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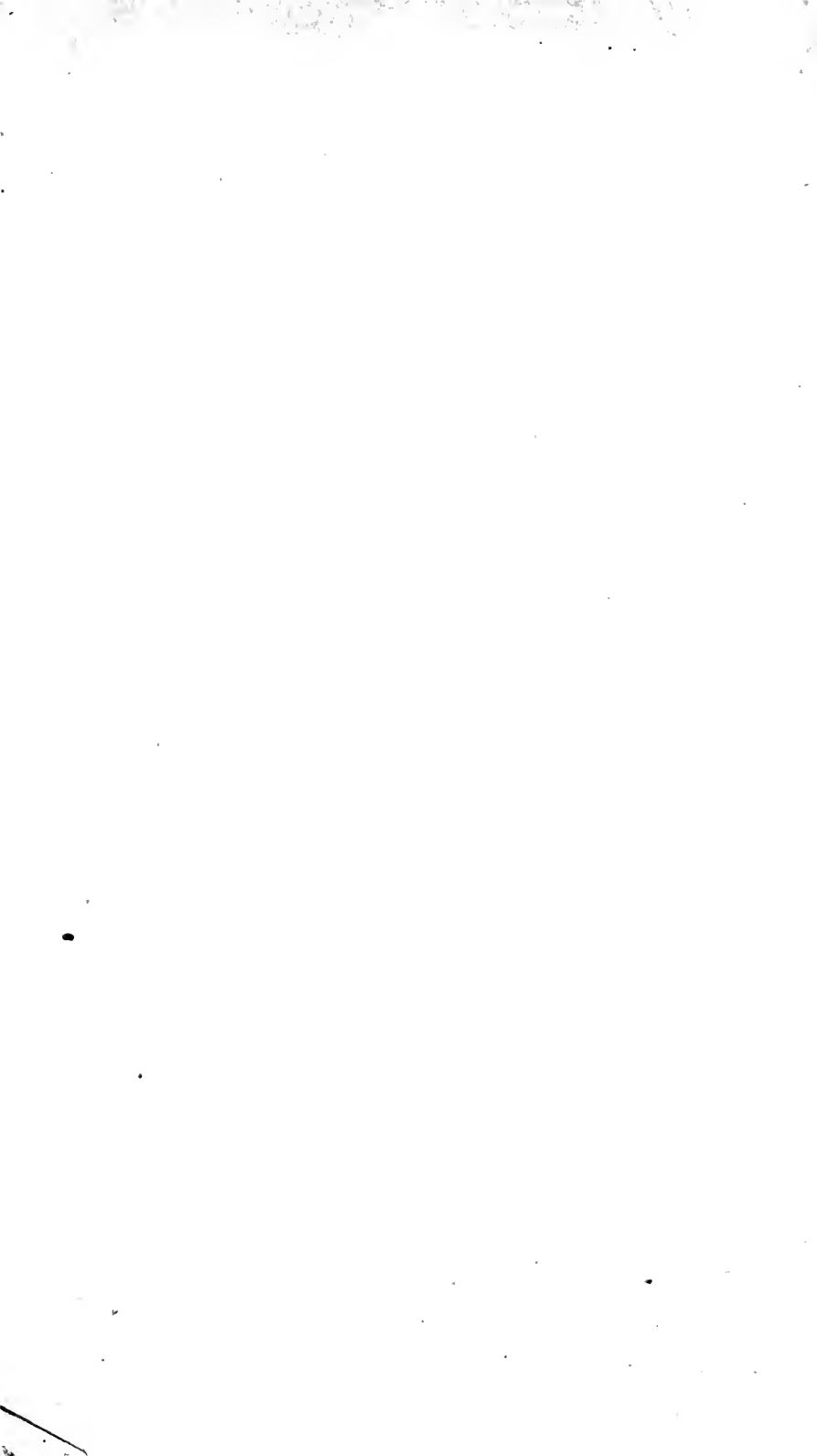


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*William. Prentiss*

“ A ”

JOURNAL

OR

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,

AND

LABOUR OF LOVE,

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY,

OF THAT

ANCIENT, EMINENT, AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF

JESUS CHRIST,

GEORGE FOX.

THE FOURTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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And they that turn many to Righteousness shall shine as the STARS for ever and ever.  
Dan. xii. 3.

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1800.

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THE  
P R E F A C E  
BEING A  
SUMMARY ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
DIVERS DISPENSATIONS OF GOD TO MEN,

FROM  
THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THAT OF OUR  
PRESENT AGE, BY THE MINISTRY AND TESTIMONY  
OF HIS FAITHFUL SERVANT GEORGE FOX, AS AN  
INTRODUCTION TO THE ENSUING JOURNAL.

**D**IVERS have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world, unto the sons of men ; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man : man, the emblem of himself, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency : all was then good that the good God had made : and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law. Not a jarr in the whole frame, but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth ; yea the air, the earth, the water and fire worshipped, praised and exalted his power, wisdom and goodness. O holy sabbath, O holy day to the Lord !

But this happy state lasted not long : for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity ; and so fell below it, lost the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence,

and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

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

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

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted state of man, after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore that of a schoolmaster, to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands, at-

tended with an outward priesthood and external rites and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in him, in whom it was Yea and Amen; even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

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

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

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful and the persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the new Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel-day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is declared and preached a Spirit, and he will be known as such, and worshipped in the Spirit and in the Truth. He will come nearer than of old time, and he will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and Spirit in the inward parts, according to his promise. Then signs, types, and shadows flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience; and all element-

ary services were expired in and by him that is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's Light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the Living God in the newness of the Spirit of Life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness: for such "put on Christ," the light of the world, "and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the Light, Spirit, and Grace that comes by Christ, and appears in man, was what the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advised them not to quench the Spirit, but wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, "born not of flesh and blood, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God;" by doing his will, and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with his baptism of self-denial: the way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles days (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel-light) some clouds (foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory) began to appear, and several of them gave early caution of it to the christians of their time; that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as thought to make a fair shew in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw beyond it a more glorious time than ever, to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came so to pass: for christians degenerated apace into outwards, as days, and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common christianity, and grievous stumbling

and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the christian profession, they changed what they could the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at least filed the worldly kingdom that was in their hands the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church, a door being opened thereunto by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of christians; who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it: in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in them which they resisted in themselves, viz. the Light, Grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Though christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting of any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature meek, gentle, and forbearing; and consists of faith, hope, and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind or persecute his body for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

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

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence to a retired, solitary, and lonely state; hidden and as it were out of sight of men,

tho' not out of the world : which shews that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghost ; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendor of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return, but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children in several nations and centuries fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the reformation, as those they reformed from ; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons ; which I have often thought has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion : for whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually-minded, and trusted in God, and looked to Him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such as, one might reasonably say, should be saved. For they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful under it.

Being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted their sufferings upon them ; and it will be well, if the Lord suffer them not to fall by the very same way they took to stand. In doctrine they were in some things short ; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another : and for worship, there was for the generality more of man than God. They owned the Spirit, inspiration and revelation indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the scriptures of Truth ; and this was their plea, The Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their

ministers, especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased, among us, to shift from vessel to vessel: and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechising of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in publick.

But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party, than for piety: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select. They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion at least, of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts, and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishment; by which the former party would have terrified people into Religion.

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

These people made also profession of neglecting, if not

renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use of all human learning, as to the ministry; and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men; and for a time they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light, to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain and serious, strong in scripture, and bold in profession, bearing much reproach and contradiction: but that which others fell by proved their hurt. For worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them, what they would do if they had more; and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to the Fire and Holy Ghost, which was his baptism who came with a "fan" in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part "only") purge his floor," and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; in-somuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find him, as their souls desired to know him; whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

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

This people obtained the name of Ranters from their ex-



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

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

For as it reached the conſcience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a ſenſe and ſearch; ſo what people had been vainly ſeeking without, with much pains and coſt, they by this miniſtry found within; where it was they wanted what they fought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jeſus Chriſt within them, as the Seed and Leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, becauſe in all, and God's talent to all. A faithful and true witneſs and juſt monitor in every boſom. The gift and grace of God to life and ſalvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the traditional chriſtian, conceited of himſelf, and ſtrong in his own will and righteouſneſs, and overcome with blind zeal and paſſion, either deſpiſed as a low and common thing, or oppoſed as a novelty,

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

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

And truly, they were very many and very great; so that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them; but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, so that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all things were possible with him with whom they had "to do." And that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory: insomuch that if ever any people could say in truth, "Thou art our sun and our shield, our "rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a

“ wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight,” these people had right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burthens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it; viz. the way to peace with God: inviting them to come and see and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and sanctify man; so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtil appearance of the evil one, and what it would do for all those, whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions: giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works: that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance, and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened; so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of conso-

lation, and all by the same Spirit and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

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

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

And as without this secret divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this generating and begetting power and life is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries that have been, and are in the world bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of this! My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O that they were wise! O that they would consider and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace!

Two things are to be briefly touched upon, the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among all people. I

have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner stone of their fabrick: and to speak eminently and properly, their characteristick, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz. the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, repentance from dead works to serve the living God. Which comprehends three operations. First, A sight of sin. Secondly, A sense and godly sorrow for it. Thirdly, An amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow, came amendment of life: which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past through Christ, the alone propitiation; and the sanctification or purgation of the soul from the defiling nature and habits of sin present; which is justification in the complete sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called sanctification.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling of all true Christians, viz. perfection from sin, according to the scriptures of truth, which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was given. But they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities or death, as some have with a weak or ill mind imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Third, to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishment, as they have good reason; for else of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable: who for about forty years have been exceeding great sufferers for their pro-

feſſion, and in ſome caſes treated worſe than the worſt of men, yea as the reſufe and off-ſcouring of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and miniſtry; which, for the moſt part, is what other profeſſors of Chriſtianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godlineſs; that has been long loſt by mens departing from that principle and ſeed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but loſt the ſenſe of, and in and by which he can only be quickened in his mind to ſerve the living God in newneſs of life. For as the life of religion was loſt, and the generality lived and worſhipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Chriſt, which flood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; ſo that which they preſſed was not notion but experience, nor formality but godlineſs; as being ſenſible in themſelves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that without holineſs no man ſhould ever ſee the Lord with comfort.

Befides theſe doctrines, and out of them, as the larger branches, there ſprang forth ſeveral particular doctrines, that did exemplify and further explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before obſerved in their lives and examples. As,

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

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

III. The ſufficiency of truth-ſpeaking, according to Chriſt's own form of words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among chriſtians, without ſwearing, both from Chriſt's ex-

press prohibition to "swear at all," Mat. v. and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was both no necessity for an oath, and it would be a reproach to their christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking: but offering at the same time to be punished to the full for false speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was and is not a little offended with it.

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

V. Another part of the character of this people is, they refuse to pay tythes, or maintenance to a national ministry,

and that for two reasons; the one is, that they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received, freely give:" at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts: so that it is not matter of humour or fullness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministers where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

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

They also used the plain language of Thou and Thee to a single person, whatever was his degree among men. And indeed the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirit of those they came among; shewing their insides and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, "Thou me, thou my dog: "if thou thouest me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat," forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common style of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech: and what good had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touch'd with indignation for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech?

VII. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions: they were at a word in dealing; nor could their customers many words tempt them



from it ; having more regard for truth than custom, to example than gain, they sought solitude ; but when in company, they would neither use nor willingly hear unnecessary as well as unlawful discourses ; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions : nor could they humour the custom of “ good night, good morrow, God speed ;” for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either ; and that in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthinkingly used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee ; and superfluity in those as well as in other things was burthenome to them, and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often prest to reprove the practice.

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

VIII. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and is a distinguishing practice from all other societies professing christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate, but the man and woman concerned take each other as husband and wife in the presence of divers credible witnesses, “ promising unto each other, with God’s assistance, “ to be loving and faithful in that relation till death shall separate them.” But, antecedent to all this, they first present themselves to the monthly meeting for the affairs of the church where they reside ; there declaring their intentions to take one another as man and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians, and make report thereof the next monthly meeting ; where the same parties are desired to give their attend-

ance: In case it appears they proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book; and in case the woman be a widow and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans before the said marriage; advising the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and by name promising reciprocally after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings a narrative, in a way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers of the relations, spectators, and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed. Which certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage, where it has been disputed and contested for want of the accustomed formality of priest and ring, &c. Which ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded, inasmuch as no scripture-example tells us, that the priest had any other part of old time than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was an heathen and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians. The words of the usual form, as "With my body I thee worship," &c. are hardly defensible: in short, they are more careful, exact, and regular than any form now used, and it is free of the inconveniencies other methods are attended with. Their care and checks being so many, and such as no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

IX. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children, which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife (if she can be there) and those that were at the birth, &c. who afterwards sign a certificate, for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children, which is recorded

in a proper book, in the monthly meeting, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

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

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

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

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance, and account among men.

And also some among them neither wanted for parts,

learning nor estate; though then, as of old, not many wise, nor noble, &c. were called, or at least received the heavenly call; because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity: but neither do parts or learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, expression and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. Oh! 'tis the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul that is the Christian; and that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus; whose life, though hid in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. Oh! that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed; re-created or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works: that they might live to God, and not to themselves; and offer up living prayers, and living praises, to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this gospel-day. Oh! that they that read me could but feel me; for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, "Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear?" Oh! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, on earth as it is in heaven: do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer, for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee. Oh! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas, the case is otherwise; for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiffneckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the Rock, even thy Rock, O England! from whence thou wert hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive him into thy heart! Behold, at that door it is he hath stood so long knocking, but

thou wilt yet have none of him. Oh! be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily dost.

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

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at nought all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have done. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them, who, like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's son? and are not his brethren among us? which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him?" Prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of severe laws to bring it to pass, by endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroying them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people, the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee were they and are they lifted up as a

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

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

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

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments changed, and they knew the power and work of God upon them. This was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God, and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, "like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth:" yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions and the evil of their ways, to the knowledge of God and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God, regeneration, and holiness; not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off in religion the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substan-

tial, the necessary and profitable part; as all upon a serious reflection must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle, by which all that they asserted, preached, and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known, through experience, to them to be true; which is a high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry; both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, and its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministries in the world pretend to. They declare of religion; say many things true in words, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and mend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience? or ever directed men to a divine principle or agent, placed of God in man, to help him? and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them indeed have spoke of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform, was yet as a mystery reserved for this further degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words more than equally press repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached to a sufficient principle, and told them where it is, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls happiness: which is more than theory and speculations, upon which most other ministries depend; for here is certainly a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon scripture. For nothing reaches the heart but what is from the heart, or pierces the



conscience but what comes from a living conscience; inso-much as it hath often happened, where people have under secrecy revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling the preachers their cases; yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of Christ, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel." And those that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity, that the woman of Samaria did of Christ when in the flesh, to be the Messiah, viz. "It had told them all that ever they did;" shewed them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can at this day give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom, mercy, and goodness of God herein.

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

VII. They came forth low, and despised and hated, as the primitive christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations in part have done; but in all things it may be said this people were brought forth in the cross, in a contradiction to the ways, worship, fashion, and customs of this world, yea against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse, to spend and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and

all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, 1 John i. v. revived in their spirits by the good Spirit and power of God; viz. "That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, (viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences, and after the vanity of this world) they lie and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his son should cleanse them from all sin."

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

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

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

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry, and progress, both their general and particular testimony. by which thou mayest be informed how and upon what foot they sprung and became so considerable

a people. It remains next that I shew also their care, conduct, and discipline, as a christian and reformed society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession; and this the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive christians themselves, that were the honour of christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

This people increasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity, to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions: wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other services in the church, and intrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own in large proportions, which they never brought to account or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful, that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services; and in case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others, and it was then rare that any one entertained such inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord in his wisdom and

goodness to open the understanding of the first instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; and he felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them; and by his epistles the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited and helped in that service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

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

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting of worship should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church: and as the case required, so those monthly meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county; four or six meetings of worship usually making one monthly meeting of business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings; viz. "For the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c." And that these monthly meetings should in each county make up one quarterly meeting, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise, and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a monthly meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these quarterly meetings should digest the reports of the monthly meetings, and prepare one for the county against the yearly meeting, in which the quarterly meetings resolve, which is held yearly in London, where the churches in this nation and other nations and provinces meet, by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to advise and be advised in any depending case to edification; also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expences for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

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

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number, for that service chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein, to the end that the respective quarterly and monthly meetings may be informed of all proceedings, together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity and charity : of all which proceedings in yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened and usually concluded in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any other of their meetings for worship.

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

Now it may be expected I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them ; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and suffering from some tongues upon this occasion in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise is such as Christ has given to his own people to the end of the world in the persons of his disciples ; viz. " To oversee, exhort, reprove," and after long-suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, " to disown them as any more of their communion, " or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight " and judgment of God or men with their conversation or " behaviour as one of them until they repent." The subject-matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is, first, in relation to

common and general practice: and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and distinguish them from all other professors of christianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz. persecution and libertinism. A coercive power to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates; or leaving all loose and at large as to practice, unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme nothing has more contributed, than the abuse of church-power by such as suffer their passions and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment; a practice they have been taught to dislike by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand they equally dislike an independency in society; an unaccountableness in practice and conversation to the terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship (which is never to be done, nor suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more civil part and concern, and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society, as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke. They compel none to them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a christian society can exercise upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceedings against such as have lapsed or transgressed is this. He is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault, and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given by him;

which for the most part, is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand: and if it so happen that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess from the reproach of his or her evil-doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated intreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact, and the party offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At this time he taught and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring people from self-performances, testifying and turning to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. "For in the Word was life, and that life was the light of men." Life in the Word, light in men, and life too, as the light is obeyed; the children of



the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's ministry, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and opening of the gospel-dispensation. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to found out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shewn him: and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewberry, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnycat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words,) felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the publick assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them, sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side,

calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see and examine and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often flogged, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts, yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

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

That house was for some years at first, till the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern countries had also opened their houses with their hearts to the many publishers, that in a short time the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's messengers

were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

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

I. He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it shewed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry, and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings shew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men, and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes;" for many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work he sent him to do might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that

sincerely fought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of church-affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

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

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

The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant and son's state, and the fulfilling of the scriptures in Christ, and by Christ the true light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience in that which never errs nor fails.

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

He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very in-

offensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every-where and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say, he was of an excellent spirit and favour among them, and because thereof the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for intinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine and discipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order as to church-affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his following Journal relates, to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London, and besides the services of his ministry, which were frequent, he wrote much both to them that are within and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

He was often where the records of the affairs of the church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world, where settled, come upon occasions; which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held there for such services; he would be sure to stir them up to discharge them, especially in suffering cases: shewing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief according to the nature of them; so that the churches and any of the suffering members thereof were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires if he were there.

As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell at Lancaster, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-hall, with many other

places and exercifes, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times some rofe up againft the bleffed apoftles of our Lord Jefus Chrift, even from among thofe that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and who became their greateft trouble, fo this man of God had his fhare of fuffering from fome that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or miftake ran againft him as one that fought dominion over confcience; becaufe he preffed, by his prefence or epiftles, a ready and zealous compliance with fuch good and wholefome things as tended to an orderly converfation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was in fome a begrudging of this meek man the love and efteem he had and deferved in the hearts of the people, and weaknefs in others that were taken with their groundlefs fuggeltions of impofition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himfelf, he fhould only ftand and fall to that and nobody elfe; not confidering that the principle is one in all, and though the meafure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the fame, and being fo they ftuck at the fpiritual unity, which a people guided by the fame principle are naturally led into: fo that what is evil to one is fo to all, and what is virtuous, honeft, and of good report to one, is fo to all, from the fenfe and favour of the one univerfal principle which is common to all, and (which the difaffected profefs to be) the root of all true christian fellowship, and that fpirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be fpiritually minded, and of one heart and one foul.

Some weakly miftook good order in the government of church-affairs for difcipline in worfhip, and that it was fo preffed or recommended by him and other brethren: and they were ready to reflect the fame things that difsenters had very reafonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively preffed conformity to their refpective creeds and worfhips: whereas thefe things related wholly to converfation, and the outward and (as I may fay) civil part of the church, that men fhould walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though fome have flumbled and fallen through miftakes and an unreafonable obftinacy, even to a prejudice, yet bleffed be God, the generality have returned to their firft love, and

seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers that are yet at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

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

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man. A divine, and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprized at his questions and answers in natural things, that whilst he was ignorant of useles and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every-where. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived

fo he died, feeling the fame eternal power that had raifed and preferved him in his laft moments. So full of affurance was he that he triumphed over death; and fo even to the laft, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention: recommending to fome with him the difpatch and difperſion of an epiftle, juſt before written to the churches of Chriſt, throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends thoſe in Ireland and America, twice over: ſaying, Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

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

And now, Friends, you that profeſs to walk in the way this bleſſed man was ſent of God to turn us into, ſuffer I beſeech you the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us aſhamed ſince we were a people, you know is that bleſſed principle of light and life of Chriſt, which we profeſs, and direct all people to, as the great inſtrument and agent of man’s conversion to God: it was by this we were firſt touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward ſtate; which put us upon the conſideration of our latter end, cauſing us to ſet the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wiſdom. In that day we



judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear, but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us; we judged and acted in reference to Things and Persons, ourselves and others, yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religion and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense one of another, acted towards one another and all men in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In the feeling of the motions of this principle we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel those drawings and movings, before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster, or fell short, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; our services finding in ourselves a rebuke, instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of "Well done," "Who hath required this at your hands?" In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

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

Our words were few and favourable, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited, and self-righteous persons. &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

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

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

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

before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

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

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

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

I am earnest in this, above all other considerations, as

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

And where-ever it is observed that any one does minister more from gifts and parts than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because insensibly such will come to depend upon self-sufficiency, to forsake Christ the living fountain, and to hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters, and by degrees draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so to make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the Saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life that begat the one and wakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord as ever; since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

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

I hope we shall ever remember who it was that said, "Of yourselves ye can do nothing;" our sufficiency is in Him: and if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defence when

exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry in the name of the Lord to the souls of the people; for then of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us; "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And indeed the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is from the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth, and in this our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached to us. And having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh: for what is the flesh to the spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of true fellowship. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil over one another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities and great place with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them: but as was the practice of the man of God before-mentioned in great measure, when among us, inquire the state of the several churches you visit, who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, if any are unfaithful or obstinate, and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects. The afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate softened and fitted for reconcilia-

tion, which is clenching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony by that particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

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

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves; to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within those bounds, feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service; arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! behold how white the fields are unto harvest in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! your country folks, neighbours, and kindred want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand. I do not judge you; there is one that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true: you have mightily increased in your outward substance, may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you for his name's sake in whom you have believed,

wherefore he has given you much of the world in the face of your enemies. But oh! let it be your servant and not your master, your diversion rather than your business! let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do; and if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out but within; let not another's liberty be your snare: neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves: crush not the tender bud-dings of it in your souls, nor over-run in your desires and your warmth of affections the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind, but is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose out solitudes, often going to mountains, to gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to shew his disciples it was good to be solitary and fit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your state, Imagination and Liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, imaginations, and affections to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves: so will a true taste, discerning, and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone: and in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance, and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren, and be ready to every good word and work that the Lord shall call you to, that you may be to his praise who has chosen you to be partakers with the Saints in light of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible, in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good, and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers for

you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that has been the glory of this day, that a generation you may be to God, a holy nation and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the dust. Oh! you young men and women, let it not suffice you that you are the children of the people of the Lord! you must also be born again if you will inherit the kingdom of God! Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam by a spiritual generation. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God, consider your standing, and see what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, that is the incorruptible seed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again? God is no respecter of persons: the father cannot save or answer for the child, the child for the father, "but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die, and in the righteousness thou doest through Christ Jesus thou shalt live;" for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land.

Be not deceived, God is not mocked, such as all nations and people sow, such shall they reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges above the children of other people will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord; for you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to and acquainted with a principle in yourselves which others have been ignorant of, and you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, and forsaken of father and mother for God's sake and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers in the day they first entered into this holy path: and if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal as well as spiritual blessings that he has filled them with in the sight of their enemies, should neglect or turn your backs upon so great and so near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not to



take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But oh! that it may never be so with any of you! The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the rock of your fathers; choose the God of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor Spirit but his to convince you, quicken and comfort you, to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom; so will you be possessors as well as professors of the truth, embracing it not only by education but judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in your souls through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God in your hearts, by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham through faith, and the circumcision not made with hands, and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers of an incorruptible crown: that, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised upon a principle with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore, I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession without that salt and favour by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, nor your parents care, nor the mind of truth in yourselves, nor in those that are without; who though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do that make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and shew themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities that your fathers, for truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God: so that it may never be said of you as the evangelist writes of the Jews of his time, that Christ the true light came to his own, but his own re-

ceived him not; but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the "children of God; which "were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor "of the will of man, but of God." A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion: you exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing the form of God's people: so that he by his light in you may be said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that receive him not, which I pray God may never be your case and judgment; but that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and your parents for their care; and with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your childrens children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents yet alive go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their natures but Spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

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

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know him that has made you to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the image, that through sin you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your heart! for there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking, that you should let him in, but you do not open to him; you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old; yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and

evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation, you have for your christianity: if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the gospel. Have you known the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff, the carnal lusts and affections? That divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout in body, soul, and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

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

But my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean, it will sanctify you; for the saints faith was their victory: by this they overcame sin within and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea thou art a new creature, new made, new fashioned after God's will and mould: old things are done away, and behold all things are become new: new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one; but it is Christ liveth in thee, and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain; because thou art assured, "That thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal immortality;" and that thou hast a glorious house eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as the sensation of heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ whilst in your old fallen nature. For "what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?" Hear what the beloved disciple tells you; "If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." That is,

if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly have any fellowship with God. Christ cloaths them with his righteousness, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy, of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is nevertheless Christ's because we have it; for it is ours not by nature, but by faith and adoption: it is the gift of God: but still, though not ours as of or from ourselves, for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him, yet it is ours, and must be ours in possession, efficacy, and enjoyment, to do us any good, or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel, and marrow of the christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

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

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition, leads all that take heed unto it out of darkness into

God's marvellous light; for light grows upon the obedient. It is sown for the righteous, and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you! Where is the poison, there is the antidote: there you want Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. "Seek and you shall find," I testify for God: but then you must seek aright with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives: diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort, or satisfaction in any thing else, unless you find him whom your souls want, and desire to know and love above all. O it is a travel, a spiritual travel! let the carnal profane world think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why,  
 1. It sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. 2. It begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience; and how you have made him to serve with your sins, and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. 3. After this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, that the enemy surprize you not again: then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain: now you come to be Christ's indeed, for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is your's, and not before: and here communion with the Father and with the Son you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that, through the living Faith, come to be sprinkled with it from dead works to serve the living God.

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

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

William Penn.

The TESTIMONY of MARGARET FOX, concerning her late Husband GEORGE FOX : together with a brief Account of some of his Travels, Sufferings, and Hardships endured for the Truth's Sake.

**I**T having pleased Almighty God to take away my dear husband out of this troublesome world, who was not a man thereof, being chosen out of it, and had his life and being in another region, and his testimony was against the world that the deeds thereof were evil, and therefore the world hated him; so I am now to give in my account and testimony for my dear husband, whom the Lord hath taken unto his blessed kingdom and glory: and it is before me from the Lord, and in my view, to give a relation and leave upon record the dealings of the Lord with us from the beginning.

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

And then he travelled on into Yorkshire, and passed up and down that great county, and several received him; as William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam, and others, who all came to be faithful ministers of the Spirit for the Lord. And he continued in that country, and travelled through Holderness and the Wolds, and abundance were convinced; and several were brought to prison at York for their testimony to the truth, both men and wo-

men : so that we heard of such a people that were risen, and we did, very much inquire after them. And after awhile he travelled up farther towards the dales in Yorkshire, as Wensdale and Sedbur ; and amongst the hills, dales and mountains he came on, and convinced many of the eternal truth.

In the year 1652 it pleased the Lord to draw him towards us ; so he came on from Sedbur into Westmoreland, to Firbank-Chapel, where John Blaykling came with him ; and so on to Preston, Grarig, Kendal, Under-barrow, Poobank, Cartmel, and Staveley, and so on to Swarthmore, my dwelling-house, whither he brought the blessed tidings of the everlasting gospel, which I and many hundreds in these parts have cause to praise the Lord for. My then husband, Thomas Fell, was not at home at that time, but gone the Welsh circuit, being one of the judges of assize ; and our house being a place open to entertain ministers and religious people at, one of GEORGE FOX'S friends brought him thither, where he staid all night : and the next day, being a lecture or a fast-day, he went to Ulverston steeple-house, but came not in till people were gathered ; I and my children had been a long time there before. And when they were singing before the sermon he came in, and when they had done singing he stood up upon a seat or form, and desired " that he might have liberty to speak ;" and he that was in the pulpit said he might. And the first words that he spoke were as followeth : " He is not a Jew that is one outward, neither is that circumcision which is outward ; but he is a Jew that is one inward, and that is circumcision which is of the heart." And so he went on and said " that Christ was the light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God," &c. I stood up in my pew, and wondered at his doctrine ; for I had never heard such before. And then he went on, and opened the scriptures and said, " The scriptures were the prophets words, and Christ's and the apostles words, and what, as they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord : " and said, " Then what had any to do with the scriptures, but as they came to the spirit that gave them forth. You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this ; but what canst thou say ? Art thou a child of light, and hast walked in the light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God ? " &c. This opened me so,



that it cut me to the heart; and then I saw clearly, we were all wrong. So I sat down in my pew again, and cried bitterly; and I cried in my spirit to the Lord, "We are all thieves, we are all thieves, we have taken the scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves." So that served me, that I cannot well tell what he spoke afterwards; but he went on in declaring against the false prophets, priests, and deceivers of the people. And there was one John Sawrey, a justice of peace, and a professor, that bid the churchwarden take him away: and he laid his hands on him several times, and took them off again, and let him alone; and then after a while he gave over, and came to our house again that night. And he spoke in the family amongst the servants, and they were all generally convinced; as William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Askew, Anne Clayton, and several other servants. And I was struck into such a sadness, I knew not what to do, my husband being from home. I saw it was the truth, and I could not deny it; and I did, as the Apostle saith, "I received the truth in the love of it:" and it was opened to me so clear, that I had never a tittle in my heart against it; but I desired the Lord that I might be kept in it, and then I desired no greater portion.

He went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Dendrum, and Ramfyde chapels and steeple-houses, and several places up and down, and the people followed him mightily: and abundance were convinced, and saw that which he spoke was truth, but the priests were all in a rage. And about two weeks after James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth followed him and enquired him out till they came to Swarthmore, and there staid awhile with me at our house, and did me much good; for I was under great heaviness and judgment. But the power of the Lord entered upon me within about three weeks that he came, and about three weeks end my husband came home; and many were in a mighty rage, and a deal of the captains and great ones of the country went to meet my then husband as he was coming home, and informed him, "That a great disaster was befallen amongst his family, and that they were witches; and that they had taken us out of our religion; and that he must either set them away, or all the country would be undone." But no weapons formed against the Lord shall prosper, as you may see hereafter.

So my husband came home greatly offended; and any

may think what a condition I was like to be in, that either I must displease my husband or offend God; for he was very much troubled with us all in the house and family, they had so prepossessed him against us. But James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth were both then at our house, and I desired them to come and speak to him; and so they did very moderately and wisely: but he was at first displeased with them, till they told him "they came in love and good-will to his house." And after that he had heard them speak awhile he was better satisfied, and they offered as if they would go away; but I desired them to stay, and not to go away yet, for GEORGE FOX will come this evening. And I would have had my husband to have heard them all, and satisfied himself farther about them, because they had so prepossessed him against them of such dangerous fearful things in his coming first home. And then he was pretty moderate and quiet, and his dinner being ready he went to it, and I went in and fate me down by him. And whilst I was sitting the power of the Lord seized upon me, and he was struck with amazement, and knew not what to think; but was quiet and still. And the children were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their musick that they were learning; and all these things made him quiet and still.

At night GEORGE FOX came: and after supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked him, If GEORGE FOX might come in? And he said, Yes. So GEORGE came in without any compliment, and walked into the room, and began to speak presently; and the family, and James Naylor, and Richard Farnsworth came all in: and he spoke very excellently as ever I heard him, and opened Christ's and the apostles practices, which they were in, in their day. And he opened the night of apostacy since the apostles days, and laid open the priests and their practices in the apostacy; that if all in England had been there. I thought they could not have denied the truth of those things. And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and was very quiet that night, said no more, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampit, priest of Ulverston, and got my husband into the garden, and spoke much to him there; but my husband had seen so much the night before, that the priest got little entrance upon him. And when the priest, Lampit, was come into the house, GEORGE spoke sharply to him, and

asked him, "When God spoke to him, and called him to go and preach to the people?" But after awhile the priest went away: this was on the sixth day of the week, about the fifth month, 1652. And at our house divers friends were speaking one to another, how there were several convinced here-aways, and we could not tell where to get a meeting; my husband also being present, he overheard, and said of his own accord, "You may meet here if you will:" and that was the first meeting we had that he offered of his own accord. And then notice was given that day and the next to friends, and there was a good large meeting the first day, which was the first meeting that was at Swarthmore, and so continued there a meeting from 1652 to 1690. And my husband went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk, and his groom that rid with him: and the priest and the people were all fearfully troubled; but praised be the Lord, they never got their wills upon us to this day.

After a few weeks GEORGE went to Ulverston steeple-house again, and the said justice Sawrey, with others, set the rude rabble upon him, and they beat him so that he fell down as in a swoon, and was sore bruised and blackened in his body, and on his head and arms. Then my husband was not at home; but when he came home, he was displeased that they should do so, and spoke to justice Sawrey, and said, "It was against law to make riots." After that he was sore beat and stoned at Walney till he fell down, and also at Dalton was he sore beat and abused; so that he had very hard usage in divers places in these parts. And then when a meeting was settled here, he went again into Westmoreland, and settled meetings there; and there was a great convincement, and abundance of brave ministers came out there-aways; as John Camm, John Audland, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, Miles Halhead, and John Blaykling, with divers others. He also went over the sands to Lancaster, and Yelland, and Kellet, where Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and John Lawson, with many others, were convinced. And about that time he was in those parts, many priests and professors rose up, and falsely accused him for blasphemy, and did endeavour to take away his life, and got people to swear at a sessions at Lancaster that he had spoken blasphemy. But my then husband and colonel West, having had some fight and knowledge of the truth, withstood the two persecuting justices, John Sawrey

and Thompson, and brought him off, and cleared him; for indeed he was innocent. And after the sessions there was a great meeting in the town of Lancaster; and many of the town's people came in, and many were convinced, And thus he was up and down about Lancaster, Yelland, Westmoreland, and some parts of Yorkshire, and our parts above one year; in which time there were above twenty-four ministers brought forth, that were ready to go with their testimony of the eternal truth unto the world: and soon after Francis Howgil and John Camm went to speak to Oliver Cromwel.

In the year 1653 GEORGE'S drawings were into Cumberland by Milholm, Lampley, Embleton and Brigham, Pardsey and Cockermouth, where at or near Embleton he had a dispute with some priests, as Larkham and Benson, but chiefly with John Wilkinson, a preacher at Embleton and Brigham; who was afterwards convinced, and owned the truth, and was a serviceable minister both in England, Ireland and Scotland. And then he went to Coldbeck and several places, till he came to Carlisle, and went to their steeple-house: and they beat and abused him, and had him before the magistrates; who examined him, and put him in prison there in the common gaol among the thieves. And at the assizes was one Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, and was convinced at Appleby, when he was upon the bench, by James Naylor and Francis Howgil, who were then prisoners there, and brought before him; so Anthony Pearson spake to the justices at Carlisle, he being acquainted with them, having married his wife out of Cumberland; and after awhile they released him. Afterwards he went into several other parts of Cumberland, and many were convinced, and owned the truth: and he gathered and settled meetings there amongst them, and up and down in several parts there in the north.

In the year 1654 he went southward to his own country of Leicestershire, visiting friends. And then colonel Hacker sent him to Oliver Cromwel: and after his being kept prisoner a while, he was brought before Oliver, and was released. And then he stayed a while, visiting friends in London, and the meetings therein; and so passed westward to Bristol, and visited friends there: and after went into Cornwall, where they put him in prison at Launceston, and one Edward Pyot with him; where he had a bad, long imprisonment. When he was released, he passed into ma-

ny parts in that county of Cornwall, and settled meetings there. And then he travelled through many counties, visiting friends and settling meetings all along: and so came into the north, and to Swarthmore, and to Gumberland.

And so for Scotland he passed in the year 1657, and there went with him Robert Widders, James Lancaster, John Grave, and others. And he travelled through many places in that nation, as Douglas, Heads, Hamilton, Glasgow, and to Edinburgh, where they took him, and carried him before general Monk and the council, and examined him, and asked him his business into that nation; who answered, He came to visit the seed of God. And after they had threatened him, and charged him to depart their nation of Scotland, they let him go. And then he went to Linlithgow, and Stirling, and Johnstons, and many places, visiting the people: and several were convinced. And after he had staid a pretty while, and settled some meetings, he returned into Northumberland, and into the bishoprick of Durham, visiting friends and settling meetings as he went; and then returned back again to Swarthmore, and staid amongst friends awhile, and so returned south again. [In 1658 judge Fell died.]

And in 1660 he came out of the south into the north, and had a great general meeting about Balby in Yorkshire; and so came on visiting friends in many places, till he came to Swarthmore again. And king Charles being then come in, the justices sent out warrants, and took him at Swarthmore, charging him in their warrants, that he drew away the king's liege people, to the endangering the embroing the nation in blood, and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And I having a great family, and he being taken in my house, I was moved of the Lord to go to the king at Whitehall; and took with me a declaration, and an information of our principles; and a long time, and much ado I had, to get to him. But at last, when I got to him, I told him, If he was guilty of those things, I was guilty, for he was taken in my house: and I gave him the paper of our principles, and desired that he would set him at liberty, as he had promised that none should suffer for tender consciences, and we were of tender consciences, and desired nothing but the liberty of our consciences. And then with much ado, after he had been kept prisoner near half a year at Lancaster, we got a habeas corpus, and removed him to the King's Bench, where he was released.

And then would I gladly have come home to my great family; but was bound in my spirit, and could not have freedom to get away for a whole year. And the king had promised me several times, that we should have our liberty: and then the monarchy-men rose; and then came the great and general imprisonment of friends the nation through: And so could I not have freedom nor liberty to come home, till we had got a general proclamation for all our friends liberty; and then I had freedom and peace to come home.

In 1663 he came north again, and to Swarthmore: and then they sent out warrants, and took him again, and had him to Holcrof before the justices, and tendered him the oath of allegiance, and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And about a month after, the justices sent for me also out of my house, and tendered me the oath; and sent me prisoner to Lancaster. And the next affizes they tendered the oath of allegiance and supremacy again to us both, and pre-munired me: but they had missed the date and other things in his indictment, and so it was quashed; but they tendered him the oath again, and kept him prisoner a year and a half at Lancaster castle. And then they sent him to Scarborough castle in Yorkshire, where they kept him prisoner close under the soldiers most of a year and a half; so that a friend could scarcely have spoken to him; yet after that, it pleased the Lord that he was released. But I continued in prison, and a prisoner four years at that time; and an order was procured from the council, whereby I was set at liberty. And in that time I went down into Cornwall with my son and daughter Lower, and came back by London to the yearly meeting; and there I met with him again: And then he told me, The time was drawing towards our marriage, but he might first go into Ireland. And a little before this time was he prisoner in his own country at Leiceſter for awhile; and then released. And so into Ireland he went: and I went into Kent and Suffex; and came back to London again; and afterward I went to the west, towards Bristol, in 1669, and there I staid till he came over from Ireland, which was eleven years after my former husband's decease. In Ireland he had had a great service for the Lord and his eternal truth amongst friends and many people there, but escaped many dangers, and times of being taken prisoner, they having lain in wait aforehand for him in many places; and being returned, at Bristol he declared his intentions of

marriage; and there accordingly our marriage was solemnized: and then within ten days after I came homewards; and my husband staid up and down in the countries amongst friends, visiting them.

Soon after I came home, there came another order from the council to cast me into prison again; and the sberiff of Lancashire sent his bailiff, and pulled me out of my own house, and had me prisoner to Lancaster castle, upon the old premunire; where I continued a whole year: and most part of all that time I was sick and weakly, and also my husband was weak and sickly at that time. After awhile he recovered, and went about to get me out of prison; and a discharge at last was got under the great seal, and so I was set at liberty: and then I was to go up to London again, for my husband was intending for America; and he was full two years away before he came back again to England: and arriving at Bristol, he came thence to London, and intended to have come to the middle of the nation with me. But when we came into some parts of Worcestershire, they got there information of him; and one justice Parker by his warrant sent him and my son Lower to Worcester gaol; and the justices there tendered him the oath, and premunired him, but released my son Lower; who staid with him most of the time he was prisoner there.

And after some time he fell sick in a long lingering sickness, and many times was very ill; so they wrote to me from London, that if I would see him alive, I might go to him; which accordingly I did. And after I had tarried seventeen weeks with him at Worcester, and no discharge like to be obtained for him, I went up to London, and wrote to the king an account of his long imprisonment, and that he was taken in his travel homewards; and that he was sick and weak, and not like to live, if they kept him long there. And I went with it to Whitehall myself; and I met with the king, and gave him the paper: and he said, I must go to the chancellor, he could do nothing in it. Then I writ also to the lord chancellor, and went to his house, and gave him my paper, and spoke to him, That the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not take pity, and release him out of that prison, I feared he would end his days there. And the lord chancellor Finch was a very tender man, and spoke to the judge, who gave out an habeas corpus presently. And when we got it, we sent it down to Worcester; and they would not part with him at first, but said, he was

premunired, and was not to go out on that manner. And then we were forced to go to judge North, and to the attorney-general, and we got another order, and sent down from them; and with much ado, and great labour and industry of William Mead, and other friends, we got him up to London, where he appeared at Westminster Hall at the King's Bench, before judge Hales, who was a very honest, tender man; and he knew they had imprisoned him but in envy. So that which they had against him was read; and our counsel pleaded, that he was taken up in his travel and journey; and there was but little said till he was acquitted. And this was the last prison that he was in, being freed by the court of King's Bench.

When he was at liberty, he recovered again; and then I was very desirous to go home with him, which we did; and this was the first time that he came to Swarthmore after we were married, and he staid here about two years, and then went to London again to the yearly meeting; and after awhile went into Holland, and some parts of Germany, where he staid a pretty while, and then returned to London again at the next yearly meeting. And after he had staid awhile in and about London, he came into the north to Swarthmore again, and staid that time nigh two years; and then he grew weakly, being troubled with pains and aches, having had many fore and long travels, beatings, and hard imprisonments. But after some time he rode to York, and so passed on through Nottinghamshire and several counties, visiting friends till he came to London to the yearly meeting, and staid there and thereabouts till he finished his course, and laid down his head in peace.

