Truth in the Inward Parts Vol. 2

The Journal of George Fox.

Edited by Jason R. Henderson

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 began, and was 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 neighbors called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos, and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and steadiness of mind and spirit that is not usual in children; insomuch, that when I saw old men behave lightly and loosely towards each other, I had a disliking to it raised in my heart, and I said within myself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so, nor be so loose and careless."

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while still a child I was taught how to walk in such a way as to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways: both inwardly to God, and outwardly to man, and to keep to "Yes" and "No" in all things. For the Lord showed me, that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit, and changeable words, yet I was to keep to "Yes" and "No" in all things, and that my words should be few and savory, seasoned with grace. And I saw that I should not eat and drink to excess, but only for health, using the created things in their proper 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, and wherein there is unity with the creation.

But people being strangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink without restraint, wasting

created things upon their own lusts, and living in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation. All of this I saw to be in the world and in its pollutions, apart from God, and so I was to shun all such things.

Afterwards, as I grew up, my relations thought to make me a priest, but others persuaded them to the contrary; whereupon I was put apprentice to a man, a shoemaker by trade, but who also dealt in wool and was a farmer, and sold cattle, and a great deal of goods 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 the word "verily" in my dealings with men, and it was a common saying among people that knew me, "If George says 'verily,' there is no changing him." When boys and rude people would laugh at me, I left them alone and went my way, but people generally had 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 professor¹ of Christianity, and having another professor with him, came to me and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them. 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 each drunk a glass, they began to drink toasts to one another, calling for more beer, and agreeing together that he who would not drink should pay for all. I was grieved that any who made profession of religion should act in such a way. Indeed, they grieved me very much, having never had such a thing suggested to me before by any sort of Christian people. Accordingly I rose up to go, and putting my hand into my pocket, I laid a silver coin on the table before them, and said, "If it must be so, I will leave you." So I went away, and when I had done the 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 then said unto me, "You see how young people go together into vanity, and old people go into the earth; you must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be a stranger unto all."

Therefore, 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 into Lutterworth, where I stayed some time, and from there to Northampton, where also I made some stay. From there I went to Newportpagnell, where, after I had stayed a while, I went to Barnet, in the fourth month, called June,² 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 that 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 I was in great troubles. Sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked alone in the open fields to wait upon the Lord. I wondered why these things should come upon me, and I looked upon myself and said, "Was I ever this way before?" Then I thought, perhaps because I had forsaken my relations I had done wrong against them; so I was brought to call to mind all

¹ The word *professor* is used throughout the writings of early Friends to refer to those who *profess* faith in Christ. Here the word has nothing to do with teachers or scholars.

² Until 1752, March was considered the first month of the year in all of England and its colonies.

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 for some years, in great trouble, and eagerly would have put it away 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 Christian professors of the city, and I saw that all was dark and under the chain of darkness. I had an uncle there named Pickering, a Baptist (and they were a tender people then), yet I could not open my mind to him, nor join with them; for I saw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people desired me to stay, but I was fearful, and returned homewards into Leicestershire again, having a regard upon my mind towards my parents and relations, lest I should grieve them, who, I understood, were troubled at my absence.

When I had come down into Leicestershire, my relations desired me to marry, but I told them I was but a lad, and I must get wisdom. Others would have had me join the auxiliary band among the soldiers, but I refused; and I was grieved that they proposed 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, until 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. They would give place to hear me, and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. And this priest Stevens asked me why Christ cried out upon the cross, "My God, my God, why have You forsaken Me?" and why He said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; yet not My will, but Yours 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 for which He was to be an offering, according as He was man, but He died not according 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 weekdays, he would then preach on 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, and told me to take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and I was not in a state to sing psalms; indeed I could not sing. He told me to come again, and then he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and irritable, 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 man. I saw that they were

all "miserable comforters;"³ and this brought my troubles more upon me.

Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and I went seven miles to him; but I found him to be like an empty hollow cask. I also heard of a man called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to see 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 thought 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, in turning, I unintentionally set my foot upon the side of a flower bed, at which the man flew into a rage, as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, feeling worse than I did 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, a man named Macham, a priest in high regard. He desired to give me medicine and to bleed me, but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in my arms or head (though they endeavored 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 for 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 the couple, and if they were poor, I gave them some money; for I had enough 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 Catholics." And the Lord opened to me that, they were only believers who were born of God, and had passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but such as these; and though many 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 educated at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ;" and I wondered at this, because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and I was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord who had opened this thing unto me that morning. I saw that this 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 go 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 the anointing teaches them concerning all things?"⁴ 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, and go to hear the priest with them. I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than what they looked upon it to be. And I saw that being educated at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ. Why then should I follow such men?

