many being deprived of all their substance. Great numbers were immured years in prison, and many died there for Christ's sake. Others, when there was a prospect of their being released, because they could not satisfy the unjust demand of fees, as having done no wrong (thus bravely, though passively, asserting their Christian liberty), were either detained, or stripped of their clothes and turned out.

Surrounded as they were with perils on every hand, they placed their confidence in Divine protection; and, in the worst times of trial, when not in prison, they kept up their meetings for worship, as well as discipline; collected at the latter the accounts of the sufferings of their members, and took what care they could for their relief.

“As for the affairs of truth in this land and abroad, I hear that in Holland and Germany, and thereaway, Friends are in love, unity, and peace; and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Maryland, and New England, I hear nothing, but 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.”

G. F.

London, the 10th of the 11th Month, 1690.

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Thus, reader, thou hast had some account of the life and travels, labours, 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; out of which the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial, which were thus:—

The day after he had written the foregoing epistle to Friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch Street, which was large, being the First-day of the week; 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 Goldney's, in White-Hart-Court, near the meetinghouse; and some Friends going with him there, he told them “he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting;” “yet,” he added, “I am glad I was here: now I am clear, I am fully clear.” As soon as the Friends withdrew, he lay down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after meeting), but soon rose again; and in a little time lay down again, complaining still of cold. And his strength sensibly decaying, he was soon obliged to go into bed; where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as, in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was bent upon the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and (as it were) wholly taken up with that; and some particular Friends he sent for, to whom he expressed his mind and desire for the spreading of Friends' books, and truth thereby in the world. Divers Friends came to visit him in his illness; to some of whom he said, “All is well; the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though,” said he, “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 the 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 livingly 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 goodwill to all men, on the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690, being in the 67th year of his age.

After the death of George Fox, an epistle was found written with his own hand, and left sealed up, with this superscription; “Not to be opened before the time;” that is, not till after his decease. When it was opened, it was found to be addressed to “Friends, and to all the Children of God, in all places in the world.” It was afterwards printed, and is inserted in the Appendix to this Journal.

On the day appointed for the interment of George Fox, a very great concourse of Friends, and others, assembled at the meeting-house in White-Hart-Court, near Gracechurch Street, about the middle of the day, to attend his body to the grave. The meeting 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 given, 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 labours of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering of many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; the manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions, which he met withal 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 honour always was by him, and is, and always ought to be by all, ascribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by Friends, and accompanied by very great numbers, to Friends' burying-ground, near Bunhill-Fields; where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, 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 committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.

# APPENDIX.

TESTIMONY OF MARGARET FOX RESPECTING HER HUSBAND GEORGE FOX.

TESTIMONY OF SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S RELATIONS.

TESTIMONY FROM THE MORNING MEETING IN LONDON.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

AN EPISTLE OF GEORGE FOX, FOUND AFTER HIS DEATH SEALED UP, ADDRESSED TO THE CHILDREN OF GOD EVERYWHERE.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE LORD'S EVERLASTING TRUTH, AND ITS BREAKING FORTH AGAIN IN HIS ETERNAL POWER, IN THIS OUR DAY AND AGE, IN ENGLAND.

PARTICULARS OF THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL, ETC

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TESTIMONY OF MARGARET FOX,  
CONCERNING HER LATE HUSBAND **GEORGE FOX**;  
WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OF HIS TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, AND HARDSHIPS ENDURED FOR  
THE TRUTH'S SAKE.

It having pleased Almighty God to take away my dear husband out of this evil, troublesome world, who was not a man thereof, being chosen out of it; who had his life and being in another region, and whose testimony was against the world, that the deeds thereof were evil, and therefore the world hated him: so I am now to give in my account and testimony for him, whom the Lord hath 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 unto him, and made him open that new and living way, that leads to life eternal, when he was but a youth, and a stripling. And when he declared it in his own country of Leicestershire, and in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire, his declaration being against the hireling priests and their practices, it raised a great fury and opposition amongst the priests and people against him; yet there were always some that owned him in several places; but very few that stood firm to him

when persecution came on him. He and one other were put in prison at Derby, but the other declined, and left him in prison there, where he continued almost a whole year; and when he was released out of prison, he went on with his testimony abroad, and was put in prison again at Nottingham; and there he continued a while, and after was released again.