And though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, yet he was not willing to stay at it, because it was so remote and far from London, where his service most lay. And my concern for God and his holy eternal truth was then in the north, where God had placed and set me; and likewise for the ordering and governing of my children and family; so that we were willing both of us to live apart some years upon God's account and his truth's service, and to deny ourselves of that comfort which we might have had in being together, for the sake and service of the Lord and his truth. And if any took occasion, or judged hard of us because of that, the Lord will judge them; for we were innocent. And for my own part, I was willing to make many long journeys, for taking away all occasion of evil thoughts:



and though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been nine times there, upon the Lord's and his truth's account; and of all the times that I was at London, this last time was most comfortable, that the Lord was pleased to give me strength and ability to travel that great journey, being seventy-six years of age, to see my dear husband, who was better in his health and strength than many times I had seen him before. I look upon it that the Lord's special hand was in it that I should go then, for he lived but about half a year after I left him; which makes me admire the wisdom and goodness of God in ordering my journey at that time.

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

M. F.

### The TESTIMONY of some of the AUTHOR'S Relations.

**N**EITHER days nor length of time with us can wear out the memory of our dear and honoured father GEORGE FOX, whom the Lord hath taken to himself: and though his earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, and mortality put off, yet we believe he has a "building with God eternally in the heavens, and is entered into rest," as a reward to those great labours, hard sufferings, and sore trials, he patiently endured for God and his truth. Of which truth he was made an able minister, and one, if not the first promulgator of it in our age; who, though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned as to the outward, being hid from the wisdom of this world, yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary and wanted foul's rest, being deep in the divine mysteries of the kingdom of God. And the word of life and salvation through him reached into many souls,

whereby many were convinced of their great duty of inward retiring to wait upon God; and as they became diligent in the performance of that service, were also raised to be preachers of the same everlasting gospel of peace and glad tidings to others; who are as seals to his ministry both in this and other nations, and may possibly give a more full account thereof. Howbeit we knowing his unwearied diligence, not sparing but spending himself in the work and service whereunto he was chosen and called of God, could not but give this short testimony of his faithfulness therein, and likewise of his tender love and care towards us; who as a tender father to children, in which capacity we stood, being so related unto him, he never failed to give us his wholesome counsel and advice. And not only so, but, as a father in Christ, he took care of the whole family and household of faith, which the Lord had made him an eminent overseer of, and endued him with such an excellent spirit of wisdom and understanding, to propose and direct helps and advantages to the well-ordering and establishing of affairs and government in the church, as now are found very serviceable thereunto, and have greatly disappointed and prevented the false, loose, and libertine spirit in some, who to their confusion have endeavoured, by separation and division, to disturb the church's peace. And although many of that sort have at sundry times shot their poisonous darts at him, publickly in print, and privately other ways, yet he has always been preserved by the heavenly power of God out of the reach of their envy, and all perils and difficulties that attended on their account; who, as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power, did constantly abide, and held his integrity to the last, being of a sweet savory life, and as to conversation kept his garments clean: and though outwardly dead yet liveth, and his memory is right precious unto us; and it is and will be to all that abide in the love of truth, and have not declined the way of it. For he was one of the Lord's worthies, valiant for the truth upon earth, not turning his back in the day of battle; but his bow still abiding in its strength, he, through many hardships, brought gladness and refreshment to Israel's camp, being assisted by the might of that power that always put the armies of aliens and enemies to flight. And now, having finished his course, is removed from us into a glorious state of immortality and bliss, and is gathered unto the Lord as a shock of corn in

its full season. and to that habitation of safety where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary be at rest.

John Rous,  
William Meade,  
Thomas Lower,  
William Ingram,  
Daniel Abraham,  
Abraham Morrice.

Margaret Rous,  
Sarah Meade,  
Mary Lower,  
Susanna Ingram,  
Rachel Abraham,  
Habel Morrice,

An EPISTLE by way of TESTIMONY to Friends and Brethren of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England, Wales, and elsewhere, concerning the Decease of our faithful Brother GEORGE FOX.

From our Second Day's Morning-Meeting in London, the  
26th of the 11th month, 1690.

**D**EAR and truly beloved friends. brethren. and sisters in Christ Jesus. our blessed Lord and Saviour. we sincerely and tenderly salute you all in his free and tender love. wherewith he hath graciously visited us. and largely shed it abroad in our souls. to our own unspeakable comfort and consolation. and towards his whole heritage and offspring: blessed be his pure and powerful name for evermore. And our souls do truly and fervently desire. and breathe unto **the** God of all our mercies. that you all may be preserved and kept truly faithful and diligent in his work and service. according to your heavenly calling and endowments. with his light. grace. and truth unto the end of your days; as being livingly engaged thereby all your appointed time to serve him. and to wait till your change come; that none may neglect that true improvement of your times and talents that God has afforded you here for your eternal advantage hereafter in that inheritance and life immortal that never fades away. And that the whole flock and heritage of Christ Jesus. which he has purchased and bought for himself with a price incorruptible. may always be preserved in his own pure love and life. so as to grow. increase. and prosper in the same. and thereby be kept in love. unity. and peace with one

another, as becomes his true and faithful followers, is that which our very hearts and souls desire, being often truly comforted and enlarged in the living sense and feeling of the increase and aboundings thereof among faithful friends and brethren.

And dear brethren and sisters, unto this our tender salutation we are concerned, in brotherly love and true tender-heartedness, to add and impart unto you some account of the decease of our dear and elder brother in Christ, namely, his and his church's true and faithful servant and minister **GEORGE FOX**, whom it hath pleased the Lord to take unto himself, as he hath divers others of his faithful servants and ministers of late time; who have faithfully served out their generation, and finished their testimony and course with joy and peace. Howbeit, O dear brethren and friends! that so many worthies in Israel, and serviceable instruments in the Lord's hand, are of late taken away and removed from us, so soon one after another, appears a dispensation that deeply and sorrowfully affects us and many more, whose hearts are upright and tender towards God and one to another in the truth. The consideration of the depth, weight, and meaning thereof is very weighty upon our spirits, tho' their precious life and testimony lives with us, as being of that same body, united to one head, even Jesus Christ; in which we still, and hope ever shall have secret comfort and union with them, whom the Lord has removed and taken to himself, out of their earthly tabernacles and houses, into their heavenly and everlasting mansions.

This our dear brother, **GEORGE FOX**, was enabled by the Lord's power to preach the truth fully and effectually in our publick meeting in White Hart Court, by Gracechurch-street, London, on the 11th day of this instant 11th month, 1690: after which he said, "I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear." He was the same day taken with some illness or indisposition of body more than usual, and continued weak in body for two days after at our friend Henry Gouldney's house in the same court, close by the meeting-house, in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. In which time he mentioned divers friends, and sent for some in particular; to whom he expressed his mind for the spreading friends books and truth in the world and through the nations thereof, as his spirit in the Lord's love and power was universally set and bent for truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof

to the nations and people afar off; signifying also to some friends, "That all is well; and the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself: that though he was weak in body, yet that the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits:" which were his wonted sensible expressions, being in the living faith and sense thereof, which he kept to the end. And on the 13th instant, between the ninth and tenth hour of the night, he quietly departed this life in peace, being two days after the Lord enabled him to publish and preach the blessed truth in the meeting as aforesaid. So that he clearly and evidently ended his days in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and peace and good-will to all men, being about sixty and six years of age, as we understand, when he departed this life.

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

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

A few days before he died he had a great concern upon his mind concerning some in whom the Lord's power was working, to lead them into a ministry and testimony to his truth; who, through their too much entangling themselves in the things of this world, did make themselves unready to answer the call and leadings of the power of God, and hurt the gift that was bestowed upon them, and did not take that regard to their service and ministry as they ought. And mentioned the apostle's exhortation to Timothy, to "take heed to his ministry, and to shew himself approved," &c. And expressed his grief concerning such as preferred their own business before the Lord's business, and sought the advancing worldly concerns before the concerns of truth: and concluded with a tender and fatherly exhortation to all to whom God had imparted of his heavenly treasure, that they would improve it faithfully; and be diligent in the Lord's work, that the earth might be sown with the seed of the kingdom, and God's harvest might be minded by those whom he had called and enabled to labour therein: and that such would commit the care of their outward concerns to the Lord, who would care for them, and give a blessing to them. However, this is not mentioned to encourage any to run unsent, or without being called of God.

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

He was in his testimony as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power, where all that be truly wise, and that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever. He knew and preached the mystery of Christ revealed, the life and substance, and the power of godliness, above all shadows and forms: the Lord endued him with a hidden wisdom and life. He loved peace, and earnestly laboured for universal love, unity, peace, and good order in the churches of Christ: and where-ever he met with the contrary, it was his great grief and burden. He was greatly for the encouragement of faithful labourers in the Lord's work; and it

was a great offence and grief to him to have their testimony weakened, or labours slighted, through prejudice in any professing truth.

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

And we must patiently bear our parting with them, and our loss and sorrow on that account, with respect to their unspeakable gain: yet how can we avoid being deeply affected with sadness of spirit and brokenness of heart, under the sense and consideration of such loss and revolutions, which we have cause to believe are ominous of calamities to the wicked world, though of good to the righteous? Did the death of plain upright Jacob, namely Israel, who was as a prince of God, so deeply affect both his own children and kindred, as that they made a great and sore lamentation for him; and even the Egyptians also, that they bewailed him seventy days? And the death of Moses so deeply affect the Children of Israel, as that they "did weep and mourn for him in the plain of Moab thirty days?" And the death of Stephen, that faithful martyr of Jesus, so deeply affect certain men fearing God, as "that they made great lamentation for him?" And the apostle Paul, when taking his leave of the elders of the church of Ephesus, and telling them, "they should see his face no more?" If this did so deeply affect them, that they "wept all abundantly, sorrowing most of all for these words, that they should see his face no more;" with many more of this kind, how then can we otherwise choose but be deeply affected with sorrow and sadness of heart, though not as those which

have no hope, when so many of our ancient, dear, and faithful brethren, with whom we have had much sweet society, are removed from us one after another? (We pray God raise up and increase more such!) Yet must we all contentedly submit to the good pleasure and wisdom of the Lord our God in all these things; who taketh away, and none can hinder him, nor may any say unto him, "What dost thou?" Yet we have cause to bless the Lord that he hath of late raised, and is raising up more to publish his name in the earth; and we that yet remain have but a short time to stay after them that are gone, but we shall be gone to them also. The Lord God of life keep us all faithful in his holy truth, love, unity, and life to the end. He hath a great work still to bring forth in the earth, and great things to bring to pass, in order to make way for truth and righteousness to take place therein; and that his seed may come forth and be gathered, and the power and kingdom of our God and of his Christ made known and exalted in the earth, unto the ends thereof.

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

Your dear friends and brethren,

Stephen Crisp,	Nicholas Gates,	Daniel Monro,
Geo. Whitehead,	Francis Stamper,	John Heywood,
Fra. Camfield,	John Vaughton,	George Bowles,
James Park,	Gilbert Latey,	William Robinson,
John Elson,	Charles Marshal,	William Bingley,
Peter Price,	Rich. Needham,	John Butcher,
John Field,	James Martin,	Benjamin Antrobus,
John Edridge.		

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

SAM. Goodaker, Amb. Rigg, William Fallowfield.



## P O S T S C R I P T.

**B**Efore his death he wrote a little paper, desiring all friends every-where, that used to write to him about the sufferings and affairs of friends in their several countries, should henceforth write to their several correspondents in London, to be communicated to the Second Day's Meeting, to take care that they be answered.

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THOMAS ELLWOOD'S Account of that eminent and honourable Servant of the Lord, GEORGE FOX.

**T**HIS holy man was raised up by God in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the sleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations, and publishing again the everlasting gospel to the inhabitants of the earth, after the long and dismal night of apostacy and darkness. For this work the Lord began to prepare him by many and various trials and exercises from his very childhood; and having fitted and furnished him for it, he called him into it very young; and made him instrumental, by the effectual working of the Holy Ghost, through his ministry, to call many others into the same work, and to turn many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of Satan unto God. I knew him not till the year 1660: from that time to the time of his death, I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things.

He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it; immovable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of

virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprove of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously fought. Beloved he was of God, beloved of God's people; and (which was not the least part of his honour) the common butt of all apostates envy, whose good notwithstanding he earnestly fought.

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

T. E.

The Appearance of the Lord's Everlasting Truth  
breaking forth again in his Eternal Power in this  
our Day and Age in ENGLAND—

**W**Herein the Lord's mighty power and word of life hath been richly and freely preached, to the gathering of many into reconciliation with God, by it; to the exaltation and glory of the great God, through the bringing forth of the heavenly and spiritual fruits, from such as have been gathered by his eternal light, power, and Spirit unto himself. And by the sowing to the Spirit in the hearts of people, life eternal hath been reaped: that the flocks have been gathered, which have the milk of the word plenteously: that the riches of the word have flourished, and mightily abounded; and God's heavenly plough with his spiritual men hath gone on cheerfully, to the overturning the fallow ground of the hearts that had not borne heavenly fruit to God. And God's heavenly threshers with his heavenly flail have with joy and delight threshed out the chaff and the corruptions that have been atop of God's seed and wheat in man and woman: and thus have they threshed in hope, and are made partakers of their hope; through which God's seed is come into his garner.

O the unutterable glory and the inexpressible excellency of the everlasting glorious truth, gospel, and word of life, that the infinite, invisible, and wise God (who is over all) hath revealed and manifested! And how have the professors, priests, and powers risen up in opposition against his children, that are born of the immortal seed by the word of God! And O how great have the persecutions and reproaches, and spoiling of goods been, that have been executed upon them! But they that have touched them, and touch them, which are as dear to God as the apple of his eye, how hath the Lord manifested himself to stand by them, in overthrowing powers, priests, and states! What changes have there been since 1644 and 1650, and 1652! How have the gaols been filled since then in this nation with the heirs of life, God's chosen ones, who had no helper in the earth but the Lord and his Christ! So that truth's faithful witnesses were scarcely to be found but in gaols and prisons, where the righteous were numbered among the transgressors;

who had neither staff nor bag from man, but the staff, the bread of life, and the bag that holds the treasure that waxes not old. But the Lord Jesus Christ, that sent them forth, was their exceeding great supporter and upholder by his eternal power and Spirit, both then and now.

G. F.

A

JOURNAL

OR

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT.

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, &c.

OF

GEORGE FOX.

**T**HAT 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 publick travels in the service of Truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the LORD was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

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


In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit not usual in children; insomuch that when I have seen old men carry themselves lightly and wantonly towards each other, a dislike thereof hath risen in my heart, and I have said within myself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I should not do so, nor be so wanton."

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child I was taught how to walk so as to be kept pure. The LORD taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz. inwardly to GOD; and outwardly to man; and to keep to yea and nay in all things. For the LORD shewed me, though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, that I was to keep to yea and nay in all things, that my words should be few and favourable, seasoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of him that created them: they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, as sanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld, wherein is unity with the creation.

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

As I grew up my relations thought to have made me a priest; but others persuaded to the contrary. Whereupon I was put to a man who was a shoe-maker by trade, and dealt in wool. He also used grazing, and sold cattle; and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was blest, but after I left him he broke and came to nothing. I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me, and over me, to preserve me. While I was in that service, I used in my dealings the word [Verily] and it was a common saying among those that knew me, "If George says verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude persons would laugh at me: I let them alone and went my way: but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honesty.

When I came towards nineteen years of age, being upon business at a fair, one of my cousins, whose name was Bradford, a professor, having another professor with him, came and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, I, being thirsty, went in with them; for I loved any who had a sense of good, or that sought after the Lord. When we had drank a glass apiece, they began to drink healths, and called for more drink, agreeing together, That he that

would not drink, should pay all. I was grieved that any, who made profession of religion should offer to do so. They grieved me very much, having never had such a thing put to me before, by any sort of people. Wherefore I rose up, and putting my hand in my pocket, took out a groat, and laid it upon the table before them, saying, "If it be so, I will leave you." So I went away; and when I had done my business returned home; but did not go to bed that night, nor could I sleep; but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed, and cried to the Lord, who said unto me;  "Thou seeest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, young and old, keep out of all, and be as a stranger unto all."

Then at the command of God, the ninth of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with young or old. I passed to Lutterworth where I staid some time. From thence I went to Northampton, where also I made some stay; then passed to Newport-pagnel, in Buckinghamshire; where, after I had staid awhile I went to Barnet, in the fourth month called June, in the year 1644. As I thus travelled through the country, professors took notice of me, and sought to be acquainted with me; but I was afraid of them: for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed. During the time I was at Barnet, a strong temptation to despair came upon me. I then saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in. Sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the Chace to wait upon the Lord.

I wondered why these things should come to me. I looked upon myself, and said, "Was I ever so before?" Then I thought, because I had forsaken my relations, I had done amiss against them. So I was brought to call to mind all my time that I had 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 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 some years I continued in that condition in great trouble, and said I would have put it from me. I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

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

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

Then the priest of Drayton, the town of my birth, whose name was Nathaniel Stevens, came often to me, and I went often to him; and another priest sometimes came with him; and they would give place to me, to hear me; and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. This priest Stevens asked me, "Why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" And why he said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done?" I told him; at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which he was wounded; which he was to bear and to be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; so, in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings. 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 week-days, he would preach of on first-days,



which gave me a dislike to him. This priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Manfetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition: he bid me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing; I could not sing. He bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, sorrows, and griefs to his servants, so that it was got among the milk-lasses. It grieved me that I should open my mind to such a one. I saw they were all miserable comforters, and this increased my troubles upon me. I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man. I went seven miles to him, but found him like an empty, hollow cask. I heard of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to him; I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man? He asked me, "Who was Christ's father and mother?" I told him Mary was his mother, and that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph; but he was the Son of God. As we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed; at which he raged as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest, in high account. He would needs give me some physick, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, though they endeavoured it, 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 nor vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. When the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves. I looked out poor widows from house to house, and gave them some money. When I was invited to marriages I went to none at all; but the next day, or soon after, I would go and visit them; and if

they were poor I gave them some money ; for I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of others.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going into Coventry, a consideration arose in me, how it was said, that " All christians are believers, both protestants and papists ;" and the Lord opened to me that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life ; and that none were true believers but such : and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time as I was walking in a field on a first-day morning, the Lord opened unto me, " That being bred " at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ : " and I wondered at it, because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and was satisfied and admired the goodness of the Lord, who had opened this thing unto me that morning. This struck at priest Stevens's ministry, namely, that " to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ." So that which opened in me, I saw struck at the priest's ministry. But my relations were much troubled, that I would not go with them to hear the priest ; for I would go into the orchard or the fields, with my bible, by myself. I asked them, did not the apostle say to believers, " That they needed no man to teach them, but as " the anointing teacheth them ? " Though they knew this was scripture, and that it was true, yet they were grieved because I could not be subject in this matter, to go to hear the priest with them. I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be ; and I saw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ ; what then should I follow such for ? So neither them, nor any of the dissenting people could I join with ; but was as 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 the first seemed strange, because both priests and people used to call their temples or churches, dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God. But the Lord shewed me clearly, that he did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in peoples hearts. Both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore

testimony, that he did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which he had once commanded to be built, since he put an end to the typical dispensation; but that his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them. This opened in me, as I walked in the fields to my relation's house. When I came there, they told me Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, had been there, and said, "He was afraid of me for going after new lights." I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I told not my relations, who though they saw beyond the priests, yet went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also. But I shewed them by the scriptures, there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himself. I had great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spoke of them, the priests and professors would say, that was a sealed book, and would have kept me out of it. But I told them, Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the Epistles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

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

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

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

when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

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

During all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up myself to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes more, sometimes less in a place: for I durst not stay long in a place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For which reason I kept much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom, and getting knowledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things, to rely on the Lord alone. Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. O the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field! thou bringest down and settest up! thou killest and makest alive! all honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of Glory! The knowledge of thee in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge

which is fleshly works death. While there is this knowledge in the flesh, deceit and self will conform to any thing, and will say Yes, Yes, to that it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath, of what the prophets and apostles spake, is a fleshly knowledge; and the apostates from the life, in which the prophets and apostles were, have got their words, the holy scriptures, in a form, but not in the life nor spirit that gave them forth. So they all lie in confusion; and are making provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof, but not to fulfil the law and command of Christ in his power and Spirit: for that, they say they cannot do; but to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

After I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do; then, O then, I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." When I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory. For all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? This I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books. That love let me see myself, as I was without him;

and I was afraid of all company: for I saw them perfectly, where they were, through the love of God which let me see myself. I had not fellowship with any people, priests, nor professors, nor any sort of separated people, but with Christ who hath the key, and opened the door of light and life unto me. I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. When I was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I often thought I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me how he was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome him, and had bruised his head; and that through him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in him. So he it was that opened to me when I was shut up, and had neither hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in, and gave me hope, which is himself revealed in me, and gave me his spirit and grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness. Thus in the deepest miseries, in the greatest sorrows and temptations that beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found two thirsts in me; the one after the creatures, to have got help and strength there; and the other after the Lord the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ; and I saw all the world could do me no good. If I had had a king's diet, palace and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by his power. I saw professors, priests, and people, were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery, and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon him alone. Therefore, all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatsoever condition you be in; wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jesus; for if ye so do, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you. Blessed are all they indeed that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so, praised be the Lord who filleth with it, and satisfieth the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of the spiritual Israel say, His mercy endureth for ever! It is the great love of God, to make a wilderness of that which is pleasant to the outward eye and fleshly mind; and to make a fruitful field of

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

Again, I heard a voice which said, Thou serpent, thou dost seek to destroy the life, but canst not; for the sword which keepeth the tree of life shall destroy thee. So Christ, the Word of God, that bruised the head of the serpent, the destroyer, preserved me; my mind being joined to his good seed that bruised the head of this serpent, the destroyer. This inward life sprung up in me, to answer all the opposing professors and priests, and brought scriptures to my memory to refute them with.

At another time I saw the great love of God, and was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it. I saw what was cast out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom; and how by Jesus, the opener of the door by his heavenly key, the entrance was given. I saw death, how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man, and in me; and how I in the seed came forth, and what the promise was to. Yet it was so, that there seemed to be two pleading in me; and questionings arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies, and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I gave up myself to the Lord still. One day, when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly saw, That all was done and to be done in and by Christ; and how he conquers and destroys this tempter the devil, and all his works, and is atop of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me. The Lord opened me, that I saw through all these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that

I saw all was done by Christ the life, and my belief was in him. When at any time my condition was veiled, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests and temptations are. But O! then did I see my troubles, trials, and temptations more clearly than ever I had done. As the light appeared, all appeared that is out of the light; darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly; all was manifest and seen in the light. After this, a pure fire appeared in me: then I saw how he sat as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's sope. Then the spiritual discerning came into me; by which I discerned my own thoughts, groans, and sighs; and what it was that veiled me, and what it was that opened me. That which could not abide in the patience, nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the flesh, that could not give up to the will of God; which had so veiled me, that I could not be patient in all trials, troubles, anguishes, and perplexities; could not give up self to die by the cross, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow him, and that that which would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ, that which the sword of the Spirit cuts down, and which must die, might not be kept alive. I discerned the groans of the Spirit, which opened me, and made intercession to God: in which Spirit is the true waiting upon God, for the redemption of the body, and of the whole creation. By this true Spirit, in which the true fighting is, I saw over the false fightings and groanings. By this invisible Spirit I discerned all the false hearing, the false seeing, and the false smelling, which was above the Spirit, quenching and grieving it; and that all that were there were in confusion and deceit, where the false asking and praying is, in deceit and atop, in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, wallows in the Egyptian sea, and asketh but hath not; for they hate his light, resist the Holy Ghost, turn the grace into wantonness, rebel against the Spirit, and are erred from the faith they should ask in, and from the Spirit they should pray by. He that knoweth these things in the true Spirit can witness them. The divine light of Christ manifesteth all things, the spiritual fire trieth and severeth all things. Several things did I then see, as the Lord opened them to me; for he shewed me that which can live in his holy



refining fire, and that can live to God under his law. He made me sensible, how the law and the prophets were until John; and how the least in the everlasting kingdom of God is greater than John. The pure and perfect law of God is over the flesh, to keep it and its works, which are not perfect, under, by the perfect law: and the law of God which is perfect, answers the perfect principle of God in every one. This law the Jews, the prophets, and John were to perform and do. None knows the giver of this law but by the Spirit of God; neither can any truly read it, or hear its voice, but by the Spirit of God. He that can receive it, let him. John, who was one of the greatest prophets that was born of a woman, bore witness to the light which Christ, the great heavenly prophet, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal; that they might believe in it, become the children of light, and so have the light of life, and not come into condemnation. For the true belief stands in the light that condemns all evil; and the devil, who is the prince of darkness, and would draw out of the light into condemnation. They that walk in this light, come to the mountain of the house of God, established above all mountains, and to God's teaching, who will teach them his ways. These things were opened to me in the light.

I saw also the mountains burning up, and the rubbish, the rough, crooked ways and places made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle. These things are to be found in man's heart; but to speak of these things being within, seemed strange to the rough, crooked, and mountainous ones. Yet the Lord saith, "O earth, hear the word of the Lord!" The law of the Spirit crosseth the fleshly mind, spirit, and will, which lives in disobedience, and doth not keep within the law of the Spirit. I saw this law was the pure love of God which was upon me, and which I must go through, though I was troubled while I was under it; for I could not be dead to the law but through the law, which did judge and condemn that which is to be condemned. I saw, many talked of the law, who had never known the law to be their school-master; and many talked of the gospel of Christ, who had never known life and immortality brought to light in them by it. You that have been under that school-master, and the condemnation of it, know these things; for though the Lord in that day opened these things unto me in secret, they have been since published by his eternal Spirit, as on the house-top.

As you are brought into the law, and through the law to be dead to it, and witness the righteousness of the law fulfilled in you, ye will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought into the faith, and through faith from under the law; and abiding in the faith, which Christ is the author of, ye will have peace and access to God. But if ye look out from the faith, and from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleshly things or words, ye will be brought into bondage to the flesh again, and to the law which takes hold upon the flesh and sin, and worketh wrath, and the works of the flesh will appear again. This law of God takes hold upon the law of sin and death; but the law of faith, the law of the Spirit of life, which is the love of God, and which comes by Jesus (who is the end of the law for righteousness-sake) makes free from the law of sin and death. The law of life fleshly-minded men do not know; yet they will tempt you, to draw you from the Spirit into the flesh, and so into bondage. Therefore ye, who know the love of God, and the law of his Spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in him, in that divine faith which he is the author of in you; and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the ministry of Christ Jesus, and his teaching, bringeth into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man, and by man, which stands in the will of man, bringeth into bondage, and under the shadow of death and darkness. Therefore none can be ministers of Christ Jesus but in the eternal Spirit, which was before the scriptures were given forth; for if they have not his Spirit, they are none of his. Though they may have his light to condemn them that hate it, yet they can never bring any into unity and fellowship in the Spirit, except they be in it; for the seed of God is a burthensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding that must perish, and its own wisdom that is devilish. The Spirit of God is grieved, vexed, and quenched with that which brings into the fleshly bondage; and that which wars against the Spirit of God must be mortified by it; for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other. The flesh would have its liberty, and the Spirit would have its liberty; but the Spirit is to have its liberty, and not the flesh. If therefore ye quench the Spirit, join to the flesh, and be servants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the Spirit; but if ye join to

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

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

About this time there was a great meeting of the baptists at Broughton, in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them. People of other counties went thither, and I went also. Not many of the baptists came, but abundance of other people were there; and the Lord opened my mouth, and his everlasting truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. In that day the Lord's power began to spring; I had great openings in the scriptures, and several were convinced in those parts, and turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God: his power they did receive, and by it many were raised up to praise God. When I reasoned with professors and other people, some were convinced, and did stand. Yet I was under great temptations sometimes, and my inward sufferings were heavy; but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. I went back

into Nottinghamshire, where the Lord shewed me, that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were within in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, &c. The natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. I cried to the Lord, saying, "Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?" And the Lord answered, "It was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions?" In this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also, that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings. As I was walking by the steeple-house side in the town of Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, "That which people trample upon must be thy food." And as the Lord spake he opened to me, that people and professors trampled upon the life, even the life of Christ was trampled upon; they fed upon words, and fed one another with words; but trampled under foot 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 the first, that I should feed on that which the high professors trampled upon; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal Spirit and power.

Then came people from far and near to see me; but I was fearful of being drawn out by them: yet I was made to open things to them. One Brown had great prophecies and signs upon his death-bed of me. He spoke openly, of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he spoke, that they should come to nothing; which was fulfilled on some, who then were something in shew. When this man was buried, a great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new-moulded or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Christ, &c. the serpent spoke in them; but this was hard to be borne. Yet the work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off,

and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought which covered over all the world, which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. The same eternal power of God which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say, I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, was brought over it, and the power of it into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears. A report went abroad of me, that I was a young man who had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me from far and near, professors, priests, and people. The Lord's power broke forth, and I had great openings and prophecies, and spoke unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away and spread the same thereof. Then came the tempter and set upon me again, charging me, that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but I could not tell in what. Then Paul's condition came before me, how after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also.

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

and work of God there was amongst people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

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

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

Soon after there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain named Amor Stoddard came in. They were discoursing of the blood of Christ. As they were discoursing of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ; and cried out among them, saying, "Do ye not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God." For I saw the blood of the new covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But captain Stoddard was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak;" when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

There were also a company of priests, that were looked upon to be tender; one of their names was Kellet, and se-

veral tender people went to hear them. I was moved to go after them, and bid them mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. Priest Kellet was against parsonages then: but afterwards he got a great one, and turned persecutor.

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

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester for a dispute, wherein presbyterians, independents, baptists, and common-prayer-men, were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house; to which I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit, abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, What that birth was, viz. A being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever? The priest said to her, I permit not a woman to speak in the church; though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up, and asked the priest, Dost thou call this place (the steeple-house) a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church? For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But, instead of answering me, he asked me, What a church was? I told him, The church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on a fire. The priest came down from his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors, who were all on fire. But I maintained the true church, and the true head thereof, over their heads, till they all gave out and

fled away. One man seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest, in pleading for infant-baptism, though himself had been a baptist before; so he left me alone. Howbeit, there were several convinced that day; the woman that asked the question was convinced, and her family: and the Lord's power and glory shined over all.

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

At a certain time when I was at Mansfield there was a sitting of the justices about hiring servants; and it was up-



on me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they sat; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more serious opportunity to discourse with them, not thinking that a reasonable time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind, that I could not see. I inquired of the inn-keeper, where the justices were to sit that day? He told me, At a town eight miles off. My sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. When I was come to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly, &c. They all received my exhortation kindly, for I was moved of the Lord therein.

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

Now was I come up in Spirit, through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state

of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was shewed 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 physick for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in Spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. The Lord shewed me, that such as were faithful to him, in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof may be known, through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

Thus travelled I in the Lord's service, as he led me. When I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among friends. From thence I went to Claufon in Leicestershire, in the Vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God appeared there also, in several towns and villages where friends were gathered. While I was there, the Lord opened to me three things, relating to those three great professions in the world, law, physick, and divinity (so called.) He shewed me, that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and knew not the virtues of the creatures, because they were out of the Word of wisdom, by which they were made. He shewed me, the priests were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of; the faith which purifies, gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience. He shewed me also, that the lawyers were out of the equity, out of the true justice, and out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God, that was grieved and transgressed in man. And that these three, the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of

God; the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the soul, and the third the protection of the property of the people. But I saw they were all out of the wisdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things unto me; I felt his power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow unto it. The priests might be reformed, and brought into the true faith, which is the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed, and brought into the law of God, which answers that of God, which is transgressed, in every one, and brings to love one's neighbour as himself. This lets man see, if he wrongs his neighbour, he wrongs himself; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would they should do unto him. The physicians might be reformed, and brought into the wisdom of God, by which all things were made and created; that they might receive a right knowledge of the creatures, and understand the virtues of them, which the Word of Wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them. Abundance was opened concerning these things; how all lay out of the wisdom of God, and out of the righteousness and holiness that man at the first was made in. But as all believe in the light, and walk in the light which Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal, and become children of the light, and of the day of Christ; in his day all things are seen, visible and invisible, by the divine light of Christ, the spiritual heavenly man, by whom all things were made and created.

I saw concerning the priests, that although they stood in the deceit, and acted by the dark power which both they and their people were kept under; yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the scriptures, for they were not come so far as many of these had come. But the Lord opened to me who the greatest deceivers were, and how far they might come; even such as came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God; such as came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, to praise God on the banks of the sea-shore; such as could speak by experience of God's miracles and wonders; such as were come as far as Corah, Dathan, and their company; such as were come as far as Balaam, who could speak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice and knew it, and knew his Spirit, and could see the star of Jacob, and the goodliness of Israel's Tent; the second birth, which no enchantment could prevail against: these that

could speak so much of their experiences of God, and yet turned from the Spirit and the Word, and went into the gainfaying, these were and would be the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. Likewise among christians, such as should preach in Christ's name, should work miracles, cast out devils, and go as far as a Cain, a Corah, and a Balaam in the gospel-times, these were and would be the great deceivers. They that could speak some experiences of Christ and God, but lived not in the life, these were they that led the world after them, who got the form of godliness, but denied the power; who inwardly ravened from the Spirit, and brought people into the form, but persecuted them that were in the power, as Cain did; and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, through covetousness, loving the wages of unrighteousness, as Balaam did. These followers of Cain, Corah, and Balaam, have brought the world, since the apostles days to be like a sea. Such as these I saw might deceive now, as they did in former ages; but it is impossible for them to deceive the elect, who were chosen in Christ, who was before the world began, and before the deceiver was: though others may be deceived in their openings and prophecies, not keeping their minds to the Lord Jesus Christ, who doth open and reveal to his.

I saw the state of those, both priests and people, who in reading the scriptures cry out much against Cain, Esau, Judas, and other wicked men of former times, mentioned in the holy scriptures; but do not see the nature of Cain, of Esau, of Judas, and those others, in themselves. These said, it was they, they, they, that were the bad people; putting it off from themselves: but when some of these came, with the light and Spirit of truth, to see into themselves, then they came to say, I, I, I, it is I myself, that have been the Ishmael, the Esau, &c. For then they saw the nature of wild Ishmael in themselves; the nature of Cain, Esau, Corah, Balaam, and of the son of perdition in themselves, sitting above all that is called God in them. I saw, it was the fallen man that was got up into the scriptures, and was finding fault with those before-mentioned; and with the backsliding Jews, calling them the sturdy oaks, tall cedars, fat bulls of Bashan, wild heifers, vipers, serpents, &c. and charging them, that it was they that closed their eyes, stopped their ears, hardened their hearts, and were dull of hearing; it was they that hated the light, rebelled against it, quenched the Spirit, vexed and grieved it, walked despite-

fully against the Spirit of grace, and turned the grace of God into wantonness; it was they that resisted the Holy Ghost, got the form of godliness, and turned against the power; and they were the inwardly ravening wolves who had got the sheep's cleathing; they were the wells without water, clouds without rain, trees without fruit, &c. But when these, who were so much taken up with finding fault with others, and thought themselves clear from these things, came to look into themselves, and with the light of Christ throughly to search themselves, they might see enough of this in themselves; then the cry could not be, It is he or they, but I and we are found in these conditions.

I saw also, how people read the scriptures without a right sense of them, and without duly applying them to their own states. For when they read, that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; they read these things without them, and applied them to others (and the things were true of others) but they did not turn in to find the truth of these things in themselves. As these things were opened in me, I saw death reigned over them from Adam to Moses; from the entrance into transgression, till they came to the ministration of condemnation, which restrains people from sin that brings death. When the ministration of Moses is passed through, the ministry of the prophets comes to be read and understood, which reaches through the figures, types, and shadows unto John, the greatest prophet born of a woman; whose ministration prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making straight paths. As this ministration is passed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlasting kingdom. I saw plainly, that none could read Moses aright without Moses's Spirit, by which he saw how man was in the image of God in paradise, how he fell, how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. I saw how Moses received the pure law, that went over all transgressors; and how the clean beasts, which were figures and types, were offered up, when the people were come into the righteous law that went over the first transgression. Moses and the prophets saw through the types and figures, and beyond them, and saw Christ the great prophet, that was to come to fulfil them. I saw that none could read John's words aright, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with

the fame divine Spirit by which John fpake them; and by his burning, fhining light which is fent from God. For by that Spirit their crooked nature might be made ftraight, their rough natures finooth, and the exacter and violent doer in them might be caft out; and thofe that had been hypocrites, might come to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and their mountain of fin and earthlinefs might be laid low, and their valley exalted in them, that there might be a way prepared for the Lord in them: then the leaft in the kingdom is greater than John. But all muft firft know the voice crying in the wildernefs in their hearts, which through tranfgreffion were become as a wildernefs. Thus I faw it was an eafy matter to fay, death reigned from Adam to Mofes; and that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the leaft in the kingdom is greater than John; but none could know how death reigned from Adam to Mofes, &c. but by the fame holy Spirit which Mofes, the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the fpiritual meaning of Mofes, the prophets, and John's words, nor fee their path and travels, much lefs to fee through them, and to the end of them into the kingdom, unlefs they had the Spirit and light of Jefus; nor could they know the words of Chrift and of his apoftles without his Spirit. But as man comes thro' by the Spirit and power of God to Chrift (who fulfils the types, figures, fhadows, promifes, and prophecies concerning him) and is led by the Holy Ghofth into the truth and fubftance of the fcriptures, fitting down in him who is the author and end of them, then are they read and underftood with profit and great delight.

Moreover the Lord God let me fee, when I was brought up into his image in righteousnefs and holinefs, and into the paradife of God, the ftate, how Adam was made a living foul; and alfo the ftature of Chrift, the myftery that had been hid from ages and generations: which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For of all the fefts in Chriftendom (fo called) that I difcourfed withal, I found none who could bear to be told, that any fhould come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, that righteousnefs and holinefs that Adam was in before he fell; to be clear and pure without fin as he was. Therefore, how fhould they be able to bear being told, that any fhould grow up to the meafure of the ftature of the fulnefs of Chrift, when they cannot bear to hear that any fhall come, whilst

upon earth, into the same power and Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it be a certain truth, that none can understand their writings aright, without the same spirit by which they were written.

The Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, how "every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ." I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the scriptures; though afterwards, searching the scriptures, I found it. For I saw in that Light and Spirit which was before the Scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that Spirit, if they would know God or Christ, or the scriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

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

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

I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive him in his light, I saw 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 up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. I saw Christ died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light; and that none could be true believers. but those who believed therein. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God by whom the holy scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the holy scriptures, they were very precious to me; for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depth of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.

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

But with and by this divine power and spirit of God, and the light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ the new and living way; from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and off from the world's teachers made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, "This is



“my beloved Son, hear ye him;” and off from all the world’s worships, to know the Spirit of truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby, that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship him; which Spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. I was to bring people off from all the world’s religions, which are in vain; that they might know the pure religion, might visit the fatherless, the widows and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world: then there would not be so many beggars; the sight of whom often grieved my heart, as it denoted so much hard-heartedness amongst those that professed the name of Christ. I was to bring them off from all the world’s fellowships, prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power; that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost, the eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, sing in the Spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all; and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust (as his outward rain doth fall, and his outward sun doth shine on all) which is God’s unspeakable love to the world. I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, from heathenish fables, from men’s inventions and windy doctrines, by which they blowed the people about, this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges, for making ministers of Christ, who are indeed ministers of their own making, but not of Christ’s; and from all their images, crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with their holy-days (so called) and all their vain traditions, which they had got up since the apostles days, which the Lord’s power was against. In the dread and authority thereof was I moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as such who had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me into the world, he forbad me “to put off my hat” to any, high or low; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people Good morrow, or Good evening, neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; 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 apace; by the light of which many came to see where they were.

Oh! the rage that was in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all sorts; but especially in priests and professors: for though thou to a single person was according to their accidence and grammar rules, and according to the bible, yet they could not bear to hear it; and because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all into a rage. But the Lord shewed me that it was an honour below, which he would lay in the dust and stain; an honour which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honour which comes from God only. That it was an honour invented by men in the fall and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it was not given them; yet would be looked upon as saints, church-members, and great Christians: but Christ saith, "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? And I (saith Christ) receive not honour of men." Shewing that men have an honour which they will receive and give, but Christ will have none of it. This is the honour which Christ will not receive, and which must be laid in the dust. Oh! the scorn, heat, and fury that arose! Oh! the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent for not putting off our hats to men! For that soon tried all mens patience and sobriety, what it was. Some had their hats violently pluck'd off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter, and that by the great professors of christianity, who thereby discovered they were not true believers. And though it was but a small thing in the eye of man, yet a wonderful confusion it brought among all professors and priests; but, blessed be the Lord, many came to see the vanity of that custom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of Truth's testimony against it.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice, in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; in warning such as kept publick houses for entertainment, that they should not let people

have more drink than would do them good; in testifying against wakes, feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shews, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God; and the days set forth for holidays were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandize, cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of musick, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages; for they burthened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised too with school-masters and school-mistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. 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 themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God, the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their servants, yea the very strangers were to keep the sabbath among them, and be circumcised, before they might eat of their sacrifices; so all that made a profession of christianity ought to train up their children and servants in the new covenant of light, Christ Jesus, who is God's salvation to the ends of the earth, that all may know their salvation. And they ought to train them up in the law of life, the law of the Spirit, the law of love and of faith, that they might be made free from the law of sin and death. And all christians ought to be circumcised by the Spirit, which puts off the body of the sins of the flesh, that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice, Christ Jesus, that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon but they that are circumcised by the Spirit. Likewise I was exercised about the star-gazers, who drew people's minds from Christ, the bright and the morning-star, and from the Sun of righteousness, by whom the sun, moon, and stars, and all things else were made, who is the wisdom of God, from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

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

As I went towards Nottingham on a first-day in the morning, with friends to a meeting there, when I came on the top of a hill in sight of the town, I espied the great steeple-house; and the Lord said unto me, "Thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." I said nothing of this to the friends, but went with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord God was amongst us; in which I left friends sitting in the meeting, and went to the steeple-house. When I came there all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in his pulpit above: he took for his text these words of Peter, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well, that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." He told the people this was the scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out, "Oh! no; it is not the scriptures;" and told them it was the holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star,

They persecuted him and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them right; because they tried without the Holy Ghost. As I spoke thus amongst them, the officers came, took me away, and put me into a nasty stinking prison; the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat, that it very much annoyed me.

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

others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. Hereupon the magistrates grew very angry, sent for me from the sheriff's house and committed me to the common prison. When the assize came on, one person was moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body, yea, life also: but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in bringing me to the sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came. At which I understood the judge was offended, and said, "He would have admonished the youth, if he had been brought before him:" for I was then imprisoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to prison again, and put into the common gaol. The Lord's power was great among friends; but the people began to be very rude: wherefore the governor of the castle sent soldiers, and dispersed them; after that they were quiet. Both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful power that broke forth; several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

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

and over all exalted and magnified be the arm of his glorious power, by which he hath wrought gloriously: let the honour and praise of all his works be ascribed to him alone.

While I was at Mansfield Woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeple-house, and declare the truth to the priest and people. But the people fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled me. I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me. After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where were many great persons; who, seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening set me at liberty: but the rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the Word of life to them. I was scarce able to go, or well to stand, by reason of the ill usage I had received; yet with much ado I got about a mile from the town, and then I met with some people that 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 went I out of Nottinghamshire into Leicestershire, several friends accompanying me. There were some baptists in that country, whom I desired to speak with, because they were separated from the publick worship. So Oats, one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several of their company, came to meet us at Barrow, where we discoursed with them. One of them said, What was not of faith, was sin. Whereupon I asked them, What Faith was? and how it was wrought in man? But they turned off from that, and spake of their baptism in water. Then I asked them, Whether their mountain of sin was brought down, and laid low in them? and their rough and crooked ways made smooth and straight in them? They looked upon the scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways; but I told them, they must find them in their own hearts; which they seemed to wonder at. We asked them, Who baptized John the baptist? who baptized Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles? and put them to prove by scripture, that these were baptized in water: but they were silent. Then I asked them, Seeing Judas,

who betrayed Christ, and was called the son of perdition, had hanged himself, what son of perdition was that which Paul spake of, that sat in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God? And what temple of God that was in which this son of perdition sat? And whether he, that betrays Christ within in himself, be not one in nature with that Judas that betrayed Christ without? But they could not tell what to make of this, nor what to say to it. So after some discourse we parted; and some of them were loving to us.