³ Job 16:2

^{4 1} John 1:27

So I could not join with these, nor with any of the dissenting people,⁵ 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 conceived 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 temple 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 to myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I did not tell it to 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 showed them Scriptures, and told them there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach His people Himself.

Now though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptation came upon me many times, so that when it was day, I wished for night, and when it was night, I wished for day. And because of the openings which I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, "Day unto day utters speech, and night unto night reveals knowledge."⁶ When I had openings, they corresponded to one another, and also corresponded the Scriptures; for I had great openings of the Scriptures: and when I was in troubles, one trouble also corresponded 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 who were in empty and proud notions. Traveling on through some parts of Leicestershire and into Nottinghamshire, I met with a tender-hearted people, and a very tender woman whose name was Elizabeth Hooton;⁷ 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 in the night, I frequently walked mournfully about by myself; for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the Lord's first working in me.

During all this time I never joined in religious profession 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. I travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, whichever way the Lord inclined my heart, taking a

⁵ Those who dissented from the national Church of England.

⁶ Psalm 19:2

⁷ Elizabeth Hooton was not only the first of her sex, but the second individual who appeared as a minister amongst the newly-gathered society. She 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 Caribbean Islands.

chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, more or less, in a place. But I dared not stay long in any one place, being afraid of both professors and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For this reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord, and so was brought off from outward things, to rely wholly upon the Lord alone.

Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet they were not so constant that I had no intermissions, for sometimes I was brought into such a heavenly joy that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. And 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 His love was exceedingly great. You, Lord, make a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field; You bring down and raise up; you kill and make alive. All honor and glory be to You, O Lord of glory; for the knowledge of You in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly, works death. While there is this knowledge in the flesh, self-will and deceit will conform to anything, and man will say "yes, yes," to that which he does not know. The knowledge which the world has of what the prophets and apostles spoke is a fleshly knowledge; and those who have apostated from that life in which the prophets and apostles lived, have learned their words (the Holy Scriptures) in an outward way, but not in that life or Spirit that gave them forth. So they all lie in confusion, and are making provision for the flesh, to fulfill its lusts; but do not fulfill the law and command of Christ in His own power and Spirit. This, they say, they cannot do; but to fulfill the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that "to be educated 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 towards the dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced by the truth, for they had some openings. But even 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 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 your 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, so that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, faith, and power. Thus when God does work, who shall hinder it? And this I knew experientially.

My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and my zeal for 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 except by revelation, according as He who has the key did open to me, 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 their 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 had let me see myself. So I had no fellowship with any people, priests, or professors, or any sort of separated people, but only with Christ who has the key, and opened the door of Light and Life unto me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions and how the life lay under the burden of corruptions. When I myself was in the deep, shut up under all, I could not believe that I would ever overcome, for my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I would 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, then I had confidence in him. So it was He who opened to me when I was shut up and had no hope or 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 deepst 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 created things, to get help and strength there; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and His Son Jesus Christ. I saw that all the world could do me no good, and if I had had a king's diet, palace, and servants, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort, but the Lord by His power. I saw how the professors, priests, and people were whole and at ease in the very condition which was my misery, and they loved that which I longed to be 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 are in; wait in the grace and truth that came by Jesus. For if you do so, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfill it in you. Blessed are all who indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so, praised be the Lord who fills with it, and satisfies the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of spiritual Israel say, "His mercy endures forever!" It is the great love of God to make a barren wilderness out 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 into the earth, after created and changeable things, changeable ways and religions, and changeable, uncertain teachers, their minds are in bondage; for then they themselves are changeable, tossed up and down with windy doctrines and thoughts and notions of things, and their minds are outside of the unchangeable truth in the inward parts-the Light of Jesus Christ-which would keep them bound to that which is 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 forever!

Again, I heard a voice which said, "You serpent! You seek to destroy the life, but cannot; for the sword which guards the tree of life shall destroy you." So Christ, the Word of God, who bruised the head of the serpent, the destroyer, preserved me; my inward mind being joined to His good Seed, which bruises the head of this serpent, the destroyer. This inward life sprung up in me, and enabled me to answer all the opposing professors and priests, and brought Scriptures to my memory with which to refute them.