He then travelled 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. He continued in that country, and travelled through Holderness and the Wolds, and abundance were convinced: and several were brought to prison at York for their testimony to the truth, both men and women: so that we heard of such a people that were risen, and we did very much inquire after them. And after a while he travelled up farther towards the Dales in Yorkshire, as Wensleydale, and Sedbergh; and amongst 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 on from Sedbergh, and so to Westmorland, as Firbank Chapel, where John Blakelin came With him; and so on to Preston, Grayrigg, Keudal, Underbarrow, Podlbank, Cartmell, and Stavely; and so on to Swarthmore, my dwelling-house, whither he brought the blessed tidings of the everlasting gospel, which I, and many hundreds in these parts, have cause to praise the Lord for. My then husband, Thomas Fell, was not at home at that time, but gone to the Welsh circuit, being one of the judges of assize; and our house being a place open to entertain ministers and religious people at, one of George Fox's friends brought him hither, where he stayed all night. The next day being a lecture, or a fast-day, he went to Ulverstone steeple-house, but came not in till people were gathered; I and my children had been a long time there before. And when they were singing before the sermon, he came in; and when they had done singing, he stood up upon a seat or form, and desired that he might have liberty to speak; and he that was in the pulpit said he might. And the first words that he spoke were as followeth: "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, how that Christ was the Light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and that by this Light they might be gathered to God, etc. 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, as they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord:" and said, "then what had any to do with the Scriptures, but as they came to the Spirit that gave them forth. You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of Light, and hast thou walked in the Light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God?" etc. This opened me so, that it cut me to the heart; and then I saw clearly 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 served me, that I cannot well tell what he spoke afterwards; but he went on in declaring against the false prophets, and priests, and deceivers of the people. And there was one John Sawrey, a justice of peace, and a professor, that bid the churchwarden take him away; and he laid his hands on him several

times, and took them off again, and let him alone; and then after a while he gave over, and came to our house again that night. And he spoke in the family amongst the servants, and they were all generally convinced; as William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Askew, Anne Clayton, and several other servants. And I was struck into such a sadness, I knew not what to do, my husband being from home. I saw it was the truth, and I could not deny it; and I did as the apostle saith, "I received the truth in the love of it;" and it was opened to me so clear, that I had never a tittle in my heart against it; but I desired the Lord that I might be kept in it; and then I desired no greater portion.

Then he went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Bendrum, and Ramside chapels and steeple-houses, and several places up and down, and the people followed him mightily; and abundance were convinced, and saw that what he spoke was truth; but the priests were all in a rage. About two weeks after, James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth followed him, and inquired him out, till they came to Swarthmore, and there stayed a while 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 that he came; and about three weeks' end my husband came home; and many were in a mighty rage. And a deal of the captains and great ones of the country went to, meet my then husband as he was coming home, and informed him "that a great disaster was befallen amongst his family, and that they were witches; and that they had taken us out of our religion; and that he might either set them away, or all the country would be undone." But no weapon formed against the Lord shall prosper, as you may see hereafter.

So my husband came home greatly offended: and any may think what a condition I was like to be in, that either I must displease my husband, or offend God; for he was very much troubled with us all in the house and family, they had so prepossessed him against us. But James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth were both then at our house, and I desired them to come and speak to him, and so they did, very moderately and wisely; but he was at first displeased with them, till they told him they came in love and good-will to his house. And after that he had heard them speak a while, he was better satisfied; and they offered as if they would go away; but I desired them to stay, and not to go away yet, for George Fox will come this evening. And I would have had my husband to have heard them all, and satisfied himself farther about them; because they had so prepossessed him against them of such dangerous, fearful things, in his coming first home. And then was he pretty moderate and quiet; and his dinner being ready, he went to it; and I went in, and sat me down by him. And whilst I was sitting, the power of the Lord seized upon me; and he was struck with amazement, and knew not what to think; but was quiet and still. And the children were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their music that they were learning: and all these things made him quiet and still.

At night George Fox came: and after supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked him, if George Fox might come in; and he said, Yes. So George came in without any compliment, and walked into the room, and began to speak presently; and the family, and James Naylor, and Richard Farnsworth came all in: and he spoke very excellently as ever I heard him, and opened Christ's and the apostles' practices, which they were in, in their day. And he opened the night of apostasy since the apostles' days, and laid open the priests and their practices in the apostasy; that if all in England had been there, I

thought 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 was very quiet that night, said no more, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, priest of Ulverstone, and got my husband into the garden, and spoke much to him there; but my husband had seen so much the night before, that the priest got little entrance upon him. And when the priest Lampitt was come into the house, George spoke sharply to him, and asked him “when God spoke to him, and called him to go and preach to the people?” but after a while the priest went away: this was on a sixth day of the week, about the fifth month, 1652. And at our house divers Friends were speaking one to another, how there were several convinced hereaways; and we could not tell where to get a meeting: my husband also being present, he overheard, and said of his own accord, “You may meet here, if you will:” and that was thurst meeting we had that he offered of his own accord. And then notice was given that day and the next to Friends, and there was a good large meeting the first day, which was the first meeting that was at Swarthmore; and so continued there a meeting from 1652 till 1690. And my husband went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk and his groom that rode with him; and the priest and people were all fearfully troubled: but praised be the Lord, they never got their wills upon us to this day.