On the first-day following we came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house, where some friends were got in, and the people locked them in, and themselves too, with the priest. But after the priest had done, they opened the door, and we went in also, and had service for the Lord amongst them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town, amongst several that were in high notions. Then passing from thence, I heard of a people in prison at Coventry for religion. As I walked towards the gaol, the word of the Lord came to me saying, MY LOVE WAS ALWAYS TO THEE, AND THOU ART IN MY LOVE. And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the gaol where those prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me; and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, vapour and blaspheme; at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said, they were God; but we could not bear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them, Whether they did such things by motion, or from Scripture? They said, From Scripture. Then a bible lying by, I asked them for that scripture; and they shewed me that place where the sheet was let down to Peter; and it was said to him, what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. When I had shewed them That scripture made nothing for their purpose, they brought another, which spake of God's reconciling all things to himself, things in heaven and things in earth. I told them I owned that scripture also; but shewed them it was nothing to their purpose neither. Then seeing they said, They were God, I asked them, If they knew whether it would rain to-morrow? They said, They could not tell. I told them, God could tell. I asked them, If they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change? They answer-



ed, They could not tell. Then said I, God can tell, and he doth not change. You say you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or no. So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time. After I had reprov'd them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceiv'd they were Ranters. I had met with none before; and I admir'd the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me, before I went amongst them. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, published a recantation; upon which they were set at liberty.

From Coventry I went to Atherstone; and it being their lecture-day, I was mov'd to go to their chapel to speak to the priest and people. They were generally pretty quiet; only some few rag'd, and would have had my relations to have bound me. I declar'd largely to them, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them from all their man-made teachers, to hear his Son; and some were convinc'd there.

Then I went to Market-Bosworth, and there was a lecture also. He that preach'd was Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of the town where I was born. He rag'd much when I spake, and told the people I was mad; though he had said before to Colonel Purfoy, There was never such a plant bred in England: he bid the people not to hear me; who, being stirr'd up by this deceitful priest, fell upon us, and ston'd us out of the town: yet they did not do us much hurt. Howbeit some people were made loving that day; and others were confirm'd, seeing the rage of both priests and professors; and some cried out, that the priest durst not stand to prove his ministry.

As I travell'd through markets, fairs, and divers places, I saw death and darkness in all people, where the power of the Lord had not shaken them. As I was passing on in Leicestershire, I came to Twy-Crofs, where there were excisemen. I was mov'd of the Lord to go and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it. There was in that town a great man that had long lain sick, and was given over by the physicians. Some friends in the town desired me to visit him. I went up to him in his chamber, and spake the word of life to him, and was mov'd to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and restored him to health. When I was come down the stairs into a lower room, and was speaking to the

servants, and others there, a servant man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and set it just to my side. I looked steadfastly on him, and said, "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw." The standers-by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage. But when the news of it came to his master, he turned him out of his service. Thus the Lord's power preserved me, and raised up the weak man; who afterwards was very loving to friends. When I came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see me.

After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty power of God was among friends. I went to Chesterfield, where one Britland was priest. He saw beyond the common sort of priests; for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of truth before he was priest there: but when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage, and choked himself with it. I was moved to speak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and he was not able to gainsay. But they had me before the mayor, and threatened to send me, with some others, to the house of correction; and kept us in custody till it was late in the night. Then the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to shift as we could. 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.

Coming to Derby, I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced; and several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell rung; and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it. So I asked the woman of the house, What the bell rung for? She said, There was to be a great lecture there that day, and many officers of the army, priests, and preachers, were to be there, and a colonel, that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them. When they had done, I spake to them what the Lord commanded me; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, and took me by the hand, and said, I must go before the magistrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the first hour after noon that we came before them. They asked me, Why we came thither? I said, God moved us so to do; and told them, "God dwells not in temples made with hands." I

also said, All their preaching, baptisin, and sacrifices would never sanctify them; and bid them look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. The power of God thundered among them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward, for they were from the first hour till the ninth at night in examining me. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner, that I was taken up in raptures. At last they asked me, Whether I was sanctified? I answered, Yes; for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me, If I had no sin? I answered, Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin; and in him there is no sin. They asked, How we knew that Christ did abide in us? I said, By his Spirit that he hath given us. They temptingly asked, If any of us were Christ? I answered, Nay, we were nothing, Christ was all. They said, If a man steal, is it no sin? I answered, All unrighteousness is sin. When they had wearied themselves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the house of correction in Derby for six months, as blasphemers; as may appear by the mittimus, a copy whereof here followeth:

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

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

Ger. Bennet,  
Nath. Barton.

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

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

‘ **O** Friends, I was sent to you to tell you, That if you  
 ‘ had received the gospel freely, you would minister  
 ‘ it freely without money or price: but you make a trade  
 ‘ and sale of what the prophets and apostles have spoken;  
 ‘ and so you corrupt the truth. You are the men that lead  
 ‘ silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able  
 ‘ to come to the knowledge of the truth: you have a form  
 ‘ of godliness, but you deny the power. As Jannes and  
 ‘ Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth; be-  
 ‘ ing men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith.  
 ‘ But you shall proceed no further; for your folly shall be  
 ‘ made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover the  
 ‘ Lord sent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits.  
 ‘ You asked me, If the scripture was my rule? It is not  
 ‘ your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words.  
 ‘ You are the men that live in pleasures, pride, and wan-  
 ‘ tonness, in fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness:  
 ‘ see if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the  
 ‘ angels; but Sodom was envious. You shew forth the vain  
 ‘ nature; you stand in the steps of them that crucified MY  
 ‘ SAVIOUR, and mocked him. You are their children;  
 ‘ you shew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in

‘ the assemblies ; and so have you : they loved to be called  
‘ Rabbi ; and so do you.’

G. F.

I writ to the magistrates who committed me, to this effect :

‘ Friends,

‘ **I** AM forced, in tender love to your souls, to write unto  
‘ you, and to beseech you to consider what you do,  
‘ and what the commands of God call for. He doth re-  
‘ quire justice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the  
‘ oppressed go free. But who calleth for justice ? or loveth  
‘ mercy ? or contendeth for the truth ? Is not judgment  
‘ turned backward ? Doth not justice stand afar off ? Is not  
‘ truth silenced in the streets ? or can equity enter ? Do not  
‘ they that depart from evil make themselves a prey ? Oh !  
‘ consider what ye do, in time, and take heed whom ye im-  
‘ prison ; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-  
‘ doers, and for the praise of them that do well. I intreat  
‘ you, in time take heed what you do : for surely the Lord  
‘ will come, and make manifest both the builders and the  
‘ work. If it be of man, it will fail ; but if it be of God,  
‘ nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I desire and pray  
‘ that you would take heed and beware what you do, lest ye  
‘ be found fighters against God.

G. F.

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

‘ Friends,

‘ **Y**OU spoke of the good old way which the prophet  
‘ spake of ; but the prophet cried against the abomina-  
‘ tions which you hold up. Had you the power of God,  
‘ ye would not persecute the good way. He that spake of  
‘ the good way was set in the stocks. The people cried,  
‘ away with him to the stocks,” for speaking the truth. Ah !  
‘ foolish people, who have eyes and see not, ears and hear  
‘ not, without understanding ! “ Fear ye not me, saith the

“ Lord, and will ye not tremble at my presence ?” O your  
 ‘ pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God !  
 ‘ You that are preachers, have the chiefeft place in the  
 ‘ affemblies, and are called of men, Master. Such were  
 ‘ and are againft my Saviour and Maker : they fhut up the  
 ‘ kingdom of heaven from men ; and neither go in them-  
 ‘ felves, nor fuffer others. Therefore ye fhall receive the  
 ‘ greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in  
 ‘ their fteps. You may fay, If you had been in the days  
 ‘ of the prophets, or Chrift, ye would not have perfecuted  
 ‘ them. Be ye witneffes againft yourfelves, that ye are the  
 ‘ children of thefe, feeing ye now perfecute the way of truth.  
 ‘ O confider, there is a true Judge, that will give every one  
 ‘ of you a reward according to your works. O mind where  
 ‘ you are, you that hold up the abominations which the true  
 ‘ prophet cried againft ! O come down, and fit in the duft !  
 ‘ The Lord is coming with power, and he will throw down  
 ‘ every one that is lifted up, that he alone may be exal-  
 ‘ ted.’

As I had thus written to them jointly ; after fome time  
 I writ to each by himfelf. To juftice Bennet in this man-  
 ner :

‘ Friend,  
 ‘ **T**HOU that doft profefs God and Chrift in words, fee  
 ‘ how thou followeft him. To take off burdens, to  
 ‘ vifit them that are in prifon, to fhew mercy, cloath thy  
 ‘ own flefh, and deal thy bread to the hungry ; thefe are  
 ‘ God’s commandments. To relieve the fatherlefs, to vifit  
 ‘ the widows in their affliction, and to keep thyfelf unspot-  
 ‘ ted of the world, this is pure religion before God. But  
 ‘ if thou profefs Chrift, and followeft covetoufnefs and  
 ‘ earthly-mindednefs, thou denieft him in life, deceivelt thy-  
 ‘ felf and others, and takeft him for a cloak. Wo be to you,  
 ‘ greedy men and rich men ; weep and howl for your mife-  
 ‘ ry that fhall come ! Take heed of covetoufnefs and ex-  
 ‘ tortion : God doth forbid that. Wo be to the man that  
 ‘ coveteth an evil covetoufnefs, that he may fet his neft on  
 ‘ high, and cover himfelf with thick clay. Oh ! do not love  
 ‘ that which God forbids. His fervant thou art whom thou  
 ‘ doft obey, whether it be of fin unto death, or of obedience  
 ‘ unto righteoufnefs. Think upon Lazarus and Dives ; the  
 ‘ one fared fumptuoufly every day, the other was a beggar.

‘ See if thou be not Dives? Be not deceived, God is not  
 ‘ mocked with vain words. Evil communication corrupteth  
 ‘ good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not.

G. F.

That to justice Barton was in this manner :

‘ Friend,

‘ **T**HOU that preacheſt Chriſt and the ſcriptures in  
 ‘ words. When any come to follow that which thou  
 ‘ haſt ſpoken of, and to live the life of the ſcriptures, thoſe  
 ‘ that preach the ſcriptures, but do not lead their lives ac-  
 ‘ cording thereunto, perſecute them. Mind the prophets,  
 ‘ Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, and all the holy men of  
 ‘ God; what they ſpoke was from the life: but they that  
 ‘ had not the life, but the words, perſecuted and imprifoned  
 ‘ them that lived in the life which thoſe had backſlidden  
 ‘ from.

G. F.

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

‘ Friend,

‘ **T**HOU art ſet in place to do juſtice; but, in imprif-  
 ‘ oning my body, thou haſt done contrary to juſtice,  
 ‘ according to your own law. O take heed of pleaſing men  
 ‘ more than God, for that’s the way of the ſcribes and  
 ‘ phariſees: they ſought the praiſe of men more than God.  
 ‘ Remember who ſaid, “ I was a ſtranger, and ye took me  
 ‘ not in; I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not.” O  
 ‘ friend, thy envy is not againſt me only, but againſt the  
 ‘ power of truth: I had no envy to you, but love. O take  
 ‘ heed of oppreſſion; “ for the day of the Lord is coming,  
 ‘ that ſhall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all  
 ‘ that do wickedly, ſhall be as ſtubble; and the day that  
 ‘ cometh ſhall burn them up, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts: it  
 ‘ ſhall leave them neither root nor branch.” O friend, if  
 ‘ the love of God were in thee, thou wouldſt love the truth,  
 ‘ hear the truth ſpoken, and not imprifon unjuſtly. The  
 ‘ love of God beareth and ſuffereth, and envieth no man.  
 ‘ If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would

‘ shew mercy; but you shew what ruleth you. Every tree  
 ‘ doth shew forth its fruit; you shew your fruits openly.  
 ‘ For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity rule among  
 ‘ you, both in teacher and people. O friend, mercy, true  
 ‘ judgment, and justice, are cried for in the streets: oppres-  
 ‘ sion, unmercifulness, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleasures,  
 ‘ wantonness, and fulness are in your streets; but the poor  
 ‘ is not regarded. Oh! take heed of the wo: “ Wo be  
 “ to the crown of pride! Wo be to them that drink wine  
 “ in bowls, and the poor is ready to perish.” O remember  
 ‘ Lazarus and Dives! One fared deliciously every day, the  
 ‘ other was a beggar. O friend, mind these things, for they  
 ‘ are near; and see whether thou be not in Dives’s state.’

I wrote also to the Court at Derby thus :

‘ I AM moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppres-  
 ‘ sing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon  
 ‘ poor people which they cannot bear; and of imposing  
 ‘ false oaths, or making them take oaths which they cannot  
 ‘ perform. The Lord saith, “ I will come near to judgment,  
 “ and will be a swift witness against the forcerers, against the  
 “ false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those  
 “ that oppress widows and fatherless;” therefore take heed  
 ‘ of all these things betimes. The Lord’s judgments are all  
 ‘ true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy. So love  
 ‘ mercy, dear people, and consider in time.’

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

‘ Friends,  
 ‘ TAKE heed of pleasures, and prize your time now  
 ‘ while you have it; do not spend it in pleasures nor  
 ‘ earthliness. The time may come that you will say, You  
 ‘ had time, when it is past. Therefore look at the love of  
 ‘ God now while you have time; for it bringeth to loath  
 ‘ all vanities and worldly pleasures. Oh! consider, time  
 ‘ is precious; fear God and rejoice in him, who hath made  
 ‘ heaven and earth.’

While I was here in prison divers professors came to  
 discourse with me. I had a sense before they spoke, that



they came to plead for sin and imperfection. I asked them, Whether they were believers and had faith? They said, Yes. I asked them, In whom? They said, In Christ. I replied, If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death: and if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, purify your hearts and consciences (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience) and bring you to please God, and give you access to him again. But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over sin and the devil. They said, "They could not believe any could be free from sin on this side the grave." I bid them give over babbling about the scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness. At another time a company of professors came, who also began to plead for sin. I asked them, Whether they had hope? They said, Yes: God forbid but we should have hope. I asked them, What hope is it that you have? Is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bid them forbear talking of the scriptures, which were the holy men's words; for the holy men that wrote the scriptures pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?

The keeper of the prison, being an high professor, was greatly enraged against me, and spoke very wickedly of me; but it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was in great trouble, and under much terror of mind. And as I was walking in my chamber, I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife, "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment; and I saw GEORGE there, and I was afraid of him; because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses." After this, towards the evening, he came into my chamber, and said to me, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling." And he desired he might lodge with me; I told him, I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he said, "Nay, he would have my leave; and he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner." He said,

“ He had been plagued, and his house had been plagued for my sake.” So I suffered him to lodge with me. Then he told me all his heart, and said, He believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondered that the other man, who was put in prison with me, did not stand it; and said, “ That man was not right, but I was an honest man.” He confessed also to me, that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, when he refused to let me go, and I laid the weight thereof upon him, that he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time after, and in such a condition that he had little strength left him. When the morning came, he rose and went to the justices, and told them, “ That he and his house had been plagued for my sake.” One of the justices replied (as he reported to me) that the plagues were upon them too for keeping me. This was justice Bennet of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.

After this the justices gave leave, that I should have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and told the gaoler, If they would set down to me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it sometimes. For I had a sense that they thought I would go away. And the gaoler confessed afterwards they did it with that intent to have me go away, to ease them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that spirit.

This gaoler had a sister, a sickly young woman. She came up into my chamber to visit me; and after she had staid some time, and I had spoken the words of truth to her, she went down, and told them, “ we were an innocent people, and did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to them that hated us;” and desired them to be tender towards me.

As by reason of my restraint I had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare and spread truth through the countries, it came upon me to write a paper, and send it forth to be spread amongst friends and other tender people, for the opening of their understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves. It was after this manner:

‘ **T**HE Lord doth shew unto man his thoughts, and discovereth all the secret workings in man. A man may

‘ be brought to see his evil thoughts, running mind, and  
‘ vain imaginations, and may strive to keep them down,  
‘ and to keep his mind in ; but cannot overcome them, nor  
‘ keep his mind within to the Lord. In this state and con-  
‘ dition submit to the Spirit of the Lord that shews them,  
‘ and that will bring to wait upon the Lord ; and he that  
‘ hath discovered them will destroy them. Therefore stand  
‘ in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ (who is the author of  
‘ the true faith) and mind him ; for he will discover the root  
‘ of lusts, evil thoughts, and vain imaginations ; how they  
‘ are begotten, conceived, and bred ; how they are brought  
‘ forth, and how every evil member doth work. He will  
‘ discover every principle from its own nature and root.

‘ So mind the faith of Christ, and the anointing which is  
‘ in you, to be taught by it, which will discover all work-  
‘ ings in you. As he teacheth you, so obey and forsake ;  
‘ else you will not grow in the faith, nor in the life of  
‘ Christ, where the love of God is received. Love beget-  
‘ teth love, its own nature and image : and when mercy and  
‘ truth meet, what joy there is ! Mercy triumphs in judg-  
‘ ment ; and love and mercy bear the judgment of the world  
‘ in patience. That which cannot bear the world’s judg-  
‘ ment is not the love of God ; for love beareth all things,  
‘ and is above the world’s judgment ; for the world’s judg-  
‘ ment is but foolishness. Though it be the world’s judg-  
‘ ment and practice to cast all the filthiness that is among  
‘ themselves upon the saints, yet their judgment is false.  
‘ The chaste virgins follow Christ the lamb, that takes away  
‘ the sins of the world ; but they that are of that spirit which  
‘ is not chaste, will not follow Christ the lamb in his steps,  
‘ but are disobedient to him in his commands. The fleshly  
‘ mind doth mind the flesh, talketh fleshly, and its know-  
‘ ledge is fleshly, and not spiritual ; but favours of death,  
‘ not of the Spirit of life. Some men have the nature of  
‘ swine wallowing in the mire. Some have the nature of  
‘ dogs, to bite both the sheep and one another. Some have  
‘ the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and destroy. Some  
‘ the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and  
‘ sheep of Christ : and some the nature of the serpent (that  
‘ old adversary) to sting, envenom, and poison. “ He that  
‘ hath an ear to hear, let him hear,” and learn these things  
‘ within himself. Some men have the natures of other  
‘ beasts and creatures, minding nothing but earthly and vi-  
‘ sible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some

‘ have the nature of a horse, to prance and vapour in their  
‘ strength, and to be swift in doing evil. Some have the  
‘ nature of tall sturdy oaks, to flourish and spread in wis-  
‘ dom and strength, who are strong in evil, which must pe-  
‘ rish, and come to the fire. Thus evil is but one in all,  
‘ but worketh many ways; and whatsoever a man or wo-  
‘ man’s nature is addicted to that is outward, the evil one  
‘ will suit him, and please his nature and appetite, to keep his  
‘ mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from the Cre-  
‘ ator. O therefore let not the mind go from God; for if  
‘ it do, it will be stained, venom’d, and corrupted. If the  
‘ mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in  
‘ again: therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the  
‘ faith of Christ. Oh! therefore mind that which is eternal  
‘ and invisible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of  
‘ all things: for the things that are made, are not made of  
‘ things that appear; for the visible covereth the invisible  
‘ light in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, doth  
‘ open you by his invisible power and spirit, and brings  
‘ down the carnal mind in you; so the invisible and immor-  
‘ tal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you  
‘ that know the light, walk in the light! for there are chil-  
‘ dren of darkness that will talk of the light, and of the  
‘ truth, yet not walk in it; but the children of light love  
‘ the light, and walk in the light. But the children of  
‘ darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light. In them  
‘ the earthly lusts and carnal mind choke the seed of faith,  
‘ which bringeth oppression on the seed, and death over  
‘ themselves. O therefore mind the pure Spirit of the ever-  
‘ lasting God, which will teach you to use the creatures in  
‘ their right place, and which judgeth the evil. “To thee,  
“ O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all  
“ visibles and invisibles! To thee be all praise, who bringest  
“ out of the deep to thyself; O powerful God, who art  
“ worthy of all glory!” For the Lord who created all, and  
‘ gives life and strength to all, is over all and merciful to  
‘ all. “So thou, who hast made all, and art over all, to thee  
“ be all glory! In thee is my strength, refreshment, and  
“ life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying  
“ for evermore!” To live and walk in the Spirit of God  
‘ is joy, peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the  
‘ creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this  
‘ bringeth death. When the mind is got into the flesh, and  
‘ into death, the accuser gets within, and the law of sin and

' death gets into the flesh. Then the life suffers under the  
 ' law of sin and death, and then there is straitness and fail-  
 ' ings. For then the good is shut up, and the self-righte-  
 ' ousness is set atop. Then man doth work in the outward  
 ' law, though he cannot justify himself by the law, but is  
 ' condemned by the light: for he cannot get out of that  
 ' state, but by abiding in the light, resting in the mercy of  
 ' God, and believing in him from whom all mercy flows.  
 ' For there is peace in resting in the Lord Jesus. This is  
 ' the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few will  
 ' abide in it. Keep in the innocency, and be obedient to  
 ' the faith in him. Take heed of conforming to the world,  
 ' and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that bringeth  
 ' disobedience; and then imaginations and questionings  
 ' arise, to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But  
 ' the obedience of faith destroyeth imaginations, question-  
 ' ings, and reasonings, with all the temptations in the flesh,  
 ' buffetings, lookings forth, and fetching up things that are  
 ' past. But, not keeping in the life and light, not crossing  
 ' the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature  
 ' grows up in man; then burdens will come, and man will  
 ' be stained with that nature. But Esau's mountain shall  
 ' be laid waste, and become a wilderness, where the dragons  
 ' lie; but Jacob, the second birth, shall be fruitful and shall  
 ' arise. For Esau is hated, and must not be lord; but  
 ' Jacob, the second birth, which is perfect and plain, shall  
 ' be lord; for he is beloved of God.

G. F.'

I wrote another much about the same time, and sent it amongst the convinced people.

' **T**HE LORD IS KING over all the earth! there-  
 ' fore, all people, praise and glorify your king in true  
 ' obedience, in uprightnes, and in the beauty of holines.  
 ' Oh! consider, in true obedience the Lord is known, and  
 ' an understanding from him is received. Mark and confi-  
 ' der in silence, in lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear  
 ' the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind. His voice is sweet  
 ' and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and will not heark-  
 ' en to another. When they hear his voice, they rejoice  
 ' and are obedient; they also sing for joy. Oh! their hearts  
 ' are filled with everlasting triumph! they sing and praise

' the eternal God in Zion. Their joy man shall never take  
' from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore !'

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

' **C**OME, ye blessed of the Lord, rejoice together, keep  
' in unity and oneness of spirit. Triumph above the  
' world ! be joyful in the Lord ; reigning above the world !  
' and above all things that draw from the Lord ; that in  
' clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy, you may be  
' preserved to the Lord. O hear ! O hearken to the call of  
' the Lord ! Come out of the world, and keep out of it  
' for evermore ! Come, sing together, ye righteous ones,  
' the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb ; which none  
' can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and  
' from the world.'

While I was in the house of correction, my relations came to see me ; and being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison, and desired to have me home with them ; offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds apiece with them, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests. So I was had up before the justices ; and because I would not consent that they or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, and had spoken the word of life and truth unto them) justice Bennet rose up in a rage ; and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and struck me with both his hands, crying, " away with him, gaoler : take him away, gaoler." Whereupon I was had again to prison, and there kept, till the time of my commitment for six months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself ; which I made use of as I felt freedom. Sometimes I went into the market and streets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedness ; and returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes visited them in their meetings on first-days.

After I had been before the justices, and they had required sureties for my good behaviour (which I could not con-

sent should be given, to blemish my innocency) it came upon me to write to the justices again, which I did in the following manner :

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

Some little time after, I wrote to them again :

‘ Friends,  
 ‘ **W**OULD you have me bound to my good behaviour.  
 ‘ from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adul-  
 ‘ tery, and the like ? The Lord hath redeemed me from all  
 ‘ these things ; and the love of God hath brought me to  
 ‘ loath all wantonness, blessed be his name. Drunkards,  
 ‘ fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds ;  
 ‘ and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you nor  
 ‘ any other can justly accuse of these things ; praised be the  
 ‘ Lord ! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the  
 ‘ Lord alone, who hath all men’s hearts in his hand.’

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

‘ Friends,  
 ‘ **H**AD you known who sent me to you, ye would have  
 ‘ received me ; for the Lord sent me to you, to warn  
 ‘ you of the woes that are coming upon you ; and to bid you  
 ‘ look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told  
 ‘ you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then  
 ‘ your hearts were hardened, and you sent me to prison,

‘ where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God  
 ‘ had broke your hearts, then would ye see what ye have  
 ‘ done: ye would not have imprisoned me, had not my  
 ‘ Father suffered you; and by his power I shall be loosed:  
 ‘ for he openeth and shutteth; to him be all glory! In what  
 ‘ have I misbehaved myself, that any should be bound for  
 ‘ me? All men’s words will do me no good, nor their bonds  
 ‘ neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within,  
 ‘ to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in  
 ‘ the Lord, that through his strength and power I shall be  
 ‘ preserved from ungodliness and worldly lusts. The scrip-  
 ‘ ture saith, “ Receive strangers;” but you imprison such.  
 ‘ As you are in authority, take heed of oppression, oaths,  
 ‘ injustice, and gifts or rewards, for God loaths all such.  
 ‘ But love mercy and true judgment, for that the Lord de-  
 ‘ lights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep  
 ‘ my conscience clear: take heed how you spend your time.’

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

‘ Friends,

‘ **Y**OU profess to be the ministers of Jesus Christ in  
 ‘ words, but you shew by your fruits what your minis-  
 ‘ try is. Every tree shews its fruit: the ministry of Jesus  
 ‘ Christ is in mercy and love, to loose them that are bound,  
 ‘ to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated  
 ‘ go free. Now, friends, where is your example, if the scrip-  
 ‘ tures be your rule, to imprison for religion? Have you any  
 ‘ command for it from Christ? If that were in you, which  
 ‘ you profess, you would walk in their steps who speak the  
 ‘ scriptures. But he is not a Jew who is one outward, whose  
 ‘ praise is of Men; but he is a Jew who is one inward,  
 ‘ whose praise is of God. But if you build upon the pro-  
 ‘ phets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remem-  
 ‘ ber the woes which Jesus Christ spoke against such. They  
 ‘ that spoke the prophets words, but denied Christ, they  
 ‘ professed a Christ to come; but had they known him, they  
 ‘ would not have crucified him. The saints, whom the  
 ‘ love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in  
 ‘ love and mercy; for he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in  
 ‘ God. But where envy, pride, and hatred rule, the nature  
 ‘ of the world rules, not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write  
 ‘ with no hatred to you; but that you may weigh your-  
 ‘ selves, and see how you pass your time.’



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

‘ I AM moved to warn you to take heed of giving way  
 ‘ to your own wills. Love the cross ; satisfy not your  
 ‘ own minds in the flesh ; but prize your time while you  
 ‘ have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to  
 ‘ God ; then you shall not be condemned for that you know  
 ‘ not, but for that you know, and do not obey. Consider  
 ‘ betimes, weigh yourselves, see where you are, and whom  
 ‘ you serve. For if ye blaspheme God, and take his name  
 ‘ in vain, if ye swear and lie, if ye give way to envy, ha-  
 ‘ tred, covetousness, and greediness, pleasures and wanton-  
 ‘ ness, or any other vices, be assured that ye serve the devil ;  
 ‘ but if ye fear the Lord and serve him, ye will loath all  
 ‘ these things. He that loveth God, will not blaspheme  
 ‘ his name : but where there is opposing of God, and serv-  
 ‘ ing the devil, that profession is sad and miserable. O prize  
 ‘ your time ; do not love that which God forbids ; lying,  
 ‘ wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greediness, covetousness,  
 ‘ oppression, gluttony, drunkennes, whoredom, and all  
 ‘ unrighteousness, God doth forbid. So consider, Evil  
 ‘ communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived,  
 ‘ God will not be mocked with vain words ; the wrath of  
 ‘ God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness.  
 ‘ Therefore obey that which convinceth you of all evil, and  
 ‘ telleth you that you should do no evil : it will lead to re-  
 ‘ pentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord. O look  
 ‘ at the mercies of God, prize them, and do not turn them  
 ‘ into wantonness. O eye the Lord, and not earthly things !’

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

‘ Friend,

‘ DO not cloak and cover thyself ; there is a God who  
 ‘ knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee. He seeth  
 ‘ thy way. “ Wo be to him that covereth, and not with  
 ‘ my Spirit, saith the Lord.” Dost thou do contrary to  
 ‘ the law, and then put it from thee. Mercy and true judg-  
 ‘ ment thou neglectest ; look what was spoken against such.  
 ‘ My Saviour said to such, “ I was sick and in prison, and  
 ‘ ye visited me not ; I was hungry, and ye fed me not ; I

" was a stranger, and ye took me not in." " And when  
 ' they said, " When saw we thee in prison, and did not  
 " come to thee," &c. He replied, " Inasmuch as ye did it  
 " not to one of these little ones, ye did it not to me."  
 ' Friend, thou hast imprisoned me for bearing witness to  
 ' the life and power of truth, and yet professest to be a mi-  
 ' nister of Christ; but if Christ had sent thee, thou wouldst  
 ' bring out of prison, out of bondage, and wouldst receive  
 ' strangers. Thou hast been wanton upon earth, thou hast  
 ' lived plenteously, and nourished thy heart as in a day of  
 ' slaughter. Thou hast killed the just. O look where thou  
 ' art, and how thou hast spent thy time! O remember thy-  
 ' self, and now while thou hast time, prize it. Do not  
 ' slight the free mercy of God, and despise his long suffer-  
 ' ing, which is great salvation; but mind that in thee which  
 ' doth convince thee, and would not let thee swear, nor lie,  
 ' nor take God's name in vain. Thou knowest thou  
 ' shouldst do none of these things; thou hast learned that  
 ' which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light which  
 ' doth convince thee, forsake thy sins, look at the mercies  
 ' of God, and prize his love in sparing thee till now. The  
 ' Lord saith, " Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth,  
 " and be ye saved;" and " Cease from man, whose breath  
 " is in his nostrils." Friend, prize thy time, and see whom  
 ' thou serveest; for his servant thou art whom thou dost  
 ' obey, whether of sin unto death, or obedience unto right-  
 ' eousness. If thou serveest God and fearest him, thou wilt  
 ' not blaspheme his name, nor curse, nor swear, nor take  
 ' his name in vain, nor follow pleasures and wantonness,  
 ' whoredom and drunkenness, or wrath, or malice, or revenge,  
 ' or rashness, or headiness, pride or gluttony, greediness,  
 ' oppression or covetousness, or foolish jesting, or vain songs;  
 ' God doth forbid these things, and all unrighteousness. If  
 ' thou professest God, and actest any of these things, thou  
 ' takest him for a cloak, and serveest the devil. Consider  
 ' with thyself, and do not love that which God hateth. He  
 ' that loveth God keepeth his commandments. The devil will  
 ' tell thee, It is an hard thing to keep God's command-  
 ' ments; but it is an easy thing to keep the devil's com-  
 ' mandments, and to live in all unrighteousness and ungod-  
 ' liness, turning the grace of God into wantonness. But let  
 ' the unrighteous man forsake his ways, and turn unto me,  
 ' saith the Lord, and I will have mercy; " Turn ye, why  
 " will ye die? saith the Lord."

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

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

The time of my commitment to the house of correction being very near out, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried, They would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to

bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place; where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, asking me, If I would not take up arms for the commonwealth against Charles Stewart? I told them I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James's doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. Yet they courted me to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said, They offered it in love and kindness to me, because of my virtue; and such-like flattering words they used. But I told them, If that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they said, "Take him away, Gaoler, and put him into the prison amongst the rogues and felons." So I was put into a lousy stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year; yet at times they would let me walk to the garden, believing I would not go away. When they had got me into Derby prison, it was the saying of people that I should never come out; but I had faith in God that I should be delivered in his time: for the Lord had given me to believe that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which he had for me to do.

After it was bruited abroad that I was in Derby prison, my relations came to see me again; and were much troubled that I should be in prison; for they looked upon it to be a great shame to them for me to lie in gaol. It was a strange thing then to be imprisoned for religion; and some thought I was mad, because I stood for purity, righteousness and perfection.

Among others that came to see and discourse with me, there was a certain person from Nottingham, a soldier, who had been a baptist, as I understood, and with him came several others. In discourse, this person said to me, "Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there never was any such thing." Being exceedingly grieved to hear him, I said, "How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, through the professing Jews, chief priests, and Pilate?" He denied that ever Christ suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him, Whether there were not chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? When he could not deny that, I told him, As cer-

tainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them, Yet from this man's words was a slander raised upon us, That the Quakers should deny Christ, that suffered and died at Jerusalem: which was all utterly false; the least thought of it never entered our hearts. The same person also said, That never any of the prophets, nor apostles, nor holy men of God, suffered any thing outwardly, but all their sufferings were inward. I instanced to him many of the prophets and apostles, how and by whom they suffered. So the power of the Lord was brought over his wicked imaginations and whimsies.

There came also another company to me, that pretended they were triers of spirits: I asked them, What was the first step to peace? And what it was by which a man might see his salvation? They were presently up in the airy mind, and said, I was mad. Thus they came to try spirits, who did not know themselves nor their own spirits.

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

‘ I AM moved to write unto you, to take heed of putting  
‘ men to death for stealing cattle, or money, &c. for  
‘ thieves in old time were to make restitution; and if they  
‘ had not wherewith, they were to be sold for their theft.  
‘ Mind the laws of God in the scriptures, and the Spirit  
‘ that gave them forth; let them be your rule in exc-  
‘ cuting judgment; and shew mercy, that you may receive  
‘ mercy from God, the judge of all. Take heed of gifts and  
‘ rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and  
‘ they blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give li-  
‘ berty to sin, God hath forbidden it; but that you should  
‘ judge according to his laws, and shew mercy; for he de-  
‘ lighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beseech you,

‘mind these things, prize your time, now you have it; fear God, and serve him, for he is a consuming fire.’

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

‘**I** AM moved to write unto you, that ye do true justice to every man ; see that none be oppressed nor wronged, nor any oaths imposed ; for the land mourneth because of oaths, adulteries, forceries, drunkenness, and prophane-ness. O consider, ye that are in authority : be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Shew mercy to the fatherless, to the widows, and to the poor. Take heed of rewards or gifts, for they blind the eyes of the wise ; the Lord doth loath all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice and righteousness ; for the Lord delighteth in such. Consider these things in time, and take heed how ye spend your time. Now ye have time, prize it ; and shew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord : for he is coming to try all things, and will plead with all flesh as by fire.’

Moreover, I laid before the judges what an hurtful thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in gaol ; shewing how they learned wickedness one of another, in talking of their bad deeds ; therefore speedy justice should be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God ; and being grieved to hear their bad language, I was often made to reprove them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other. People admired that I was so preserved and kept ; for they never could catch a word or action from me, to make any thing of against me, all the time I was there ; for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preserved me all that time ; to him be praises and glory for ever !

While I was here, there was a young woman in the gaol for robbing her master. When she was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and jury, shewing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing ; and moving them to shew mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her ; and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God ; and that all should fear the Lord, avoid earthly lusts, and prize their

time while they have it: this I gave to be read at the gallows. And though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back to prison, where she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

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

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

‘ **Y**OU who are without Christ, and yet use the words which he and his saints have spoken, consider neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but our Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He brings out of prison and bondage; but men, while the carnal mind rules, oppress and imprison. My Saviour's faith, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you." For the love of God doth not persecute any, but loveth all where it dwelleth. "He that hateth

“his brother is a murderer.” You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ; yet you have imprisoned me, who am a servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any, but were imprisoned themselves. Take heed of speaking of Christ in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the imprisoning my body is to satisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures; and that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand, is this written.’

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

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

CHRIST was ever hated; and the righteous for his sake. Mind who they were that did ever hate them. He that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit; so it is now. Mind who were the chiefest against Christ; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers, and teachers, that professed the law and the prophets, and looked for Christ. They looked for an outwardly-glorious Christ, to hold up their outward glory; but Christ spoke against the works of the world, and against the priests, scribes, and pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ, is an hireling; but the servants of Christ are free men. False teachers always laid burdens upon the people; and the true servants of the Lord declared against them. Jeremiah spoke against hirelings, and said, It was an horrible thing; and, What will ye do in the end? For the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul spoke against such as made gain upon the people, and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous and proud, such as loved pleasures more than God, such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof. “For of this sort,” said he. “are they, that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, who are ever learn-



ing but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth ;  
 men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith, and  
 as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these re-  
 sist the truth ; but they shall proceed no farther, for their  
 folly shall be made manifest unto all men." Moses for-  
 sook honours and pleasures, which he might have enjoy-  
 ed. The apostle in his time saw this corruption entering,  
 which now is spread over the world, of having a form of  
 godliness but denying the power. Ask any of your teach-  
 ers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions or  
 sins? None of them believe that ; but " as long as man  
 is here, he must (say they) carry about with him the body  
 of sin." Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and  
 mastership which Christ denied, and all unrighteousness.  
 Yet multitudes of teachers ! heaps of teachers ! the golden  
 cup full of abominations ! Paul did not preach for wa-  
 ges, but laboured with his hands, that he might be an  
 example to all that follow him. O people, see who fol-  
 low Paul ! The prophet Jeremias said, " The prophets  
 prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means ;"  
 but now the priests bear rule by the means they get from  
 the people : take away their means, and they will bear  
 rule over you no longer. They are such as the apostle  
 said, " Intruded into those things which they never saw,  
 being vainly puffed up with a fleshly mind ;" and as the  
 scriptures declare of some of old, " They go in the way of  
 Cain, who was a murderer, and in the way of Balaam,  
 who coveted the wages of unrighteousness." The prophet  
 Micah also cried against the judges that judged for reward,  
 and the priests that taught for hire, and the prophets that  
 prophesied for money ; yet leaned on the Lord, saying,  
 " Is not the Lord amongst us ?" Gifts blind the eyes of  
 the wise. The gift of God was never purchased with mo-  
 ney. All the holy servants of God did ever cry against  
 deceit ; and where the Lord hath manifested his love, they  
 loath it, and that nature which holdeth it up.\*

Again a concern came upon me to write to the magis-  
 trates of Derby.

Friends,

**I** DESIRE you to consider in time whom ye imprison ;  
 for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-  
 doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But when

‘ the Lord sends his messengers to warn you of the woes  
‘ that will come upon you except you repent, you perse-  
‘ cute them, put them in prison, and say, “ We have a  
‘ law, and by our law we may do it.” For you indeed jus-  
‘ tify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts.  
‘ He will not be worshipped with your forms, professions,  
‘ and shews of religion. Therefore consider, ye that talk of  
‘ God, how ye are subject to him; for those are his children  
‘ that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you,  
‘ but to do justice, to love and shew mercy, to walk hum-  
‘ bly with him, and to help the widows and fatherless  
‘ to their right? But instead thereof ye oppress the poor.  
‘ Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your priests  
‘ teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who seeth all  
‘ things will discover all your secrets. Know this assuredly,  
‘ The Lord will deliver his servants out of your hands, and  
‘ he will recompense all your unjust dealings towards his  
‘ people. I desire you to consider of these things; search  
‘ the scriptures, and see, whether any of the people of God  
‘ did ever imprison any for religion. They were them-  
‘ selves imprisoned. I desire you to consider, that it is  
‘ written, “ When the church is met together ye may all  
‘ prophesy one by one, that all may hear, learn, and be  
‘ comforted;” and then, “ If any thing be revealed to  
‘ him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.” Thus  
‘ it was in the true church, and thus it ought now to be;  
‘ but it is not so in your assemblies. He that teaches for  
‘ hire may speak, and none may contradict him. Again,  
‘ consider the liberty given to the apostles, even among the  
‘ unbelieving Jews, when after the reading of the law and  
‘ the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them,  
‘ “ Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation  
‘ for the people, say on.” I desire you to consider in still-  
‘ ness, and strive not against the Lord; for he is stronger  
‘ than you. Though ye hold his people fast for a time,  
‘ yet when he cometh, he will make known who are his;  
‘ for his coming is like the refiner’s fire, and like fuller’s  
‘ soap. Then the stone that is set at nought by you build-  
‘ ers shall be the head-stone of the corner. O friends, lay  
‘ these things to heart. Let them not seem light things to  
‘ you. I wrote to you in love, to mind the laws of God,  
‘ and your own souls, and to do as the holy men of God  
‘ did.’

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

‘ **A**S the waters run away when the flood-gates are up,  
‘ so doth the visitation of God's love pass away from  
‘ thee, O Derby! Therefore look where thou art, and how  
‘ thou art grounded; and consider, before thou art utterly  
‘ forsaken. The Lord moved me twice before I came to  
‘ cry against the deceits and vanities that are in thee, and  
‘ to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The  
‘ wo is against the crown of pride, against drunkenness  
‘ and vain pleasures, and against them that make a profes-  
‘ sion of religion in words, yet are high and lofty in mind,  
‘ and live in oppression and envy. O Derby! thy profes-  
‘ sion and preaching stinks before the Lord. You profess  
‘ a sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves  
‘ in fine apparel, and you uphold pride. Thy women go  
‘ with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, &c. which  
‘ the true prophets of old cried against. Your assemblies  
‘ are odious, an abomination to the Lord: pride is set up  
‘ and bowed down to, covetousness abounds, and he that  
‘ doth wickedly is honoured. So deceit bears with deceit.  
‘ yet they profess Christ in words. Oh! the deceit that is  
‘ within thee! It even breaks my heart to see how God is  
‘ dishonoured in thee, O Derby!’

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

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magistrates were uneasy about me; but could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have sent me up to

the parliament; another while they would have banished me to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, a feeder, and a blasphemer. Afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, they stiled me an honest virtuous man. But their good report and bad report were nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other cast me down: praised be the Lord! At length they were made to turn me out of gaol, about the beginning of winter in the year 1651, after I had been a prisoner in Derby almost a year; six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common gaol.

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

As I was walking with several friends, I lifted up my head, and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was? They said, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go thither. Being come to the house we were going to, I wish'd friends to walk into the house, saying nothing to them whither I was to go. As soon as they were gone I slept away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping their sheep. Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled, and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying; Cry, "Wo to the bloody city of Lichfield!" So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, WO TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD! It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, WO TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD! And no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to

me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood. When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace; and returning to the shepherds gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes again, and was at a stand whether I should or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do: then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again. After this a deep consideration came upon me, for what reason I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it THE BLOODY CITY! For though the parliament had the minister one while, and the king another, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to understand, that in the emperor Dioclesian's time a thousand christians were martyr'd in Lichfield. So I was to go, without my shoes, through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market-place, that I might raise up the memorial of the blood of those martyrs, which had been shed above a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets. So the sense of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the Lord. Ancient records testify how many of the christian Britons suffered there. Much I could write of the sense I had of the blood of the martyrs, that hath been shed in this nation for the name of Christ, both under the ten persecutions and since; but I leave it to the Lord, and to his book, out of which all shall be judged; for his book is a most certain record, and his Spirit a true recorder.