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 also what the promise of God was to. Yet it was still such with me, that there seemed to be two pleading within me. Then questions arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies, and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Spirit. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days. yet I still gave up myself to the Lord. One day when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and had come home, I was wrapped up in the love of God so that I could not help 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, "that all was done, and is to be done, in and by Christ." And I saw 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 were temptations for the trial of my faith which Christ had given me. The Lord opened my eyes, so that I saw through all these troubles and temptations, and my living faith was raised, and I saw how all was done by Christ, the life, and so 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, anchoring my immortal soul to its Bishop, and causing it to swim above the sea, that is, the world-where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are. But oh, then I saw my troubles, trials, and temptations more clearly than I had ever seen them. As the light appeared, all appeared that is outside 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, and I saw how Christ sat "as a refiner's fire and as a fullers' soap;"⁸ and spiritual discerning came to me by which I could discern my own thoughts, groans, and sighs, and see 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, which could not give up to the will of God. It was this which had so veiled me that I could not be patient in all trials, troubles, and perplexities, and could not give up self to die by the cross (which is the power of God) so that that which is living and quickened might follow Him, and that which would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ (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 experienced, I saw over all false sighings and groanings. And by this invisible Spirit I also discerned all the false hearing, the false seeing, and the false smelling which had risen up in man above the Spirit, quenching and grieving it. And I saw that all that lived here were in confusion and deceit, where there is a false asking and false praying in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, wallows in the Egyptian sea, and asks, but does not receive; for they hate His light, resist the Holy Spirit, turn grace into licentiousness, rebel against the Spirit, and have erred from the faith in which they should ask, and from the Spirit by which they should pray.

He that knows these things in the true Spirit can experience them. The divine light of Christ manifests all things; the spiritual fire tries all things, and divides all things. Several things I then saw as the Lord opened them to me; for He showed me that which can live in His holy refining fire, and 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, is in agreement with the perfect gift⁹ of God in every one. This law the Jews, and the prophets, and John were to perform and do. No one knows the giver of this law but by the Spirit of God; nor 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 born of a woman, bore witness to the light, with which Christ (the great heavenly Prophet) has "enlightened every man that comes into the world,"¹⁰ in order 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 seeks to draw out of the light into condemnation. They that walk in this light, come to the mountain of the house of God which is 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 also saw 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 says, "O Earth, hear the word of the Lord!"¹¹ The law of the Spirit runs contrary to the fleshly mind, spirit, and will, which lives in disobedience, and does not keep within the law of the Spirit. I saw how 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"¹² which did judge and condemn all that is to be condemned. And I saw how 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 who have been under that schoolmaster, and under 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 preached by His eternal Spirit as upon the housetops. And as you are brought into the law, and through the law become dead to it, and witness the righteousness of the law fulfilled in you, so you will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought into the faith, and then through faith brought out from under the law; and so, abiding in the faith (of which Christ is the author) you will have peace and access to God. But if you look out from the faith, and away from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleshly things or words, you will be brought again into bondage to the flesh, and to the law, which takes hold upon the flesh and sin, and works wrath, and the works of the flesh will appear again. The law of God takes hold upon the law of sin and death. But the law of faith, or the law of the Spirit of life (which is the love of God that comes by Jesus, who is the end of the law for righteousness), makes free from the law of sin and death. No fleshly-minded men know this law of life, yet they will tempt you, to draw you away from the Spirit into the flesh, and so into bondage. Therefore you who know the love of God, and the law of His Spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in Him, 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,

⁹ He means the measure of grace, light, or seed of the kingdom that is sown into the hearts of men in order to save all who receive and obey it.

¹⁰ John 1:9

¹¹ Jeremiah 22:29

¹² Galatians 2:19

bring into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man, and by man, and which stands in the will of man, brings into bondage and under the shadow of death and darkness.

Therefore none can be ministers of Christ Jesus unless they are 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 who hate it may still have enough of His light to condemn them, they can bring none into unity and fellowship in the Spirit unless they be in it; for the Seed of God is a burdensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding (which must perish) and in a wisdom that is devilish. And the Spirit of God is grieved, and vexed, and guenched with that which brings into fleshly bondage; and that which wars against the Spirit of God must be mortified by it; "for the flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other."¹³ The flesh desires to have its liberty, and the Spirit desires to have its liberty; but the Spirit is to have its liberty and not the flesh. If therefore you quench the Spirit, and join to the flesh, and become servants of it, then you are judged and tormented by the Spirit of God; but if you join to the Spirit and serve God in it, you have liberty and victory over the flesh and its works. Therefore keep in the daily cross, which is the power of God, by which you may witness all that to be crucified which is contrary to the will of God, and 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. And in that day I marveled that the children of Israel should murmur for water and food, for I could have fasted long without murmuring or minding food. But I was judged at other times, for not being content to go sometimes without the water and bread of life, that I might learn and know how to suffer need, and how to abound

Passing on, I went among the professors at Duckingfield and Manchester, where I stayed a while, and declared the truth among them. Some were convinced, and 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,¹⁴ and could not endure to hear any 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 contended 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. Many people of other persuasions went there, 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

¹³ Galatians 5:17

¹⁴ He means they were all insisting upon the necessity of man's continuing under the dominion of sin throughout the entire course of his life.

Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord showed me that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were found 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 to be within, though people had been looking without. And I cried to the Lord, saying, "Why should I be this way, 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, for how else should I speak to all conditions? And in this I saw the infinite love of God. I also saw that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but there was an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In this also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings. And as I was walking by the steeple-house in Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, "That which the people trample upon, must be your food." And as the Lord spoke this He opened it to me, that people and professors trampled upon the life, trampled underfoot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life, and they lived in their airy notions, talking of Him. It seemed strange to me at first that I should feed upon that which the proud professors of Christianity trampled upon, but the Lord opened it clearly to me by His eternal Spirit and Power.

Then people came from far and near to see me, but I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak and to open things to them. There was a man named Brown, who had great prophecies and sights upon his death-bed of me. He spoke of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And concerning others who then were something in appearance, he spoke of how they should come to nothing, which was fulfilled in some. 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 molded anew or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given to me by the Lord through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and Christ, etc., it was the serpent that 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 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 I could say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave, but by the eternal power of God I had come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. I saw how the harvest was white, and the seed of God lay thick in the ground, as ever wheat did that was sown outwardly, and I mourned with tears that there was none to gather it.

A report went abroad concerning 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 to 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 Spirit, but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how, after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus, by the power of Christ, I got over that temptation also.

In the year 1648, as I was sitting in a friend's house in Nottinghamshire (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of some to receive the word of life and reconciliation), I saw there was a great crack that would go throughout the earth, and a great smoke to go along as the crack went; and that after the crack there should be a great shaking. This, I saw, 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 we began to have great meetings, and there was a mighty power and work of God amongst the people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

Then there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and I went among them. Here they discoursed about how Paul said, "He had not known sin, but by the law, which said, 'You shall not lust;" and they believed this to be spoken of the outward law. But I told them, Paul spoke these words after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was brought up in it, even when he was still in the lust of persecution. But here he spoke of the law of God in his mind, which he served, and against which the law in his members waged war; for that which he thought had been life to him, proved to be 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 takes hold upon the outward action; but the inward law takes hold upon the inward lust.

After this I went again to Mansfield, where there 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 finished, 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 prayed, which brought deadness and a veil over them, and others of the professors were grieved at him and told him it was a trial 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 this there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain, whose name was Amor Stoddard, came in. They were discoursing about the blood of Christ; and as they spoke of it, I saw the blood of Christ, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit. And I cried out among them, and said, "Do you not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God!" For I saw it, the blood of the New Covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who desired to have the blood only without them, and not within them. But Captain Stoddard was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak; hear the youth speak;" when he saw how they endeavored to bear me down with many words.

There was also a company of priests that were looked upon as being tender; one of their names was Kellett, and several people that were tender-hearted went to hear them. I was moved to go after them

and bid them to mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. This priest Kellett was against parsonages then; but afterwards he got a large 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-hearted people were convinced. Passing through there, 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 to the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law, and I opened to them the inward state and the outward state, upon which they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted. Nevertheless, the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be held for a dispute at Leicester, wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common-prayer-men were all said to be involved. The meeting was in a steeplehouse, and there I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in the pews, and the priest being in the pulpit, with an abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, "What birth was Peter describing when he spoke of being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, that lives and abides 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, "Do thou call this building a church? Or do you call this mixed multitude a church?" For the woman having asked 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 is the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, of which Christ is the head. But he is 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 came out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. But I went to a large 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 contending for infants' baptism (though he himself had been a Baptist before) and so left me alone. Howbeit, there were several convinced that day. The woman that asked the question was convinced, along with her family; and the Lord's power and glory shone over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire, and went into the Vale of Belvoir. As I went, I preached repentance to the people, and there were many convinced in the Vale of Belvoir, in many of its 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 to me, "All things come about by nature;" and then the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But sitting still and silent, the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sat still under it, and let it alone, soon 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 up 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 about by nature. I had a great dispute with them, and over-

turned 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 large 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 thereabouts, where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, both at Mansfield and in other neighboring 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 manifestation of the 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 ever-lasting truth unto them.