After a few weeks George went to Ulverstone steeple-house again, and the said Justice Sawrey, with others, set the rude rabble upon him; and they beat him so that he fell down as in a swoon, and was sore bruised and blackened in his body, and on his head and arms. Then my husband was not at home; but when he came home he was displeased that they should do so; and spoke to Justice Sawrey, and said it was against law to make riots. And after that he was sore beat and stoned at Walney, till he fell down; and also at Dalton was he sore beat and abused; so that he had very hard usage in divers places in those parts. And then when a meeting was settled there, he went again into Westmorland, and settled meetings there; and there was a great convincement, and abundance of brave ministers came out thereaways, as John Camm, John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, Miles Halhead, and John Blakelin, with divers others. He also went over the sands to Lancaster, and Yealand, and Kellet, where Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and John Lawson, with many others, were convinced. And about that time he was in those parts, many priests and professors rose up, and falsely accused him of blasphemy, and did endeavour to take away his life; and got people to swear at a sessions at Lancaster that he had spoken blasphemy. But my then husband and Colonel West, having had some light and knowledge of the truth, withstood the two persecuting justices, John Sawrey and Thompson, and brought him off, and cleared him; for indeed he was innocent. And after the sessions there was a great meeting in the town of Lancaster; and many of the town's-people came in, and many were convinced. And thus he was up and down about Lancaster, Yealand, Westmorland, and some parts of Yorkshire, and our parts above one year; in which time there were above twenty-four ministers brought forth, that were ready to go with their testimony of the Eternal Truth unto the world; and soon after Francis Howgill and John Camm went to speak to Oliver Cromwell.

In the year 1653, George's drawings were into Cumberland, by Millom, Lamplugh, Embleton, and Brigham, Fardshaw, and Cockermouth, where at or near Embleton he had a dispute with some priests, as Larkham and Benson; but chiefly 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. Then he went to Coldbeck and several places, till he came to Carlisle, and went to their steeple-house; there they beat and abused him, and had him before the magistrates, who examined him, and put him in prison in the common jail among the thieves. At the assizes was one Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, and was convinced at Appleby (when he was upon the bench) by James Naylor and Francis Howgill, who were then prisoners there, and brought before him; so Anthony Pearson spoke to the justices at Carlisle, he being acquainted with them, having married his wife out of Cumberland; and after a while they released him. Afterwards he went into several parts of Cumberland, and many were convinced, and owned the Truth; and he gathered and settled meetings there amongst them, and up and down in several parts 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 having been kept prisoner a while, he was brought before Oliver, and released. He then stayed a while, visiting Friends in London, and the meetings therein; and so passed westward to Bristol, and visited Friends there. He afterwards went into Cornwall, where they put him in prison at Launceston, and one Edward Pyot with him, where he had a bad, long imprisonment. When he was released, he passed into many parts in that county of Cornwall, and settled meetings there. Then he travelled through many counties, visiting Friends and settling meetings all along; and so came into the North, and to Swarthmore, and to Cumberland.

And so for Scotland he passed in the year 1657, and there went with him Robert Widders, James Lancaster, John Grave, and others. He travelled through many places in that nation, as Douglas, Heads, Hamilton, Glasgow, and to Edinburgh, where they took him, and carried him before General Monk and the council, and examined him, and asked him his business into that nation; who answered, he came to visit the seed of God. And after they had threatened him, and charged him to depart their nation of Scotland, they let him go. Then he went to Linlithgow, and Stirling, and Johnstone, and many places, visiting the people; and several were convinced. And after he had stayed a pretty while, and settled some meetings, he returned into Northumberland, and into the bishopric of Durham, visiting Friends and settling meetings as he went; and then returned back again to Swarthmore, and stayed amongst Friends a while, and so returned south again. In 1658, Judge Fell died.