Then I passed through the countries, having meetings amongst friendly people in many places; but my relations were offended at me. After some time I returned into Nottinghamshire, to Mansfield, and into Derbyshire, visiting friends. Then passing into Yorkshire, I preached repentance through Doncaster, and several other places; and came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and others were convinced. So travelling through several places, preaching repentance, and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Nayler lived; who, with Thomas Goodyear, came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife, with many more came to me, who were

convinced, and received the truth. From thence I passed towards captain Purfloe's by Selby, and visited John Leek, who had been to see me in Derby prison, and was convinced. I had a horse, but was fain to leave him, not knowing what to do with him; for I was moved to go to many great houses, to admonish and exhort the people to turn to the Lord. I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverly steeple-house, which was a place of high profession. Being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn. As soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house said, "What! is it you? Come in," as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself, and went to bed. In the morning, my cloaths being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had, went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him and to the people in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong, that it struck a mighty dread amongst the people. The mayor came and spoke a few words to me; but none had power to meddle with me. So I passed out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple-house about two miles off. When the priest had done I was moved to speak to him and to the people very largely, shewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said, he was but a child, and could not dispute with me. I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one seed which the promise of God was to, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them: but I directed them to their teacher, Christ Jesus; and the next day went to Cranfick, to captain Purfloe's, who accompanied me to justice Hotham's. Justice Hotham was a pretty tender man, and had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet; where sitting together, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now send his servants to publish it abroad to the people. After awhile a priest came to visit him, with whom I had some discourse concerning truth. His mouth was

quickly flopt; for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

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

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

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

In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, about three miles off, where preached a great high priest, called a doctor, one of them whom justice Hotham would have sent for to have spoken with me. I went into the steeple-house, and staid till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." Then was I moved of the Lord God to say to him, "Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them? Mayst thou not blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spake the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to his minist-

ters, whom he sent to preach, "Freely ye have received, freely give?" The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people. I directed them from darkness to the light, and to the grace of God that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

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

From hence I passed on, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I bid the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said Thee and Thou to her, she looked strangely on me. I asked her if she had any milk? She said, No. I was sensible she spake falsely; and, being willing to try her further, I asked her, If she had any cream? She denied that she had any. There stood a churn in the room, and a little boy playing about, put his hands into it, and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifested to be a liar. She was amazed, blessed herself, took up the child, and whipped it sorely: but I reproved her for her lying and deceit. After the Lord had thus discovered her deceit and perverseness, I walked out of the house, and went away till I came to a stack of hay, and lay in the hay-stack that night, in rain and snow; it being but three days before the time called Christmas.

The next day I came into York, where were several very tender people. Upon the first-day following, I was commanded of the Lord to go and speak to priest Bowles and



his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went. When the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. "Then say on quickly," said a professor, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them, This was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps. But I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging, and several were convinced there. For what arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, strike them, and make them confess that the groans which brake forth through me did reach them: for my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit.

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

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

The day following I went to Cleaveland, amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God. They had formerly had great meetings, but were then shattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned Ranters. I told them, That after they had such meetings, they did not wait upon God to feel his power to gather their minds inward, that they might feel his presence and power amongst them in their meetings, to sit down therein and wait upon him: for

they had spoken themselves dry; they had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of, they were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings still; but they took tobacco, and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose. But my message unto them from the Lord was, That they should all come together again, and wait to feel the Lord's power and Spirit in themselves; to gather them to Christ, that they might be taught of him, who says, "Learn of me." For when they had declared that which the Lord had opened to them, then the people were to receive it; and both the speakers and the hearers were to live in that themselves. But when these had no more to declare, but went to seek forms without life, that made themselves dry and barren, and the people also; and from thence came all their loss: for the Lord renews his mercies and his strength to them that wait upon him. The heads of them came to nothing: but most of the people were convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

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

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

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

The priest of this town was a lofty one, who much op-

pressed the people for his tythes. If they went a fishing many leagues off, he would exact the tythe-money of what they made of their fish, though they caught them at a great distance, and carried them as far as Yarmouth to sell. I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, to declare the truth, and lay open the priest. When I had spoken to him, and laid his oppressing of the people upon him, he fled away. The chief of the parish were very light and vain. After I had spoken the word of life to them, I turned away from them, because they did not receive it; and left them. But the word of the Lord, which I had declared amongst them, stuck with some, so that at night some of the heads of the parish came to me. Most of them were convinced and satisfied, and confessed to the truth. Thus the truth began to spread in that country, and great meetings we had; at which the priest began to rage, and the Ranters to be stirred; who sent me word they would have a dispute with me; both the oppressing priest and the leader of the Ranters. A day was fixed, and the Ranter came with his company. Another priest, a Scotchman, came; but not the oppressing priest of Stath. Philip Scafe was with me; and a great number of people met. When we were settled, T. Bushel, the Ranter, told me, He had had a vision of me, that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; which he did. I told him, It was his own figure; and said, "Repent, thou beast." He said it was jealousy in me to say so. I asked him the ground of jealousy, and how it came to be bred in man? And the nature of a beast, what made it, and how it was bred in man? For I saw him directly in that nature of the beast; and therefore I queried how that nature came to be bred in him? I told him, He should give me an account of things done in the body, before we came to discourse of things done out of the body. So I stopt his mouth, and his fellow Ranters were silenced: for he was the head of them. Then I called for the oppressing priest; but only the Scotch priest came, whose mouth was soon stopt, with a very few words, he being out of the life of what he professed. Then I had good opportunity with the people. I laid open the Ranters, ranking them with the old Ranters in Sodom. The priests I manifested to be of the same stamp with their fellow hirelings, the false prophets of old, and the priests that then bore rule over the people by their means, seeking their

gain from their quarter, divining for money, and teaching for filthy lucre. I brought all the prophets, Christ and the apostles, over the heads of the priests, shewing how the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, had long since discovered them by their marks and fruits. I directed the people to the inward teacher, Christ Jesus their Saviour; and preached up Christ in the hearts of his people, when all these mountains were laid low. The people were all quiet, and the gainfayers mouths were stopped; for though they broiled inwardly, the divine power so bound them down, that they could not break out.

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

Another priest came to a meeting where I was; one in repute above all the priests in the country. As I was declaring, that the gospel was the power of God, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men, and was turning people from darkness to light; this high-flown priest said, The gospel was mortal. I told him, The true minister said, The gospel was the power of God; and would he make the power of God mortal? Upon that, the other priest Philip Scafe, that was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himself, took him up and reproved him; so a great dispute arose between them: the

convinced priest holding that the gospel was immortal, and the other holding it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this opposer, and stopped his mouth; and many were convinced, seeing the darkness of the opposing priest, and the light that was in the convinced priest.

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

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

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

I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there

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

him, and by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were. So having had a large opportunity among them, I departed in peace.

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

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

From thence I passed into the country, and the priest that called me brother (in whose school-house I had the meeting at Pickering) went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang. I asked what they rang for? They said, For me to preach in the steeple-house.

After some time I felt drawings that way: and as I walked to the steeple-house, I saw the people gathered together in the yard. The old priest would have had me gone into the steeple-house. I said, It was no matter. But it was something strange to the people, that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. I stood up in the steeple-house yard, and declared to the people, That I came not to hold up their idol-temple, nor their priests, nor their tythes, nor their augmentations, nor their priests-wages, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions (for I denied all these) and told them, that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. I shewed them, that the apostles going into the Jews synagogues and temples, which God had commanded, was to bring people off from that temple, and those synagogues, and from the offerings, tythes, and covetous priests of that time; that such as came to be convinced of the truth, converted to it, and believed in Jesus Christ, whom the apostles preached, met together in dwelling-houses; and that all who preach Christ, the Word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he commanded. So I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ; and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tythes and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess, when they say, They never heard God's nor Christ's voice. I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, directing them to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts; that they might come to know Christ, their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the scriptures to them: Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced: blessed be the Lord.

I passed to another town, where was another great meeting, the old priest being with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. I sat on a hay-stack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to furnish them from words. The professors would ever and anon be speaking to



the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak? He bade them wait; and told them, that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spoke. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power. The word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

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

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

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

Now I came towards Crantfick to captain Purfloe's and

justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad the Lord's power had so appeared, that truth was spread and so many had received it, and that justice Robinson was so civil. Justice Hotham said, If God had not raised up this principle of light and life, which I preached, the nation had been over-run with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; because, said he, they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth overthrows their principle in the root and ground thereof; therefore he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

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

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

The next day, friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. I came towards night into a town called Patrington. As I walked along the town, I warned both priests and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent and turn to the Lord. It grew dark before I came to the end of the town, and a multitude of people gathered about me, to whom I declared the word of life.

When I had cleared myself I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. I desired a little meat or milk, and I would pay for it; but they refused. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed, and asked me, What news? I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I was gone a pretty way, I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat, drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. I went to another house, and desired the

fame; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; but I discerned a ditch, and got a little water and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch; and, being weary with travelling, I sat down amongst the furze bushes till it was day. About break of day I got up, and passed on the fields. A man came after me with a great pikestaff, and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; and exhorted them to repent. But they seized me, and had me back to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, flaves, and halberds. When I was come to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and constables were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongst them, and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice. When I was come near his house, a man came riding after us, and asked me, whether I was the man that was apprehended? I asked him, wherefore he asked? He said, for no hurt. I told him, I was: so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said, It was well if the justice was not drunk before we got to him; for he used to get drunk early. When I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat, and said Thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me, whether I was not mazed or fond? The man told him, no; it was my principle. I warned him to repent, and come to the light, which Christ had enlightened him withal; that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and turn to Christ Jesus whilst he had time; and that whilst he had time he should prize it. Ay, ay, said he, the light that is spoken of in the third of John. I desired he would mind it, and obey it. As I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and shewed him I had no letters. He said, he is not a vagrant by his linen: then he let me at

liberty. I went back to Patrington with the man that had rode before me to the justice: for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me had a meeting at the Cross; but I said, it was no matter, his house would serve. He desired me to go to bed, or lie down upon a bed; which he did, that they might say they had seen me in or upon a bed, for they had got a report that I would not lie on any bed, because I laid many times without doors. When first-day was come I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Presently after I had a great meeting at the man's house where I lay, and many were convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses of it to this day; and they were exceedingly grieved that they did not receive me, nor give me lodging, when I was there before.

From hence I travelled through the country to the furthest part thereof, warning people in towns and villages to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus, their teacher.

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

I returned to Patrington again, and visited those friends that were convinced there; by whom I understood, that a taylor and some wild blades in that town had occasioned my being carried before the justice. The taylor came to ask me forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. That which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the steeple-house at Oram not long before, a professor gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bid me get out of the church. Alas! poor man! said I, dost thou call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people whom God hath purchased with his blood, and not the house. It happened that justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse, sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the sessions; so afflicted was he with the truth, and so zealous to keep the peace: and indeed this justice had asked me be-

fore, whether any had meddled with me or abused me? But I was not to tell him any thing of that kind; but was to forgive all.

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

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

Afterwards I came to Balby, visited friends up and down in those parts, and then passed into the edge of Nottinghamshire, visiting friends there: and so into Lincolnshire, and visited friends there. On first-day I went to a steeple-house on this side of Trent, and in the afternoon to another on the other side of Trent, declaring the word of life to the people, and directing them to their teacher Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might hear him and receive salvation by him. Then I went further into the country, and had several meetings. To one meeting came a great man, a priest, and many professors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their way peaceably. There came a man to that meeting, who had been at one before, and raised a false accusation against me, and made a noise up and down the country, reporting, that I said I was Christ; which was utterly false. When I came to Gainborough, where a friend had been declaring truth in the market, the town and market-people were all in an uproar. I went into a friendly man's house, and the people rushed in after me; so that the house was filled with professors, disputers, and rude people. This false accuser came in, and charged me openly before the people, "That I said I was Christ, and he had got witnesses to prove it." Which put the people into such a rage, that they had much to do

to keep their hands off me. I was moved of the Lord to stand up upon the table, in the eternal power of God, and tell the people, "That Christ was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spoke in me at that time unto them; NOT that I was CHRIST." And the people were greatly satisfied, except himself, a professor, and his own false witnesses. I called the accuser Judas, and was moved to tell him that Judas's end should be his; that was the word of the Lord and of Christ through me to him. The Lord's power came over all, and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But this Judas shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave. Afterwards the wicked priests raised a scandal upon us, and reported that a Quaker had hanged himself in Lincolnshire, and had a stake driven through him. This falsehood they printed to the nation, adding sin to sin; which the truth and we were clear of: for he was no more a Quaker than the priest that printed it, but one of their own people. Notwithstanding this wicked slander by which the adversary designed to defame us, and turn people's minds against the truth we held forth, many in Lincolnshire received the gospel, being convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, and sate down therein under his heavenly teaching.

I passed in the Lord's power into Yorkshire, came to Warnsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the forenoon; but they shut the door against me: yet after awhile they let in Thomas Aldam, and then shut it again; and the priest fell upon him, asking him questions. At last they opened the door, and I went in. As soon as I was come in the priest's sight he left preaching, though I said nothing to him; and asked me, "What have you to say?" and presently cried out, "Come, come, I will prove them false prophets in Matthew." But he was so confounded, he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me, asking me many questions; and I stood still all this while, not saying any thing amongst them. At last I said, "Seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them." But as soon as I began to speak, the people violently rushed upon me, thrust me out of the steeple-house again, and locked the door against me. As soon as they had done their service, and were come forth, the people ran upon me, knocked me sorely with their slaves, threw clods and stones at me, and abused me much: the priest also, being in a great rage,

laid violent hands on me himself. I warned them and him of the terrible day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Christ. Being filled with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, but the priest had done before I got thither: so I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward teacher, Jesus Christ.

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

The next first-day I went to Tickhill, whither the friends of that side gathered together, and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house. When I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel. I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; the clerk up with his bible, as I was speaking, and "struck me on the face with it, so that my face gushed out with blood; and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house." The people cried, "Let us have him out of the church." When they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, threw me down, and turned me

over a hedge. They afterwards dragged me through a house into the street, stoning and beating me as they dragged me along; so that I was all over belmeared with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never had again. Yet when I was got upon my legs, I declared the word of life, shewed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonoured christianity. After awhile I got into the meeting again amongst friends, and the priest and people coming by the house, I went with friends into the yard, and there spoke to the priest and people. The priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a trembling himself; and one of the people said, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also." When the meeting was over, friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby about seven or eight miles. Friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people: infomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came and fate at the town to examine the business. He that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking me in the church, as they called it; but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.

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



covered. The truth had great dominion that day: so that those great men present did generally confess to it, saying, "They believed this principle must go over the whole world." There were at this meeting James Nayler, Thomas Goodyear, and William Dewsbury, who had been convinced the year before, and Richard Farnsworth also. The constable staid with Thomas Aldam till the meeting was over, and then went towards York prison; but did not meddle with me.

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

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

The priest of that church, which James Nayler had been a member of, whose name was Marshal, raised many wicked slanders upon me, as, "That I carried bottles about with me, and made people drink of my bottles, which made them follow me." And, "That I rid upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon my black horse in one hour, and in the same hour in another country threescore miles off;" and, "That I should give a fellow money to follow me when I was on my black horse." With these hellish lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies he preached many of his hearers away

from him ; for I travelled on foot, and had no horse at that time ; and that the people generally knew. The Lord soon after met with this envious priest, and cut him off in his wickedness.

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

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

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market-town, where a lecture was held that day. I went into the steeple-house, where many priests, professors and people were. The priest that preached, took for his text those words of Jeremiah, chap. 5. ver. 31. " My people love to have it so : " leaving out the foregoing words, viz. " The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." I shewed the people his deceit ; and directed them to Christ,

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

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

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

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

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

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Farnsworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wentzerdale, and at the market-town in that dale there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and, after the priest had done, 'proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people; warning them to turn from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive his teaching, who teacheth freely.' Largely and freely did I declare the word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there. Afterwards I passed up the dales, warning people to fear God; and preaching the everlasting gospel. In my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending I was mad, and had got away from my relations; and they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake; and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay, but I was not to stay there. Having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, that thro' it they might come unto him, and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little alehouse on a common, where a company of rude fellows were drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck me with their clubs. But I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then walked out of the house upon the common in the night. After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but perceiving he had a knife, I kept off him, and bid him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by his power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again. Next morning I went through other dales, warning and exhorting people every where, as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord; and several were convinced. At one house, the man of the house whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's, would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

As I travelled through the dales, I came to another

man's house, whose name was Tennant. I was moved to speak to the family, and declare God's everlasting truth to them; and as I was turning away from them, I was moved to turn again, and speak to the man himself; who was convinced, with his family, and lived and died in the truth. Thence I came to major Bousfield's, who received me, as did several others. Some that were then convinced have stood faithful ever since. I went also through Gryfedale, and several other of those dales; in which some were convinced. In Dent many were convinced also. From major Bousfield's I came to Richard Robinson's, and declared the everlasting truth to him.

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

The same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired. I went and declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard; and many of the people of the fair came to me, with abundance of priests and professors. 'There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord, and the word of life for several hours; shewing, that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers to Christ the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, shewing, that they were like those that were of old condemned by the prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God.' Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared. At last a captain said, 'Why will you not go into the Church? This is not a fit place to preach in.' I told him, I denied their church. Then stood up Francis Howgill, who was preacher to a congregation. He had not seen me before; yet he undertook to answer that captain; and soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill of me, 'This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes.' After this, I opened to the people, that that ground and house was no

holier than another place; and that the house is not the church, but the people, whom Christ is the head of. After awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said, I was mad; so they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, who were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

The next first-day I came to Firbank Chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said, He thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprize him: but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner; but abundance staid till they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publickly; for they were not parish-teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publickly against them; but I said, They must leave me to the Lord's movings. While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people; to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and largely for about the space of three hours; directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves; that they might be turned from darkness to light, and believe in it, that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of Satan unto God; and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. In the openings of heavenly life, I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ, the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that

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

After the meeting, I went to John Audland's, and from thence to Preston Patrick Chapel, where a great meeting was appointed; to which I went, and had a large opportunity to preach the everlasting gospel; acquainting the people that the end of my coming into that place was not to

hold it up; no more than the apostles going into the Jewish synagogues and temple was to uphold those; but to bring them off from all such things (as the apostles brought the faints of old from off the Jewish temple and Aaron's priesthood) that they might come to witness their bodies to be the temples of God, and Christ in them to be their teacher.

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

From thence I went to Under-barrow, to Miles Bate-man's; and several going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest and many professors came to the house; and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them; but told them, If they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for, and some against it. In the morning, after I had spoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Mean while some that were in the house, coming out, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said, I could not have gone so far in such an instant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me, that many of them were against having a meeting with me. I told them, I ran after those poor people to give them some mo-



ney; being grieved at their hard-heartedness, who gave them nothing. Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty; who, being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came. A great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after awhile the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Under-barrow were convinced that day, received the word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus. After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel yard. Whereupon I took a bible and opened the scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the light of Christ and Spirit of God, knew when I spake scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priests form to them.

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

I came the next day to James Taylor's, of Newton in Cartmel, in Lancashire. On first-day I went to the chapel, where priest Camelford used to preach; and after he had done, I began to speak the word of life to the people. But he was in such a rage, did so fret, and was so peevish, that he had no patience to hear; but stirred up the rude multitude, who haled me out, struck, and threw me headlong over a stone wall. Yet blessed be the Lord, his power preserved me. He that did this violence to me, was John Knipe, a wicked man, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. There was a youth in the chapel, writing after the priest. I was moved to speak to him, and he came to be convinced, and received a part of the ministry of the gospel: his name was John Brathwait.

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

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to a steeple-house or chapel called Lyndal. When the priest

had done, I spoke to him and the people what the Lord commanded me, and there were great opposers; but afterwards they came to be convinced. After this I went to captain Sands, who with his wife seemed somewhat affected with truth: and if they could have held the word and truth together, they would have received it; but they were hypocrites, and he a very chaffy light man. Wherefore I reprov'd him for his lightness and jesting; telling him, It was not seemly in a great professor as he was. Thereupon he told me, He had a son, who upon his death-bed had also reprov'd him for it, and warn'd him of it. But he neither regarded the admonition of his dying son, nor the reproofs of God's Spirit in himself.

From hence I went to Ulverstone, and to Swarthmore to judge Fell's; whither came one Lampitt, a priest, who was an high notionist. With him I had a great deal of reasoning; for he would talk of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own or join with him, he was so full of filth. He said, He was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him, 'Death reign'd from Adam to Moses; and that he was under death, and knew not Moses: for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses, nor the prophets, nor John.' For that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruption; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord. He confess'd he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do any thing. I told him, 'Now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him: but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same Spirit that they were in.' Margaret Fell had been abroad in the day-time; and at night her children told her, priest Lampitt and I had disagreed; which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had great reasoning; and I declared the truth to her and her family. Next day Lampitt came again, and I had a great deal of discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest. A conviction of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Soon after a day was to be observed for an humiliation; and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she was not wholly come

off from them: I replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them." When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, 'He is not a Jew that is one outward; but he is a Jew that is one inward, whose praise is not of man, but of God.' Then, as the Lord opened further, I shewed them, 'That He was come to teach his people by his Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships, and ways were but talking of other men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which those were in who gave them forth.' Then cried out one justice Sawrey, "Take him away;" but judge Fell's wife said to the officers, "Let him alone; why may he not speak, as well as any other?" Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit, said, "Let him speak." So at length, when I had declared a pretty while, justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spoke to the people in the grave-yard.

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

From thence I passed to Ramfide, where was a chapel, in which Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was an eminent priest. He very lovingly acquainted his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon; by which means many were gathered together. When I came, I saw there was no place so convenient as the chapel: wherefore I went into the chapel, and all was quiet. Thomas Lawson went not up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. The everlasting day of the eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlasting truth was largely declared; which reached and entered into the hearts of the people, and many received the truth in the love of it. This priest came to be convinced, left his chapel, threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After that some rude people cast scandals upon him, and thought to have done him an injury; but he was carried over all, grew in the wis-

dom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

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

From thence I went into the island of Walnah; and after the priest had done, I spoke to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were something rude. I went to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen. The people said, he went to hide himself in the hay-mow, and they looked for him there, but could not find him. Then they said, he was gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there neither. I went to James Lancaster's, who was convinced in the island, and from thence returned to Swarthmore, where the Lord's power seized upon Margaret Fell, her daughter Sarah, and several others.

Then I went to Becliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said, they could not dispute; and would fain have put some other to hold talk with me; but I bid them, "Fear the Lord; and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice." I directed them to the Divine Light of Christ and his Spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins. This I told them was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the light that shewed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death. strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world: and by the same light they might see Christ that died for them to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.'

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaston: which was built, but never a priest had preached in it. Thither

the country people came; and a quiet, peaceable meeting it was, in which the word of life was declared, and many were convinced of the truth about Gleaston.

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

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

Soon after, judge Fell being come home, Margaret his wife sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and I, feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, went back to Swarthmore. I found the priests and professors, and justice Sawrey, had much incensed judge Fell and captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him, I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me, "If I was that George Fox whom justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation of amongst many of the parliament men?" I told him, I had been with justice Robinson, and justice Hotham, in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God, that the principle which I bore testimony to was the truth, and they saw beyond the priests of the nation; so that they and many others were now come to be wiser than their teachers. After we had discoursed a pretty while together, judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world; and did not go to hear them for some years before he died; for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of his people, and their Saviour. He sometimes

wished that I was awhile with judge Bradshaw to discourse with him. There came to judge Fell's captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incense the judge against me; for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me; yet he could speak high things, use the scripture-words, and say, "Behold, I make all things new." But I told him, Then he must have a new God; for his God was his belly. Besides him came also that envious justice John Sawrey. I told him, "His heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim." Several others also came, whose states the Lord gave me a discerning of; and I spoke to their conditions. While I was in those parts, Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler came to see me and the family; and judge Fell, being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, suffered the meeting to be kept at his house; and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued near forty years, until the year 1690, that a new meeting-house was erected near it.

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

The first-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, amongst the soldiers and people, to whom I declared the word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them, That all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the scriptures, were good for nothing, while they lived out of the life and power which those were in who gave forth the scriptures. I directed them to the light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to

be acquainted with God and Christ, receive him for their teacher, and know his kingdom set up in them.

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

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

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

The first-day after I had a very large meeting in Underbarrow at Miles Bateman's, where I was moved to declare, ' That all people in the fall were gone from the image of ' God, righteousness, and holiness, and were become as ' wells without the water of life, as clouds without the heavenly rain, as trees without the heavenly fruit; and were ' degenerated into the nature of beasts, of serpents, of tall ' cedars, of oaks, of bulls, and of heifers: so that they ' might read the natures of these creatures within, as the ' prophets described them to the people of old, that were ' out of truth. I opened to them, how some were in the ' nature of dogs and swine, biting and rending; some in ' the nature of briars, thistles, and thorns; some like the ' owls and dragons in the night; some like the wild asses, ' and horses, snuffing up the wind; and some like the

‘ mountains and rocks, and crooked and rough ways.  
 ‘ Wherefore I exhorted them to read these things within in  
 ‘ their own natures, as well as without: and that, when  
 ‘ they read without of the wandering stars, they should look  
 ‘ within, and see how they have wandered from the bright  
 ‘ and morning star. And they should consider, that as  
 ‘ the fallow ground in their fields must be plowed up before  
 ‘ it would bear seed to them, so must the fallow ground of  
 ‘ their hearts be plowed up before they could bear seed to  
 ‘ God. All these names and things I shewed were spoken  
 ‘ of and to man and woman, since they fell from the image  
 ‘ of God; but as they come to be renewed again into the  
 ‘ image of God, they come out of the natures of these  
 ‘ things, and so out of the names thereof.’ Many more  
 such things were declared to them, and they were turned  
 to the light of Christ, by which they might come to know  
 and receive him, and might witness him to be their sub-  
 stance, their way, their salvation and true teacher. Many  
 were convinced at that time.

After I had travelled up and down in those countries, having great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again; and when I had visited friends awhile in those parts, I heard of a great meeting the priests were to have at Ulverstone on a lecture-day. I went to it, and into the steeple-house in the dread and power of the Lord. When the priest had done, I spoke among them the word of the Lord, which was as an hammer, and as a fire amongst them. And though Lampitt, the priest of the place, had been at variance with most of the priests before, yet against the truth they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; and so wonderful was the appearance thereof, that priest Bennet said, “The church shook;” inasmuch that he was afraid and trembled. And after he had spoken a few confused words, he hastened out for fear the steeple-house would fall on his head. There were many priests got together, but they had no power as yet to persecute.

When I had cleared my conscience amongst them, I went to Swarthmore again. Thither came four or five of the priests. In discourse, I asked them, “Whether any  
 “ one of them could say, he ever had the word of the Lord  
 “ to go and speak to such or such a people?” None of them durst say he had; but one of them burst into a passion, and said, “He could speak his experiences as well as  
 “ I.” I told him experience was one thing; but to receive



and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord as the prophets and apostles had, and as I had had to them, was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again; "Could any one of them say, he ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time?" But none of them could say so. Then I told them, The false prophets, false apostles, and antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though themselves never knew nor heard the voice of God and Christ: and such as they might get the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open. For at another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, "Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him to go to such or such a people, to declare his word or message unto them!" for any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the scriptures. Hereupon Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before judge Fell, "That he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people; but he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached." This very much confirmed judge Fell in the persuasion, "That the priests were wrong;" for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, "That they were sent from God."

Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time, and travelled with me into Westmoreland. Coming to Crossland steeple-house, we found the people gathered: and the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth (though he was convinced but the day before) so that he declared amongst them, "How he had been before he was convinced," and, like the good scribe converted to the kingdom, he brought forth things new and old to the people, and shewed them, "how the priests were out of the way:" which fretted the priest. Some little discourse I had with them, but they fled away; and a precious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's power was over all, and the people were directed to the Spirit of God, by which they might come to know God and Christ, and to understand the Scriptures aright. After this I passed on, visiting friends, and had very large meetings in Westmoreland.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could to stir up persecution. James Nayler and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby goal, at the instigation of the malicious priests; some of whom prophesied, "That within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing." But blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, his work went on and prospered; for about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein; travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord. Amongst these, Christopher Taylor was one, brother to Thomas Taylor before-mentioned, who had been preacher to a people as well as his brother; but after they had received the knowledge of the truth, they soon came into obedience thereunto, and left their preaching for hire or rewards; and having received a part of the ministry of the gospel, they preached Christ freely, being often sent by the Lord to declare his word in steeple-houses and markets, and great sufferers they were.

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

When meetings were set up, and we met in private houses, Lampitt began to rage. He said, "We forsook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves houses." So many professors began to see how he was declined from that which he had formerly held and preached. Hereupon the case of Jeroboam's calves was opened to the professors, priests, and people. It was manifested unto them, 'That their houses (called churches) were more like Jeroboam's calves houses, even the old mass-houses, which were set up in the darkness of popery, which they who called themselves protestants, and professed to be more enlightened than the papists, did still hold up, altho' God had never commanded them; whereas that temple, which God had commanded at Jerusalem, Christ came to end the service of; and those that received and believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, to dwell in them, and to walk in them. And such were gathered into the name of Jesus, whose Name is above every name, and there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven but by the name of Jesus. And they that were thus gathered met together in several dwelling-houses, which were not called the temple nor the church; but their bodies were the temples of God, and the believers were the church which Christ was the head of. So that Christ was not called the head of an old house, which was made by mens hands, neither did he come to purchase, sanctify, and redeem with his blood an old house, which they called their church; but the people, which he is the head of.' Much work I had in those days with priests and people, concerning their old mass-houses called churches; for the priests had persuaded the people, that they were the houses of God; whereas the apostle says, "Whose house we are," &c. Heb. iii. 6. 'The people in whom he dwells are God's house. The apostle saith, "Christ purchased his church with his own blood;" and Christ calls his church his spouse, his bride, the lamb's wife: so that this title church and spouse was not given to an old house, but to his people the true believers.

On a lecture-day I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey the justice came to

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

gave me a blow with all his might juſt over the back of my hand, as it was ſtretched out; with which blow my hand was ſo bruifed, and my arm ſo benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again; ſo that ſome of the people cried, "He hath ſpoiled his hand for ever having the uſe of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to all that persecuted me) and after awhile the Lord's power ſprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, ſo that in a moment I recovered ſtrength in my hand and arm in the ſight of them all. Then they began to fall out among themſelves: ſome of them came to me, and ſaid, If I would give them money, they would ſecure me from the reſt. But I was moved of the Lord to declare the word of life, and ſhewed them their falſe chriſtianity, and the fruits of their prieſt's miniſtry; telling them, They were more like heathens and Jews, than true chriſtians. Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the miſt of the people, and go into Ulverſtone market. As I went, there met me a ſoldier, with his ſword by his ſide; "Sir," ſaid he to me." I "ſee you are a man, and I am aſhamed and grieved that you ſhould be thus abuſed;" and offered to aſſiſt me in what he could. I told him, The Lord's power was over all, and I walked through the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But ſome of the market people abuſing ſome friends in the market, I turned about, and ſaw this ſoldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his ſword again, if he would go along with me: for I was willing to draw him out from the company leſt ſome miſchief ſhould be done. A few days after, ſeven men fell upon this ſoldier, and beat him cruelly, becauſe he had taken part with friends and me. It was the manner of the persecutors of that country, for twenty or forty people to run upon one man. They fell ſo upon friends in many places, that they could hardly paſs the highways, ſtoning, beating, and breaking their heads. When I came to Swarthmore, I found the friends there dreſſing the heads and hands of friends and friendly people, which had been broken or hurt that day by the profeſſors and hearers of Lampitt. My body and arms were yellow, black and blue, with the bruifes I received amongſt them. Now began the prieſts

to prophesy again, That within half a year we should be all put down and gone.

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

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

When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head; bring the cart, and carry him away to the church-yard." So after they had abused me, they drove me a pretty way out of the town, and there left me. Then went James Lancaster again, to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch; and having washed myself, walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's, where lodged Thomas Lawton, the priest that was convinced. When I came in, I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Nayler. Whereupon they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent an horse for me; but so sore I was with bruises, that I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain. When I was come to Swarthmore, justice Sawrey and justice Thompson of Lancaster granted a warrant against me; but judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me: for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home, he sent warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country. James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evil she had done me; and so did some others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell desired me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him, They could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were; and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made nothing of it; and that I spake of it as a man that had not been concerned: for indeed the Lord's power healed me again.

After I was recovered, I went to Yelland, where was a great meeting. In the evening came a priest to the house, with a pistol in his hand, under pretence to light a pipe of tobacco. The maid of the house seeing the pistol, told her master: who thereupon, clapping his hands on both the door-posts, told him, He should not come in there. While he stood there, keeping the door way, he looked up, and spied over the wall a company of men coming, some armed

with staves, and one with a musket. But the Lord prevented their bloody design; so that seeing themselves discovered, they went their way, and did no harm.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with judge Fell; who on the way told me, He never had such a matter brought before him, and could not well tell what to do in the business. I answered when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. When they had done, Festus the governor and king Agrippa beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those accusations: so he might do by me. Being come to Lancaster, and justice Sawrey and justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions; where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshal, a priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest and two priests sons to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy. When the justices were set, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me; their orator Marshal sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them; but the witnesses were so confounded, that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses. For when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another of them, he was at such a loss, he could not answer directly; but said, The other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "Have you sworn it, and given it in already upon oath, and now say, that he can say it? It seems, you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it?"

There were then in court several who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spoke those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these, being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court, That the oath, which the witnesses had taken against me, was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, most of the serious men of that side of the country, then at the sessions, had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that and other meetings also. This was taken notice of by colonel West, who being a



justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord, and said, The Lord had healed him that day; adding, 'That he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. Then turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, "George, if thou hast any thing to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it." I was moved of the Lord to speak: and as soon as I began, priest Marshal, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare, was this: "That the holy scriptures were "given forth by the Spirit of God; and all people must "first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which "they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets "and apostles learnt; and by the same Spirit know the "holy scriptures; for as the Spirit of God was in them "that gave forth the scriptures, so the same Spirit must be "in all them that come to understand the scriptures. By "which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, "with the Son, with the scriptures, and with one another: "and without this Spirit they can know neither God, "Christ, nor the scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one "with another." I had no sooner spoken these words, but about half a dozen priests, that stood behind me, burst into a passion. One of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the truth, said, That the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, "Then "every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they "might buy the Spirit with the letter of the scriptures." This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved judge Fell and colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them, That according to that position, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the scriptures. Upon this, the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving they were brought to answer the priests envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me. And after judge Fell had spoken to justice Sawrey and justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and shewing them the errors thereof, he and colonel West granted a super-sedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open sessions of those lying accusations which the malicious

priests had laid to my charge: and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson of Westmoreland was convinced; and major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaster, also. It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people: for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, the free Teacher, was exalted and set up; his everlasting gospel was preached, and the word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such lucrative preachers. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak his word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reproved them in their inns, and in the streets, so that they fell, like an old rotten house: and the cry was among the people, That the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen. Many were convinced that day, amongst whom Thomas Briggs was one, who before had been so averse to friends and truth, that discoursing with John Lawson, a friend, concerning perfection, Thomas said to him, "Dost thou hold perfection?" and lift up his hand, to have given the friend a box on the ear. But Thomas, being convinced of the truth that day, declared against his own priest Jackus; and afterwards became a faithful minister of the gospel, and stood so to the end of his days.

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

‘ **D**EAR friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,  
 ‘ my dear love unto you all, desiring you may be  
 ‘ kept steadfast in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the power  
 ‘ of his love, boldly to witness forth the truth, as it is re-  
 ‘ vealed in you by the mighty working of the Father: to  
 ‘ him alone be everlasting praise and honour for evermore!  
 ‘ Dear friends, the Lord doth much manifest his love and  
 ‘ power, in these parts. The second day of the last week  
 ‘ my brother George and I were at Lancaster. There were  
 ‘ abundance of friends from all parts; and a great many  
 ‘ who sided with the priests, giving out, They now hoped  
 ‘ to see a stop put to that great work which had gone on so  
 ‘ fast, and with such power, that their kingdom is much  
 ‘ shaken. We were called before judge Fell, colonel West,  
 ‘ justice Sawrey, &c. to answer what was charged against  
 ‘ George. There were three witnesses to eight particu-

lars, but they were much confused in themselves; which gave much light to the truth: whereby the justices did plainly see that it was envy; and they divers times told them so. One of the witnesses was a young priest, who confessed, He had not meddled, had not another priest sent for him, and set him on work. The other witnesses were two priests sons. It was proved there by many, that heard one of them say, If he had power, he would make George deny his profession, and that he would take away his life. This was a single witness to one of the greatest untruths charged against George. The justices told him, They saw, because he could not take away his life, he went about to take away his liberty. There was one priest chosen out of the whole number, as an orator, to plead against us; who spared no pains to shew his envy against the truth: and when he could not prevail, he went down in a rage; and there came a number of them into the room, among whom was one Jackus. George was then speaking in the room (one of the judges having wished, if he had any thing to say, that he would speak:) at which priest Jackus was in such a rage, that he brake forth into many high expressions against the truth spoken by my dear brother George; amongst which this was one, That the letter and the Spirit were inseparable. Hereupon the justices stood up, and bid him prove that, before he went any further. Then he seeing himself caught, would have denied it; and when he could not get off so, the rest of the priests would have helped him to a meaning for his words: but the justices would admit no other meaning than the plain sense of the words, and told him, He had laid down a position, and it was fit he should prove it; pressing the matter close upon him. Whereupon the priests, being put to silence, went down in a greater rage than before; and some of them, after they were gone down, being asked what they had done, lied, and said, They could not get into the room; thereby to hide their shame, and keep the people in blindness. The justices, judge Fell, and colonel West, were much convinced of the truth, and did set up justice and equity; and have much silenced the rage of the people. Many bitter spirits were at Lancaster, to see the event; but went home, and cried, The priests had lost the day. Everlasting praises be to him who fought the battle for us, who is our King

' for ever! There were others called, who the witnesses  
 ' confessed were in the room when the things charged on  
 ' George were said to have been spoken; but they all, as  
 ' one man, denied that any such words were spoken: which  
 ' gave much light to the justices, and they durst rely on  
 ' what they witnessed; for they said, they knew many of  
 ' them to be honest men. There was a warrant granted  
 ' against us at Appleby; but justice Benfon told them it  
 ' was not according to law; and so it ceased. I hear he is  
 ' a faithful man to the truth. The priests began to preach  
 ' against the justices, and said, They were not to meddle  
 ' in these things, but to end controversy betwixt neighbour  
 ' and neighbour. They are not pleased with the law, be-  
 ' cause it is not in the statute to imprison us, as the priest  
 ' that pleaded against us said. The justices bid him go  
 ' put it into the statute, if he could; he said, It should  
 ' want no will of his. They are much afraid that they  
 ' shall lose all. They are much discontented in these parts;  
 ' and some of them cry, "All is gone." Dear friends,  
 ' dwell in patience, and wait upon the Lord, who will do  
 ' his own work. Look not at man, in the work; nor at  
 ' man, who opposeth the work: but rest in the will of the  
 ' Lord, that so ye may be furnished with patience both to do  
 ' and to suffer what ye shall be called unto; that your end  
 ' in all things may be his praise. Take up his cross freely,  
 ' which keeps low the fleshly man; that Christ may be set  
 ' up and honoured in all things, the light advanced in you,  
 ' and the judgment set up, which must give sentence against  
 ' all that opposeth the truth; that the captivity may be led  
 ' captive, and the prisoner set free to seek the Lord; that  
 ' righteousness may rule in you, and peace and joy may  
 ' dwell in you, wherein consisteth the kingdom of the Fa-  
 ' ther; to whom be all praise for ever! Dear friends, meet  
 ' often together; take heed of what exalteth itself above its  
 ' brother; keep low, and serve one another in love for the  
 ' Lord's sake. Let all friends know how it is with us, that  
 ' God may have the praise of all.'

· Written from Kellert, the 30th day  
 ' of the 8th month, 1652.'

J. N.

At this time I was in a fast, and was not to eat until this  
 work of God, which then lay weighty upon me, was ac-  
 complished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully exalted,  
 and he gave truth and friends dominion therein over

all. His glory was freely preached that day, over the heads of about forty hireling priests. I staid two or three days afterwards in Lancaster, and had some meetings there. The rude and baser sort of people plotted together to have drawn me out of the house, and to have thrown me over Lancaster bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another mischief, which was this: After a meeting at Lancaster, they brought down a distracted man, and another with him, having bundles of birchen rods, bound together like besoms, with which they should have whipped me; but I was moved to speak to them in the Lord's mighty power, which chained down the distracted man, and the other also; and made them calm and quiet. Then I bid him throw his rods into the fire, and burn them; which he did. Thus the Lord's power being over them, they departed quietly.

The priests, fretting to see themselves overthrown at the sessions at Lancaster, got some of the envious justices to join with them; and at the following assize at Lancaster informed judge Windham against me. Whereupon the judge made a speech against me in open court; and commanded colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue a warrant for the apprehending of me; but colonel West told the judge of my innocence, and spoke boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or go from his seat. Then he told the judge plainly, that he would not do it; but that he would offer up all his estate, and his body also for me. Thus he stopped the judge, and the Lord's power came over all; so that the priests and justices could not get their envy executed. The same night I came into Lancaster, it being the assize-time: and hearing of a warrant to be given out against me, I judged it better to shew myself openly, than for my adversaries to seek me. So I went to judge Fell's and colonel West's chambers. As soon as I came in, they smiled on me; and colonel West said, "What! are you 'come into the dragon's mouth?'" I staid till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one meddled with me, nor questioned me. Thus the Lord's blessed power, which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service for his great name's sake. For though the beast

maketh war against the faints, yet the Lamb hath got and will get the victory.

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

From Robert Withers's I went to visit justice West, Richard Hubberthorn accompanying me. Not knowing the way, nor the danger of the sands, we rode where, we

were afterwards told, no man ever rode before, swimming our horses over a very dangerous place. When we were come in, justice West asked us, If we did not see two men riding over the sands? "I shall have their cloaths anon," said he, "for they cannot escape drowning; and I am the "coroner." But when we told him we were the men, he was astonished, and wondered how we escaped drowning. Upon this the envious priests and professors raised a slanderous report, That neither water could drown me, nor could they draw blood of me; and therefore I was a witch: indeed, sometimes when they beat me with great staves, they did not much draw my blood, though they bruised my body very sorely. But all these slanders were nothing to me with respect to myself; though I was concerned on the truth's behalf, which I saw they endeavoured by these means to prejudice people against; for I considered that their forefathers, the apostate Jews, called the master of the house Beelzebub; and these apostate christians from the life and power of God could do no less to his seed. But the Lord's power carried me over their slanderous tongues, and their bloody murderous spirits; who had the ground of witchcraft in themselves, which kept them from coming to God and to Christ.

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

Friend,

THOU wast the first beginner of all the persecution in the north. Thou wast the beginner and maker of the people tumultuous. Thou wast the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seed, and against the truth of God; the first strengthener of the hands of evil-doers against the innocent and harmless: and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrer up of strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers, and imprisoners in the north, and of revilers, slanderers, railers, and false accusers: This was thy work; this thou stirredst up. So thy fruits declare thy spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious, and envious; and taken hand with the wicked.