At a certain time, when I was at Mansfield, there was a meeting of justices about the 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 were, but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but decided 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 so blind that I could not see. I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to meet that day, and he told me they were at a town eight miles off. My sight began to come to me again; and I went out and ran that way as fast as I could. When I had come to the house where they were, there were many servants with them, and 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 to 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 cease from oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit unto the Lord, and do justly. After I had been at a court in Mansfield, 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. I reproved him in the dread of the mighty God for his evil ways. When I had finished speaking and had 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. Several meetings of Friends, in various 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 I was 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 which Adam was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was shown to me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practice medicine for the good of mankind, seeing that the natures 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 their virtues 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 be declared by words; 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 there I went to Clawson in Leicestershire, in the Vale of Belvoir, 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, medicine, divinity (so called), and law. He showed me that the physicians had gone out from the wisdom of God by which the creatures were made, and so knew not their virtues. He showed me that the priests had gone out from the true faith, of which Christ is the author-the faith which purifies the heart and gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, and by which they please God, which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. He showed me also that the lawyers had gone out from equity and true justice, and from the law of God which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and was in accord with 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 having gone out from the wisdom, out from the faith, and out from the equity and law of God; the one pretending to offer 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 outside of the wisdom, outside of the faith, outside of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things unto me, I felt how His power had gone 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 a gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed, and brought into the law of God, which corresponds to that gift of God that is transgressed in everyone, and brings man to love his neighbor as himself. For it is this gift that lets man see that if he wrongs his neighbor he wrongs himself, and it teaches him to do unto others as he desires them to 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 created things and understand the virtues which the Word of Wisdom has given them. An abundance was opened concerning these things, how all had gone out from the wisdom of God, and out from the righteousness and holiness in which man was first was made. But as all believe in the light, and walk in the light (with which Christ has enlightened every man that comes into the world¹⁵), they become children of the light and of the day of Christ. In His day all things are seen, visible and invisible, by the divine light of Christ, the spiritual and 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

kept both they and their people under), yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the Scriptures; for these had not come as 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 those who came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God; and those who came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, to praise God on the banks of the sea-shore; and those who could speak by experience of God's miracles and wonders; those who had come as far as Korah and Dathan and their company; those who 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 loveliness of Israel's tent, the second birth, which no enchantment could prevail against. These who could speak so much of their experiences of God, and yet had turned from the Spirit and the Word and denied the truth, these were, and would be, the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. Likewise among the Christians, those who would preach in Christ's name, and work miracles, cast out devils, and go in the gospel times as far as a Cain, a Korah, and a Balaam did in theirs, these were and would be the great deceivers. These could tell some experiences of Christ and God, but they lived not in the life. These were they that led the world after them, who got into "the form of godliness, but denied the power,"¹⁶ who inwardly trampled upon the Spirit; they who brought people into an outward form, but persecuted those who were in the power, even as Cain did; and through covetousness ran greedily after the error of Balaam, loving the wages of unrighteousness. These followers of Cain, Korah, and Balaam, since the days of the apostles, have brought the world to be like a sea. And I saw that such as these might deceive now, just as they had in former ages, but that it is impossible for them to deceive the elect,¹⁷ who are chosen in Christ, who was before the world began, and before the deceiver; though others may be deceived in their openings and prophecies by not keeping their minds to the Lord Jesus Christ, who does open and reveal to those who are 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 who are 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 men came to see into themselves with the light and Spirit of truth, then they came to say, "I, I, I, it is I myself, that have been the Ishmael, and the Esau, etc." For then 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 who had gotten up into the Scriptures, and was finding fault with those before mentioned, and also with the backsliding Jews, calling them the proud oaks and tall cedars, fat bulls of Bashan, wild heifers, vipers, serpents, etc., charging them that it was they who closed their eyes, stopped their ears, hardened their hearts, and were dull of hearing; that it was they who hated the light and rebelled against it, and quenched and vexed and grieved the Spirit; it was they who walked despitefully against the Spirit of grace, turned the grace of God into licentiousness, resisted the Holy Spirit, who got the form of godliness but turned against the power; that they were the inwardly ravenous wolves with sheep's clothing, wells without water, clouds without rain, and trees without fruit, etc. But when these, who were so busy finding fault with others,

^{16 2} Timothy 3:5

¹⁷ He means those who abide and remain in Christ, the elect of God, thus "making their calling and election sure" (2 Peter 1:10). Neither George Fox, nor any of the early Friends, were proponents of individual predestination and reprobation.