In 1660 he came out of the South into the North, and had a great general meeting about Balby in Yorkshire; and so came on, visiting Friends in many places, till he came to Swarthmore again. And King Charles then being come in, the justices sent out warrants, and took him at Swarthmore, charging him in their warrants, that he drew away the king's liege people, to the endangering the embroiling the nation in blood; and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And I having a great family, and he being taken in my house, I was moved of the Lord to go to the king at Whitehall; and took with me a declaration, and an information of our principles, and a long time, and much ado I had, to get to him. But at last, when I got to him, I told him if he was guilty of those things, I was guilty, for he was taken in my house; and I gave him the paper of our principles, and desired that he would set him at liberty, as he had promised that none should suffer for tender consciences; and we were of tender consciences, and

desired nothing but the liberty of our consciences. Then with much ado, 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. And then would I gladly have come home to my great family, but was bound in my spirit, and could not have freedom to get away for a whole year. The king had promised me several times that we should have our liberty, but then the Monarchy-men rose; and then came the great and general imprisonment of Friends the nation through; and so could I not have freedom nor liberty to come home, till we had got a general proclamation for all our Friends' liberty. Then I had freedom and peace to come home.

In 1663 he came North again, and to Swarthmore. Then they sent out warrants, and took him again; and had him to Holcrof before the justices, who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And about a month after, the justices sent for me also out of my house, and tendered me the oath, and sent me prisoner to Lancaster. And the next assizes they again tendered the oath of allegiance and supremacy to us both, and premunired me; but they had missed the date, and other things in the 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 Scarbro' castle in Yorkshire, where they kept him prisoner close under the soldiers much of a year and a half, so that a 'Friend could scarcely have spoken to him; yet after that, it pleased the Lord that he was released; but I continued in prison, and a prisoner four years at that time; and an order was procured from the council, whereby I was set at liberty. And in that time I went down into Cornwall with my son and daughter Lower, and came back by London to the Yearly Meeting; and there I met with him again; and then he told me the time was drawing on towards our marriage, but he might first go into Ireland. And a little before this time was he prisoner in his own country at Leicester for a while, and then released. So into Ireland he went, and I went into Kent and Sussex, and came back to London again; and afterwards I went to the West, towards Bristol, in 1669, and there I stayed till he came over from Ireland, which was eleven years after my former husband's decease. In Ireland he had had a great service for the Lord and his eternal truth, amongst Friends and many people there, but escaped many dangers, and times of being taken prisoner, they having laid in wait aforehand for him in many places. And then he being returned, at Bristol he declared his intentions of marriage; and there also was our marriage solemnized. Within ten days after I came homewards, but my husband stayed up and down in the countries amongst Friends, visiting them.

Soon after I came home, there came another order from the council to cast me into prison again; and the sheriff of Lancashire sent his bailiff, and pulled me out of my own house, and had me prisoner to Lancaster castle (upon the old premunire), where I continued a whole year, and most part of that time was I sick and weakly; my husband also was weak and sickly at that time. After a while he recovered, and went about to get me out of prison, and a discharge at last was got under the great seal; and so I was set at liberty. Then I was to go up to London again, for my husband was intending for America. He was full two years away, before he came back again into England; and having arrived at Bristol, he came thence to London, intending to come to the middle of the nation with me; but when we came into some parts of Worcestershire, they got there information of him; and one Justice Parker, by his warrant,

sent him and my son Lower to Worcester jail. The justices there tendered him the oath, and premunired him, but released my son Lower, who stayed with him most of the time he was prisoner there.