' Thou hast made the people's minds envious up and down  
 ' the country : this was thy work. But God hath shorten-  
 ' ed thy days, limited and set thy bounds, broken thy jaws,  
 ' discovered thy religion to the simple and babes, and brought  
 ' thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and  
 ' become the habitation of devils ! How is thy beauty lost,  
 ' and thy glory withered ! How hast thou shewed thy evil,  
 ' that thou hast served God but with thy lips, and thy heart  
 ' far from him, and thou in the hypocrisy ! How hath the  
 ' form of thy teaching discovered itself to be the mark of  
 ' the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself ! for by their  
 ' fruits they are known. How are the wise men turned  
 ' backward ! View thy ways ! take notice with whom thou  
 ' hast taken part. That of God in thy conscience will tell  
 ' thee. The Ancient of days will reprove thee. How  
 ' hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal of a persecu-  
 ' tor which Christ and his apostles forbade Christians to fol-  
 ' low ! How hast thou strengthened the hands of evil-  
 ' doers, and been a praise to them, and not to those that  
 ' do well ! How like a madman and a blind man didst  
 ' thou turn thy sword backward against the saints, against  
 ' whom there is no law ! How wilt thou be gnawed and  
 ' burned one day, when thou shalt feel the flame, and have  
 ' the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin  
 ' to gnaw thy tongue for pain, because of the plagues !  
 ' Thou shalt have thy reward according to thy works.  
 ' Thou canst not escape ; the Lord's righteous judgment  
 ' will find thee out, and the witness of God in thy con-  
 ' science shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen  
 ' to blaspheme, gone with the multitude to do evil, and  
 ' joined hand in hand with the wicked ! How is thy lat-  
 ' ter end worse than thy beginning, who art come with the  
 ' dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf to devour the lambs !  
 ' How hast thou discovered thyself to be a man more fit to  
 ' be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be set in a  
 ' place to nurture ! How wast thou exalted and puffed up  
 ' with pride ! And now art thou fallen down with shame,  
 ' that thou comest to be covered with that which thou stir-  
 ' redst up and broughtest forth. Let not John Sawrey  
 ' take the words of God into his mouth till he be reformed :  
 ' let him not take his name into his mouth, till he depart  
 ' from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a pro-  
 ' fession of the saints words, except they intend to proclaim  
 ' themselves hypocrites, whose lives are so contrary to the



• lives of the saints; whose church hath made itself manifest  
 • to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of  
 • godliness, but not the power, have made them that are in  
 • the power your derision, your by-word, and your talk at  
 • your feasts. Thy ill favour, John Sawrey, the country  
 • about have smelled, and of thy unchristian carriage all  
 • that fear God have been ashamed; and to them thou hast  
 • been a grief: in the day of account thou shalt know it,  
 • even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou wast mount-  
 • ed up and hadst set thy nest on high, but never got high-  
 • er than the fowls of the air. Now thou art run among  
 • the beasts of prey, and art fallen into the earth; so that  
 • earthliness and covetousness have swallowed thee up.  
 • Thy conceitedness would not carry thee through, in whom  
 • was found the selfish principle which hath blinded thine  
 • eye. Thy back must be bowed down always; for thy  
 • table is already become thy snare.

G. F.'

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

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

• **T**HE word of the Lord to thee, O Lampitt! A de-  
 • ceiver, surfeited and drunk with the earthly spirit,  
 • rambling up and down in the scriptures, and blending thy  
 • spirit amongst the saints conditions; who hadst a pro-  
 • phecy, as thy father Balaam had, but art erred from it, as  
 • thy father did. One whose fruit hath withered (of which  
 • I am a witness) and many who have known thy fruit have  
 • seen the end of it, that it is withered; and do see where  
 • thou art, in the blind world, a blind leader of the blind;  
 • as a beast wallowing and tumbling in the earth, and in  
 • the lust; one that is erred from the Spirit of the Lord, of  
 • old ordained to condemnation. Thou art in the seat  
 • of the Pharisees, art called of men master, standest pray-  
 • ing in the synagogues, and hast the chief seat in the  
 • assemblies; a right hypocrite in the steps of the Phari-  
 • sees, and in the way of thy fathers, the hypocrites, which  
 • our Lord Jesus Christ cried wo against. Such with the  
 • light thou art seen to be, and by the light art com-  
 • prehended; which is thy condemnation who hatest it, and

' will be so eternally except thou repent. To thee this is  
 ' the word of God; for in Christ's way thou art not, but  
 ' in that of the Pharisees, as thou mayest read, Mat. xxiii.  
 ' All that own Christ's words may see thee there. Christ,  
 ' who died at Jerufalem, cried wo against such as thou art;  
 ' and Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.  
 ' The wo remains upon thee, and from under it thou canst  
 ' never come, but through judgment, condemnation, and  
 ' true repentance. To thee this is the word of God. To  
 ' that of God in thy conscience I speak, which will witness  
 ' the truth of what I write, and will condemn thee. When  
 ' thou art in thy torment (though now thou swellest in thy  
 ' vanity, and livest in wickedness) remember thou wast  
 ' warned in thy life-time. When the eternal condemnation  
 ' is stretched over thee, thou shalt witness this to be the  
 ' word of the Lord God unto thee, and if ever thine eye  
 ' should see repentance, thou wilt witness me to have been  
 ' a friend of thy soul.

G. F.'

Having thus cleared my conscience to the justice and  
 the priest of Ulverstone, it was upon me to send this warn-  
 ing in writing to the people of Ulverstone in general.

' **C**ONSIDER, O people! who are within the parish of  
 ' Ulverstone, I was moved of the Lord to come into  
 ' your publick places to speak among you, being sent of  
 ' God to direct your minds to him, that you might know  
 ' where to find your teacher; that your minds might be  
 ' stayed alone upon God, and you might not gad abroad  
 ' without you for a teacher; for the Lord alone will teach  
 ' his people; he is coming to teach them, and to gather his  
 ' people from idols temples, and from the customary wor-  
 ' ships which all the world is trained up in. God hath  
 ' given to every one of you a measure of his Spirit accord-  
 ' ing to your capacity; liars, drunkards, whoremongers,  
 ' and thieves, and who follow filthy pleasures, you all have  
 ' this measure in you. This is the measure of the Spirit  
 ' of God that shews you sin, evil, and deceit; which lets  
 ' you see lying is sin; theft, drunkenness, and uncleanness,  
 ' to be the works of darkness. Therefore mind your mea-  
 ' sure (for nothing that is unclean shall enter into the king-  
 ' dom of God) and prize your time while you have it, lest  
 ' the time come that you will say, with sorrow, we had

' time, but it is past. Oh! why will ye die! Why will  
' ye choose your own ways! Why will ye follow the course  
' of the world! Why will ye follow envy, malice, drunk-  
' enness, and foolish pleasures! Know ye not in your con-  
' sciences, that all these are evil and sin? and that such as  
' act these things shall never enter into the kingdom of  
' God? Oh! that ye would consider and see how you  
' have spent your time, and mind how ye spend your  
' time, and observe whom ye serve; for the wages of sin is  
' death. Do not ye know, that whatsoever is more than  
' yea and nay cometh of evil? Oh! ye drunkards, who  
' live in drunkenness, do ye think to escape the fire,  
' the judgment of God? Though ye swell in venom, and  
' live in lust for awhile, yet God will find you out, and  
' bring you to judgment. Therefore love the light which  
' Christ hath enlightened you withal, who saith, I am the  
' light of the world, and who enlightens every one that  
' cometh into the world. One loves the light, and brings  
' his works to the light, and there is no occasion at all of  
' stumbling: the other hates the light, because his deeds are  
' evil, and the light will reprove him. Thou that hatest this  
' light, thou hast it. Thou knowest, lying is evil, drunk-  
' enness is evil, swearing is evil, whoredom, theft, all un-  
' godliness, and unrighteousness, are evil. Christ Jesus  
' hath given thee light enough to let thee see these are evil.  
' This light, if thou lovest it, will teach thee holiness and  
' righteousness, without which none shall see God; but if  
' thou hatest this light, it is thy condemnation. Thus  
' are Christ's words found to be true, and fulfilled among  
' you. You that hate this light set up hirelings and idols  
' temples, and such priests as bear rule by their means;  
' such shepherds as hold up such things, such as are called  
' of men masters and have the chiefest place in the assem-  
' blies, whom Christ cried wo against, Mat. xxiii. such  
' as go in the way of Cain, in envy, and after the error of  
' Balaam for wages, gifts, and rewards, these have been  
' your teachers, and these you have held up. But those  
' who love the light are taught of God, and the Lord is  
' coming to teach his people himself, and to gather his from  
' the hirelings, from such as seek for their gain from their  
' quarter, and from such as bear rule by their means. The  
' Lord is opening the eyes of people, that they shall see  
' such as bear rule over them. But all, whose eyes are shut,  
' are such as the prophet spoke of " That have eyes, and

“ see not; but are foolish, upholding such things.” There-  
 ‘ fore, poor people, as ye love your own souls, consider  
 ‘ the love of God to your souls while ye have time, and do  
 ‘ not turn the grace of God into wantonness. That which  
 ‘ shews you ungodliness and worldly lusts should and  
 ‘ would be your teacher, if you would hearken to it; for  
 ‘ the saints of old witnessed the grace of God to be their  
 ‘ teacher, which taught them to live soberly and godly in  
 ‘ this present world. You that are not sober, this grace of  
 ‘ God hath appeared unto you; but you turn it into want-  
 ‘ tonness, and set up teachers without you, who are not  
 ‘ sober, not holy, not godly. Here you are left without  
 ‘ excuse, when the righteous judgment of God shall be re-  
 ‘ vealed upon all who live ungodlily. Therefore to the  
 ‘ light in you I speak; and when the book of conscience  
 ‘ shall come to be opened, then shall you witness what I  
 ‘ say to be true, and you all shall be judged out of it.  
 ‘ God Almighty direct your minds (such of you especially  
 ‘ as love honesty and sincerity) that you may receive mercy  
 ‘ in the time of need. Your teacher is within you; look  
 ‘ not forth: it will teach you both lying in bed, and going  
 ‘ abroad, to shun all occasion of sin and evil.

G. F.’

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

‘ **T**HE word of the Lord God to all the people that follow  
 ‘ priest Lampitt, who is a blind guide. Ye are such  
 ‘ as are turned from the light of Christ within, which he  
 ‘ hath enlightened you withal: ye are such as follow that  
 ‘ which Christ cried wo against, that go not in Christ’s  
 ‘ way, but in the Pharisees way, as ye may read, Mat.  
 ‘ xxiii. which our Lord cried wo against. He is the same  
 ‘ yesterday, to-day, and for ever; but him ye own not  
 ‘ while ye follow such as he cried wo against, though ye  
 ‘ make a profession, and Lampitt, your priest, makes a  
 ‘ trade of Christ’s and the saints words, as his fathers, the  
 ‘ Pharisees, made a profession of the prophets and of Mo-  
 ‘ ses’s words. Wo was unto them who had not the life,  
 ‘ so wo is unto you who have not the life that gave forth  
 ‘ the scriptures, as your fruits have made manifest. For

‘ when the Lord moved some to come amongst you, to  
‘ preach the truth freely, you knock’d them down, beat,  
‘ punched, and haled them out of your assemblies. Such  
‘ a people serves thee, O Lampitt, to make a prey upon,  
‘ and these are thy fruits. Oh! let shame, shame strike  
‘ thee and you all in the faces, who make a profession of  
‘ Christ’s words, yet are stoners, strikers, mockers, and  
‘ scoffers. Let all see, if this be not a cage of unclean  
‘ birds, which they who had the life of the scriptures spoke  
‘ of. Such a company of people thou deceivest, feedest  
‘ them with thy fancies, makest a trade of the scriptures,  
‘ and takest them for thy cloak. But thou art manifest to  
‘ all the children of light, for that cloak will not cover thee,  
‘ thy skirts are seen and thy nakedness appears. The Lord  
‘ made one to go naked among you, a figure of thy naked-  
‘ ness, and of your nakedness, and as a sign amongst you,  
‘ before your destruction cometh; that you might see you  
‘ were naked and not covered with the truth. To the light  
‘ in all your consciences I speak, which Christ Jesus doth  
‘ enlighten you withal. It will shew you the time you  
‘ have spent, and all the evil you have done in that time,  
‘ who follow such a teacher, that acts contrary to this light,  
‘ and leads you into the ditch. When you are in the ditch  
‘ together, both teacher and people, remember ye were  
‘ warned in your life-time. If ever your eye come to see  
‘ repentance, and you obey the light of Jesus Christ in you,  
‘ you will witness me to have been a friend of your souls,  
‘ and that I have fought your eternal good, and written  
‘ this in dear love to you. Then will you own your con-  
‘ demnation; which you must all own before you can come  
‘ into that blessed life, of which there is no end. But ye,  
‘ who hate the light, because your deeds are evil, this light  
‘ is your condemnation. Oh! that ye would love this light  
‘ and hearken to it! It would teach you, as you walk up  
‘ and down about your occasions, and as you lie upon your  
‘ beds, and would never let you speak a vain word. In  
‘ loving it, you love Christ; in hating it, you bring the  
‘ condemnation thereof upon yourselves. To you this is  
‘ the word of God, from under which you can never pass,  
‘ nor ever escape the terror of the Lord in the state you are  
‘ in, who hate the light.

G. F.’

Amongst the chief hearers and followers of priest Lam-

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

‘ Adam Sands,

‘ **T**O the light in thy conscience I appeal, thou child of  
 ‘ the devil, thou enemy of righteousness ; the Lord  
 ‘ will strike thee down, though now for awhile in thy wickedness  
 ‘ thou may’st reign. The plagues of God are due  
 ‘ to thee, who hardenest thyself in wickedness against the  
 ‘ pure truth of God. With the pure truth of God, which  
 ‘ thou hast resisted and persecuted, thou art to be threshed  
 ‘ down, which is eternal, and doth comprehend thee. With  
 ‘ the light which thou despisest thou art seen, and it is thy  
 ‘ condemnation. Thou as one brutish, thy wife as an hypocrite,  
 ‘ and both as murderers of the just, in that which  
 ‘ is eternal are seen and comprehended ; and your hearts  
 ‘ searched, tried, and condemned by the light. The light  
 ‘ in thy conscience will witness the truth of what I write to  
 ‘ thee, and will let thee see that thou art not born of God,  
 ‘ but art out of the truth, in the beastly nature. If ever thy  
 ‘ eye see repentance, thou wilt witness me a friend of thy  
 ‘ soul, and a seeker of thy eternal good.

G. F.’

This Adam Sands afterwards died miserably.

I was moved also to write to priest Tatham.

‘ **T**HE word of the Lord to thee, priest Tatham, who  
 ‘ art found out of the doctrine of Christ ; having the  
 ‘ chiefest place in the assembly, being called of men master,  
 ‘ and standing praying in the synagogue in the steps of the  
 ‘ Pharisees, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried wo against.  
 ‘ In his way thou art not, but in the way of the Scribes  
 ‘ and Pharisees ; as thou mayest read, Matth. xxiii. There  
 ‘ Christ’s words judge thee, and the scriptures of truth condemn  
 ‘ thee. For thou art such a one as sues men at law  
 ‘ for tithes, yet professest thyself to be a minister of Christ ;  
 ‘ which Christ never empowered his to do : neither did any  
 ‘ of his apostles or ministers ever do so. Here I charge  
 ‘ thee in the presence of the Living God as one out of their  
 ‘ doctrine, and that thou art one of those evil beasts the  
 ‘ scripture speaks of, that mindest earthly things which the  
 ‘ life of the scriptures is against. Thou art for destruction

in the state wherein thou standest; and it will be thy portion eternally, if thou dost not repent. To that of God in thy conscience I speak, which will witness the truth of what I say. Thou art one that goest in Cain's way, in envy, an enemy to God, and from the command of God. Thou art one that goest in Balaam's way, from the Spirit of God, for gifts and rewards, the wages of unrighteousness. Thou son of Balaam, thou art worse than thy father: for though he loved the wages of unrighteousness, yet he durst not take it; but thou not only takest it, but suest men at law if they will not give it thee: which no true minister of Jesus Christ ever did. Therefore stop thy mouth for ever, and make no mention of them, nor profess thyself one of them. With the light thou art seen and comprehended; who art light and vain, and speakest a divination of thy own brain, and deceivest the people. That in thy conscience will witness what I say, and will condemn thee, who art one of those that bear rule by their means, which the Lord sent Jeremiah to cry against, Jer. v. and so thou holdest up the "horrible and filthy thing, that is committed in the land." They that do not tremble at the word of the Lord are the foolish people that hold thee up, they are sottish children without understanding. They are wise to do evil, but not to do good, who are deceived by thee. Thou art one of those that seek their gain from their quarter; a greedy dumb dog that never hath enough, as thy practice makes manifest; such the Lord sent Isaiah to cry against, Isa. lvi. 11, 12. Thou art such a one as the Lord sent Ezekiel to cry against, who feedest of the fat, and clovest with the wool, and makest a prey of the people. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from thy mouth, that to thee they shall be a prey no longer. Thou enemy of God, here this prophecy is fulfilled upon thee, Ezek. xxxiv. and thou art one of them. I charge it upon thee in the presence of the Living God. A hireling thou art, and those that put not into thy mouth, thou preparest war against. Thou hatest the good, and lovest the evil; which the Lord sent Micah to cry against, Mic. iii. Cover thy lips, and stop thy mouth for ever, thou child of darkness; for with the light thou art comprehended, and seen to be among them which the holy men of God cried wo against; and by the Spirit of the Living God thou art judged. In the light, which is thy condemnation, thou art comprehended. Thy

‘ race is seen, and thy compass known, who art out of the  
 ‘ commands of Christ, and out of the doctrine and life of  
 ‘ the apostles. Thou art proved and tried. To thee this  
 ‘ is the word of the Lord; to thee it shall be as an hammer,  
 ‘ a fire, and a sword; and from under it thou shalt never  
 ‘ come, unless thou repent; who art with the light to be  
 ‘ condemned, in that state wherein thou standest. If ever  
 ‘ thine eye see repentance, this thy condemnation thou  
 ‘ must own.

G. F.’

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

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

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

Another time this priest came to a meeting, and fell to jangling. First he said, “The scriptures were the word of God.” I told him, they were the words of God, but not



Christ, the Word; and bid him prove by scripture what he said. Then he said, it was not the scripture that was the word; and setting his foot upon the bible, said, it was but copies bound up together. Many unfavoury words came from him, but after he was gone we had a blessed meeting; the Lord's power and presence was preciously manifested and felt among us. Soon after he sent me a challenge to meet him at Kendal. I sent him word he need not go so far as Kendal, for I would meet him in his own parish. The hour being fixed, we met, and abundance of rude people gathered together (besides the baptized people who were his own members) with intent to do mischief, but God prevented them. I declared the day of the Lord to them, and directed them to Christ Jesus. Then the priest out with his bible, and said, It was the word of God. I told him it was the words of God, but not God the Word. His answer was, He would prove the scriptures to be the word before all the people. I let him go on, having a man there that could take down in writing both what he and I said. When he could not prove it (for I kept him to scripture-proof, chapter and verse for it) the people gnashed their teeth for anger, and said, He would have me anon: but in going about to prove that one error, he ran into many. And when at length he saw he could not prove it, he said, he would prove it a God: so he toiled himself afresh, till he sweat again; but could not prove what he had affirmed. And he and his company were full of wrath: for I kept his assertions on the head of him and them all; and told them, I owned what the scriptures said of themselves, namely, that they were the words of God, but Christ was the Word. So the Lord's power came over all, and they being confounded went away. The Lord disappointed their mischievous intentions against me; friends were established in Christ, and many of the priest's followers saw the folly of their teacher.

After this, priest Bennet, of Cartmel, sent a challenge to dispute with me. I came to his steeple-house on a first-day, and found him preaching. When he had done, I spoke to him and his people; yet the priest would not stand the trial, but went his way. After he was gone, I had a great deal of discourse with the people: and when I was come into the steeple-house yard, discoursing further with the professors and declaring truth unto them, one of them set his foot behind me, and two of them ran against

my breast, and threw me down backwards against a gravestone, wickedly and maliciously seeking to have hurt me: but I got up again, and was moved of the Lord to speak to them. Then I went to the priest's house, and desired him to come forth that I might discourse with him, seeing he had challenged me; but he would not be seen. So the Lord's power came over them all, which was greatly manifest at that time. There was amongst the priest's hearers one Richard Roper, one of the bitterest professors the priest had, who was very fierce and hot in contention; but afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, became a minister thereof, and continued faithful to his death.

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

About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's behalf: for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and shew them their out-goings: and they were brought to see their folly, and condemned it, and came into the way of truth again. After some time I went to a meeting at Arncliffe, where Richard Myer was, who had been long lame of one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to say unto him amongst all the people, "Stand up upon thy legs," for he was sitting down; and he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long

time, and said, "Be it known unto you, all people, that "this day I am healed." Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, had him aside, took off his doublet, and then saw it was true. He came soon after to Swarthmore meeting, and there declared how the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from him; which he disobeyed, and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three quarters of a year after.

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

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

About this time also the Lord opened several mouths to declare the truth to priests and people, and divers were cast into prison. I went again into Cumberland; and Anthony Pearson and his wife, and several friends, went along with me to Bootle, where Anthony left me, and went to Carlisle sessions: for he was a justice of the peace in three counties. Upon the first-day I went into the steeple-house at Bootle; and when the priest had done, I began to speak. The people were exceeding rude, and beat me in the steeple-house yard. One gave me a very great blow over my wrist, so that the people thought he had broken my hand to pieces. The constable was very willing to have kept the peace, and would have set some of those by the heels that struck me, if I would have given way to it. After my service amongst them was over, I went to Joseph Nicholson's, and the constable accompanied us, to keep off the rude multitude. In the afternoon I went up again; and then the priest had got another priest to help him, that came from London, who was highly accounted of. Before I went into the steeple-house, I sat a little upon the cross, and friends with me; but they were moved to go into the steeple-house, and I went in after them. The London priest was preaching, who gathered up all the scriptures he

could think of, that spake of false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, and threw them upon us. When he had done, I recollected all those scriptures, and brought them back upon himself. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the constable charged them to keep the peace, and made them quiet again. Then the priest began to rage; and said, I must not speak there. I told him, He had his hour-glass, by which he had preached; and he having done, the time was free for me, as well as for him: for he was but a stranger there himself. So I opened the scriptures to them, and let them see, 'That those scriptures, which spake of the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, described them and their generation, and belonged to them who were found walking in their steps, and bringing forth their fruits; and not unto us, who were not guilty of such things.' I manifested to them, that they were out of the steps of the true prophets and apostles; and shewed them clearly, by the fruits and marks, that they, and not we, were such as those scriptures spoke of. And I declared the truth and the word of life to the people, and directed them to Christ their teacher. All was quiet while I was speaking; but when I had done, and was come forth, the priests were in such a fret and rage, that they foamed at the mouth for anger against me. The priest of the place made an oration to the people in the steeple-house yard, saying, 'This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him, and now he comes here to do the same.' Then said I to him, 'What wilt thou have left? And what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if they be the honest that receive the truth and are turned to Christ, then they must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art.' Some also of the priest's people began to plead for their priest, and for tythes. I told them, It were better for them to plead for Christ, who had ended the tything priesthood with the tythes, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So the Lord's power came over, put to silence, and restrained the rude people, that they could not do the mischief they intended. When I came down again to Joseph Nicholson's house, I saw a great hole in my coat, which was cut with a knife, but it was not cut through my waistcoat, for the Lord had prevented their mischief. The next day there was a rude wicked man would have done violence to a friend, but the Lord's power stopped him.

Now was I moved to fend James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at John Wilkinſon's ſteeple-houſe near Cocker-mouth; a preacher in great repute, who had three pariſhes under him; wherefore I ſtaid at Milholm in Bootle till he came back again. In the mean time ſome of the gentry of the country had formed a plot againſt me, and had given a little boy a rapier to do me a miſchief with. They came with the boy to Joſeph Nicholſon's to ſeek me; but the Lord had ſo ordered it, I was gone into the fields. They met with James Lancaster, but did not much abuſe him; and not finding me in the houſe, went away again. So I walked up and down in the fields that night, and did not go to bed as very often I uſed to do. We came the next day to the ſteeple-houſe, where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve ſoldiers and their wives, from Carlifle; and the country people came in, like as it had been to a fair. I lay at an houſe ſomewhat ſhort of the place, ſo that many friends were got thither before me. When I came, I found James Lancaster ſpeaking under a yew-tree; which was ſo full of people, I feared they would break it down. I looked about for a place to ſtand upon, to ſpeak unto the people: for they lay all up and down, like people at a leaguer. After I was diſcovered, a profeſſor asked, If I would not go into the church? I ſeeing no place abroad convenient to ſpeak to the people from, told him, Yes: whereupon the people ruſhed in; ſo that when I came, the houſe and pulpit was ſo full, I had much ado to get in. Thoſe that could not get in, ſtood abroad about the walls. When the people were ſettled, I ſtood up on a ſeat. ' And the Lord opened  
' my mouth to declare his everlaſting truth and his ever-  
' laſting day; and to lay open their teachers, with the rudi-  
' ments, traditions, and inventions they had been under in  
' the night of apoſtacy ſince the apoſtles days. I turned  
' them to Chriſt the true teacher, and to the true ſpiritual  
' worſhip; directing them where to find the Spirit and  
' truth, that they might worſhip God therein. I explained  
' Chriſt's parables unto them, and directed them to the  
' Spirit of God in themſelves, that would open the ſcrip-  
' tures unto them. I ſhewed them, how all might come to  
' know their Saviour, ſit under his teaching, come to be  
' heirs of the kingdom of God, and know God's and Chriſt's  
' voice, by which they might diſcover all the falſe ſhep-  
' herds and teachers they had been under, and be gathered

‘ to the true Shepherd, Priest, Bishop, and Prophet Christ  
‘ Jesus, whom God commanded all to hear.’

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

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

When I had done, I went about two miles to another great steeple-house of John Wilkinſon's, called Brigham; where the people, having been at the other meeting, were mightily affected, and would have put my horſe into the ſteeple-house yard: but I ſaid, 'No; the prieſt claims that; have him to an inn.' When I came into the ſteeple-house yard, I ſaw the people coming in great companies, as to a fair; and abundance were already gathered in the lanes and about the ſteeple-house. I was very thirſty, and walked about a quarter of a mile to a brook, where I got ſome water, and reſreſhed myſelf. As I came up again, I met Wilkinſon; who, as I paſſed by him, ſaid, 'Sir, will you preach to-day? If you will,' ſaid he, 'I will not oppoſe you in word or thought.' I replied, 'Oppoſe, if thou wilt; I have ſomething to ſpeak to the people. And,' ſaid I, 'thou carriedſt thyſelf fooliſhly the other day, and ſpakeſt againſt thy conſcience and reaſon, inſomuch that thy hearers cried out againſt thee.' So I left him, and went on; for he ſaw it was in vain to oppoſe, the people were ſo affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the ſteeple-house yard, a profeſſor asked, If I would not go into the church? And I ſeeing no convenient place abroad, went in; and ſtood up on a ſeat, after the people were ſettled. The prieſt came in alſo, but did not go up to his pulpit. 'The Lord opened my mouth, and I declared his everlaſting truth and word of life to the people; directing them to the Spirit of God in themſelves, by which they might know God, Chriſt, and the ſcriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowſhip in the Spirit. I declared to them, that every one that cometh into the world was enlightened by Chriſt the life; by which light they might ſee their ſins, and Chriſt, who was come to ſave them from their ſins, and died for them. And if they came to walk in this light, they might therein ſee Chriſt to be the author of their faith, and the finiſher thereof; their Shepherd to feed them, their Prieſt to teach them, their great Prophet to open divine myſteries unto them, and to be always preſent with them. I explained alſo to them, in the openings of the Lord, the firſt covenant, ſhewing them the figures, and the ſubſtance of thoſe figures; bringing them on to Chriſt, the new covenant. I alſo manifeſted to them, that there had been a night of apoſtacy ſince the apoſtles days; but that now the everlaſting goſpel was preached again, which brought life and

‘immortality to light; and the day of the Lord was come, and Christ was come to teach his people himself by his light, grace, power, and spirit.’ A fine opportunity the Lord gave me to preach truth that day for about three hours, and all was quiet. Many hundreds were convinced; and some of them praised God, and said, ‘Now we know the first step to peace.’ The preacher also said privately to some of his hearers, that I had broken them, and overthrown them.

After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. As I was sitting in an house full of people, declaring the word of life unto them, I cast mine eye upon a woman, and discerned an unclean spirit in her. I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her; and told her, she was under the influence of an unclean spirit. Whereupon the woman went out of the room. I being a stranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered, and told me afterwards, I had discovered a great thing: for all the country looked upon her to be a wicked person. The Lord had given me a Spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. Not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions. Another time there came one into Swarthmore hall in the meeting-time, and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was under the power of an evil spirit; and the people said afterwards, she was generally accounted so to be. There came also another time a woman, and stood at a distance from me. I cast mine eye upon her, and said, ‘Thou hast been an harlot:’ for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. She answered, Many could tell her of her outward sins, but none could tell her of her inward. I told her, Her heart was not right before the Lord; and that from the inward came the outward. This woman was afterwards convinced of God’s truth, and became a friend.

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



another meeting upon the borders, in a steeple-house yard, to which many professors and contenders came; but the Lord's power was over all; and when the word of life had been declared amongst them, some received the truth there also.

From thence we travelled to Carlisle, and the pastor of the baptists, with most of his hearers, came to the abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongst them. Many of the baptists and of the soldiers were convinced. After the meeting, the pastor of the baptists, an high notionist, and a flashy man, asked me, 'What must be damned?' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'That which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him. I opened to him the states of election and reprobation; so that he said, He never heard the like in his life. He came afterwards to be convinced.

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

On the market-day I went to the cross. The magistrates had both threatened, and sent their serjeants; and the magistrates wives had said, If I came there, they would pluck the hair off my head; and the serjeants should take me up. Nevertheless I obeyed the Lord God, went upon the cross, and declared unto them, 'That the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize; that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to Yea and Nay, and speak the truth one to another: so the truth and the power of God was set over them.' After I had declared the word of life to the people, the throng being so great that the serjeants could not reach me, nor the magistrates wives come at me, I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some baptists, that were bitter contenders; amongst

whom one of their deacons, an envious man, finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I set my eyes upon him, and spoke sharply to him in the power of the Lord: and he cried, 'Do not pierce me so with thy eyes, keep thy eyes off me.'

The first-day following I went into the steeple-house: and after the priest had done, I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongst them. The priest got away; and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them, I came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. The power of the Lord was dreadful amongst them, so that the people trembled and shook; and they thought the steeple-house shook; some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. The magistrates wives were in a rage, and strove mightily to have been at me: but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city rose, and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house, crying, 'Down with these round-headed rogues:' and they threw stones. Whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musqueteers into the steeple-house to appease the tumult; and commanded all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and said, they would have me along with them. When we came into the street, the city was in an uproar; the governor came down; and some of those soldiers were put in prison for standing by me against the town's-people. A lieutenant, who had been convinced, came and brought me to his house, where there was a baptist meeting, and thither came friends also. We had a very quiet meeting; they heard the word of life gladly, and many received it. The next day, the justices and magistrates of the town being gathered together in the town-hall, they granted a warrant against me; and sent for me before them. I was then gone to a baptist's; but hearing of it, I went up to the hall, where many rude people were: some of whom had sworn strange false things against me. I had a great deal of discourse with the magistrates, wherein I laid open the fruits of their priests preaching; shewed them how they were void of Christianity; and that, though they were such great professors (for they were independents and presbyterians) they were without the possession of that which they professed. After a large examination, they com-

mitted me to prison as a blasphemer, an heretick, and a seducer; though they could not justly charge any such thing against me. The gaol at Carlisle had two gaolers, an upper and an under, who looked like two bear-wards. When I was brought in, the upper gaoler had me up into a great chamber, and told me, I should have what I would in that room. But I told him, he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room; where after awhile I got something to lie upon. There I lay till the assizes came; and then all the talk was, that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, Wilfred Lawson, stirred them much up to take away my life; and said, He would guard me to my execution himself. They were in a rage, and set three musqueteers for guard upon me; one at my chamber-door, another at the stairs-foot, and a third at the street-door; and they would let none come at me, except one sometimes, to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, sometimes as late as the tenth hour; who were exceeding rude and devilish. There were a company of bitter Scotch priests, presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed; but the Lord by his power gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits. Great ladies also (as they were called) came to see the man that they said was to die. While the judge, justices, and sheriff were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their designs by an unexpected way. For the judge's clerk, as I was informed, started a question among them, which confounded all their counsels; after which, they had not power to call me before the judge.

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

‘ To the judges of assize and gaol-delivery for the northern parts, sitting at Carlisle.

‘ **Y**OU are raised up to do righteousness and justice, and  
 ‘ sent forth to punish him that doth evil, and to encourage him that doth well, and to set the oppressed free.  
 ‘ I am therefore moved to lay before you the condition of

' GEORGE FOX, whom the magistrates of this city have  
 ' cast into prison for words that he is accused to have spo-  
 ' ken, which they call blasphemy. He was sent to the gaol,  
 ' till he should be delivered by due course of law; and it  
 ' was expected he should have been proceeded against in  
 ' the common law-course at this assizes. The informations  
 ' against him were delivered into court, and the act al-  
 ' lows and appoints that way of trial. How hardly and  
 ' unchristianly he hath been hitherto dealt with, I shall not  
 ' now mention; but you may consider, that nothing he is  
 ' accused of is nice and difficult. And, to my knowledge,  
 ' he utterly abhors and detests every particular which by  
 ' the act against blasphemous opinions is appointed to be  
 ' punished, and differs as much from those people against  
 ' whom the law was made, as light from darkness. Though  
 ' he be committed, judgment is not given him, nor have  
 ' his accusers been face to face, to affirm before him what  
 ' they have informed against him; nor was he heard as to  
 ' the particulars of their accusation, nor doth it appear that  
 ' any word they charge against him is within the act. But  
 ' indeed I could not yet so much as see the information,  
 ' no not in court, though I desired it both of the clerk of  
 ' the assizes and of the magistrate's clerk; nor hath he had a  
 ' copy of them. This is very hard; and that he should be  
 ' so close restrained, that his friends may not speak with him,  
 ' I know no law nor reason for. I do therefore claim for him  
 ' a due and lawful hearing, and that he may have a copy of  
 ' his charge, and freedom to answer for himself; and that  
 ' rather before you, than to be left to the rulers of this  
 ' town, who are not competent judges of blasphemy, as by  
 ' their mittimus appears; who have committed him upon  
 ' an act of parliament, and mention words as spoken by  
 ' him at his examination which are not within the act, and  
 ' which he utterly denies. The words mentioned in the  
 ' mittimus he denies to have spoken, and hath neither pro-  
 ' fessed nor avowed them.

' Anthony Pearson.'

Notwithstanding this letter, the judges were resolved not  
 to suffer me to be brought before them; but reviling and  
 scoffing at me behind my back, left me to the magistrates  
 of the town: giving them what encouragement they could  
 to exercise their cruelty upon me. Whereupon (though  
 I had been kept so close in the gaoler's house that friends

were not suffered to come at me, and colonel Benson and justice Pearson were denied to see me, yet) the next day, after the judges were gone out of town, an order was sent to the gaoler to put me down into the prison amongst the moss-troopers, thieves, and murderers; which accordingly he did. A filthy, nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a house of office to it; and the prisoners so lousy, that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice. Yet as bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me, and some of them were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old; so that they were able to confound any priest that might come to the grates to dispute. But the gaoler was cruel, and the under-gaoler very abusive both to me and to friends that came to see me; for he would beat friends with a great cudgel, who did but come to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat; at which the gaoler was often offended. Once he came in a great rage, and beat me with his cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, come out of the window, though I was then far from it. While he struck me, I was moved to sing in the Lord's power, which made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and set him to play, thinking to vex me; but while he played, I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way.

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

Whilst I was in prison at Carlisle, James Parnel, a little lad about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced. The Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him, though he lived not long. For travelling into Essex in the work of the ministry, in the year 1655, he

was committed to Colchester castle, where he endured very great hardships and sufferings; being put by the cruel gaoler into a hole in the castle wall, called the oven, so high from the ground that he went up to it by a ladder, which being six feet too short, he was obliged to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. And when friends would have given him a cord and a basket to have drawn up his victuals in, the inhuman gaoler would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope to fetch his victuals (which for a long time he did) or else he might have starved in the hole. At length his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being obliged to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was so wounded in his head, arms, and body, that he died in a short time after. When he was dead the wicked professors, to cover their cruelty, wrote a book of him, and said, "He fasted himself to death!" which was an abominable falsehood, and was manifested so to be by another book, wrote in answer to that, called, "The Lamb's Defence against Lies."

When I saw that I was not like to be brought to a publick hearing and trial (although I had before answered in writing the particular matters charged against me at the time of my first examination and commitment) I was moved to send the following paper, as a publick challenge to all those that belied the truth and me behind my back, to come forth and make good their charge.

‘ IF any in Westmoreland, Cumberland, or elsewhere,  
 ‘ that profess christianity and pretend to love God and  
 ‘ Christ, are not satisfied concerning the things of God  
 ‘ which I George Fox have spoken and declared, let them  
 ‘ publish their dissatisfaction in writing, and not backbite,  
 ‘ lie, and persecute in secret. This I demand of you all  
 ‘ in the presence of the Living God, as ye will answer it  
 ‘ to him. For the exaltation of the truth, and the con-  
 ‘ founding of the deceit, is this given forth. To that of  
 ‘ God in your consciences I speak; declare or write your  
 ‘ dissatisfaction to any of them whom you call Quakers,  
 ‘ that truth may be exalted, and all may come to the light,

‘ with which Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh  
 ‘ into the world; that nothing may be hid in darkness, in  
 ‘ prisons, holes, or corners; but that all things may be  
 ‘ brought to the light of Christ, and by it may be tried.  
 ‘ This I am moved of the Lord to write, and publish to  
 ‘ be set upon the market-crosses in Westmoreland and else-  
 ‘ where. To the light of Christ in you I speak, that none  
 ‘ of you may speak evil of the things of God, which you  
 ‘ know not; nor act contrary to the light that gave forth the  
 ‘ scriptures: lest you be found fighters against God, and  
 ‘ the hand of the Lord be turned against you.

‘ G. F.’

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

‘ Friends, Thomas Craffton and Cuthbert Studholm,  
 ‘ **Y**OUR noise is gone up to London before the sober  
 ‘ people. What imprisoning, what gagging, what  
 ‘ havock and spoiling the goods of people have you made  
 ‘ within these few years! Unlike men; as though you had  
 ‘ never read the scriptures, or had not minded them! Is  
 ‘ this the end of Carlisle’s religion? Is this the end of  
 ‘ your ministry? Is this the end of your church, and of  
 ‘ your profession of christianity? You have shamed it by  
 ‘ your folly, madness, and blind zeal. Was it not always  
 ‘ the work of the blind guides, watchmen, leaders, and false  
 ‘ prophets, to prepare war against them that could not put  
 ‘ into their mouths? Have not you been the priests pack-  
 ‘ horses and executioners? When they spur you up to bear  
 ‘ the sword against the just, do not you run on against those  
 ‘ that cannot hold up such as the scriptures always testified  
 ‘ against? Yet will you lift up your unholy hands, and call  
 ‘ upon God with your polluted lips, and pretend a fast,  
 ‘ who are full of strife and debate. Did your hearts never  
 ‘ burn within you? Did you never come to question your

‘ conditions? Are you wholly given up to do the devil’s lusts,  
‘ to persecute? Where is your loving enemies? Where is  
‘ your entertaining strangers? Where is your overcoming  
‘ evil with good? Where are your teachers, that can stop  
‘ the mouths of gain-sayers, convince gain-sayers, and such  
‘ as oppose themselves? Have you no ministers of the Spi-  
‘ rit, no soldiers with spiritual weapons, displaying Christ’s  
‘ colours? But all the dragon’s, the murderer’s, the perse-  
‘ cutor’s, arm of flesh, Cain’s weapons, chief priests taking  
‘ counsel, Judas and the multitude with swords and staves,  
‘ Sodom’s company raging about Lot’s house, like the  
‘ priests and princes against Jeremiah, like the dragon,  
‘ beast, and great whore, and the false church, which John  
‘ saw should cast into prison, kill, and persecute? Whose  
‘ weapons are you bearing? Doth not the false church, the  
‘ whore, make merchandize of cattle, corn, wine, and oil,  
‘ even to the very souls of men? Hath not all this been  
‘ since the true church went into the wilderness? Read  
‘ Revelations the 12th, with the 18th: do you not read  
‘ and see what a spirit you are of, and what a bottomless  
‘ pit you are in? Have not you dishonoured the place of  
‘ justice and authority? What! turned your sword back-  
‘ ward, like madmen, who are a praise to the evil-doer, and  
‘ would be a terror to the good, with all force and might  
‘ to stop the way of justice! Doth not the Lord, think you,  
‘ behold your actions? How many have you wronged?  
‘ How many have you imprisoned, persecuted, and put out  
‘ of your synagogues? Are you they that must fulfil the  
‘ prophecy of Christ, Matth. xxiii. John xvi. Read the  
‘ scriptures, see how unlike you are to the prophets, Christ,  
‘ and his apostles, and what a visage you have, like unto  
‘ them that persecuted the prophets, Christ, and the apos-  
‘ tles. You are found in their steps, wrestling with flesh  
‘ and blood, not with principalities and powers, and spiri-  
‘ tual wickedness; your teachers imprisoning and perse-  
‘ cuting for outward things, you being their executioners;  
‘ the like whereof hath not been in all the nations. The  
‘ havock that hath been made, the spoiling of people’s  
‘ goods, taking away their oxen and fatted beeves, their  
‘ sheep, corn, wool, and household goods, and giving them  
‘ to the priests that have done no work for them. More  
‘ like moss-troopers than ministers of the gospel, they take  
‘ them from friends; suing them in your courts, and fining  
‘ them because they will not break the command of Christ;



‘ that is, because they will not swear. Thus you act against  
‘ them that do not lift up a hand against you, and as much  
‘ as you turn against them you turn against Christ. But  
‘ he is risen that will plead their cause, and you cannot be  
‘ hid. Your works are come to light, and the end of your  
‘ ministry is seen, what it is for; for means. You have dis-  
‘ honoured the truth, the gospel; and are of those that make  
‘ it chargeable. You have lost your glory. You have dis-  
‘ honoured yourselves. Persecution was ever blind and  
‘ mad. Read the apostle, what he saith of himself, when  
‘ he was in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your  
‘ lifting up yourselves, hath brought you to this; not being  
‘ humble, not doing justice, not loving mercy. When such  
‘ as have been beaten and bruised by your rude company,  
‘ to whom you are a praise and encouragement, have come  
‘ and laid things before you, that you might have done jus-  
‘ tice, preserved and kept peace, you, knowing they could  
‘ not swear, have put an oath to them. This hath been  
‘ your trick and cover, that ye might not do justice to the  
‘ just; but by this means go on still further to encourage  
‘ the evil-doer. But the Lord sees your hearts! If ye were  
‘ not men past feeling, ye would fear and tremble before  
‘ the God of the whole earth; who is risen, and will stain  
‘ your glory, mar your pride, deface your beauty, and lay  
‘ it in the dust. Though for a time you may swell in your  
‘ pride, glory in your shame, and make a mock of God’s  
‘ messengers, who, for reproving sin in the gate, are become  
‘ your prey; you will feel the heavy hand of God and his  
‘ judgments at the last. This is from a lover of the truth,  
‘ of righteousness, and of your souls; but a witness against  
‘ all such as make a trade of the prophets, Christ’s, and the  
‘ apostles words, and are found in the steps of them who  
‘ persecuted the prophets, Christ’s and the apostles life;  
‘ who persecute those that will not hold you up, put into  
‘ your mouths, and give you means. Tithes were before  
‘ the law, and tithes were in the law; but tithes since the  
‘ days of the apostles have been only since the false church  
‘ got up. Christ, who is come to end the law, and to end  
‘ war, redeems men out of the tenths, and out of the nines  
‘ also. The redeemed of the Lord shall reign upon the  
‘ earth, and know the election which was before the world  
‘ began. Since the days of the apostles, tithes have been  
‘ set up by the papists, and by them that went from the  
‘ apostles into the world; set up by the false church that

' made merchandize of the people, since the true church  
' went into the wilderness. But now is the judgment of  
' the great whore come; the beast and false prophet (the old  
' dragon) shall be taken and cast into the fire, and the  
' Lamb and his saints shall have the victory. Now is  
' Christ come who will make war in righteousness, and de-  
' stroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and  
' inventions that have been set up since the days of the  
' apostles, and since the true church went into the wilder-  
' nesses. And the everlasting gospel, which is the power of  
' God, shall be preached again to all nations, kindreds, and  
' tongues in this the Lamb's day; before whom you shall  
' appear to judgment. You have no way to escape. For  
' he hath appeared who is the First and the Last, the Be-  
' ginning and the Ending, the Alpha and the Omega: he  
' that was dead is alive again, and lives for evermore!