and thought themselves clear of these things, came to look into themselves, and, with the light of Christ, to thoroughly search themselves, they found enough of this in themselves; and then the cry was no longer, "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 rightly applying them to their own states and conditions. 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 apply them to others, but do not turn inward to find the truth of these things in themselves. But as these things came to be opened in me, I saw how death reigned over them from Adam to Moses, that is, from their entrance into transgression until they came to the ministration of condemnation, which restrains people from the sin that brings death. Then, when the ministration of Moses has been 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 come 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 had 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, who was to come to fulfill 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. For by that Spirit their crooked natures might be made straight, and their rough natures made smooth, and the nature in them that extorts and does violence might be cast out, and they that had been hypocrites might come to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, and their mountain of sin and earthliness might be laid low, and their valley exalted in them, that within them there might be a way prepared for the Lord; then the least in the kingdom is greater than John. But all must first know the voice crying in the wilderness of their hearts, which, through transgression, had become like a wilderness. Thus I saw it was an easy matter to say that "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 these things except by the same Holy Spirit that Moses, the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the spiritual meaning of Moses', the prophets', and John's words, nor see their path and travels, much less 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, by the Spirit and power of God, comes through unto Christ, who fulfills the types, figures, shadows, promises, and prophecies that were of Him, and is led by the Holy Spirit into the truth and substance of the Scriptures, sitting down in Him who is the author and end of them, then they are 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 hidden from ages and generations, which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For, of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed with, I found none that could bear to hear of a man coming to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, to the righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell, to be clear and pure without sin, even as he was. Therefore, how could they bear to hear of any growing up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any, while upon earth, can come into the same power and Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it is a certain truth, that none can rightly understand their writings without the same Spirit by which they were written.

Now the Lord God opened to me by His invisible power, that "every man was in measure enlightened by the divine light of Christ." I saw how it shined through all, and how all who believed in it came out of condemnation into the light of life, and became the children of it; but they who 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; nor did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures, though afterwards, when searching the Scriptures, I found it.¹⁸ 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 wished to know God, or Christ, or the Scriptures aright; which Spirit was the leader and teacher of those who wrote the Scriptures.

But I observed a dulness and a 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. And I saw that death was to pass over this sleepy, heavy state; and I told people they must come to witness a death to that sleepy, heavy nature, and a cross to it in the power of God, so that their minds and hearts might be on things above.

One particular time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord said unto me: "Your name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world." And as the Lord spoke it, I believed, and saw it in the new birth. Then, some time after, the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which I saw was like a briery, thorny wilderness; and when I did in the Lord's mighty power with the word of life, then 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 would 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, even as they had been who gave forth the Scriptures. 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 to be near. I saw that Christ died for all men, and was a propitiation for all; that He 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

¹⁸ John 1:9; Romans 1:19; Titus 2:11-12; John 3:19, 16:8

saw that "the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men,"¹⁹ and that "the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal."²⁰ These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter of Scripture, 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 for the Holy Scriptures. Indeed, they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth, and the things which the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found were 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; on the one hand letting me see the depths of Satan, and on the other hand opening to me 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, unto Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches which men had made and gathered, unto the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, of which Christ is the head. And I was to bring them off from the world's teachers who were set up by men, so that they might learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, hear Him!" And I was to bring them off from all the world's worship, to know the Spirit of Truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby, so that in the Spirit they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such as these to worship Him; for those who worship not in this Spirit, know not what they worship. And I was sent to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are vain, to know the pure religion, and to visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves unspotted from the world; for then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, as it evidenced so much hard-heartedness amongst those that professed the name of Christ. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowship, praying, and singing, which stood in forms without power, that their fellowship might be in the Holy Spirit, and in the Eternal Spirit of God; and that they might pray in the Holy Spirit, and sing in the Spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus, making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who has sent His beloved Son to be their Savior and has 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 (just as His outward rain does fall, and His outward sun does shine on all), which is God's unspeakable love to the world. I was to bring people off from all Jewish ceremonies and heathenish fables, and from man's inventions and worldly doctrines, by which the people were blown this way and that, from sect to sect; and off 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

¹⁹ Titus 2:11

^{20 1} Corinthians 12:7 KJV

called) and vain traditions, which had been instituted after the apostles' days, and which the Lord's power was against. And in the dread and authority of His power, I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that did not preached 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 regard to rich or poor, great or small.²¹ And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people "Good morrow," or "Good evening;" neither was I to bow and scrape with my leg to any one,²² and this made the sects and professions rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to His glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprung from on high and broke forth quickly, and by its light many came to see where they were.

But oh the rage that then appeared in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all sorts, but especially in priests and professors! For, though saying "Thou" to a single person was according to their own education and grammar rules, and according to the Bible, yet they could not bear to hear it. And as to the hat-honor, because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all in a rage. But the Lord showed me that this was an honor from below which He would lay in the dust and stain—an honor which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honor which came from God. That his was an honor invented by men in the fall, and in the alienation from God, who were offended if they did not receive it; and yet they desired to be looked upon as saints, church-members, and great Christians. But Christ said, "How can you believe, who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that comes from the only God?"²³ And "I do not receive honor from men;"²⁴ showing that there is an honor which men will receive and give, but Christ will have none of it. This is the honor which Christ will not receive, and which must be laid in the dust. Oh the rage and scorn, the heat and fury that arose from this! Oh the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! For this soon tried all men's patience and sobriety and manifested what it was. Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil treatment 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 all of this from 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 tremendous confusion it brought among all professors and priests. But, blessed be the Lord, many came to see the vanity of this custom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of Truth's testimony against it.