After some time he fell sick, in a long, lingering sickness, and many times was very ill; so they writ to me from London, that if I would see him alive, I might go to him; which accordingly I did. After I had tarried seventeen weeks with him at Worcester, and no discharge likely to be obtained for him, I went up to London, and wrote to the king an account of his long imprisonment, and how he was taken in his travel homewards, and that he was weak and sick, and not likely to live if they kept him long there. I went with it to Whitehall myself, where I met with the king and gave him the paper; and he said, I must go to the chancellor, he could do nothing in it. Then I wrote also to the lord chancellor, and went to his house, gave him my paper, and spoke to him, that the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not take pity and release him out of that prison, I feared he would end his days there. The Lord Chancellor Finch was a very tender man, and spoke to the judge, who gave out an *habeas corpus* presently. When we got it we sent it down to Worcester, and they would not part with him at first, but said he was premunired, and was not to go out on that manner. Then we were forced to go to Judge North, and to the attorney general, and we got another order, and sent down from them; and with much ado, and great labour and industry of William Mead and other friends, we got him up to London, where he appeared in 'Westminster Hall at the king's bench, before Judge Hale, who was a very honest, tender man; and he knew they had imprisoned him but in envy. So that which they had against him was read, and our counsel pleaded that he was taken up in his travel and journey. And there was but a little said till 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 was very desirous to go home with him, which we did. This was the first time that he came to Swarthmore after we were married; and he stayed here much of two years, and then went to London again to the Yearly Meeting; and after a while went into Holland, and some parts of Germany, where he stayed a pretty while, and then returned to London again at the next Yearly Meeting. And after he had stayed a while in and about London, he came into the North to Swarthmore again, and stayed that time near two years; and then he grew weakly, 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, till he came to London to the Yearly Meeting, and stayed there, and there-aways, till he 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 most lay. And my concern for God, and his holy eternal truth, was then in the North, where God had placed and sent me, and likewise for the ordering and governing of my children and family; so that we were very willing both of us, to live apart for some years upon God's account, and his truth's service, and to deny ourselves of that 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 hard of us because of that, the Lord will judge them; for we were innocent. And for my own part, I was willing to take many long journeys, for taking away all occasion of

evil thoughts; and though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been nine times there, upon the Lord and his truth's account; and of all the times that I was at London, this last time was most comfortable, that 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 better in his health and strength than 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 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 hath 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 hath yet 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.

M. F.

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## APPENDIX.

### 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 honoured 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 labours, bard 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 promulgator of 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 unto 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 thereof. Howbeit we knowing his unwearied diligence, not sparing, but spending himself in the work and service whereunto he was chosen and called of God, could not but give this short testimony of his faithfulness therein, and likewise of his tender love and care towards us; who, as a tender father to his children (in which capacity we stood, being so related unto him), 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 an excellent spirit of wisdom and understanding, to propose and direct such helps and advantages to the well-ordering and establishing of affairs and government in the church, as now are found very serviceable thereunto; and have greatly disappointed and prevented the false, loose, and libertine spirit of some who, to their own confusion, have endeavoured, 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 been always 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, savoury life; and as to conversation, kept his garments clean: and though outwardly dead, yet he liveth, and his memory is right precious unto us; as 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, he is removed from us into a glorious state of immortality and bliss, and is gathered unto 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 are at rest.

## 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 11th Month, 1690.*

Dear and truly beloved friends, brethren and sisters in Christ Jesus, our blessed Lord and Saviour, we sincerely and tenderly salute you all in his free and tender love wherewith he hath graciously visited us, and largely shed it abroad in our hearts and 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, unto the end of your days; as being livingly engaged thereby all your appointed time to serve him, and to wait till your change come; 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 so preserved in his own pure love and life, as to grow, increase, and prosper in the same; and thereby be kept in love, unity, and peace with one another, as becomes his

faithful and true followers, is that which our very hearts and souls desire, being often truly comforted and enlarged in the living sense and feeling of the increase and aboundings thereof, among faithful friends and brethren.

And, dear brethren and sisters, unto 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 hath pleased the Lord to take unto himself, as he hath divers others of his faithful servants and ministers of late time; who have faithfully served out their generation, and finished their testimony and course with joy and peace. Howbeit, O dear brethren and friends I that so many worthies in Israel, and serviceable instruments in the Lord's hand, an 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 thereof is very weighty upon our spirits, though their precious life and testimony live with us, as being of that same body, united to one head, even Christ Jesus; in which we still, and hope ever shall, 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 said dear brother, George Fox, was enabled, by the Lord's power, to preach the truth fully and effectually in our public meeting in White-Hart Court, by Gracechurch Street, London, on the 11th day of this instant 11th month, 1690: after which he said, "I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear." Then 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 divers 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 thereof; as his spirit in the Lord's love and power was universally set and bent for truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof 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, yet that the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits;" which were his wonted sensible expressions, being in the living faith and sense thereof, which he kept to the end. And on the 13th instant, between the ninth and tenth hour in 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 aforesaid. 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.

And on the 16th of this instant, being the day appointed for his funeral, a very great concourse of Friends and people assembled at our meeting-house in White-Hart Court aforesaid, about the mid-day, in order to attend his body to our burying-place, near Bunhill-Fields, 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 divers living testimonies 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 labours 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 withal for 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 honour 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 time 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, etc.