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

' **H**E who is called George Fox, who is persecuted by  
' rulers and magistrates, by justices, priests, and peo-  
' ple, and who suffers the imprisonment of his body at this  
' present time as a blasphemer, an heretick, and a seducer,  
' him do we witnesses (who in measure are made partakers  
' of the same life which lives in him) to be a minister of the  
' eternal word of God, by whom the everlasting gospel is  
' preached; by the powerful preaching whereof the eternal  
' Father of the saints hath opened the blind eyes, unstop-  
' ped the deaf ears, let the oppressed go free, and hath rais-  
' ed the dead out of the graves. Christ is now preached  
' in and among the saints, the same that ever he was; and  
' because his heavenly image is borne up in this his faithful  
' servant, therefore doth fallen man (rulers, priests, and  
' people) persecute him. Because he lives up out of the  
' fall, and testifies against the works of the world, that the  
' deeds thereof are evil, he suffers by you magistrates, not  
' as an evil-doer. Thus it was ever where the seed of God  
' was kept in prison under the cursed nature, that nature  
' fought to imprison them in whom it was raised. The  
' Lord will make him to you as a burdensome stone; for

‘ the sword of the Spirit of the Almighty is put into the  
‘ hands of the faints, which shall wound all the wicked ;  
‘ and shall not be put up till it hath cut down all corrupt  
‘ judges, justices, magistrates, priests and professors ; till  
‘ he hath brought his wonderful thing to pass in the earth,  
‘ which is to make new heavens and a new earth, where-  
‘ in shall dwell righteousness ; which now he is about to do.  
‘ Therefore fear the Lord God Almighty, ye judges,  
‘ justices, commanders, priests, and people ; ye that for-  
‘ get God, suddenly will the Lord come and destroy you  
‘ with an utter destruction, and will sweep your names  
‘ out of the earth, and will restore his people judges as at  
‘ the first, and counsellors as at the beginning. And all  
‘ persecutors shall partake of the plagues of the whore, who  
‘ hath made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk  
‘ with the wine of her fornications, and hath drunk the  
‘ blood of the faints ; and therefore shall you be partakers  
‘ of her plagues. We are not suffered to see our friend in  
‘ prison, whom we witness to be a messenger of the Living  
‘ God. Now, all people, mind whether this be according  
‘ to law, or from the wicked, perverse, envious will of the  
‘ envious rulers and magistrates, who are of the same gene-  
‘ ration that persecuted Jesus Christ ; for he said, “ as they  
‘ have done to me, so will they do to you.” And as he  
‘ took the love, the kindness, and service that was shewed  
‘ and performed to any of his afflicted ones in their suffer-  
‘ ings and distress, as done unto himself ; so the injuries  
‘ and wrongs that were done by any to any of his little  
‘ ones, he repented as done unto himself also. Therefore  
‘ you, who are so far from visiting him yourselves in his  
‘ suffering servant that ye will not suffer his brethren to  
‘ visit him, ye must depart, ye workers of iniquity, into the  
‘ lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to thresh  
‘ the mountains, and will beat them to dust ; and all cor-  
‘ rupt rulers, corrupt officers, and corrupt laws, the Lord  
‘ will take vengeance on, by which the tender consciences  
‘ of his people are oppressed. He will give his people his  
‘ law, and will judge his people himself, not according to  
‘ the sight of the eye and hearing of the ear, but with  
‘ righteousness and equity. Now are your hearts made  
‘ manifest to be full of envy against the living truth of God,  
‘ which is made manifest in his people, who are contemned  
‘ and despised of the world, and scornfully called Quakers.  
‘ You are worse than the heathens that put Paul in prison,

‘ for none of his friends or acquaintance were hindered to  
 ‘ come to him by them: therefore they shall be witnesses  
 ‘ against you. Ye are made manifest to the faints to be of  
 ‘ the same generation that put Christ to death, and that put  
 ‘ the apostle in prison, on the same pretence as you act  
 ‘ under; in calling truth error, and the ministers of God  
 ‘ blasphemers, as they did. But the day is dreadful and  
 ‘ terrible that shall come upon you, ye evil magistrates,  
 ‘ priests, and people, who profess the truth in words out-  
 ‘ wardly, and yet persecute the power of truth and them  
 ‘ that stand in and for the truth. While ye have time,  
 ‘ prize it, and remember what is written, Isa. liv. 17.

‘ Gervase Benson,  
 ‘ Anthony Pearson.’

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

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

Now I went into the country, and had mighty great

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

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

In Northumberland many came to dispute. Some pleaded against perfection; to whom I declared, 'That Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell: and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came

‘ by the devil and the fall: but Christ, who came to destroy the devil, said, “ Be ye perfect.” One of the professors alledged that Job said, ‘ Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in his sight. God charged his angels with folly.’ I shewed him his mistake, and let him see, ‘ it was not Job that said ‘ so, but one of those that contended against him; for Job ‘ stood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they were ‘ called miserable comforters.’ These professors said, The outward body was the body of death and sin. I discovered their mistake in that also, shewing them, ‘ That Adam and ‘ Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body ‘ of death and sin got into them; and that man and woman ‘ will have bodies, when the body of sin and death is put ‘ off again; when they are renewed up into the image of ‘ God again by Christ Jesus, which they were in before ‘ they fell.’ They ceased at that time from opposing, and glorious meetings we had in the Lord’s power.

Then passed we to Hexam, where we had a great meeting atop of an hill. The priest threatened he would come and oppose us, but he came not; so all was quiet: ‘ And ‘ the everlasting day and renowned truth of the everliving ‘ God was founded over those dark countries, and his Son ‘ exalted over all. It was proclaimed amongst the people, ‘ that the day was now come, wherein all that made a profession of the Son of God, might receive him; and that ‘ to as many as would receive him, he would give power ‘ to become the sons of God, as he had done to me.’ It was further declared, ‘ That he who had the Son of God, ‘ had life eternal; but he that had not the Son of God (though he professed all the scriptures, from the first of ‘ Genesis to the last of the Revelations) had no life.’ So after all were directed to the light of Christ, by which they might see him, receive him, and know where their true teacher was, and the everlasting truth had been largely declared amongst them, we passed through Hexam peaceably, and came into Gillsland, a country noted for thieving.

Here a friend spying the priest, went to speak to him; whereupon he came to our inn, and the town’s-people gathered about us. The priest said, He would prove us deceivers out of the bible, but could find no scripture for his purpose. Then he went into the inn, and after awhile came out again, and brought some broken sentences of scripture,

that mention the doctrines and commandments of men, &c. and Touch not, Taste not, &c. for they perish with the using. All which, poor man! was his own condition; whereas we were persecuted because we would not taste, nor touch, nor handle their doctrines and traditions which we knew perished with using. I asked him, What he called the steeple-house? 'Oh,' said he, 'the dreadful house of 'God, the temple of God.' I shewed him, and the poor, dark people, 'That their bodies should be the temples of 'God, and that Christ never commanded these temples, but 'ended that temple at Jerusalem which God had commanded.' While I was speaking, the priest got away: and afterwards the people made as if they feared we would take their purses, or steal their horses; judging us like themselves, who are naturally given to thieving.

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

After my release from Carlisle prison, I was moved to go to priest Wilkinson's steeple-house again: and being got in before him, when he came, I was declaring the truth to the people, though they were but few; for the most and best of his hearers were turned to Christ's free teaching; and we had a meeting of friends hard-by, where Thomas Stubbs was declaring the word of life amongst them. As soon as the priest came in, he opposed me: and there we staid most part of the day: for when I began, he opposed me; so if any law was broken, he broke it. When his people would be haling me out, I manifested his fruits to be such as Christ spake of, when he said, 'They shall hale you out of

'their fynagogues:' and then he would be ashamed, and they would let me alone. There did he stand, till it was almost night, jangling, and opposing me; and would not go to his dinner, for he thought to have wearied me out. But at last the Lord's power and truth came so over him, that he packed away with his people. When he was gone, I went to the meeting of friends, who were turned to the Lord, and established by his power upon Christ, the rock and foundation of the true prophets and apostles.

About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before, That we should be destroyed within a month; after that, they prolonged the time to half a year: but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave out, That we would eat out one another. For after meetings, many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at friends houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in; so that some have lain on the hay-mows: hereupon fear possessed the professors and world's people. For they were afraid, that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and be chargeable to them. But after awhile, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them; then they saw the falsehood of all their prophecies against us; and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed. At the first convincement, when friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say You to a single person, but Thou and Thee, or could not bow, nor use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world; many friends, that were tradesmen, lost their customers; for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of friends honesty and faithfulness, and found that their Yea was Yea, and their Nay was Nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if they sent a child to their shops for any thing, they were as well used as if they had come themselves; the lives and conversations of friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then things altered so, that all the inquiry



was, 'Where was a draper, or shopkeeper, or taylor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that was a Quaker?' Infomuch that friends had more business than many of their neighbours; and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.' This hath been the Lord's doings to and for his people! which my desire is, that all who profess his holy truth may be truly kept sensible of; and that all may be preserved in and by his power and Spirit, faithful to God and man: first to God, in obeying him in all things; and then in doing unto all men that which is just and righteous, in all things that they have to do or deal with them in: that the Lord God may be glorified in their practising truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness amongst people, in their lives and conversations.

Friends being grown very numerous in the northern parts of this nation, and divers young convinced ones coming daily in among us, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it amongst them, for the stirring up the pure mind, and raising an holy care and watchfulness in them over themselves, and one another, for the honour of truth.

'To you all, friends every-where, scattered abroad:

'**I**N the measure of the life of God wait for wisdom from God, from whom it comes. And all ye, who are children of God, wait for the living food from the living God, to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one fountain from whence life comes; that in order ye may all be guided and walk: servants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families; that every one, in your respective places, may adorn the truth in the measure of it. With it let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jesus, from whence it doth come; that a sweet favour ye may be to God, and in wisdom ye may all be ordered and ruled: that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no strife, bitterness, nor self-will may appear amongst you; but with the Light in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may see to and take care of the ordering and ruling of their own family; that in

‘righteousness and wisdom it may be governed, the fear  
‘and dread of the Lord set in every one’s heart, that the  
‘secrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that  
‘stewards of his grace you may come to be, to dispense it  
‘to every one as they have need; and so in favouring and  
‘right-discerning you may all be kept: that nothing con-  
‘trary to the pure life of God may be brought forth in you,  
‘or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it  
‘be judged; that in light, in life and love ye may all live;  
‘and all that is contrary to the light, life, and love, may be  
‘brought to judgment, and by that light be condemned.  
‘And that no fruitless trees be among you; but all cut  
‘down, condemned by the light, and cast into the fire;  
‘that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God,  
‘and grow fruitful in his knowledge and in his wisdom;  
‘and that none may appear in words, beyond what they  
‘are in the life that gave forth the words. Here none shall  
‘be as the untimely figs; none shall be of those trees whose  
‘fruit withers: such go in Cain’s way, from the light; and  
‘by it are condemned. Let none of you boast yourselves  
‘above your measure; if you do, out of God’s kingdom  
‘you are excluded: for in that boasting part gets up the  
‘pride and the strife which is contrary to the light that  
‘leads to the kingdom of God, gives an entrance thereto,  
‘and an understanding to know the things that belong to  
‘the kingdom. There the light and life of man every one  
‘receives; him who was before the world was, by whom it  
‘was made; who is the righteousness of God, and his wis-  
‘dom: to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praise  
‘belongs, who is God blessed for ever. Let no image  
‘nor likeness be made; but wait in the light, which will  
‘bring condemnation on that part which would make  
‘images; for that prisons the just. To the lust yield not  
‘the eye, nor the flesh; for the pride of life stands in that  
‘which keeps out the love of the Father; and upon which  
‘his judgments and wrath remain, where the love of the  
‘world is sought after, and a crown that is mortal. In this  
‘ground the evil enters, which is cursed; which brings  
‘forth briars and thorns, where death reigns, and tribula-  
‘tion and anguish are upon every soul, and the Egyptian  
‘tongue is heard: all which is by the light condemned.  
‘There the earth is, which must be removed: by the light  
‘it is seen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its  
‘place it is shaken; to which the thunders utter their

' voices, before the mysteries of God be opened, and Jesus  
' revealed. Therefore all ye, whose minds are turned to  
' this light, wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown that is  
' immortal, and that fadeth not away.

' G. F.'

' This is to be sent amongst all friends  
' in the truth, the flock of God, to  
' be read at their meetings.'

While friends abode in the northern parts, a priest of Wrexham in Wales, named Morgan Floyd, having heard reports concerning us, sent two of his congregation into the north to inquire concerning us, to try us, and bring him an account of us. When these triers came amongst us, the power of the Lord seized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they staid some time with us, and then returned to Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his convincement; but the other named John-ap-John, abode in the truth, and received a part of the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

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

About this time the oath or engagement to O. Cromwel was tendered to the soldiers; many of whom were disbanded, because in obedience to Christ, they could not swear: John Stubbs, for one, who was convinced when I was in Carlisle prison, became a good soldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful minister of Christ Jesus; travelling much in the service of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Egypt, and America. And the Lord's power preserved him out of the hands of the papists, though many times he was in great danger of the inquisition. But some of the soldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, but had not come into obedience to the truth, took O. Cromwel's oath; and, going afterwards into Scotland, and coming before a garrison there, the garrison thinking they

had been enemies, fired at them, and killed divers of them; which was a sad event.

When the churches were settled in the north, and friends were set down under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shined over them, I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster about the beginning of the year 1654, visiting friends, till I came to Synder-hill-green; where a meeting was appointed three weeks before; leaving the north fresh and green, under Christ their teacher. We passed through Halifax, a rude town of professors, and came to Thomas Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with some janglers: but the Lord's power was over all; for I travelled in the motion of God's power. When I came to Synder-hill-green, there was a mighty meeting; some thousands of people, as it was judged, and many persons of note were there, captains, and other officers; and there was a general conviction; for the Lord's power and truth was set over all, and there was no opposition.

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

‘ To friends in the ministry :

‘ **A**LL friends every where, Know the Seed of God,  
 ‘ which bruisseth the seed of the serpent, and is atop  
 ‘ of the seed of the serpent; which Seed sins not, but bruif-  
 ‘ eth the serpent's head that doth sin, and tempts to sin :  
 ‘ which Seed God's promise and blessing is to; and which  
 ‘ is one in the male and in the female. Where it is head,  
 ‘ and hath bruised the head of the other, to the beginning  
 ‘ you are come; and the younger is known, and he that is  
 ‘ servant to the younger; and the promise of God, which  
 ‘ is to the Seed, is fulfilled and fulfilling; and the scriptures  
 ‘ come to be opened and owned; and the flesh of Christ

known, who took upon him the seed of Abraham according to the flesh; the everlasting priesthood known, and everlasting covenant. Christ takes upon him the seed of Abraham, and is a priest after the order of Melchisedeck; without father, without mother, without beginning of days or end of life: this is the priest that ever lives; the covenant of life, light, and peace. The everlasting offering here is known once for all, which offering overthrows that nature which offered; out of which the priesthood arose, that could not continue by reason of death. And here is the other offering known, the everlasting offering; which perfects for ever them that are sanctified: which offering blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances, triumphs over them, and ascends above all principalities and powers. He that hath the Spirit of Jesus, sees this; and here is the love of God received, that doth not rejoice in iniquity, but leads to repent of it. This is the word of the Lord God to you all, friends every where scattered abroad, Know the power of God in one another, and in that rejoice; for then you rejoice in the cross of Christ, who is not of the world; which cross is the power of God to all them that are saved. You, that know and feel the power, you feel the cross of Christ, you feel the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. He that believes in the light, believes in the everlasting covenant, in the one offering, comes to the life of the prophets and Moses, comes to see Christ the hope, the mystery, which hope perisheth not; lets you see the hope that perisheth, which is not that mystery: and the expectation in that perishing hope fades. Where this never-failing hope is witnessed, the Lord comes to be sanctified in the heart; and you come to the beginning, to Christ the hope, which perisheth not; but the other hope, the other expectation perisheth. So all of you, know the perishing of the other, and the failing of the expectation therein; and know that which perisheth not: that you may be ready to give a reason of this hope with meekness and fear, to every man that asketh you. Christ the hope, the mystery, perisheth not; the end of all perishing things, the end of all changeable things, the end of the decaying covenant, the end of that which waxeth old; the end of the first covenant, of Moses, and of the prophets; the righteousness of God, Christ Jesus the Son; his throne ye will know, heirs with him ye will be; who makes his children kings

‘ and priests to him, and brings them to know his throne,  
 ‘ and his power. There is no justification out of the light,  
 ‘ out of Christ; justification is in the light, in Christ.  
 ‘ Here is the doer of the will of God; here is the entering  
 ‘ into the kingdom. He that believes in the light, becomes  
 ‘ a child of light; and here the wisdom is received, that  
 ‘ is justified of her children. Here believing in the light,  
 ‘ you shall not abide in darkness; but shall have the light  
 ‘ of life; and come every one to witness the light that  
 ‘ shines in your hearts, which will give you the light of  
 ‘ the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Je-  
 ‘ sus Christ. With this light you will see him reign, who  
 ‘ is the prince of life and peace; which light turns from  
 ‘ him that is out of the truth, and abode not in it; where  
 ‘ the true peace is not.

‘ Friends, Be not hasty: for he that believes in the light,  
 ‘ makes not haste. Here the grace is received, by which  
 ‘ you come to be saved; the election is known, which ob-  
 ‘ tains the promise; the will is seen, that wills; the mind is  
 ‘ known, that runs, which obtains not; but stops and dulls.  
 ‘ Now, that with the light being seen, and judged, and  
 ‘ stopped, the patience is here known, which obtains the  
 ‘ crown; and the immortality is brought to light. So all who  
 ‘ act contrary to the light, and do not believe in it, do not  
 ‘ come to justification. And all friends, if you go from the  
 ‘ light, from wanting to have the promise of God fulfilled  
 ‘ to the Seed, whereby you may know Christ reign, you  
 ‘ thereby bring on yourselves changeable garments, and  
 ‘ come to wear the changeable garments, and the strange  
 ‘ flesh, which leads to adultery, which the law goes upon;  
 ‘ which shuts out of the kingdom: and out of this will doth  
 ‘ proceed the work or building that is for the fire; whereby  
 ‘ you may come to suffer loss. Therefore love the light,  
 ‘ which doth condemn that; and receive the power from  
 ‘ the Lord, with which you stand over that, and condemn  
 ‘ it; feeling and seeing that which gives you victory over  
 ‘ the world, and to see out of time, to before time. Again,  
 ‘ friends, Know Abraham, that must obey the voice of Sa-  
 ‘ rah, that bears seed; which casts forth the bond-woman  
 ‘ and her son. Do not go forth, there will the wildness  
 ‘ lodge. Know that which bears the wild son, and its mo-  
 ‘ ther, who is not Sarah; for the promise is to the Seed,  
 ‘ not of many, but one; which seed is Christ: and this  
 ‘ seed now you come to witness stands on the top of all,

' yea, on the head of the ierpent. And so all, as I said  
 ' before, who come to feel and witness this, come to the  
 ' beginning: and this to all the seed of God, the church,  
 ' that it you may all come to know, where there is no ble-  
 ' mish, nor spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing. This is  
 ' that which is purchased by the blood of Jesus, and to the  
 ' Father presented out of all that defiles; which is the pillar  
 ' and ground of truth. None attain to this, but such who  
 ' come to the light of Christ, who purchased this church.  
 ' They who go from the light, are shut out and condemned,  
 ' though they profess all the scriptures declared from it.  
 ' Therefore walk in the light, that you may have fellowship  
 ' with the Son, and with the Father; and come all to wit-  
 ' nefs his image, his power, and his law, which is his light,  
 ' that hath converted your souls, and brought them to sub-  
 ' mit to the higher power, above that which is out of the  
 ' truth: that you may know here the mercy and truth, and  
 ' the faith that works by love, which Christ is the author  
 ' of; who lighteth every one of you: which faith gives the  
 ' victory. That which gives the victory, is perfect; and  
 ' that which the ministers of God received from God, is  
 ' that which is perfect; and that which they are to minister,  
 ' is for the perfecting of the saints; till they all come in the  
 ' unity of the faith unto a perfect man. This is the word  
 ' of the Lord to you all: Every one in the measure of life  
 ' wait, that with it all your minds may be guided up to the  
 ' Father of life, the Father of spirits: to receive power from  
 ' him, and wisdom, that with it you may be ordered to his  
 ' glory: to whom be all glory for ever! All keep in the  
 ' light and life, that judgeth down that which is contrary to  
 ' the light and life. So the Lord God Almighty be with  
 ' you all. And keep your meetings every-where, being  
 ' guided by that of God; by that you may see the Lord  
 ' among you, who lighteth every man that cometh into the  
 ' world; that men who are come into the world might be-  
 ' lieve. He that believeth not, the light condemns him  
 ' he that believeth, cometh out of condemnation. This  
 ' light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the  
 ' world, which they that hate it stumble at, is the light of  
 ' men.

' All friends that speak in publick, see that it be in the  
 ' life of God; for that begets to God; the fruits of that shall  
 ' never wither. This sows to the Spirit which is in prison,  
 ' and of the Spirit reaps life; and the other sows to the

' flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. This you may  
 ' see all the world over amongst these seeds-men, what may  
 ' be reaped in the field, that is the world. Therefore in  
 ' the Spirit of the Lord wait, which cuts down and casts  
 ' out all this, the root and branches of it. So in that wait  
 ' to receive power, and the Lord God Almighty preserve  
 ' you in it; whereby you may come to feel the light, that  
 ' comprehends time and the world, and fathoms it: which,  
 ' believed in, gives you victory over the world. Here the  
 ' power of the Lord is received, which subdues all the con-  
 ' trary, and puts off the garments that will stain and pol-  
 ' lute. With this light you come to reach the light in  
 ' every man, which Christ enlightens every man that cometh  
 ' into the world withal; and here the things of Christ come  
 ' to be known, and the voice of Christ heard. Therefore  
 ' keep in the light, the covenant of peace; and walk in the  
 ' covenant of life. There is that which maketh merry over  
 ' the witness of God, and there is that which maketh merry  
 ' in the Lord; which rejoiceth over that which hath made  
 ' merry over it: of that take notice, you who be in the  
 ' light. Such the Lord doth beautify, whose trust is in his  
 ' strength; and the Lord doth see such, and them that are  
 ' in his light. But such as be from the light, whose eyes  
 ' are after their abominations and idols, their eyes are to be  
 ' blinded, their beautiful idols and their abominations to be  
 ' destroyed, and by the light condemned, which they have  
 ' made from the life in their own strength: which with the  
 ' light is seen, and overthrown by the power of God. " If  
 ' you can change my covenant," saith the Lord, " which  
 ' keeps the day in its season, and the night in its season  
 ' (mark, my covenant, the light) if you can change this,  
 ' then may you change the covenant of God with his seed."  
 ' So all friends that are turned to the light which cometh  
 ' from him by whom the world was made, who was before  
 ' it was made, Christ Jesus, the Saviour of your souls,  
 ' abide in the light, and you will see your salvation to be  
 ' walls and bulwarks against that which the light discovers  
 ' to be contrary to it. Waiting in the light you will re-  
 ' ceive the power of God, which is the gospel of peace,  
 ' that you may be shod with it. Know that in one another  
 ' which raiseth up the seed of God, sets it over the world  
 ' and the earth, and crucifies the affections and lusts: then  
 ' the truth comes to reign, which is the guide.



About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a Baptist and was turned Ranter) and his company began to prophesy against me, giving out, That I was then at the highest, and after that time I should fall down as fast. He sent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Claufon, and the towns thereabouts, judging friends for declaring the truth in the markets and in the steeple-houses; which papers I answered. But their prophecies came upon themselves; for soon after they fell to pieces, and many of his followers became friends, and continued so. And through the Lord's blessed power truth and friends have increased, and do increase in the increase of God; and I by the same power have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting feed that never fell nor changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and so disobeyed the command of Christ. Many such false prophets have risen up against me, but the Lord hath blasted them, and will blast all who rise against the blessed feed, and me in that. My confidence is in the Lord; for whosoever did, I saw their end, and how the Lord would confound them before he sent me forth.

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

Then I went to Thomas Taylor's, within three miles of Halifax, where was a meeting of about two hundred people; amongst which were many rude persons, and divers butchers, who had bound themselves with an oath before they came out, that they would kill me (as I was told): one of those butchers had been accused for killing a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great disturbance in the meeting, which being in a close, Thomas Taylor stood up and said to them, "If you

“ will be civil, you may slay ; but if not, I charge you to be “ gone from off my ground.” But they grew worse, and said they would make it like a common ; and they yelled and made a noise as if they had been at a bear-baiting. They thrust friends up and down, who being peaceable, the Lord’s power came over them. Several times they push’d me off from the place I stood on, by the crowding of the people together against me ; but still I was moved of the Lord to stand up again as I was thrust down. At last I was moved of the Lord to say to them, ‘ If they would discourse of the things of God, let them come up to me one by one ; and if they had any thing to object, I would answer them all, one after another ;’ but they were all silent, and had nothing to say : and then the Lord’s power came so over them all, and answered the divine witness in them, that they were bound by the power of God, and a glorious powerful meeting we had, and the minds of the people were turned by the holy Spirit in them to God, and to Christ their teacher. The powerful word of life was largely declared that day, and in the life and power of God we broke up our meeting ; and that rude company went their way to Halifax. The people asked them, “ Why they did not kill me, according to the oath they had sworn ?” They maliciously answered, “ I had so bewitched them they could not do it.” Thus was the devil chained at that time. Friends told me, they used to come at other times and be very rude, and sometimes break their seats and make frightful work amongst them ; but the Lord’s power had now bound them. Shortly after, this butcher, that had been accused of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of those that had bound himself by an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was thereupon sent to York gaol. Another of those rude butchers, who had also sworn to kill me, having accustomed himself to thrust his tongue out of his mouth in derision of friends when they passed by him, had his tongue so swollen out of his mouth that he could never draw it in again, but died so. Several strange and sudden judgments came upon many of these conspirators against me, which would be too large to declare here. God’s vengeance from heaven came upon the blood-thirsty, who sought after blood ; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left him to deal with them, who is stronger than all, in whose power I was preserved and carried on to do his work. The Lord hath

raised a fine people in those parts, whom he hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name; who feel Christ amongst them, and sit under his teaching.

After this I came to Balby; from whence several friends accompanied me into Lincolnshire, of whom some went to the steeple-houses, and some to private meetings. There came to the meeting where I was, the sheriff of Lincoln, and several with him; who made great contention and jangling for a time: but at length the Lord's power struck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did several others also who had opposed, and continued amongst friends till they died. Great meetings there were, and a large convincement in those parts. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus, and came to sit under his teaching, leaving their priests and their superstitious ways; and the day of the Lord flourished over all amongst them that came to our meetings in that country. One called Sir Richard Wrey was convinced; also his brother and his brother's wife, who abode in the truth and died therein; though he afterwards ran out.

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

After this we came to Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, where we had a great meeting of divers sorts; and the Lord's power went over them, and all was quiet. The people were turned to the Spirit of God, by which many came to receive his power, and to sit under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour. A great people the Lord hath in those parts.

I passed towards Kidley-park, where came many Rant-

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

Travelling through Derbyshire, I visited friends till I came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where was a general meeting, to which many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came: for great contests there had been with them, and with the priests in that town. To this meeting several friends came from divers parts; John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Pyot from Bristol, and Edward Burrough from London; and several were convinced in those parts.

The Ranters made a disturbance, and were very rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them, and they were confounded. The next day Jacob Bottomly, a great Ranter, came from Leicester; but the Lord's power flopt him, and came over them all. There came a priest too; but he also was confounded by the mighty power of the Lord. About this time the priests, Baptists, Ranters, and other professors were very rude, and stirred up rude people against us. We sent to the Ranters to come forth, and try their god. Abundance of them came, who sang, whistled, and danced; but the Lord's power so prevailed over them that many of them were convinced.

After this I went to Twycrofs, whither came some Ranters, who sung and danced before me; but I was moved in the dread of the Lord to reprove them: and the Lord's power came over them, so that some of them were convinced, and received the Spirit of God; who are become a pretty people, living and walking soberly in the truth of Christ. I went to Anthony Brickley's, in Warwickshire, where there was a great meeting; several Baptists and others came and jangled: but the Lord's power came over them.

Then I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations. As soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, having got another priest, and given notice to the country, sent to me to come to them; for they could not do any thing till I came. I, having been three years away from my relations, knew nothing of their design. But at last I went into the steeple-house yard, where the two priests were; and they had gathered abundance of people. They would have had me gone into the steeple-house. I asked them, what I should do there? They said, Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them, he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall, Richard Farnsworth being with me; and a great dispute we had with these priests concerning their practice, how contrary they were to Christ and his apostles. The priests would know where tithes were forbidden or ended. I shewed them out of the seventh chapter to the Hebrews, 'That not only tithes, but the priesthood that took tithes, was ended; and the law was ended and dissolved by which the priesthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid.' Then they stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. I had known Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition and the

manner of his preaching: 'and how he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth which must die. But I shewed that the promises were to the seed, not to many seeds, but to the one seed, Christ; who was one in male and female: for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God.' Then he said, I must not judge so. I told him, 'He that was spiritual judged all things.' Then he confessed, That was a full scripture; But, neighbours, said he, this is the business; GEORGE FOX is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light. I told him, 'I would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true light from the morning-star. But I told him, if he had any thing from Christ, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching; seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely.' So I charged him to preach no more for tithes or any hire. But he said, he would not yield to that. After awhile the people began to be vain and rude, whereupon we broke up; yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Before we parted, I told them, 'If the Lord would, I intended to be at the town again that day seven-night.' In the interim I went into the country, had meetings, and came again that day seven-night. Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him; for he had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Adderston, that such a day there would be a meeting and a dispute with me. I knew nothing of it; but only had said I should be in town that day seven-night again. These eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and would have had me into the steeple-house. I refused to go in, and got on a hill, and there spoke to them and the people. Thomas Taylor, James Parnel, and several other friends were with me. The priests thought that day to have trampled down truth; but the truth came over them. Then they grew light and the people rude. The priests would not stand trial with me; but would be contending here and there a little with one friend or other. At last one of the priests brought his son to dispute with me; but his mouth was soon stopt. When he could not tell how to answer, he would ask his father, and his father was confounded also when he came to answer for his son. So after they had toiled themselves, they went in a rage to

priest Stephens's house to drink. As they went away I said, 'I never came to a place where so many priests together would not stand the trial with me.' Whereupon they and some of their wives came about me, laid hold of me, and fawningly said, 'What might I have been, if it had not been for the Quakers?' Then they fell a pushing of friends to and fro, to thrust them from me, and to pluck me to themselves. After awhile several lusty fellows came, took me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to have carried me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on an heap, having me under them. As soon as I could I got from them to my hill again: then they got me from that place, took me to the steeple-house wall, and set me on a bafs like a stool; and all the priests, being come back, stood under with the people. The priests cried, Come, to argument, to argument. I said, 'I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of hirelings and strangers.' They cried, Prove it, prove it. I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might see what Christ said of such; he declared, 'He was the true Shepherd that laid down his life for his sheep, and his sheep heard his voice and followed him; but the hireling would fly when the wolf came, because he was an hireling.' I offered to prove that they were such hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off from the bafs again, and themselves got all upon bafles under the steeple-house wall. Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all, and told them, 'If they would give audience, and hear me quietly, I would shew them by the scriptures why I denied those eight priests or teachers that stood before me, and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever, and I would give them scriptures for what I said.' Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I shewed them out of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and other prophets, that they were in the steps of such as God sent his true prophets to cry against; for, said I, 'You are such as the prophet Jeremiah cried against, chap. v. when he said, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" which he called an horrible filthy thing. You are such as used their tongues, and said, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord never spoke to them. Such as followed their own spirits, and saw nothing; but spoke a divination of their own brain: and by their lies and their lightness

' caused the people to err, Jer. xiv. You are such as they  
 ' were that fought their gain from their quarter; that were  
 ' as greedy dumb dogs, that could never have enough,  
 ' whom the Lord sent his prophet Isaiah to cry against,  
 ' Isa. lvi. You are such as they were who taught for  
 ' handfuls of barley and pieces of bread, who sewed pillows  
 ' under people's arm-holes, that they might lie soft in their  
 ' sins. Ezek. xiii. You are such as they that taught for the  
 ' fleece and the wool, and made a prey of the people, Ezek.  
 ' xxxiv. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from your  
 ' mouths, and from your barren mountain; and is bringing  
 ' them to Christ, the one shepherd, whom he hath set over  
 ' his flocks; as by his prophet Ezekiel he then declared he  
 ' would do. You are such as those that divined for money,  
 ' and preached for hire; and if a man did not put into their  
 ' mouths they prepared war against him, as the prophet  
 ' Micah complained, chap. iii.' Thus I went through the  
 prophets too largely to be here repeated. Then coming to  
 the New Testament, I shewed from thence, that ' that they  
 ' were like the chief priests, scribes, and pharisees, whom  
 ' Christ cried wo against, Matth. xxiii. And that they  
 ' were such false apostles as the true apostles cried against,  
 ' such as taught for filthy lucre; such antichrists and de-  
 ' ceivers as they cried against, that minded earthly things,  
 ' and served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bel-  
 ' lies: for they that served Christ gave freely and preached  
 ' freely, as he commanded them. But they that will not  
 ' preach without hire, tithes, or outward means, serve their  
 ' own bellies, and not Christ; and through the good words  
 ' of the scriptures, and feigned words of their own, they  
 ' made merchandize of the people then, as (said I) ye do  
 ' now. When I had largely quoted the scriptures, and  
 ' shewed them wherein they were like the pharisees, loving  
 ' to be called of men masters, to go in long robes, to stand  
 ' praying in the synagogues, to have the uppermost rooms  
 ' at feasts and the like; and when I had thrown them out  
 ' in the sight of the people amongst the false prophets, de-  
 ' ceivers, scribes, and pharisees, and shewed at large how  
 ' such as they were judged and condemned by the true  
 ' prophets, Christ, and the apostles, I directed them to the  
 ' light of Jesus, who enlightens every man that cometh into  
 ' the world; that by it they might see whether these things  
 ' were not true as had been spoken.' When I appealed  
 to that of God in their consciences, the light of Christ Jesus



in them, they could not abide to hear it; they were all quiet till then; but then a professor said, George, what! wilt thou never have done? I told him, I should have done shortly. I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. When I had done, all the priests and people stood silent for a time; at last one of the priests said, They would read the scriptures that I had quoted. I told them, with all my heart. They began to read the twenty-third of Jeremiah, where they saw the marks of the false prophets that he cried against. When they had read a verse or two, I said, Take notice, people; but the priests said, Hold thy tongue, George. I bid them read the whole chapter throughout, for it was all against them. Then they stopt, and would read no further; but asked me a question. I told them I would answer their question, the matter being first granted that I had charged them with, viz. that they were false prophets, false teachers, antichrists, and deceivers, such as the true prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. A professor said Nay to that; but I said, 'Yea: for you leaving the matter, and going to another thing, seem to consent to the proof of the former charge.' Then I answered their question, which was this; 'Seeing those false prophets were adulterated, Whether I did judge priest Stephens to be an adulterer?' To which I answered, 'He was adulterated from God in his practice, like those false prophets and the Jews.' They would not stand to vindicate him, but broke up the meeting. Then the priests whispered together; and Stephens came to me, and desired that my father, brother, and I might go aside with him, that he might speak to me in private, and the rest of the priests should keep the people from coming to us. I was very loth to go aside with him; but the people cried, 'Go, George; do, George, go aside with him.' Being afraid, if I did not go, they would say I was disobedient to my parents, I went, and the rest of the priests were to keep the people off; but they could not, for the people, being willing to hear, drew close to us. I asked the priest, what he had to say? He said, 'If he was out of the way I should pray for him, and if I was out of the way he would pray for me; and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by.' I replied, 'It seems thou dost not know whether thou beest in the right way or no; neither dost thou know whether I am in the right way or no; but I know that I am in the ever-

‘lasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of. Thou  
‘wouldst give me a form of words to pray by, yet thou de-  
‘niest the Common Prayer Book to pray by as well as I,  
‘and I deny thy form of words as well as it. If thou  
‘wouldst have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not  
‘this to deny the apostle’s doctrine and practice of praying  
‘by the Spirit, as it gave words and utterance?’ Here the  
people fell a laughing; but I was moved to speak more to  
him. And when I had cleared myself to him and them we  
parted, after I had told them, that I should, God willing,  
be in town that day seven-night again. So the priests  
pack’d away, and many people were convinced that day;  
for the Lord’s power came over all. Many that were con-  
vinced before, were by that day’s work confirmed in the  
truth, and abode in it: and a great shake it gave to the  
priests. Yea, my father, though a hearer and follower of  
the priest, was so well satisfied, that he struck his cane up-  
on the ground, and said, ‘Truly I see, he that will but  
‘stand to the truth, it will bear him out.’ I passed about  
in the country till that day seven-night, and then came a-  
gain; for we had appointed a meeting at my relations house.  
Priest Stephens, having notice beforehand thereof, had got  
another priest to him. They had a company of troopers  
with them; and sent for me to come to them. But I sent  
them word, our meeting was appointed, and they might  
come to it if they would. The priests came not; but the  
troopers came, and many rude people. They had laid their  
plot, That the troopers should take every one’s name, and  
then command them to go home; and such as would not  
go, they should take, and carry away with them. Accord-  
ingly they began, and took several names, charging them to  
go home; but when they came to take my name, my rela-  
tions told them I was at home already: so they could not  
take me away that time. Nevertheless they took my name;  
but the Lord’s power was over them, and they went away,  
both professors and troopers, crossed and vexed because  
they had not their ends. But several were convinced that  
day, and admired the love and power of God. This was  
that priest Stephens, who once said of me, ‘Never such a  
‘plant was bred in England:’ yet afterwards he reported,  
‘That I was carried up into the clouds, and found again  
‘full of gold and silver;’ and many false reports he raised  
on me. but the Lord swept them all away. The reason  
why I would not go into their steeple-house was, because I

was to bear my testimony against it, and to bring all off from such places to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghost; and to bring them off from all the hireling teachers to Christ, their free teacher, who died for them, and purchased them with his blood.

After this I went into the country, had several meetings, and came to Swanington, where the soldiers came; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not meddle. Then I went to Leicester; and from Leicester to Whetstone. There came about seventeen troopers of colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marshal, and took me up before the meeting, though friends were beginning to gather together; for there were several friends from divers parts. I told the marshal, 'He might let all the friends go, I would answer for them all.' Whereupon he took me, and let all the friends go; only Alexander Parker went along with me. At night they had me before colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and a great deal of discourse we had about the priests, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noise of a plot against O. Cromwel. Much reasoning I had with them about the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Col. Hacker asked, Whether it was not this light of Christ that made Judas betray his master, and after led him to hang himself? I told him, 'No: that was the spirit of darkness, which hated Christ and his light.' Then col. Hacker said, I might go home, and keep at home; and not go abroad to meetings. I told him, 'I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work.' His son Needham said, 'Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off.' I asked him, 'For what? What had I done? or whom had I wronged from a child? for I was bred and born in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child?' Col. Hacker asked me again, If I would go home, and stay at home? I told him, 'If I should promise him so, it would manifest that I was guilty of something, to make my home a prison: and if I went to meetings, they would say I broke their order. Therefore I told them, I should go to meetings, as the Lord should order me; and could not submit to their requirings: but I said, we were a peaceable people.' 'Well then,' said colonel Hacker, 'I will send you to-

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

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

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

After captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he

went to give the protector an account of me. When he came to me again, he told me, The protector required that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was; and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it. I said little in reply to captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper 'To the protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwel; wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare, that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man. And that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, which the magistrates sword should be a terror to.' When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to captain Drury to hand to O. Cromwel; which he did. After some time captain Drury brought me before the protector himself at Whitehall. It was in a morning, before he was dressed; and one Harvey, who had come a little among friends, but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house: and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand unto God's glory.' I spoke much to him of truth; and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion: wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said, We quarrelled with the priests, whom he called ministers. I told him, 'I did not quarrel with them, they quarrelled with me and my friends. But, said I, if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and Spirit. Then I shewed him, That the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre, divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs that could never have enough: and that they, who have the same Spirit that Christ and the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare

‘against all such now, as they did then.’ As I spoke he several times said, It was very good, and it was truth. ‘I told him, That all Christendom (so called) had the scriptures, but they wanted the power and Spirit that those had who gave forth the scriptures; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor one with another.’ Many more words I had with him; but people coming in, I drew a little back. As I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other;’ adding, That he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him, ‘If he did, he wronged his own soul; and admonished him to hearken to God’s voice, that he might stand in his counsel, and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart: but if he did not hear God’s voice, his heart would be hardened.’ He said, It was true. Then I went out; and when captain Drury came out after me, he told me, His lord protector said, I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great hall, where the protector’s gentlemen were to dine. I asked them, What they brought me thither for? They said, It was by the protector’s order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, ‘Now I see there is a people risen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices or places; but all other sects and people I can.’ It was told him again, ‘That we had forsook our own; and were not like to look for such things from him.’

Being set at liberty, I went to the inn where captain Drury at first lodged me. This captain, though he sometimes carried it fairly, was an enemy to me and to truth, and opposed it. When professors came to me, while I was under his custody, and he was by, he would scoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Presbyterians had nicknamed us before. But afterwards he came and told me, That, as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the day-time, a sudden trembling seized on him, that his joints knocked together; and his body shook so that he could not rise from his bed: he was so shaken, that he had not strength enough left to rise. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him; and he tumbled off his bed, and

cried to the Lord, and said, He would never speak against the Quakers more, such as trembled at the word of God.

During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, there came abundance to see me, almost of all sorts, priests, professors, officers of the army, &c. Once a company of officers being with me, desired me to pray with them. I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord. At last I felt the power and Spirit of God move in me; and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them, that they wondered, though they did not live in it.

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

Then colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind, concerning God, Christ, and the scriptures: it was a great grief to my soul and spirit, when I heard him talk so lightly; so that I told him, 'He was too light to talk of the things of God: for he did not know the solidity of a man.' Thereupon the officers raged, and said, Would I say so of their colonel? Packer was a Baptist: he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be exceeding complimentary, so that Packer bid them give over their compliments; but I told them, 'They were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit.'