- 23 John 5:44
- 24 John 5:41

²¹ At this time in history, the correct and plain use of "thee" and "thou" to one person was beginning to give way to "you" and "your." Most modern English speakers are unaware that the words "you" and "your" were originally *plural* pronouns used only to address two or more people, whereas "thee" and "thou" were used to address one person. In the 1600's, it became fashionable (as a means of showing honor or flattery) to use the plural "you" or "your" in addressing people of higher social status, while "thee" and "thou" were reserved for servants, children, or people of lower social or economic position. George Fox and all early Friends stuck to what was then considered "plain language" (using thee and thou to every single person, and you and your to two or more), rather than showing preferment by addressing certain individuals in the plural.

²² The normal greetings between peers at this time involved scraping the right foot backwards along the ground, bowing low while removing the hat, and then commonly flattering one another with titles like "your Lordship," "your Emin-ency," etc.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to courts to cry for justice, and in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly. I warned such as kept public-houses for entertainment that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; and I testified against their feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained up people in vanity and looseness, and led them away from the fear of God. And the days which men had decreed to be holy-days were usually the times wherein they most dishonored God by these things. In fairs and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating, and fraud, warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yes be yes, and their no be no, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the swindlers who played tricks on their stages, for they burdened the pure life and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was also much exercised 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 carelessness. 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 in the fear of the Lord, and that they themselves should be examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw that even as the Jews were to teach their children and servants the law of God and the old covenant, and to train them up in it, yes, and even the strangers were to keep the Sabbath amongst them and be circumcised before they could 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. Thus 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, so that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice-Christ Jesus-that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon but they who are circumcised by the Spirit. Likewise, I was exercised about the astrologers, who drew people's minds away from Christ, the bright and the morning-star, and away 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 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 merchandise to sell. Oh 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 other trade in the world is comparable to it?—though the Scriptures were given forth freely, and Christ commanded His ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles pronounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free Spirit of the Lord Jesus I was 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.

Now as I went towards Nottingham with Friends to a meeting there, on a First-day in the morning, when I came up on the top of a hill in sight of the town, I spied the great steeple-house, and the Lord said unto

me, "You must go cry against that 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. Afterwards I left Friends sitting in the meeting, and I went away to the steeplehouse. When I came there, all the people looked to me like fallow-ground, and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above them. He took for his text these words of Peter, "We have also a more sure Word of prophecy, whereunto you do well that you take heed, as unto a light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawns, and the day-star arises in your hearts."²⁵ And he told the people that this spoke of 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 withhold, but was made to cry out and say, "Oh 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 the Spirit led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures and yet resisted the Holy Spirit, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star. They persecuted Christ and His apostles, and attempted to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did so without the Holy Spirit. As I spoke these things among them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison, the smell of which got so into my nose and throat that it very much annoved me.

But that day the Lord's power so sounded 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 steeplehouse. At night they took me before the mayor, the aldermen, and the sheriffs of the town, and when I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power subdued him. They examined me at length, 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 has 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 we had great meetings in his house. Some persons of considerable position 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 with whom they had had some business dealings, 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 disclosed the matter and acknowledged the wrong done by them, he made restitution to the woman, and exhorted the other sheriff to do the same. The Lord's power was with this friendly sheriff, and wrought a mighty change in him, and he had great openings. 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.

^{25 2} Peter 1:19

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 court sessions came on, a man was moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body, yes, even his life. But when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's servant being somewhat long in fetching me to the sessionshouse, the judge had gone before I came. At which I understood the judge was somewhat offended, and said, "I would have admonished the youth if he had been brought before me;" (for I was then imprisoned by the name of "A Youth"). So I was brought to prison again and put into the common jail. The Lord's power was great there 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 deranged woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair all loose about her ears. She was bound, and he was about to bleed her, and many other people were around her holding her by violence; but the doctor 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 so she was. The Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended, and afterwards she received the truth and continued in it until her death. The Lord's name was honored, to whom belongs the glory of all His works. 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 His healing virtue many were 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 forever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honored, and may the arm of His glorious power be exalted and magnified over all, by which He has wrought gloriously. Let the honor 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 hauled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat some hours. They brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me. After some time they brought me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where there were many people of great position in the world, who, seeing how evilly I had been abused, 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 harsh treatment 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, with several Friends accompanying me. There were some Baptists in

those parts whom I desired to see and speak with because they had separated themselves from the national worship. A man named Oates, who was one of their chief teachers, and others of their leaders, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow, and there we discoursed with them. One of them said, "Whatever is not of faith is sin." Whereupon I asked them, "What is faith, and how is it wrought in man?" But they turned away from that question, 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 whether their rough and crooked ways were made smooth and straight in them? For they looked upon these Scriptures as speaking of outward mountains and ways. But I told them they must find these things in their own hearts, which they seemed to marvel at. We asked them who baptized John the Baptist, and who baptized Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles, and asked 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, who then was the Son of Perdition that Paul spoke of, that sat in the temple of God and exalted himself above all that is called God? And what temple of God was it in which this Son of Perdition sat? And whether the ones who betray Christ within themselves are not one in nature with that Judas who betrayed Christ outwardly?" But they could not tell what to make of these things, nor what to say. So after some discourse we parted, and some of them were loving to us.