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; and mentioned the apostle's exhortation to Timothy, to "take heed to his ministry, and to show himself approved," etc.: and 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: and 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 labour 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, and the 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 laboured for universal love, unity, peace, and good order in the churches of Christ; and wherever he met with the

contrary, it was his great grief and burthen. He was greatly for the encouragement of faithful labourers in the Lord's work; and it was a great offence and grief to him to have their testimony weakened, or labours slighted, through prejudice in any professing truth.

And inasmuch as the Lord suffered him not to be delivered up to the will of his enemies and persecutors, who often heretofore breathed out cruelty against him, and designed his destruction; but in his good pleasure so fairly and quietly 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 unto man or creatures. Though we must needs 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 whereof 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 exceeding 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 of 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 who 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 taketh away, and none can hinder him, nor may any say unto him, What doest thou? Yet we have cause to bless the Lord that he hath 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 that 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 hath 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 thereof.

Dear Friends and brethren, be faithful till 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, Nicholas Gates, Daniel Monro, Geo. Whitehead, Francis Stamper, John Heywood, Fra. Camfield, John Vaughton, George Bowles, James Park, Gilbert Latey, William Robinson, John Elson, Charles Marshall, William Bingley, Peter Price, Kich. Needham, John Butcher, John Field, James Martin, Beajamin Antrobus, John Edkidge,

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

Ann. Bigg, Sam. Goodaker, William Fallowfield.

*P. S.*—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.

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## THOMAS ELLWOOD'S ACCOUNT OF THAT EMINENT AND HONOURABLE SERVANT OF THE LORD, GEORGE FOX.

(It was Thomas Ellwood who first transcribed this Journal for the press. See Note at p. 11, vol. ii.)

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 till the year 1660; from that time to the time of his death I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed a heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in

suffering for it, unwearied in labouring 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 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 honour 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 whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God; beloved of God's people; and (which was not the least part of his honour) 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 many thousands into an establishment therein; which the Lord vouchsafed him the honour to be the first effectual publisher of, in this latter age of the world. And having fought 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 to prepare a place for his; 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 and people yet 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."

T. E.

## AN EPISTLE OF GEORGE FOX'S,

WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND, AND LEFT SEALED UP WITH THIS SUPERScription, VIZ., "NOT  
TO BE OPENED BEFORE THE TIME;"

WHICH AFTER HIS DECEASE BEING OPENED, WAS THOUGHT MEET TO BE PRINTED, VIZ.:

*"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 G. F.*

"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, that be 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, etc., were set up by the power, and 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 hid.'

"And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen betimes to oppose you and them, in print and other ways, you have seen how they have come to nought. The Lord hath blasted them, brought their deeds to light, and made them manifest 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, turned again to the mire. This hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people!

"Therefore all stand steadfast in Christ Jesus, your Head, in whom yon are all one, male and female, and know His government, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end; but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all that are out of Christ, who oppose it and him, whose judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not slumber. Therefore in God and Christ's light, life, Spirit, and power, live and walk, that is over all (and the seed of it) in love, in innocency, and simplicity. In righteousness and holiness dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghost, in which God's kingdom doth stand. All children of New and Heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, spiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

"As for this spirit of rebellion and opposition, that hath risen formerly and lately, 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 braise 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 doth 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 peace-makers.' 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 in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Christ, his church, who is the holy Head thereof. Glory to God through Christ, in this age and all other ages, who is the Rock and Foundation, the Emmanuel, God with us, Amen, over all, the Beginning and the Ending. In Him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal; in whom you will feel me, and I you.

“AU 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. They that come, and are come to heavenly Jerusalem, receive Christ; and he giveth 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 Sion, 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, and of the city of God, written upon them. So here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and spiritual generation.

“There is no schism, no 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 saith, '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.

“Jerusalem was the mother of all true Christians before the apostasy; and since the outward Christians are broken into many sects, they have got many mothers: but all they that are come out of the apostasy by the power and Spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above, is their mother (and none below her), who doth nourish all her spiritual children.”

G. F.

[This epistle was read at the Yearly Meeting in London, 1691.]

THE APPEARANCE OF THE LORD'S EVERLASTING TRUTH,  
AND ITS BREAKING FORTH AGAIN IN HIS ETERNAL POWER,  
IN THIS OUR DAY AND AGE IN ENGLAND.