This colonel lived at Theobalds near Waltham, and was made a justice of peace. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobalds Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceeding high, railed against friends and truth; and threatened to apprehend me with their warrants, if ever I came there. Yet after I was set at liberty, I was moved of the Lord to go to Theobalds, and appoint a meeting hard-by them; to which many of his people came, and divers of his hearers were convinced of the way of truth, received Christ the free teacher, and

came off from the Baptift; which made him rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him fo, that he was not able to meddle with me. Then I went to Waltham, hard-by him, and had a meeting there. The people were very rude, gathered about the houfe, and broke the windows. Whereupon I went out to them, with the bible in my hand, defired them to come in; and told them, 'I would shew them fcripture both for our principles and praćtices.' When I had done fo, I fhewed them alfo 'that their teachers were in the fteps of fuch as the prophets, Chrif, and the apoftles cried againft. I directed them to the light of Chrif, the Spirit of God in their own hearts; that by it they might come to know their free teacher, the Lord 'Jefus Chrif.' The meeting being ended, they went away quieted and fatisfied; and a meeting hath fince been fettled in that town. But this was fome time after I was fet at liberty by O. Cromwel.

When I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing-Crofs, I ftaid not long there: but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings; fo great were the throngs of people, that I could hardly get to and from the meetings for the crowds; and the truth fspread exceedingly. T. Aldam and R. Craven, who had been fheriffs of Lincoln, and divers friends, came up to London after me: but A. Parker abode with me.

After awhile I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare 'the day of the Lord amongst them; and that 'the Lord was come to teach his people himfelf:' fo I preached truth both to the officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a prieft opposed, while I declared the word of the Lord amongst them: for Oliver had feveral about him, of which this was his news-monger; an envious prieft, a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bid him repent; and he put it in his news-paper the next week, that I had been at Whitehall, and had bid a godly minifter there repent. When I went thither again, I met with him; and abundance of people gathered about me. I manifefed the prieft to be a liar in feveral things that he had affirmed; and he was put to filence. He put in the news, that I wore filver buttons; which was falfe; for they were but ochimy. Afterwards he put in the news, that I hung ribands on people's arms, which made them follow me. This was another of his lies; for I never ufed nor wore ribands in my life. Three



friends went to examine this priest, that gave forth this false intelligence; and to know of him where he had that information? He said, It was a woman that told him so; and if they would come again, he would tell them the woman's name. When they came again, he said, It was a man, but would not tell them his name then; but if they would come again, he would tell them his name, and where he lived. They went the third time; and then he would not say who told him; but offered, if I would give it under my hand that there was no such thing, he would put that into the news. Thereupon the friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came, he broke his promise, and would not put it in: but was in a rage, and threatened them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies: and these lies he spread over the nation in the news, to render truth odious, and to put evil into people's minds against friends and truth; of which a more large account may be seen in a book printed soon after this time, for the clearing of friends and truth from the flanders and false reports raised and cast upon them. These priests, the news-mongers, were of the independent sect, like them in Leicester; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away; and many came to see the naughtiness of these priests. The God of heaven carried me over all in his power, and his blessed power went over the nation; insomuch that many friends about this time were moved to go up and down, to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of this nation, and also in Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlasting praise. A great convincement there was in London; some in the protector's house and family. I went to have seen him again, but could not get to him, the officers were grown so rude.

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

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

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

‘ To all professors of Christianity :

‘ **A**LL those that professed Jesus Christ in words, and  
 ‘ yet heard him not when he was come, said, he was a  
 ‘ deceiver and a devil. The chief priests called him so.  
 ‘ The Jews said, “ He hath a devil, and is mad ; why do  
 ‘ ye hear him ? ” But others said, “ These are not the  
 ‘ words of him that hath a devil. Can a devil open the  
 ‘ eyes of the blind ? ” The Jews then doubted whether he  
 ‘ was the Christ, or no. So all, like the Jews, in the  
 ‘ knowledge, in the notion, that profess Christ without only,  
 ‘ where he is risen within, do not own him, but doubt of  
 ‘ him ; though Christ be the same now and for ever. He  
 ‘ said, “ I and my Father are one ; then the Jews took up  
 ‘ stones to stone him ; ” and where Jesus Christ is now spi-  
 ‘ ritually come and made manifest, such as are christians in  
 ‘ outward profession only, have the same hard hearts in-  
 ‘ wardly now as the Jews had then ; and cast stones at him,  
 ‘ where he is risen. Jesus said, “ For which of these good  
 ‘ works do ye stone me ? ” The Jews answered, “ For thy  
 ‘ good works we stone thee not ; but for blasphemy, in that  
 ‘ thou being a man, makest thyself God. ” Jesus answered  
 ‘ them, “ Is it not written in your law, I said you are  
 ‘ gods ? and the scripture cannot be broken. Say ye of  
 ‘ him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the  
 ‘ world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son  
 ‘ of God ? The Jews said to him, Say we not well, that  
 ‘ thou hast a devil ? Jesus answered, I honour my Father,  
 ‘ and ye dishonour me. And they that were in the syna-  
 ‘ gogue rose up, and thrust him out of the city ; and took  
 ‘ him up to the edge of the hill whercon their city was  
 ‘ built, to cast him down headlong. The Pharisees said,  
 ‘ He casteth out devils by the prince of devils. ” Christ  
 ‘ was called a glutton and a wine-bibber ; a friend of pub-  
 ‘ licans and sinners ; but wisdom is justified of her children.  
 ‘ The officers, when the high-priests and Pharisees asked  
 ‘ them, “ Why have ye not brought him ? ” said, “ Never  
 ‘ man spake like this man. ” The Pharisees said, “ Are  
 ‘ you also deceived ? Do any of the rulers or of the Pha-  
 ‘ risees believe on him ? but this people, which know not  
 ‘ the law, are accursed. Nicodemus said unto them (he  
 ‘ that came unto Jesus by night) doth our law judge any  
 ‘ man before it hear him ? ” When Stephen confessed Je-  
 ‘ sus, the substance of all figures and types, and was

‘ brought before the chief priests to his trial, he told them,  
‘ “ The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with  
‘ hands ;” and brought the prophets words to witnesses, and  
‘ told them, They were stiff-necked and uncircumcised in  
‘ heart and ears, and always resisted the Holy Ghost, as  
‘ their fathers had done. Stephen was full of the Holy  
‘ Ghost, and said, He saw Jesus ; and they ran upon him,  
‘ and stoned him to death, as he was calling upon the Lord.  
‘ When Paul confessed Jesus Christ, and his Resurrection,  
‘ Festus said, He was mad. When Paul preached the resur-  
‘ rection, some mocked. The Jews persuaded the people,  
‘ and they stoned him, and drew him out of the city, think-  
‘ ing he had been dead. The Jews stirred up the Gentiles,  
‘ to make their minds evil-affected towards the brethren.  
‘ The Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women,  
‘ and the chief of the city : and raised persecution against  
‘ Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts :  
‘ and there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and of  
‘ the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and  
‘ to stone them. In like manner all in the nature of those  
‘ Jews now, whose religion stands in notions, stir up the  
‘ rulers and the ignorant people, and incense them against  
‘ Jesus Christ, to stone all with one consent in whom he is  
‘ risen. This is, that the scripture might be fulfilled, and  
‘ the blindness of the people might be discovered. The  
‘ same power now is made manifest, and doth overturn the  
‘ world, as did then overturn the world, to the exalting of  
‘ the Lord, and the pulling down of the kingdom of Satan  
‘ and of this world, and setting up his own kingdom, to his  
‘ everlasting praise. The Lord is now exalting himself,  
‘ and throwing down man’s self. The proud one’s head is  
‘ aloft, fearing he should lose his pride and his crown. The  
‘ priests incense the ignorant people, for fear their trade  
‘ should go down ; and professors shew forth what is in  
‘ them, being full of rage ; which shews that Jesus Christ  
‘ the substance is not there ; but a stony heart, to stone the  
‘ precious, where it is risen. The carnal mind feeds upon  
‘ the outward letter ; earth feeds upon earth ; and that vine-  
‘ yard is not dressed, but is full of briars and nettles ; and  
‘ ravenous beasts, swine, dogs, wolves, and lions, and all  
‘ venomous creatures lodge in that habitation. That house  
‘ is not swept. These are the persecutors of the just, ene-  
‘ mies of the truth, and of Christ. These are blasphemers  
‘ of God and his truth. These call upon God with their

lips, but their hearts are far from him. These feed on lies; priests and people. These incense the people, and stir up envy; for it begets its own, one like itself. These are as the waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame. These have double eyes; whose bodies are full of darkness. These paint themselves with the prophets, with Christ's, and with the apostles words most fair. Whited walls, painted sepulchres, murderers of the just you are. Your eyes are double, your minds are double, your hearts are double. Ye flatterers, repent and turn from your carnal ends, who are full of mischief; pretending God and godliness, taking him for your cloak; but he will uncover you, and he hath uncovered you to his children. He will make you bare, discover your secrets, take off your crown, take away your mantle and your veil, and strip you of your cloathing; that your nakedness may appear, and how you sit deceiving the nations. Your abomination and your falsehood is now made manifest to those who are of God; who in his power triumph over you, rejoice over you, the beast, the dragon, the false prophet, the seducer, the hypocrite, the mother of all harlots. Now thou must have thy cup double. Give it to her double. Sing over her, ye righteous ones, sing over them all, ye faints; triumph in glory, triumph over the deceit: sing the song of the lamb; triumph over the world, spread the truth abroad. Come ye captives out of prison; rejoice with one accord, for the joyful days are coming. Let us be glad, and rejoice for ever! Singleness of heart is come; pureness of heart is come; joy and gladness is come. The glorious God is exalting himself: truth hath been talked of, but now it is possessed. Christ hath been talked of; but now he is come and possessed. The glory hath been talked of; but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of God hath been talked of; but now he is come, and hath given us an understanding. Unity hath been talked of; but now it is come. Virgins have been talked of; but now they are come with oil in their lamps. He will be glorified alone. Where pride is thrown down, earth and the fleshly will is thrown down, and the pure is raised up; there alone is the Lord exalted. Let the heavens bow down to him, and the earth reel to and fro, and stagger up and down. The Lord is setting up his throne and his crown, and throwing down the crown of man; he alone will be glorified: to whom be

' all honour and glory, all praises and all thanks! He gives  
 ' his children wisdom and strength, knowledge and virtue,  
 ' power and riches, blessings and durable substance; an eye  
 ' to discern, and an ear to hear things singly; brings down  
 ' the pride of man's heart, and turns the wicked out of the  
 ' kingdom. The righteous inherit righteousness; the pure,  
 ' pureness; the holy, holiness. Praises, praises be to the  
 ' Lord, whose glory now shines, whose day is broken forth;  
 ' which is hid from the world, hid from all worldly-wise  
 ' ones, from all the prudent of this world; from the fowls  
 ' of the air; from all vultures eyes, all venomous beasts, all  
 ' liars, all dogs, and all swine. But to them that fear his  
 ' name, the secrets of the Lord are made manifest, the trea-  
 ' sures of wisdom are opened, and the fulness of knowledge:  
 ' for thou, O Lord! dost make thyself manifest to thy  
 ' children.

' G. F.'

My spirit was greatly burdened to see the pride that was got up in the nation, even amongst professors; in the sense whereof I was moved to give forth a paper directed—

' To such as follow the world's fashions:

' **W**HAT a world is this! how doth the devil gar-  
 ' nish himself! how obedient are people to do his  
 ' will and mind! They are altogether carried away with  
 ' fooleries and vanities, both men and women. They have  
 ' lost the hidden man of the heart, the meek and quiet spi-  
 ' rit; which with the Lord is of great price. They have  
 ' lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and  
 ' gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women  
 ' powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal.  
 ' They look so strange, that they can scarce look at one  
 ' another; they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is blown  
 ' up into their head; and hath so lifted them up, that they  
 ' snuff up, like wild asses, and like Ephraim: they feed  
 ' upon wind, and are got to be like wild heifers, who feed  
 ' upon the mountains. Pride hath puffed up every one of  
 ' them. They are out of the fear of God; men and wo-  
 ' men. Young and old; one puffs up another. They  
 ' must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in  
 ' esteem; nay they shall not be respected, if they have not  
 ' gold or silver upon their backs, or if the hair be not

‘ powdered. But if one have store of ribands hanging  
‘ about his waist, at his knees, and in his hat, of divers  
‘ colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair pow-  
‘ dered; then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then  
‘ he is no Quaker. He hath ribands on his back, belly,  
‘ and knees, and his hair powdered. This is the array of  
‘ the world. But is not this from the lust of the eye, the  
‘ lust of the flesh, or the pride of life? Likewise the  
‘ women having their gold, their patches on their faces,  
‘ noses, cheeks, foreheads, their rings on their fingers, wear-  
‘ ing gold, their cuffs double under and above, like a  
‘ butcher with his white sleeves; their ribands tied about  
‘ their hands, and three or four gold laces about their  
‘ cloaths; this is no Quaker, say they. This attire pleaseth  
‘ the world; and if they cannot get these things, they are  
‘ discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose  
‘ adorning was in the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet  
‘ and meek spirit. This is the adorning of the heathen;  
‘ not of the apostle, nor of the saints, whose adorning was,  
‘ not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but that of a  
‘ meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the  
‘ Lord. Here was the sobriety and good ornament which  
‘ was accepted of the Lord. This was Paul’s exhortation  
‘ and preaching. But we see, the talkers of Paul’s words  
‘ live out of Paul’s command, and out of the example of  
‘ Sarah, and are found in the steps of the great heathen,  
‘ who comes to examine the apostles in his gorgeous ap-  
‘ parel. Are not these, that have got ribands hanging  
‘ about their arms, hands, back, waists, knees, hats, like  
‘ fiddlers boys? This shews, that they are got into the  
‘ basest and most contemptible life, who are in the fashion  
‘ of fiddlers boys and stage-players, quite out of the paths  
‘ and steps of solid men; in the very steps and paths of  
‘ the wild heads, who give themselves up to every invention  
‘ and vanity of the world that appears, and are inventing  
‘ how to get it upon their backs, heads, feet, and legs; and  
‘ say, If it be out of the fashion, it is nothing worth.  
‘ Are not these spoilers of the creation, who have the fat  
‘ and the best of it, and waste and destroy it? Do not  
‘ these incumber God’s earth? Let that of God in  
‘ all consciences answer, and who are in the wisdom  
‘ judge. And further; if one get a pair of breeches like  
‘ a coat, and hang them about with points, and up almost  
‘ to the middle, a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and

' a feather in his cap, here's a gentleman; bow before him,  
 ' put off your hats, get a company of fiddlers, a set of mu-  
 ' fick, and women to dance. This is a brave fellow. Up  
 ' in the chamber; up in the chamber without, and up in  
 ' the chamber within. Are these your fine Christians?  
 ' Yea, say they, They are Christians; but say the serious  
 ' people, They are out of Christ's life, out of the apostle's  
 ' command, and out of the saints ornament. To see such as  
 ' are in the fashions of the world before-mentioned, a com-  
 ' pany of them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at shovel-  
 ' board, or each taking his horse, with bunches of ribands  
 ' on his head, as the rider hath on his own, perhaps a ring  
 ' in his ear too, and so go to horse-racing to spoil the crea-  
 ' tures. Oh! these are gentlemen indeed, these are bred up  
 ' gentlemen, these are brave fellows, they must take their  
 ' recreation; for pleasures are lawful. These in their sports,  
 ' set up their shouts like wild asses. They are like the kine  
 ' or beasts, when they are put to grass, lowing when they  
 ' are full. Here is the glorying of those before-mentioned;  
 ' but it is in the flesh, not in the Lord. These are bad  
 ' christians, and shew that they are gluttoned with the crea-  
 ' tures, and then the flesh rejoiceth. Here is evil breeding  
 ' of youth and young women, who are carried away with  
 ' the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride,  
 ' arrogance, lust, gluttony, uncleanness. They eat and  
 ' drink, and rise up to play. This is the generation which  
 ' God is not well pleased with; for their eyes are full of a-  
 ' dultery, who cannot cease from evil. These be they that  
 ' live in pleasures upon earth; these be they who are dead  
 ' while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the  
 ' flesh: these be they that are out of the life that the scrip-  
 ' tures were given forth from, who live in the fashions and  
 ' vanities of the world, out of truth's adorning in the devil's  
 ' adorning (who is out of the truth) not in the adorning of  
 ' the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, and is with  
 ' the Lord of great price. But this ornament and this a-  
 ' dorning is not put on by them that adorn themselves, and  
 ' have the ornament of him that is out of the truth. That  
 ' is not accepted with the Lord which is accepted in their  
 ' eye.

' G F.'

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

‘ Friends,

‘ **Y**E heads, rulers, kings, and nobles, of all forts, Be  
 ‘ not bitter, nor hasty in persecuting the lambs of  
 ‘ Christ, neither turn yourselves against the visitation of  
 ‘ God, and his tender love and mercies from on high, who  
 ‘ sent to visit you; lest the Lord’s hand, arm, and power  
 ‘ take hold swiftly upon you; which is now stretched over  
 ‘ the world. It is turned against kings, and shall turn wise  
 ‘ men backward, will bring their crowns to the dust, and  
 ‘ lay them low and level with the earth. The Lord will be  
 ‘ king, who gives crowns to whomsoever obey his will.  
 ‘ This is the age, wherein the Lord God of heaven and  
 ‘ earth is staining the pride of man and defacing his glory.  
 ‘ You that profess Christ, and do not love your enemies,  
 ‘ but on the contrary shut up and imprison those who are  
 ‘ his friends; these are marks that you are out of his life,  
 ‘ and do not love Christ, who do not the things he com-  
 ‘ mands. The day of the Lord’s wrath is kindling, his fire  
 ‘ is going forth to burn up the wicked, which will leave nei-  
 ‘ ther root nor branch. They that have lost their habita-  
 ‘ tion with God are out of his Spirit that gave forth the  
 ‘ scriptures, and from the light that Jesus Christ hath enlight-  
 ‘ ened them withal; and so from the true foundation.  
 ‘ Therefore be swift to hear, slow to speak, and slower to  
 ‘ persecute; for the Lord is bringing his people to himself,  
 ‘ from all the world’s ways, to Christ the way; from all the  
 ‘ world’s churches, to the church which is in God, the Fa-  
 ‘ ther of our Lord Jesus Christ; from all the world’s teach-  
 ‘ ers, to teach his people himself by his Spirit; from all  
 ‘ the world’s images, into the image of himself; and from  
 ‘ all the world’s crosses of stone or wood, into his power  
 ‘ which is the cross of Christ. For all these images, crosses,  
 ‘ and likenesses are among them that are apostatized from  
 ‘ the image of God, the power of God, the cross of Christ,  
 ‘ which now fathoms the world, and is throwing down that  
 ‘ which is contrary to it; which power of God never chan-  
 ‘ ges.

‘ Let this go to the kings of France and of Spain, and to  
 ‘ the pope, for them to prove all things and to hold that  
 ‘ which is good. And first to prove, that they have not  
 ‘ quenched the Spirit; for the mighty day of the Lord is  
 ‘ come, and coming upon all wickedness, ungodliness, and  
 ‘ unrighteousness of men, who will plead with all flesh by  
 ‘ fire and by sword. And the truth, the crown of glory,



‘ and the sceptre of righteousness over all shall be exalted ;  
 ‘ which shall answer that of God in every one upon the  
 ‘ earth, though they be from it. Christ is come a light into  
 ‘ the world, and doth enlighten every one that cometh into  
 ‘ the world, that all through him might believe. He that  
 ‘ feeleth the light, that Christ hath enlightened him withal,  
 ‘ he feeleth Christ in his mind, and the cross of Christ,  
 ‘ which is the power of God ; he shall not need to have a  
 ‘ cross of wood or stone to put him in mind of Christ, or  
 ‘ of his cross, which is the power of God manifest in the  
 ‘ inward parts.

‘ G F.’

Besides this I was moved to write a letter to the Protector (so called) ‘ to warn him of the mighty work the Lord  
 ‘ hath to do in the nations, and the shaking of them ; and  
 ‘ to beware of his own wit, craft, subtilty, and policy, or  
 ‘ seeking any by-ends to himself.’

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

‘ Friends,

‘ **Y**OU that are justices, and in commission to try ministers, who have so long been in the vineyard of  
 ‘ God, see whether they be such as are mentioned in the  
 ‘ scriptures, whom the prophets, Christ, and the apostles  
 ‘ disapproved of. And if they be such as they disapproved,  
 ‘ see how ye can stand approved in the sight of God. to let  
 ‘ such go into his vineyard, and approve of them who will  
 ‘ admire your persons because of advantage, and if you do  
 ‘ not give them advantage they will not admire your persons ; such Jude speaks of. See if they be not such as  
 ‘ teach for filthy lucre, for love of money, covetous, such as  
 ‘ love themselves, who have a form of godliness, but deny  
 ‘ the power ; from such the apostle bids, Turn away. The  
 ‘ apostles said, their mouths should be stopped, who served  
 ‘ not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies ; being evil  
 ‘ beasts, slow bellies, who mind earthly things. Paul gave  
 ‘ Timothy a description to try ministers by : he said, They  
 ‘ must not be covetous, nor given to wine. nor filthy lucre,  
 ‘ nor novices ; lest being lifted up into pride, they fall into

the condemnation of the devil. These he was to try and  
 prove without partiality. Take heed of approving such  
 as he disapproved; for since the apostles days, such as he  
 disapproved have had their liberty; and they have told  
 us, The tongues were their original, that they were ortho-  
 dox men, and that the steeple-house, with a cross on the  
 top of it, was the church (the Papists mass-house, you  
 may look on the top of it and see the sign.) But the  
 scriptures tell us, "All the earth was of one language  
 before the building of Babel." And when Pilate cruci-  
 fied Christ, he set the tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin  
 over his head. And John tells us, that the beast had  
 power over the tongues, kindreds and nations: and that  
 the whore sits upon the tongues, of whose cup all nations  
 have drunk, and the kings of the earth have committed  
 fornication with her. John also said, The tongues are  
 waters. Christ gives marks to his disciples, and to the mul-  
 titude, how to try such as these that you are to try. They  
 are called of men master, they love the chiefest seat in the  
 assemblies, they be sayers but not doers; and, said he,  
 they shall put you out of the synagogues. Seven woes he  
 denounced against them, and therefore disapproved them.  
 Christ said, False prophets should come; and John saw,  
 They were come: for they went forth from them; and the  
 world since hath gone after them. But Babylon must be  
 confounded, the mother of harlots; and the devil must be  
 taken, and with him the beast, and the false prophet must  
 be cast into the lake of fire: for the Lamb and his saints  
 over all must reign, and have the victory. The Lord sent  
 his prophets of old to cry against the shepherds that sought  
 for the fleece, Ezek. xxxiv. and to cry against such shep-  
 herds as seek for their gain from their quarter, and never  
 have enough. Isa. v. 6. and to cry against the prophets  
 that prophesied falsely, and the priests that bore rule by  
 their means; which was the filthy and horrible thing, Jer.  
 v. And if you would forbear to give them means, you  
 would see how long they would bear rule. There was  
 in old time a storehouse for the fatherless, strangers, and  
 widows, to come to and be filled; and those did not prof-  
 fer then who did not bring their tithes to the storehouse.  
 But did not Christ put an end to that priesthood, tithes,  
 temple, and priests? Doth not the apostle say, The priest-  
 hood is changed, the law is changed, and the command-  
 ment disannulled? Might not they have pleaded the law

‘ of God, that gave them tithes ? Was not the first author  
‘ of them since Christ’s time the pope, or some of his  
‘ church ? Did the apostles cast men into prison for tithes,  
‘ as your ministers do now ? As instance : Ralph Holling-  
‘ worth, priest of Phillingham, for petty tithes, not exceed-  
‘ ing six shillings, hath cast into Lincoln prison a poor  
‘ thatcher, Thomas Bromby ; where he hath been about  
‘ eight and thirty weeks, and still remains prisoner : and  
‘ the priest petitioned the judge, that the poor man might  
‘ not labour in the city to get a little money towards his  
‘ maintenance in prison. Is this a good favour amongst you  
‘ that are in commission to choose ministers ? Is this glad ti-  
‘ dings ? to cast in prison a man that is not his hearer, be-  
‘ cause he could not put into his mouth ? Can such as are  
‘ in the fear of God, and in his wisdom, own such things ?  
‘ the ministers of Christ are to plant a vineyard, and then  
‘ eat of the fruit ; to plow, sow, and thresh, and get the  
‘ corn ; and then let them reap : but not cast them into  
‘ prison for whom they do no work. Christ, when he sent  
‘ forth his ministers, bid them give freely as they had re-  
‘ ceived freely ; and into what city or town soever they  
‘ came, inquire who were worthy and there abide ; and what  
‘ they set before you, said he, that eat. And when these  
‘ came back again to Christ, and he asked them, If they  
‘ wanted any thing ? they said, No. They did not go to a  
‘ town, and call the people together, to know how much  
‘ they might have by the year, as these that are in the apo-  
‘ stacy do now. The apostle said, Have I not power to  
‘ eat and to drink ? But he did not say, To take tithes,  
‘ easter-reckonings, midsummer-dues, augmentations, and  
‘ great sums of money ; but have I not power to eat and  
‘ to drink ? Yet he did not use that power among the  
‘ Corinthians. But they that are apostatized from him will  
‘ take tithes, great sums of money, easter-reckonings, and  
‘ midsummer-dues ; and cast those into prison that will not  
‘ give it them, whom they do no work for. The ox’s mouth  
‘ must not be muzzled that treads out the corn ; but see if  
‘ the corn be trodden out in you, and the wheat be in the  
‘ garner ? This is from a lover of your souls ; and one that  
‘ desires your eternal good.

‘ G. F.’

After I had made some stay in the city of London, I  
was moved of the Lord to go into Bedfordshire to John

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

After some time I returned to London again; where friends were finely established in the truth, and great comings-in there were. About this time several friends went beyond sea, to declare the everlasting truth of God. When

I had staid awhile in the city, I went into Kent. When we came into Rochester, there was a guard kept to examine passengers; but we passed by, and were not stopped. So I went to Cranbrook, where there was a great meeting; several soldiers were at it, and many were turned to the Lord that day. After the meeting some of the soldiers were somewhat rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Thomas Howfigoe, an Independent preacher, who lived not far from Cranbrook, was convinced, and became a faithful minister for the Lord Jesus. Some friends had travelled into Kent before, as John Stubbs and William Caton; and the priests and professors had stirred up the magistrates at Maidstone to whip them for declaring God's truth unto them; as may be seen in the journal of William Caton's life. Captain Dunk was also convinced in Kent. He went with me to Rye, where we had a meeting; to which the mayor, officers, and several captains came. They took what I said in writing, which I was well pleased with. All was quiet, and the people affected with the truth.

From Rye I went to Rumney, where the people had notice of my coming some time before. There was a very large meeting. Thither came Samuel Fisher, an eminent preacher among the Baptists, who had a parsonage reputed worth two hundred pounds a year; which for conscience sake he had given up. There was also the pastor of the Baptists, and abundance of their people. The power of the Lord was so mightily over the meeting, that many were reached, and one greatly shaken; and the life sprang up in divers. One of the pastors of the Baptists, being amazed at the work of the Lord's power, bid one of our friends that was so wrought upon, Have a good conscience. Whereupon I was moved of the Lord to bid him, Take heed of hypocrisy and deceit; and he was silent. A great conviction there was that day. Many were turned from darkness to the divine light of Christ, and came to see their teachers errors, and to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching; to know him their way, and the covenant of light, which God had given to be their salvation; and they were brought to the one Baptism, and to the one Baptizer, Christ Jesus. When the meeting was done, Samuel Fisher's wife said, 'We may discern this day betwixt flesh and Spirit, and distinguish spiritual teaching from fleshly.' The people were generally well satisfied with what had been declared; but the two Baptist teachers and their compa-

ny, when they were gone from the meeting, fell to reasoning amongst the people. Samuel Fisher, with divers others, reasoned for the word of life, which had been declared that day, and the other pastor and his party reasoned against it; so it divided them asunder and cut them in the midst. A friend came and told me, 'That the Baptists were disputing one with another, and desired me to go to them.' I said, 'Let them alone, the Lord will divide them, and they that reason for truth will be too hard for the other: and so it was. Samuel Fisher received the truth in the love of it, became a faithful minister, preached Christ freely, and laboured much; being moved of the Lord to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk, in Holland, and in divers parts of Italy, as Leghorn, and Rome itself; yet the Lord preserved him and his companion John Stubbs out of their inquisitions.

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

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

From thence I passed into Suffex, and lodged near Horsham, where was a great meeting; and many convinced. Also at Steyning we had a great meeting in the market-house, and several were convinced there and there-away; for the Lord's power was with us. Several meetings I had thereabouts; amongst the rest a meeting was appointed at a great man's house, and he and his son went to fetch several priests who had threatened to come and dispute. But none of them came, for the Lord's power was mighty in us. A glorious meeting we had. The man of the house and his son were vexed, because none of the priests would come. So the hearts of the people were opened by the Spirit of God, and they were turned from the hirelings to Christ Jesus, their shepherd, who had purchased them without money, and would feed them without

money or price. Many that came, expecting to hear a dispute, were convinced; amongst whom Nicholas Beard was one.

Thus the Lord's power came over all, and his day many came to see. There were abundance of Ranters in those parts, and professors, who had been so loose in their lives that they began to be weary of them, and had thought to have gone into Scotland to have lived privately; but the Lord's net caught them, and their understandings were opened by his light. Spirit, and power, through which they came to receive the truth, and to be settled upon the Lord; and so became very sober men, and good friends in the truth. Great blessing and praising the Lord there was amongst them, and great admiration in the country.

Out of Suffex I travelled till I came to Reading; where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. I staid till the first-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it proved; great convincement there was, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain. After the meeting many Baptists and Ranters came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Ranters pleaded, that God made the devil: I denied it, and told them, 'I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was, and bruised his head; and he became a devil by going out of truth; and so became a murderer and a destroyer. I shewed them, that God did not make him a devil; for God is a God of truth, and made all things good. and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad, and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself, and not from God.' So the truth slopt and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord I was manifest. and sought to be made manifest to the Spirit of God in all, that by it they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the holy Spirit, and were come to sit under his teaching.

After this I passed to London, where I staid awhile, and had large meetings: then went into Essex, and came to Cogshall, where was a meeting of about two thousand

people, as it was judged, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour, the way, the truth, and the life.

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

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit James Parnel in prison; but the gaoler would hardly let us come in, or stay with him. Very cruel they were to him. The gaoler's wife threatened to have his blood; and in that gaol they did destroy him, as the reader may see in a book printed soon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and also in an epistle printed with his collected books and writings.

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

We passed from Ipswich to Mendlesham, in Suffolk, where Robert Duncon lived. There we had a large meeting that was quiet, and the Lord's power was precious



felt amongst us. Then we passed to a meeting at captain Lawrence's, in Norfolk; where, it was judged, were above a thousand people; and all was quiet. Many persons of note were present, and a great conviction there was. They were turned to Christ, and many of them received him, and sat down under him, their vine. Here we parted with Amor Stoddart and others, who intended to meet us again in Huntingdonshire.

About the second hour in the morning we took horse for Norwich, where Christopher Atkins, that dirty man, had run out, and brought dishonour upon the blessed truth and the name of the Lord. But he had been denied by friends, and afterwards he gave forth a paper of condemnation of his sin and evil. We came to Yarmouth, and staid awhile; where there was a friend, Thomas Bond, in prison, for the truth of Christ. There we had some service; some being turned to the Lord in that town. From thence we rode to another town about twenty miles off, where were many tender people. I was moved of the Lord to speak to the people as I sat upon my horse, in several places as I passed along. We went to another town about five miles from thence, and set up our horses at an inn; Richard Hubberton and I having travelled five-and-forty miles that day. There were some friendly people in the town; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power, to his praise.

We bid the hostler have our horses ready by three in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three-and-thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed, about eleven at night came the constable and officers, with a great rabble of people into the inn, and said, They were come with an hue and cry from a justice of peace, that lived near the town where I had spoken to the people in the streets as I rode along, to search for two horsemen that rode upon grey horses, and in grey cloaths; an house having been broken upon the seventh-day before at night. We told them, 'We were honest innocent men, and abhorred such things;' yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberds and pikes upon us that night; making some of those friendly people, with others, watch us. Next morning we were up betime, and the constable with his guard carried us before a justice of peace about five miles off. We took two or three of the sufficient men of the town with us, who had been at the meeting at captain

Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both the seventh-day night and the first-day night at captain Lawrence's; and it was the seventh-day night that they said the house was broken up. The reader is to be informed, that during the time I was prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, this captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had a great deal of discourse; which they took offence at. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ's teaching his people himself, and making people as clear whilst here upon the earth as Adam and Eve were before they fell. These justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending an house was broken up; that they might send their hue and cry after me. They were vexed also and troubled to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's; for a colonel was convinced there that day, who lived and died in the truth. But Providence so ordered, that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an Independent justice, as the rest were. When we were brought before him, he began to be angry, because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him, I had been before the protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why should he be offended, who was but one of his servants? Then he read the hue and cry; and I told him, 'That night, wherein the house was said to be broken up, we were at captain Lawrence's house; and that we had several men present could testify the truth thereof.' Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said, 'He believed we were not the men that had broken the house; but he was sorry,' he said, 'that he had no more against us.' We told him, 'He ought not to be sorry for not having evil against us, but rather to be glad; for to rejoice when he got evil against people, as for house-breaking or the like, was not a good mind in him.' It was a good while yet before he could resolve, whether to let us go, or send us to prison; and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him, 'We had good horses; and that if it pleased him, he would carry us to Norwich gaol.' But we took hold of the justice's confession, 'That he believed we were not the men that had broken the house;' and after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, that he let us go; so their snare was broken. A great peo-

ple were afterwards gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to speak to them in the street, from whence the hue and cry came.

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

Lynn being then a garrison, we desired Joseph Fuce to get us the gate opened by the third hour next morning; for we had forty miles to ride next day. By that means getting out early, we came next day by the eleventh or twelfth hour to Sutton, near the isle of Ely, where Amor Stoddart, and the friends with him, met us again. A multitude of people was gathered thither, and no less than four priests. The priest of the town made a great jangle; but the Lord's power so confounded him, that he went away. The other three staid; and one of them was convinced. One of the other two, whilst I was speaking, came to lean upon me: but I bid him sit down, seeing he was so slothful. A great convincement there was that day. Many hundreds were turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and from the spirit of error to the Spirit of truth, to be led thereby into all truth. People came to this meeting from Huntingdon, and beyond; the mayor's wife of Cambridge was there also. A glorious meeting it was; many were settled under Christ's teaching, and knew him their Shepherd to feed them: for the word of life was freely declared, and gladly received by them. The meeting ended in the power of the Lord, and in peace: and after it was done, I walked into a garden: where I had not been long, before a friend came and told me, several justices were come to break up the meeting. But many of the people were gone away; so they missed of their design; and after they had staid awhile, they departed also in a fret.

That evening I passed to Cambridge. When I came into the town, the scholars, hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rode thro' them in the Lord's power; but they unhorfed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were so rude in the courts and in the streets, that the miners, colliers, and carters could never be ruder. The people of the house asked us, What we would have for supper? 'Supper!' said I, 'were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us.' They knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul. At this place John Crook met us. When it was within night, the mayor of the town, being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets, there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. They were in a rage not only against me, but against the mayor also; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me, for the tumult. We sent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting in the power of God; and I staid there all night. Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by the sixth hour, we passed peaceably out of town; and the destroyers were disappointed: for they thought I would have staid longer in the town, and intended to have done us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning frustrated their evil purposes against us.

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

From thence we returned to London, where friends received us gladly; the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. Great service we had, for many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour, and to praise the Lord through him. James Nayler also was come up to London; and Richard Hubberthorn and I staid some time in the city, visiting friends, and answering gainfayers: for we had great disputes with professors of all sorts. Many reproaches they cast upon truth, and lying slanderous books they gave forth against us; but we answered them, cleared God's truth, set it over them, and the Lord's power was over all.

Amongst other services for the Lord, which then lay upon me in the city, I was moved to give forth a paper to those that made a scorn at trembling and quaking :

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

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

The prophet Jeremiah trembled, he shook, his bones quaked, he reeled to and fro, like a drunken man, when he saw the deceit of the priests and prophets who were

‘ turned from the way of God ; and they were not ashamed,  
‘ neither could they blush. Such were gone from the light ;  
‘ and such were they that ruled over the people. But he  
‘ was brought to cry, O foolish people ! that had eyes, and  
‘ could not see ; that had ears, and could not hear ; that did  
‘ not fear the Lord, and tremble at his presence, who placed  
‘ the sands for bounds to the sea by a perpetual decree, that  
‘ the waves thereof cannot pass ! And he said, “ A horrible  
“ thing is committed in the land ; the prophets prophesy  
“ falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means. Shall  
“ not I visit for these things, saith the Lord ? Shall not my  
“ soul be avenged upon such a nation as this ? ” They were  
‘ such as did not tremble at the word of the Lord ; there-  
‘ fore he called them a foolish people. Hear all ye the  
‘ word of the Lord, ye foolish people, who scorn trembling  
‘ and quaking. Give over professing the prophet Jeremiah’s  
‘ words, and making a trade of them ; for with his words  
‘ you are judged to be among the scoffers, scorners, and  
‘ flockers. For he was flocked by your generation ; and  
‘ you now flock them that tremble at the word of the  
‘ Lord, at the power of the mighty God, which raises  
‘ up the Seed of God, and throws down the earth which  
‘ hath kept it down. So you that are in the fall, where  
‘ death reigneth, enemies of the truth, despising the pow-  
‘ er of God, as those of your generation ever did, wo  
‘ and misery is your portion, except you speedily repent.  
‘ Isaiah said. “ Hear the word of the Lord, all ye that  
“ tremble at his word. ” And he said, “ This was the man  
“ that God did regard, who was of a broken and contrite  
“ heart, and trembled at his word. When their brethren  
“ hated and persecuted them, saying, Let the Lord be glo-  
“ rified ; he shall appear to your joy, but they shall be  
“ ashamed, ” Isa. lxvi. 5. Now all ye scoffers and scorners,  
‘ that despise trembling, you regard not the word of the  
‘ Lord ; they are not regarded by you, that tremble at the  
‘ word ; who are regarded by the Lord : therefore you are  
‘ contrary to Isaiah’s words. Profess him and his words  
‘ no more for shame, nor make a trade of his words. Ye  
‘ that seek for your gain from your quarter, ye greedy,  
‘ dumb dogs, that never have enough, ye are they that de-  
‘ spise trembling ; ye are such as Isaiah cried against, who  
‘ himself witnessed trembling. Here therefore be ye wit-  
‘ nesses against yourselves, that with the light in your con-  
‘ sciences ye may see ye are out of the prophet Isaiah’s spi-

rit, and are haters of them that tremble, whom the Lord regards; but such you regard not, but hate, persecute, mock, and rail against. It is manifest you walk in the steps of your forefathers, that persecuted the prophets. Habakkuk, the prophet of the Lord, trembled. Joel, the prophet of the Lord, said, "Blow the trumpet in Zion, and let all the inhabitants of the earth tremble." The people shall tremble, and all faces shall gather blackness; and the people shall be much pained. And now this trembling is witnessed by the power of the Lord. This power of the Lord is come; the trumpet is sounding, the earth is shaking; the inhabitants of the earth are trembling; the dead is arising; and the living is praising God: the world is raging; the scoffers are scorning; and they that witness trembling and quaking wrought in them by the power of the Lord, can scarce pass up and down the streets but with stones and blows, fists and flicks, or dogs set at them, or they are pursued with mockings and reproaches. Thus you vent your malice against them that witness the power of the Lord, as the prophets did; who are come to the broken heart and contrite spirit; who tremble at the word of the Lord, and whom the Lord regards: these you stone, stock, set your dogs at; these you scoff and scorn; these you revile and reproach; but these reproaches are our riches; praised be the Lord who hath given us power over them. If you see one, as Habakkuk, whose lips quivered, whose belly shook; who said, "Rottenness was entered into his bones," and who trembled in himself; if you see such an one in this condition now, ye say he is bewitched. Here again you shew yourselves strangers to that power, to that life which was in the prophet: therefore, for shame, never make a profession of his words, nor a trade of his words; nor of Joel's, who witnessed trembling, which ye scorn and scoff at. Ye proud scorers, misery is your end, except you speedily repent. Daniel, a servant of the most high God, trembled; his strength and his breath were gone. He was prisoned, he was hated, he was persecuted. They laid baits and snares for him, in whom the holy Spirit of God was. For shame, you that make a profession of Daniel's words, give over your profession, priests and people, who scoff and scorn at trembling: with the light you are seen to be out of Daniel's life, and by the same power you are judged, at which you scorn and scoff. Here again

‘ be ye witnesses against yourselves, that you are scorers  
‘ and scoffers against the truth; and with the scripture you  
‘ are judged to be contrary to the life of the holy men of  
‘ God. Paul, a minister of God, made by the will of God  
‘ a messenger of the Lord Jesus, a vessel of the Lord, to  
‘ carry his name abroad into several nations, when the dark,  
‘ blind world have got some of his words and epistles, you  
‘ teachers make a trade of them, and get great sums of mo-  
‘ ney for it, so you destroy souls for dishonest gain; making  
‘ a trade of his words, and of the rest of the apostles, pro-  
‘ phets, and of Christ’s words, but denying the Spirit and  
‘ life that they were guided by, and that power which shook  
‘ the flesh and the earth; which the apostle witnessed, who  
‘ said, “ When he came among the Corinthians, he was  
‘ with them in weakness and fear, and in much trembling,  
‘ that their faith might not stand in the wisdom of words,  
‘ but in the power of God;” in that power which made him  
‘ to tremble. This power it is that the world, and all the  
‘ scoffing teachers, scoff at and scorn at in your towns, in  
‘ your villages, in your assemblies, in your alehouses. For  
‘ shame, lay aside all your professions of the apostle’s words  
‘ and conditions! Some that scoff at this power, call it  
‘ the power of the devil. Some persecute, stone and stock,  
‘ imprison and whip them, in whom that power is made  
‘ manifest, and load them with reproaches, as not worthy to  
‘ walk on the earth; hated and persecuted, as the off-scour-  
‘ ing of all things. Here you may see you are in the steps  
‘ of your forefathers, who persecuted the apostles, and acted  
‘ so against them; stocked them, mocked them, prisoned  
‘ them, stoned them, whipped them, haled them out of the  
‘ synagogues, reproached them, and shamefully treated  
‘ them. Do not you here fulfil the scripture, and Christ’s  
‘ saying, who said, “ If they kill you, they will think they  
‘ do God service?” Yet you make a profession of Christ’s  
‘ words, of the prophets and apostles words, and call your-  
‘ selves churches, and ministers of the gospel. I charge  
‘ you, in the presence of the living God, to be silent who  
‘ act such things! Mind the light in your consciences, ye  
‘ scoffers and scorers, which Christ hath enlightened you  
‘ withal; that with it ye may see yourselves, what ye act,  
‘ and what ye have acted; for who act such things shall not  
‘ inherit the kingdom of God: all such things are by the  
‘ light condemned.

‘ You who come to witness trembling and quaking, the



' powers of the earth to be shaken, the lustful nature to be  
 ' destroyed, the scorning and scoffing nature judged by the  
 ' light; in it wait to receive power from him who shakes  
 ' the earth. That power we own, and our faith stands in  
 ' it, which all the world scoffs at; the lofty, the proud, the  
 ' presumptuous, who live in presumption, and yet make a  
 ' profession of the scriptures, as your fathers the Pharisees  
 ' did, who were painted sepulchres and serpents; and as  
 ' the Scribes did, who had the chiefest places in the assem-  
 ' blies, stood praying in the synagogues, and were called of  
 ' men, Masters, whom Christ cried wo against. These are  
 ' not come so far as the trembling of devils, who believed  
 ' and trembled. Let that judge you. The light and life  
 ' of the scripture is seen and made manifest, and with it all  
 ' you scorers, persecutors, and railers are seen.