Passing from there, 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 you, and you are in My love." And I was overwhelmed 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 boast and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said that they were God; but we could not bear to hear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by a motion from the Spirit or from Scripture. They said, from Scripture. A Bible being at hand, I asked them to point out their Scripture, and they showed me the place where the sheet was let down to Peter, and it was said to him that what God had 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, both things in heaven and things on earth. I told them I acknowledged that Scripture also, but showed them that it was nothing to their purpose either. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them whether they knew if it would rain tomorrow? They said they could not tell. I told them, God could tell. Again I asked them if they thought they would always be in that condition, or should change? They answered they could not tell. Then I said unto them, "God can tell, and God does not change. You say you are God, and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or not." So they were confounded, and guite brought down for the time. And after I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away, for I perceived that they were Ranters.²⁶ I had met with none of this sort before, and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing

²⁶ Ranters were a somewhat odd, non-conformist group that sprung up in the mid 1600s, and who received their name because of their extravagant discourses and practices. Some of them appear to have been genuine seekers of truth, who (in the words of William Penn) "did not keep in the humility and in the fear of God, and after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for lack of staying their minds in a humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in His law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." Ranters would often interrupt

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, except for a few who raged, and desired my relations to have me bound. I declared many things to them, how that God had 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. The one who preached that day was Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of the town where I was born. He raged much when I spoke to him and to the people, and told them I was mad, though he had said before to Colonel Purfoy that there was never such a plant bred in England. He bid the people not to hear me, and so, being stirred up by this deceitful priest, the people fell upon us and stoned us out of the town, yet they did not do us much harm. Never-theless, some people were made loving that day, and others were confirmed in the truth having seen the rage of both priests and professors; and some cried out that the priest dared not stand to prove his ministry.

As I travelled through markets, fairs, and various 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 through Leicestershire, I came to Twy-Cross where there were some customs officers. I was moved of the Lord to go to them and to warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and the people were much affected by it. There was in that town a wealthy man who had long lain sick, and had been given up by the physicians. 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 had come downstairs into a lower room, and was speaking to the servants and to some people that were there, a servant came raving out of another room with an unsheathed sword in his hand, and set it just up to my side. I looked steadfastly on him and said, "Alas for you, poor creature! What will you do with your carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw." The bystanders were much troubled, and the servant went away in a rage and full of wrath. But when the news of this came to his master, he discharged him from 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 named 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 oppose what I said. But they brought me before the Mayor and threatened to send me and some others to the House of Correction, and there kept us in custody till it was late in the night. Then the officers, together with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us

established religious gatherings with shouting (ranting), singing, playing instruments, or making other loud noises.

to get by 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 stayed at a doctor's house whose wife was convinced, along with several others in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell of the steeple-house rang, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it. So I asked the woman of the house why they were ringing the bell? 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 who was a preacher. Then I was moved of the Lord to go up to them, and when they had finished I spoke to them what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quiet. But then came an officer who took me by the hand and said I and the other two that were with me must go before the magistrates.

It was about the first hour after noon that we came before them. They asked me why we had come there. I said, "God had moved us to do so;" and I told them, "God dwells not in temples made with hands." I told them also that all their preaching, baptisms, and sacrifices would never sanctify them; and I 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 about 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 examining me from the first hour till the ninth hour at night. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner that I was taken up in raptures. Then 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, "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.

* * *

Though often imprisoned, beaten, slandered, and abused, George Fox continued to minister in the power and wisdom of Christ until his death in 1691, at the age of sixty-six. When at liberty, he traveled tirelessly all over England, Scotland, Ireland, Europe, the Caribbean Islands, and the American colonies, preaching in the demonstration of the Spirit and power, and turning people from the darkness of sin and man-made religion to the light of Jesus Christ that shines in the heart. When confined to prison, he wrote an enormous quantity of letters, papers, and treatises for the strengthening of the church, and for the instruction of all in the way of truth. Thomas Ellwood, Fox's intimate friend and the editor of his journal, had this to say concerning the life and ministry of this remarkable man:

"From 1660 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 I 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."