Wherein the Lord's mighty power and word of life hath been richly and freely preached, to the gathering of many into reconciliation with God by it; to the exaltation and glory of the great God, through the bringing forth of the heavenly and spiritual fruits, from such as have been gathered by his eternal light, power, and Spirit, unto himself. And by the sowing to the Spirit in the hearts of people, life eternal hath been reaped; that the flocks have been gathered, which have the milk of the word plenteously; that the riches of the word have flourished, and mightily abounded; and God's heavenly plough with his spiritual men hath gone on cheerfully, to the overturning the fallow ground of the hearts, that had not borne heavenly fruit to God. And God's heavenly thrashers with his heavenly flail, have with joy and delight thrashed out the chaff, and the corruptions, that have been a-top of God's seed and wheat in man and woman. And thus have they thrashed in hope, and are made partakers of their hope, through which God's seed is come into his garner.

O! the unutterable glory, and the inexpressible excellency of the everlasting glorious truth, gospel, and word of life, that the infinite, invisible, and wise God (who is over all), hath revealed and manifested I And how have the professors, priests, and powers risen up in opposition against his children, that are born of the immortal Seed by the word of God! And, O! how great have the persecutions, and reproaches, and spoiling of goods been, that have been executed upon them I But notwithstanding these sufferings from such as have touched them, and do touch them, which are as dear to God as the apple of his eye, how hath the Lord manifested himself to stand by them, in overthrowing powers, priests, and states I What changes have there been since 1644, and 1650, and 1652 I How have the jails been filled since then in this nation with the heirs of life, God's chosen ones, who had no helper in the earth but the Lord and his Christ I So that truth's faithful witnesses were scarcely to be found, but 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 waxes not old. But the Lord Jesus Christ, that sent them forth, was their exceeding great supporter and upholder by his eternal power and Spirit, both then and now.

G. F.

PARTICULARS OF THE VARIOUS EDITIONS  
OF  
GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL, ETC.

First Edition.—Printed for Thomas Northcott. Folio, 1694.

Second Edition.—(Generally so called, though not so stated on the title page). Printed by J. Sowle, in White-Hart Court, in Gracious Street. London, 2 vols. 8to, 1709.

Third Edition.—Corrected; printed by Richardson and Clarke for Luke Hinde. Folio, 1765.

Fourth Edition.—Not known. In a History of Norfolk, it is said Joseph Phipps was appointed by Friends to abridge the contents and superintend the Journal of George Fox. This may have been the fourth edition.

Fifth Edition.—Printed by William Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street, London (from the first edition, printed for Northcott). 2 vols. 8vo, 1827.

Sixth Edition.—Leeds; printed by Anthony Pickard. 2 vols, royal 12mo, 1836.

Seventh Edition.—The present; now for the first time divided into chapters and supplied with table of contents, and numerous notes, biographical and historical, etc., by Wilson Armistead. Printed and stereotyped by W. G. Blackie & Co., Glasgow. In 2 vols. 8vo, 1852.

In addition to the above editions of this standard work of the Society of Friends, several others have been issued at various times which are not enumerated in the count. Amongst these may be mentioned one called the fifth edition corrected, printed at Philadelphia in 1808, by Fry and Kammerer, for B. and T. Kite, 20, North Third Street. A stereotype edition has been subsequently printed in Philadelphia; and the first volume of the Friends' Library, edited by William and Thomas Evans of the same city, contains an excellent Memoir of the Life, Travels, and Labours of George Fox. This volume, a royal 8vo, printed at Philadelphia in 1837, was reprinted in London in 12mo, in 1839, and again in 1850. It was also printed in German in 1850. Both the Memoir in the Friends' Library, and the Philadelphia stereotype edition of the Journal, have had a wide circulation in North America.

Many abridged memoirs of George Fox have appeared at various times and in various forms. The Life of George Fox forms the first volume of Henry Tuke's Biographical Notices of Members of the Society of Friends, a 12mo, published in 1813, and a second edition in 1826. The second volume of the same work, called A Supplement to the Life of George Fox, containing a brief review of the doctrines and practices inculcated by him, appeared in 1815, and a second edition in 1826. The same, in French, was printed at Guernsey in 1824.

A brief Memoir of George Fox, 12mo (supposed by Edward Backhouse), mi printed at Sunderland in 1842, and, with alterations, was reprinted there in the following year.

In 1847, appeared A Popular Life of George Fox, interspersed with remarks upon the imperfect reformation of the Anglican Church, and the consequent spread of dissent; by Josiah Marsh, 8vo, 400 pp., published by Gilpin, London. This 'Popular Life' has been extensively circulated. Compiled as it is by one not of the Society of Friends, but a member of the Establishment, it may be recommended as a fair estimate of the character of George Fox, by an impartial hand. Though the work is not quite free from inaccuracies, the author's explanation of many of the most distinguishing views of Friends is clear and striking; and on many subjects the writer manifests a remarkable appreciation of the principles promulgated by George Fox, and believes them, illustrated as they were in his exemplary life, calculated to be serviceable to many in his own communion, in a day when the progress of opinions, tending to exalt outward forms, draws even the thoughtful and well concerned off from a due appreciation of the essential spirituality of the Christian religion.

A lengthy review of *Marsh's Popular Life of George Fox*, appeared in the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* of July 1847. This was reprinted in a pamphlet of 72 pp. 12mo, and published by Gilpin, London, in 1848.

In addition to the foregoing, it may be stated, that a 12mo volume, entitled, Selections from the Epistles of George Fox, was printed at York in 1825, edited by Samuel Tuke. A second edition of this, with additions (above 800 pp. 8vo), was issued in London, in 1848. These Epistles are not from the Journal, but from a large folio, published in 1698, entitled, A Collection of many Select and Christian Epistles, etc.

The Introduction to the Selection of Epistles, by Samuel Tuke, is so excellent, I cannot forbear giving an extract from it in conclusion. In speaking of George Fox, he says,

“The true knowledge of God, not as an intellectual speculation, but as that which gives rest to the awakened conscience, was the great object of his longing search from youth to manhood; and in this search his almost constant companion was the Bible. There he conversed with Patriarchs and Prophets, with the Lord Jesus and his Apostles, till he became most intimately imbued with the contents of the Holy Scriptures. But, though every word of Inspiration was precious to him, his great desire was to know the mind of the Spirit—the true harmony of the various parts of the divine records. He conversed extensively with esteemed religious teachers of various classes, but he found they were no physicians in his case. More and more, he was brought with child-like submissiveness to look to Christ as his only helper; and thus, after a course of deep spiritual discipline, his eye was opened more fully to see in the light of the Holy Spirit, the character of his Saviour, and to rejoice in Him exceedingly.

“Having partaken largely of the spiritual baptism of his Lord, many divine truths were opened upon his mind with great clearness. Unshackled from human ties, and from all the religious

systems of men, the great elements and characteristics of the Christian dispensation, in its native simplicity and purity, rose gradually before him. As he travelled onward in his experience, he found that what was from time to time unfolded to his mind was in the fullest harmony with Holy Writ. Many things in the so-called religious world now appeared to him in a new light, and grieved in spirit with its multiplied corruptions, he felt himself required, by a divine impulse, to proclaim to others the Truth which he had found to the blessedness of his own soul. His great mission was not to found a sect, but to speak truth to all, and to call all out of every untruth to the knowledge for themselves, of Him who is the Truth. The acknowledgment of Christ with the lip as a divine person, and the talking about faith in Him, and of his various offices, were prevalent enough in many circles; but the true belief in Him with the heart unto righteousness—the acceptance of Him as the only Lord of the soul, and dependence upon Him for continual guidance by his Spirit—these were things which appeared to George Fox sadly deficient in his day.

“As the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul of man is the great means by which it is stimulated, and enabled to resist the world, the flesh, and the devil, so had all these powers combined to stultify its authority, and to give the name of Christianity to the dogmas or appointments of men, or too much to limit divine power to the agency of the inspired letter which the wisdom of man was so able to bend to its own purposes, but which his unassisted wisdom was wholly unable truly to unfold. He saw that the corruptions of the Christian Church had always been indicated by the increase of dependence upon man, in the work of religion—'the priests of old time ruled by their means, and the people loved to have it so.' These words appeared to him descriptive of a great human tendency, forming part of those lusts of the flesh, against which the Holy Spirit ever warreth, and he spake much of that divine light given to man, by which the inward working of these lusts was manifested, and of that inward warfare with the soul's enemies, in which every one must be a soldier for himself, under Christ his Captain—denouncing all those arts which he saw to be so prevalent, by which man was persuaded that he could gain the crown, without enlisting under the banner of the cross. Man's alienation by nature from God, and his reluctance to come to Him in truth, notwithstanding the drawings of his love, and the free offers of his mercy in Christ, the propitiation for the sins of the world, were the basis of his appeals. He was eminently a preacher of the free grace of God to all who repent, and who, in subjection to his Spirit, truly come unto Christ. The experimental work of the Spirit in bringing the soul in living faith to Christ as its Lord and Saviour, was indeed the great theme of his ministry; it was that which he felt himself called to urge upon all, that the foundation might be sound, and the superstructure solid.”