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

' Rejoice, all ye righteous ones, who are persecuted for  
 ' righteousness sake; for great is your reward in heaven.  
 ' Rejoice, ye that suffer for well-doing; for ye shall not  
 ' lose your reward. Wait in the light, that you may grow  
 ' up in the life that gave forth the scriptures; that with it  
 ' ye may see the saints conditions, and all that which they  
 ' testified against; with it ye will see the state of those that

' did reproach and scoff them, mock, persecute, whip, stock,  
 ' and hale them out of the synagogues before magistrates.  
 ' To you, who are in the same light and life, the same  
 ' things they do now; that they may fill up the measure of  
 ' their fathers. With the light now they are seen, where  
 ' the light, life, and power of God is made manifest; for  
 ' as they did unto them, so will they do unto you. Here  
 ' is our joy; the scripture is fulfilled, and fulfilling; with  
 ' the light which was before the world was, which is now  
 ' made manifest in the children of light, they see the world,  
 ' comprehend it, and the actions of it: for he that loves  
 ' the world, and turns from the light is an enemy to God;  
 ' he turneth into wickedness: for the whole world lieth in  
 ' wickedness. He who turns from the light, turns into the  
 ' works of evil, which the light of Christ testifies against.  
 ' By this light, where it is made manifest, all the works of  
 ' the world are seen and made manifest.

' G. F.'

Great was the rage and enmity of the people, professors  
 as well as prophane, against the truth and people of God  
 at this time; and great the contempt and disdain they  
 shewed of friends plainness. Wherefore I was moved to  
 write the following paper, and send it forth, directed as—  
 An epistle to gathered churches into outward forms, upon  
 earth.

' **A**LL ye churches gathered into outward forms upon  
 ' the earth, the Son of God is come to reign; he will  
 ' tread and trample, will shake, and make you quiver, you  
 ' that are found without his life, his light, and his power.  
 ' His day hath appeared; mortar and clay will you be  
 ' found. Breaking, shaking, and quaking is coming among  
 ' you! Your high building is to be laid desolate; your  
 ' professed liberty shall be your bondage: the mouth of the  
 ' Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. Tremble, ye hypocrites,  
 ' ye notionists. The fenced cities shall be laid desolate, the  
 ' fruitful fields shall become a wilderness; your false joy  
 ' shall become your heaviness: the time of weeping and  
 ' desolation draweth nigh! Come ye witty ones, see how  
 ' ye can stand before the Almighty, who is now come to  
 ' plead with you. You'll fall like leaves, and wither like  
 ' weeds! Come you, that have boasted of my name, faith  
 ' the Lord, and have gloried in the flesh, ye shall fade like

‘ a flower : who have slain my witness, yet boast of my  
‘ words, which have been as a song unto you. Come ye  
‘ novelists, who love novelties, changeable suits of apparel,  
‘ who are in the fashions outward and inward, putting on  
‘ one thing this day, and another the other day. “ I’ll strip  
‘ thee,” saith the Lord, “ I’ll make thee bare, I’ll make  
‘ thee naked, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.”  
‘ What ! hast thou professed the prophets words ? hast thou  
‘ professed the apostles words, and my Son’s words ? hast  
‘ thou covered thyself with their expressions ? thinkest thou  
‘ not that I see thee out of my life ? thinkest thou, thou  
‘ witty one, to hide thyself where none can see thee ? think-  
‘ est thou, if thou fliest to the uttermost parts of the earth,  
‘ that I am not there ? Is not the earth mine, and the ful-  
‘ ness of it, saith the Lord ? Come all ye that have trusted  
‘ in your own conceited knowledge and wisdom, who were  
‘ never yet out of the earth, and the lusts of it, never yet  
‘ got the load of thick clay off you, never were out of the  
‘ drunken spirit, whose imperfection appears, which must  
‘ be come upon as a potter’s vessel ; broken cisterns ; ye  
‘ that have been wise in your own conceit, wise in your  
‘ own eyes, in which pride hath lifted you up, and not  
‘ humility ; you must be abased. You have run on, every  
‘ one after his own invention, and every man hath done  
‘ that which was right in his own eyes, that which pleased  
‘ himself. This hath been the course of people upon  
‘ earth. Ye have run on without a king, without Christ,  
‘ the light of the world, which hath enlightened every one  
‘ that is come into the world. But now is truth risen,  
‘ now are your fruits withering. You that are fortified, and  
‘ have fortified your strong houses, called your churches,  
‘ make your cords strong, the Lord will break you asunder,  
‘ ye that are gathering in, and ye that are gathered. For  
‘ the Lord is risen to scatter you, his witness is risen in  
‘ the hearts of his people ; they will not be fed with dead  
‘ words, nor with that which dies of itself ; nor will they  
‘ be satisfied with the husks which the swine feed upon.  
‘ All ye priests in the nation, and teachers, that now stand  
‘ against the light, your envy shews that ye are in Cain’s  
‘ way ; your greediness shews that ye are in Balaam’s way ;  
‘ your standing against the light, which hath enlightened eve-  
‘ ry man that cometh into the world, doth manifest that you  
‘ are in Core’s way, that spake the great high words of va-  
‘ nity ; ye, whose consciences are seared as with an hot iron,

' whose judgment doth not linger, whose damnation doth  
 ' not flumber, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but  
 ' your own bellies; who are as the evil beasts (spoken of,  
 ' which have destroyed many families, taken away their cat-  
 ' tle, their horses, their goods, even their household goods;  
 ' destroyed many poor men, even whole families, taking  
 ' their whole estates from them, whom you do no work  
 ' for. O the grievous actions that are seen done by you,  
 ' the ministers of unrighteousness; whose fruits declare to  
 ' the whole nation, that you are not the messengers of God!  
 ' your actions declare it; your taking tithes, augmenta-  
 ' tions, treble damages, midsummer-dues, as ye call them,  
 ' of those ye do no work for, nor minister to.

' All ye powers of the earth, beware of holding such up  
 ' as are unrighteous. Let not the words of the unrighteous  
 ' overcome you, lest the righteous God, the judge of hea-  
 ' ven and earth, take hold upon you; whose judgment is  
 ' according to that of God in you, which will let you see  
 ' when you transgress. Come you proud, lofty ones, who have  
 ' not considered the handy-works of the Lord, but have  
 ' destroyed them; nor have regarded the way of the Lord,  
 ' but have had plenty of the creatures, and have therewith  
 ' fattened up yourselves, and forgotten the Lord and his way:  
 ' O let shame cover your faces here upon earth! Come ye,  
 ' that are given to pleasures, who spend your time in sports,  
 ' idleness, and fulness; your fruits declare the sins of So-  
 ' dom; yet you will make a talk of my name, and of my  
 ' saints words. "But I behold you afar off," saith the  
 ' Lord. You are proud and lofty; you are bad patterns,  
 ' bad examples, full, rich, and idle; who say, others are  
 ' idle, that cannot maintain your lusts. Oh! the unright-  
 ' eous balances that are among people! O the iniquity  
 ' in measuring! O the oppression in ruling and govern-  
 ' ing! Because of these things my hand shall come upon  
 ' you, saith the Lord. For the oppression is entered into  
 ' the ears of the Lord, who gives rest to the wearied, to the  
 ' burdened, to the oppressed; who feeds the hungry, and  
 ' clothes the naked; who brings the mighty from their  
 ' seats, beats the lofty to the ground, and makes the haughty  
 ' bend. Come, saith the Lord, ye mockers, scorers, and  
 ' rebellious ones, light and wild people, vain and heady;  
 ' you have had your day of joy, you have scoffed, you  
 ' have mocked and derided my messengers, my ambassadors,  
 ' who have preached in your streets, and cried in your sy-

'nagogues and temples; a day of trembling and lamentation shall come upon you when you are not aware. I'll take away your pride and your height; I'll shake you as a leaf, and bring you to be as men distracted. I'll distract you, and make you that you shall not trust one another in the earth; who have joined hand in hand against my servants in the truth. I'll finite you with terrors, and bring frets and fears upon you; the cup of my indignation and fury shall you drink. Where will you appear, when repentance is hid from your eyes; when prophane Esau, your father, is set before you, and Ishmael and Cain, wild and envious, whose fruits declare the flock? Come, ye proud priests, who have eaten up the fat of the nation, who by violence have taken other men's goods, whose envy hath slain many, whose wickedness and darkness hath abounded, and whose unrighteousness daily appears. Your fruits every day declare it, in summoning up by writs and subpoenas from most parts of the nation for wages and tithes, such as ye do no work for. Oh! the abominable unrighteousness! how is the state of man lost, that these things they do not take to heart, to feel them! What havock is made in most parts of the nation by such! And all ye priests and teachers, who are railing and brawling in the pulpit, setting people at variance one against another, haters and hateful, provoking people to hate one another; here is the seed of enmity seen which you have sown and are sowing, whose seed must be bruised by the seed of the woman, which atop of your heads is set.

' G. F.'

This year came out the oath of abjuration, by which many friends suffered. Several friends went to speak with the Protector about it; but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon friends, by reason that envious magistrates made use of that oath as a snare to catch them in, who they knew could not swear at all; I was moved to write to the Protector as followeth:

**T**HE magistrate is not to bear the sword in vain, who ought to be a terror to the evil-doers; but the magistrate that bears the sword in vain, as he is not a terror to evil-doers, so he is not a praise to them that do well. Now hath God raised up a people by his power, whom people, priests, and magistrates, out of the fear of God,

‘ scornfully call Quakers, who cry against drunkennes (for  
‘ drunkards destroy God’s creatures) and cry against oaths  
‘ (for because of oaths the land mourns) and these drunkards  
‘ and swearers, to whom the magistrate’s sword should be a  
‘ terror, are, we see, at liberty; but for crying against such,  
‘ many are cast into prison, and for crying against their  
‘ pride and filthiness, their deceitful merchandize in mar-  
‘ kets, their cozening, their cheating, their excess and  
‘ naughtiness, their playing at bowls and shovel-boards, at  
‘ cards and at dice, and their other vain and wanton plea-  
‘ sures. Who live in pleasures are dead while they live,  
‘ and who live in wantonness kill the just. This we know  
‘ by the Spirit of God which gave forth the scriptures,  
‘ which God the Father hath given to us, and hath placed  
‘ his righteous law in our hearts; which law is a terror to  
‘ evil-doers, and answers that which is of God in every  
‘ man’s conscience. They who act contrary to the measure  
‘ of God’s Spirit in every man’s conscience, cast the law of  
‘ God behind their backs, and walk despitefully against the  
‘ Spirit of Grace. The magistrate’s sword, we see, is borne  
‘ in vain, whilst evil-doers are at liberty to do evil, and  
‘ they that cry against such are, for so doing, punished by  
‘ the magistrate, who hath turned his sword backward  
‘ against the Lord. Now the wicked one fenceth himself,  
‘ and persecutes the innocent, as vagabonds and wanderers,  
‘ for crying against sin, unrighteousness, and ungodliness  
‘ openly, in the markets and in the highways; or as railers,  
‘ because they tell them what judgment will come upon  
‘ those that follow such practices. Here they that depart  
‘ from iniquity are become a prey, and few lay it to heart.  
‘ But God will thresh the mountains, beat the hills, cleave  
‘ the rocks, and cast into his press which is trodden with-  
‘ out the city, and will bathe his sword in the blood of the  
‘ wicked and unrighteous. You that have drunk the cup  
‘ of abominations, an hard cup have you to drink, you who  
‘ are the enemies of God, of you he will be avenged. You  
‘ in whom something of God is remaining, consider; If  
‘ the sword was not borne in vain, but turned against evil-  
‘ doers, the righteous would not suffer, and be cast into  
‘ holes, dungeons, corners, prisons, and houses of correction,  
‘ as peace-breakers, for crying against sin openly, as they  
‘ are commanded of the Lord, and for crying against the  
‘ covetousness of the priests and their false worships; who  
‘ exact money of poor people, whom they do no work for.

‘ Oh! where will you appear in the day of the Lord?  
‘ How will you stand in the day of his righteous judgment?  
‘ How many gaols and houses of correction are now made  
‘ places to put the lambs of Christ in, for following him  
‘ and obeying his commands! The royal law of Christ,  
‘ “To do as ye would be done by,” is trodden down under  
‘ foot; so that men can profess him in words, but crucify  
‘ him wheresoever he appears, and cast him into prison, as  
‘ the talkers of him always did in generations and ages past.  
‘ The labourers, which God, the master of the harvest,  
‘ hath sent into his vineyard, do the chief of the priests and  
‘ the rulers now take counsel together against to cast them  
‘ into prison: here are the fruits of priests, people, and  
‘ rulers, without the fear of God. The day is come and  
‘ coming that every man’s work doth and shall appear; glo-  
‘ ry be to the Lord God for ever! See and consider the  
‘ days you have spent, and the days you do spend; for  
‘ this is your day of visitation. Many have suffered great  
‘ fines, because they could not swear, but abide in Christ’s  
‘ doctrine, who saith, Swear not at all: and by that means  
‘ are they made a prey upon for abiding in the command of  
‘ Christ. Many are cast into prison and made a prey up-  
‘ on, because they cannot take the oath of abjuration, tho’  
‘ they denied all that is abjured in it; and by that means  
‘ many of the messengers and ministers of the Lord Jesus  
‘ Christ are cast into prison, because they will not swear nor  
‘ go out of Christ’s command. Therefore, O man! confi-  
‘ der; to the measure of the life of God in thee I speak.  
‘ Many also lie in gaols, because they cannot pay the priests  
‘ tithes; many have their goods spoiled, and treble dama-  
‘ ges taken of them; many are whipped and beaten in the  
‘ houses of correction, who have broken no law. These  
‘ things are done in thy name, in order to protect them in  
‘ these actions. If men fearing God bore the sword, and  
‘ covetousness was hated, and men of courage for God were  
‘ set up, then they would be a terror to evil-doers and a  
‘ praise to them that do well; and not cause such to suffer.  
‘ Here equity would be heard in our land, and righteous-  
‘ ness would stand up and take place; which giveth not  
‘ place to the unrighteous, but judgeth it. To the measure  
‘ of God’s Spirit in thee I speak, that thou mayest consider  
‘ and come to rule for God: that thou mayest answer that  
‘ which is of God in every man’s conscience; for that is it  
‘ which bringeth to honour all men in the Lord. There-

‘ fore confider for whom thou ruleft, that thou mayeft come  
 ‘ to receive power from God to rule for him; and all that  
 ‘ is contrary to God may by his light be condemned.

‘ From a lover of thy foul, who defires thy eternal good,  
 ‘ G. F.’

Sufferings and imprifonments continuing and increafing, and the Protector, under whose name they were inflicted, hardening himfelf againft the complaints that were made to him, I was moved to give forth the following lines amongst friends, to bring the weight of their fufferings more heavy upon the heads of the perfecutors.

‘ **W**HO is moved by the power of the Lord to offer  
 ‘ himfelf to the juftice for his brother or fiftter in  
 ‘ prifon, to lie in prifon in their ftead, that his brother or  
 ‘ fiftter may come out of prifon, and fo offer his life for his  
 ‘ brother or fiftter? Where any lie in prifon for tithes,  
 ‘ witneffing the priefthood changed that took tithes, and the  
 ‘ unchangeable priefthood come; if any brother in the  
 ‘ light, who witneffeth a change of the old priefthood that  
 ‘ took tithes, and a difannulling of the commandment for  
 ‘ tithes, be moved of the Lord to go to the prieft or impro-  
 ‘ priator, to offer himfelf to lie in prifon for his brother,  
 ‘ and to lay down his life that he may come forth, he may  
 ‘ cheerfully do it, and heap coals of fire upon the head of  
 ‘ the adverfary of God. Likewise where any fuffer for the  
 ‘ truth by them who are in the untruth, if any brother be  
 ‘ moved of the Lord to go to the magiftrate, judge, gene-  
 ‘ ral, or protector, and offer up themfelves to the prifon,  
 ‘ to lay down their lives for the brethren; as Chrift hath  
 ‘ laid down his life for you, fo offer your lives one for ano-  
 ‘ ther. Here you may go over the heads of perfecutors,  
 ‘ and reach the witnefs of God in all. And this fhall lie  
 ‘ a judgment upon them all for ever, and be witneffed to  
 ‘ by that which is of God in their confciences. Given  
 ‘ forth from the Spirit of the Lord through

‘ G. F.’

Befides this, I wrote alfo a fhort epiftle to friends, as an encouragement to them in their feveral exercifes.

‘ My dear friends,  
 ‘ **I**n the power of the everlafting God which compre-  
 ‘ hends the power of darknefs and all temptation, and



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

‘ G. F.’

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

From Wellingborough I went into Leicestershire, where colonel Hacker had threatened, If I came he would imprison me again, though the Protector had set me at liberty: but when I was come to Whetstone, the meeting from which he took me before, all was quiet. Colonel Hacker’s wife and his marshal came to the meeting, and were convinced; for the glorious, powerful day of the Lord was exalted over all, and many were convinced that day. There were at that meeting two justices of the peace from Wales, their names

were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin; who came both to be ministers of Christ.

I went from thence to Sileby, to William Smith's, where was a great meeting, to which several Baptists came; one of them, a Baptist teacher, was convinced, and came to sit under the Lord's teaching by his Spirit and Power. This Baptist said, He had baptized thirty in a day.

From thence I went to Drayton, my native town, where so many priests and professors had formerly gathered together against me; but now never a priest nor professor did appear. I asked some of my relations, Where all the priests and professors were? They said the priest of Non-eaton was dead, and eight or nine of them were seeking to get his benefice. 'They will let you alone now,' said they, 'for they are like a company of crows, when a rotten sheep is dead, they all gather together to pull out the puddings; so do the priests for a fallen benefice.' These were some of their own hearers that said so of them: but they had spent their venom against me, and the Lord delivered me by his power out of their snare.

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

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

In Derbyshire James Nayler met me, and told me, seven or eight priests had challenged him to a dispute. I had a travail in my Spirit for him, and the Lord answered me. I was moved to bid him go on, 'and God Almighty would be with him, and give him the victory in his power.' And the Lord did so; insomuch that the people saw the priests were foiled, and cried, 'A Nailor, a Nailor hath confuted them all.' After the dispute he came to me again, praising the Lord. Thus was the Lord's day proclaimed, and set over all their heads. People began to see the apostacy and slavery they had been under to their hireling teachers, and came to know their teacher the Lord Jesus, who had purchased them, and made their peace betwixt God and them. While we were here, friends came out of

Yorkshire to see us, and were glad of the prosperity of truth.

After this I passed into Warwickshire amongst friends, visiting their meetings; and so into Worcestershire. I had a meeting at Birmingham, where several were convinced, and turned to the Lord. I came to one Cole's house near Chattan. This Cole had given an Independent preacher a meeting-place, who came to be convinced; after which he laid aside his preaching; whereupon the old man — Cole gave him an hundred pounds a year. I had a meeting there; a very great one it was, insomuch that the meeting-place would not hold the people. Many were turned to the Lord that day. Afterwards, when the time of trials came, this Independent did not stand to that which had convinced him; but turned back: whereupon the old man took away his 100l. a year from him again. But Cole himself died in God's truth.

I heard that at Evesham the magistrates had cast several friends into divers prisons; and that, hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. I sent for Edward Pittaway, a friend, who lived near Evesham, and asked him the truth of the thing. He said, it was so. I went that night with him to Evesham; and in the evening we had a large, precious meeting, wherein friends and people were refreshed with the word of life, the power of the Lord. Next morning I rode to one of the prisons, and visited friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other prison, where were several prisoners. Amongst them was Humphry Smith, who had been a priest, but was now become a free minister of Christ. When I had visited friends at both prisons, and was turned to go out of the town, I espied the magistrates coming up the town to have seized me in prison. But the Lord frustrated their intent, the innocent escaped their snare, and God's blessed power came over them all. But exceeding rude and envious were the priests and professors about this time in these parts.

I went from Evesham to Worcester, and had a precious meeting there, and quiet. After which, coming towards our inn, some professors fell to discourse with friends, and were like to have made a tumult in the city. As we went into the inn, they all cluttered into the yard; but I went among them and got them quieted. Next day I walked into the town, and had a great deal of discourse with some of the professors concerning Christ and the way of truth.

One of them denied, that Christ was of Abraham according to the flesh, and that he was declared to be the Son of God according to the Spirit. I proved from Rom. i. that he was of the seed of Abraham, being made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and that according to the Spirit he was declared to be the Son of God. Afterwards I wrote a paper concerning it.

From Worcester we went to Tewksbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting, to which came the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people. The priest boasted, that he would see whether he or I should have the victory. 'I turned the people to the Divine Light, which Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man, enlighteneth them withal; that with that Light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and might also see Christ from whom it cometh, their Saviour and Redeemer, who shed his blood and died for them; who is the way to God, the truth, and the life.' Here the priest began to rage against the Light, and denied it; for neither priest nor professor could endure to hear the Light spoken of. Having railed at the Light the priest went away, and left his rude company amongst us; but the Lord's power came over them, though mischief was in their hearts.

Leaving Tewksbury we passed to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow-woman's house with many sober people. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power; several were convinced, and turned to the Lord. After the meeting, a Baptist in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town, with his officers, came in, and said, What do these people here at this time of night? So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, and me; but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forth-coming in the morning. The next morning many rude people came into the inn, and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went to the bailiff to know what he had to say to us. He said, we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town, it lay upon me to ride to his house, to let him know. That the Protector having given forth an instrument of government, in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very strange that, contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peace-

'able people that feared God.' The friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us with stones. One of them took hold of my horse's bridle, and broke it; but the horse drawing back threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude; so that it was much we had not been slain or hurt in the streets; for the people threw stones and struck at us as we rode along the town.

When we were quite out of the town, I told friends, 'It was upon me from the Lord that I must go back into the town again; and if any one of them felt any thing upon him from the Lord, he might follow me; the rest that did not, might go on to Dun-cow.' So I passed through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the word of life to them; and John Crook followed me. Some struck at me; but the Lord's power was over them, and gave me dominion over all. I shewed them their unworthiness of the name of christians, and the unworthiness of their teachers, that had not brought them into more sobriety; and what a shame they were to christianity!

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

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

From thence we passed into Leicestershire, where we had a great meeting at the place where I had been taken formerly. After that we came to Badgley, in Warwickshire. Here William Edmundson who lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come into England to see me, met with me; by whom I wrote a few lines to friends then convinced in the north of Ireland.

‘ Friends,

‘ **I**N that which convinced you, wait ; that you may have  
 ‘ that removed you are convinced of. And, all my dear  
 ‘ friends, dwell in the life, love, power, and wisdom of God,  
 ‘ in unity one with another, and with God ; and the peace  
 ‘ and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may  
 ‘ rule in you but the life which stands in the Lord God.

‘ G. F.’

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

From Badgley we passed to Swanington and Higham, and into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, having great meetings. Many were turned to the Lord by his Power and Spirit. When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked, ‘ If there was nothing in that town, no profession ?’ It was answered me, There were some Baptists, and a Baptist woman sick. John Rush of Bedfordshire went with me to visit her. When we came in, many tender people were about her. They told me, ‘ She was not a woman for this world ; but if I had any thing to comfort her concerning ‘ the world to come, I might speak to her.’ I was moved of the Lord to speak to her ; and he raised her up again, to the astonishment of the town and country. Her husband’s name was Baldock. This Baptist woman and her husband came to be convinced ; and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convictions were in those parts afterwards ; many received the word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman, we returned to our inn ; where we found two desperate fellows fighting so furiously, that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved in the Lord’s power to go to them : and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand, and the other by the other, shewed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other ; and they were so loving and thankful to me, that people admired at it.

From thence I passed to Market-street, where God had a people ; and through Albans to London, where friends were glad of the prosperity of truth, and the manifestation of the Lord’s glorious power, which had delivered us, and

carried us through many dangers and difficulties. I also rejoiced to find truth prosper in the city, and all things well amongst friends there. Only there was one John Toldervey, who had been convinced of truth, and run out from it; and the envious priests took occasion from thence to write a wicked book against friends which they stuffed with many lies, to render truth and friends odious. They intituled their book, "The Foot out of the Snare." But this poor man came to see his folly, and returned, condemned his backsliding, answered the priests book, and manifested all their lies and wickedness. Thus the Lord's power came over them; his everlasting Seed reigned, and reigns to this day.

After I had tarried some time in London, and had visited friends in their meetings, I went out of town, leaving James Nayler in the city. As I passed from him, I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck me concerning him; but I went away, and rode to Ryegate in Surry where I had a little meeting. There friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace, that lived not far from Ryegate, a friendly, moderate man; whereupon I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in truth.

We passed to Thomas Patchings, of Binscombe in Godalming, where we had a meeting, to which several friends came from London. John Bolton and his wife came on foot in frost and snow. After we had parted with friends there, we went towards Horsham Park; where having visited friends, we went to Arundel and Chichester, where we had meetings. At Chichester many professors came in, and made some jangling: but the Lord's power was over them. The woman of the house, where the meeting was, though convinced of truth, yet not keeping her mind close to that which convinced her, she fell in love with a man of the world, who was there that time. When I knew it, I took her aside, and was moved to speak to her and to pray for her; but a light thing got up in her mind, and she slighted it. Afterwards she married that man; and soon after went distracted; for he was greatly in debt, and she greatly disappointed. Then was I sent for to her; and the Lord was entreated, raised her up again, and settled her mind by his power. Afterwards her husband died; and she acknowledged the just judgments of God were come upon her, for slighting the exhortation and counsel I had given her.

After we left Chichester, we travelled to Portsmouth. There the soldiers had us to the governor's house. After some examination, the Lord's power came over them, and we were set at liberty, and had a meeting in the town. After which we came to Ringwood, where in the evening we had a meeting. Several were convinced, and turned to the Spirit of the Lord, and to the teaching of Christ Jesus their Saviour.

From Ringwood we came to Pool; and, having set up our horses at an inn, we sent into the town to inquire for such as feared the Lord, and such as were worthy; and we had a meeting there with several sober people. William Baily, a Baptist teacher, was convinced at that time. The people received truth in the inward parts, and were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their rock and foundation, their teacher and Saviour; and there is become a great gathering in the name of Jesus of a very tender people, who continue under Christ's teaching.

We went also to Southampton, and had a meeting, where several were convinced. Edward Pyot of Bristol travelled with me all this western journey.

From thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn, a Baptist's house: we sent into the town to the Baptists, to let us have their meeting-house to assemble in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they denied it us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting-house? so the thing was noised in the town. Then we sent them word, If they would not let us come to their house, they, or any people that feared God, might come to our inn, if they pleased; but they were in a great rage. Their teacher, and many of them came up, and flapped their bibles on the table. I asked them, 'Why they were so angry? were they angry with the 'bible?' But they fell into a discourse about their water-baptism. I asked them, 'Whether they could say they 'were sent of God to baptize people, as John was? And 'whether they had the same Spirit and power that the apostles had?' They said, They had not. Then I asked them, 'How many powers there are? Whether there are 'any more than the power of God, and the power of the 'devil?' They said, There was not any other power than those two. Then said I, 'If you have not the power of 'God that the apostles had, you act by the power of the 'devil.' Many sober people were present, who said, "They



“ have thrown themselves on their backs.” Many substantial people were convinced that night; a precious service we had there for the Lord, and his power came over all. Next morning, as we were passing away, the Baptists, being in a rage, began to shake the dust off their feet after us. ‘ What,’ said I, ‘ in the power of darknes! We, who are ‘ in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against ‘ you.’

Leaving Dorchester, we came to Weymouth; where also we inquired after sober people; and about fourscore of them gathered together at a priest's house, all very sober people. Most of them received the word of life, and were turned to their teacher Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they might see their sins, and him who saveth from sin. A blessed meeting we had with them, and they received the truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart. The meeting held several hours. ‘ The state of their teachers, and the apostacy was opened ‘ to them; and the state of the apostles, and of the church ‘ in their days: and the state of the law and of the prophets ‘ before Christ, and how Christ came to fulfil them; that he ‘ was their teacher in the apostles days; and that he was come ‘ now to teach his people himself by his power and spirit.’ All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and some who had been Ranters came to own the truth, and to live very soberly.

There was a captain of horse in the town, who sent to me, and would fain have had me to have staid longer; but I was not to stay. He and his man rode out of town with me about seven miles; Edward Pyot also being with me. This captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfulest man, and the most given to laughter, that ever I met with: insomuch that I was several times moved to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; yet it was become so customary to him, he would presently laugh at any thing he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety, and the fear of the Lord, and sincerity. We lay at an inn that night; and the next morning I was moved to speak to him again, when he parted from us. Next time I saw him, he told me, When I spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home he was serious enough, and had left his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a serious good man, and died in the truth.

Parting from him, we went to Honiton; and at our inn inquired, What people were in the town that feared God, and sent for them. There came to us some of the particular Baptists, with whom we had a great deal of reasoning. I told them, 'They held their doctrine of particular election in Esau's, Cain's, and Ishmael's nature; not in Jacob, the second birth: but they must be born again before they could enter the kingdom of God. And that as the promise of God was to the Seed, not as many, but as one, which was Christ; so the election and choice stands in Christ; and they must be such as walk in his light, grace, Spirit, and truth.

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

After this we passed to Totnes, a dark town. We lodged there at an inn; and that night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that the next day we got to King's Bridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife; and we went to their house. They sent for the priest, with whom we had some discourse; but he being confounded, quickly left us. Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and since there is a good meeting of friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn. There being many people drinking in the house, 'I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and direct them to the light which Christ the heavenly man had enlightened them withal; by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds, and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour.' The inn-keeper stood uneasy, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking; and as soon as the last words were out of my mouth, he snatched up the candle, and said, 'Come, here is a light

‘ for you to go into your chamber.’ Next morning, when he was cool, I represented to him, ‘ What an uncivil thing ‘ it was for him so to do;’ then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

We came next day to Plymouth, refreshed ourselves at our inn, and went to Robert Cary’s, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet. She being somewhat thick of hearing, came close up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me, while I spake; and she was convinced. After this meeting came in some jangling Baptists; but the Lord’s power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony thereto. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord’s power, which hath continued ever since; where many faithful friends have been convinced.

From thence we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menhenniot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock’s, to which came Thomas Mounce and a priest, with a great deal of people. We brought the priest to confess, That he was a minister made by the state, and maintained by the state; and he was confounded and went his way: but many of the people staid. I directed them to the ‘ light of Christ, by which they might see their sins, ‘ and their Saviour Christ Jesus, the way to God, their Mediator to make peace betwixt God and them; their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. I directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which ‘ they might know the scriptures, and be led into all truth; ‘ and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity ‘ one with another.’ Many were convinced at that time, and came under Christ’s teaching; and there are fine gatherings in the name of Jesus in those parts at this day.

We travelled from thence through Penryn, and came to Helston; but could not get to the knowledge of any sober people, through the badness of the inn-keepers. At length we came to a village, where some Baptists and sober people lived, with whom we had discourse. Some of them were brought to confess, that they stumbled at the light of Christ. They would have had us to have staid with them; but we passed thence to Market-Jew; and having taken up our lodging at an inn, we sent over night to inquire for such as feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together, with the high-sheriff of the county; and sent the constables to bid us come before them. We asked

them for their warrant; and they saying they had none, we told them, we should not go along with them without a warrant. Upon the return of the constables without us, they sent their sergeants, and we asked them for their warrant. They said, they had none; but told us, the mayor and aldermen staid for us. We told them, the mayor and his company did not well to trouble us in our inn; and we should not go with them without a warrant. So they went away, and came again; and when we asked them for their warrant, one of them plucked his mace from under his cloak. We asked them, Whether it was their custom to molest and trouble strangers in their inns and lodgings? After some time Edward Pyot went to the mayor and aldermen, and a great deal of discourse he had with them; but the Lord's power gave him dominion over them all. When he returned, several of the officers came to us; and we laid before them the incivility and unworthiness of their carriage towards us, the servants of the Lord God, thus to stop and trouble us in our inns and lodgings; and what an unchristian act it was. Before we left the town, I wrote a little paper, to be sent to the seven parishes at the Land's End.

‘ **T**HE mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming,  
 ‘ wherein all hearts shall be made manifest, and the  
 ‘ secrets of every one's heart shall be revealed by the light  
 ‘ of Jesus, who lighteth every man that cometh into the  
 ‘ world, that all men through him might believe, and that  
 ‘ the world might have life through him, who saith, “ Learn  
 ‘ of me;” and of whom God saith, “ This is my beloved  
 ‘ Son, hear ye him.” Christ is come to teach his people  
 ‘ himself; and every one that will not hear this Prophet,  
 ‘ which God hath raised up, and which Moses spake of,  
 ‘ when he said, “ Like unto me will God raise you up a  
 ‘ Prophet, him shall you hear:” every one, I say that will  
 ‘ not hear this prophet, is to be cut off. They that de-  
 ‘ spised Moses's law, died under the hand of two or three  
 ‘ witnesses; but how much greater punishment will come  
 ‘ upon them that neglect this great salvation, Christ Jesus,  
 ‘ who saith, “ Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and  
 ‘ the life;” who lighteth every man that cometh into the  
 ‘ world; and by his light lets him see his evil ways and  
 ‘ evil deeds. But if you hate that light, and go on in evil,  
 ‘ this light will be your condemner. Therefore, now ye  
 ‘ have time, prize it: for this is the day of your visitation,

‘ and falvation offered to you. Every one of you hath a  
‘ light from Chrift; which lets you fee you fhould not lie,  
‘ nor do wrong to any, nor fwear, nor curfe, nor take God’s  
‘ name in vain, nor fteal. It is the light that fhews you  
‘ thefe evil deeds: which if you love, and come unto it,  
‘ and follow it, it will lead you to Chrift, who is the way  
‘ to the Father, from whom it comes; where no unrighte-  
‘ oufnefs enters, nor ungodlinefs. If you hate this light,  
‘ it will be your condemnation; but if you love it, and  
‘ come to it, you will come to Chrift; and it will bring  
‘ you off from all the world’s teachers and ways, to learn of  
‘ Chrift, and will preferve you from the evils of the world,  
‘ and all the deceivers in it.

‘ G. F.’

This paper a friend, then with me, had; and when we were gone three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the weft, he meeting with a man upon the road, gave him a copy of the paper. This man proved to be a fervant to Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and a juftice of peace in that county; and, riding before us to a place called St. Ives, fhewed the paper to his mafter. When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot’s horfe having caft a fhoe, we ftaid to have a fhoe fet; and while he was getting his horfe fhod, I walked to the fea-fide. When I came back, I found the town in an uproar. They were haling Edward Pyot and the other friend before major Ceely. I followed them into the juftice’s houfe, though they did not lay hands upon me. When we came in, the houfe was full of rude people; whereupon I asked, Whether there were not an officer among them, to keep the people civil? Major Ceely faid, he was a magiftrate. I told him, ‘ He fhould fhew forth  
‘ gravity and fobriety then, and ufe his authority to keep  
‘ the people civil; for I never faw any people ruder: the  
‘ Indians were more like Chriftians than they.’ After awhile they brought the paper, and asked, Whether I would own it? I faid, Yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us: whereupon I put my hand in my pocket, and produced the answer to it, which had been given to the protector. After I had given him that, he examined us feverally, one by one. He had with him a filly, young prieft, who asked us many frivolous queftions; amongst the reft, he defired to cut my hair, which then was pretty long; but I was not to cut it, though many were offended at it.

I told them, 'I had no pride in it; and it was not of my own putting on.' At length the justice put us under a guard of foldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself: nevertheless we 'warned the people of the day of the Lord, and declared the truth to them.' The next day he sent us guarded by a party of horse, with swords and pistols, who took us to Redruth. On first-day the foldiers would have carried us away; but we told them, It was their sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day. Several of the town's people gathered about us; and whilst I held the foldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and afterwards Edward Pyot held the foldiers in discourse whilst I spoke to the people. In the mean time the other friend got out backwards, and went to the steeple-house, to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceeding desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and abused him. The foldiers also missing him, were in a great rage, and seemed ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord, and the word of eternal life to the people. In the afternoon the foldiers were resolved to have us away; so we took horse. When we had rid to the town's end, I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house. The foldiers drew out their pistols, and swore I should not go back. I heeded them not; but rode back, and they rode after me. So I cleared myself to the old man and the people; and then returned with them, and reprov'd them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town then called Smethick, but since Falmouth. It being the evening of the first-day, there came into our inn the chief constable of the place, and many sober people; some of whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them, We were prisoners for truth's sake; and a great deal of discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober, and very loving to us. Some of them were convinced, and stood faithful ever after.

When the constable and these people were gone, others came in, who also were very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone, we went to our chamber to go to bed; and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot said, 'I will shut the door, it may be some may come to do us a mischief.' Afterwards we understood captain Keat, who commanded the party, purpos'd to have done us some injury that night; but the door being bolted, he miss'd his

design. Next morning captain Keat brought a kinsman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room; himself standing without. This evil-minded man walked huffing up and down the room; I bid him fear the Lord. Whereupon he ran upon me, struck me with both his hands; and, clapping his leg behind me, would have thrown me down, if he could; but he was not able, for I stood stiff and still, and let him strike. As I looked towards the door, I saw captain Keat look on, and see his kinsman thus beat and abuse me. Whereupon I said to him, 'Keat, dost thou allow this?' He said he did. 'Is this manly or civil,' said I, 'to have us under a guard, and put a man to abuse and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or christian?' I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came. Then I desired the captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us; which he did; and his warrant was, to conduct us safe to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis castle; and if the governor should not be at home, he was to convey us to Lanceston gaol. I told him, He had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his prisoners, were to be safely conducted; but he had brought a man to beat and abuse us: so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers, They might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I shewed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house, pitifully blank and down. The constables went to the castle, and told the officers what they had done. The officers shewed great dislike of captain Keat's base carriage towards us; and told the constables, major-general Desborough was coming to Bodinin, and that we should meet him; and it was likely he would free us. Mean-while our old guard of soldiers came by way of entreaty to us, and promised they would be civil to us, if we would go with them. Thus the morning was spent till about the eleventh hour; and then, upon the soldiers entreaty, and promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again; and we went with them. Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us, who kindly entertained us; and the Lord rewarded them with his truth; for many of them have since

been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their Teacher and Saviour.

Captain Keat who commanded our guard, understanding that captain Fox, who was governor of Pendennis castle, was gone to meet major-general Desborough, did not carry us thither; but took us directly to Bodmin, in the way to Lancelton. We met major-general Desborough on the way. The captain of his troop, that rode before him, knew me, and said, 'Oh, Mr. Fox, what do you here?' I replied, 'I am a prisoner.' 'Alack,' said he, 'for what?' I told him, 'I was taken up as I was travelling.' 'Then,' said he, 'I will speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty.' So he came from the head of his troop, and rode up to the coach, and spoke to the major-general. We also gave him an account how we were taken. He began to speak against the light of Christ; against which I exhorted him. Then he told the foldiers, They might carry us to Lancelton; for he could not stay to talk with us, lest his horses should take cold.

To Bodmin we were had that night; and when we came to our inn, captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room, and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for captain Keat, and said, 'What now, Keat, what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? What is thy end in this?' 'Oh,' said he, 'pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man, we cannot all rule him, he is so devilish.' 'Then,' said I, 'dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier, that thou say'st, You cannot all rule him? What an unworthy, base trick is this? and to put me single into this room from the rest of my friends, that were fellow-prisoners with me?' Thus his plot was discovered, and the mischief they intended was prevented. Afterward we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the truth to the people: but they were dark and hardened. The foldiers, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sat up drinking and roaring all night.

Next day we were brought to Lancelton, where captain Keat delivered us to the gaoler. Now was there no friend, nor friendly people near us; and the people of the town were a dark, hardened people. The gaoler required us to



pay seven shillings a week for our horse-meat, and seven shillings a week for our diet apiece. After some time several sober persons came to see us, and some of the town were convinced; and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced. Then got up a great rage among the professors and priests against us. They said, This people Thou and Thee all men without respect, and will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man; but we shall see, when the assize comes, whether they will dare to Thou and Thee the judge, and keep on their hats before him. They expected we should be hanged at the assize. But all this was little to us; for we saw how God would stain the world's honour and glory; and were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but knew the honour that cometh from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the assizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Braden lay with his troop of horse there, whose soldiers and the sheriff's men guarded us to the court through the multitude that filled the streets; and much ado they had to get us through. Besides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking upon us. When we were brought into the court, we stood a pretty while with our hats on, and all was quiet; and I was moved to say, 'Peace be amongst you?' Judge Glyn, a Welshman, then chief justice of England, said to the gaoler, 'What be these you have brought here into the court?' 'Prisoners, my lord,' said he. 'Why do you not put off your hats?' said the judge to us. We said nothing. 'Put off your hats,' said the judge again. Still we said nothing. Then said the judge, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then I queried, 'Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews (the people of God) or amongst the heathen? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, shew me that law either written or printed.' The judge grew very angry, and said, 'I do not carry my law-books on my back.' 'But,' said I, 'tell me where it is printed in any statute-book, that I may read it.' Then said the judge, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I'll seek him.' So they took us away, and put us among

the thieves. Presently after he called to the gaoler, 'Bring them up again! Come,' said he, 'where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me; I have you fast now.' I replied, 'Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on.' This plain instance stopped him; so that not having any thing else to the point, he cried again, 'Take them away, gaoler.' Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves; where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us to get through the crowd, and guarded us to prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the gaol. We had some good books to set forth our principles, and to inform people of the truth; which the judge and justices hearing of, they sent captain Bradden for them, who came and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away; so we never got them again.

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

#### Concerning SWEARING.

**T**AKE heed of giving people oaths to swear: for Christ our Lord and Master saith, "Swear not at all; but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." If any was to suffer death, it must be by the hand of two or three witnesses; and the hands of the witnesses were to be first upon him to put him to death. The apostle James saith, "My brethren, above all things swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation." Hence ye may see

those that swear fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ's and the apostle's doctrine. Every one of you have a light from Christ, who saith, "I am the light of the world," and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world. He saith, "Learn of me," whose doctrine, and that of the apostle, is not to swear; but "Let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, in all your communication; for whatsoever is more cometh of evil:" they that go into more than yea and nay go into evil, and are out of the doctrine of Christ. If you say, "That the oath was the end of controversy and strife;" those who are in strife are out of Christ's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace, and who are in that, are in the covenant of peace. The apostle brings that but as an example: as men swearing by the greater, and the oath was the end of controversy and strife among men; saying, Verily, men swear by the greater: but God having no greater swears by himself concerning Christ; who, when he was come, taught not to swear at all. So those who are in him, and follow him, cannot but abide in his doctrine. If you say, "They swore under the law, and under the prophets;" Christ is the end of the law, and of the prophets, to every one that believeth for righteousness sake. Now mark, "If you believe, I am the light of the world, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," saith Christ, by whom it was made; now every man of you that is come into the world is enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, by which the world was made, that all of you through him might believe, that is the end for which he doth enlighten you. Now if you do believe in the light, as Christ commands, "Believe in the light, that you may be children of light;" you believe in Christ, and learn of him, who is the way to the Father. This is the light which shews the evil actions you have all acted, the ungodly deeds you have committed, the ungodly speeches you have spoken; and all your oaths, cursed speaking, and ungodly actions. If you hearken to this light, it will let you see all that you have done contrary to it; and loving it, it will turn you from your evil deeds, evil ways, and evil words, to Christ, who is not of the world; but is the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and testifies against the world, that the deeds thereof are evil. So doth the light in every man, received from him, testify against all

‘ evil works, that they are contrary to the light; and each shall give an account, at the day of judgment, for every idle word that is spoken. This light shall bring every tongue to confess, yea and every knee to bow, at the name of Jesus: in which light, if you believe, you shall not come into condemnation, but to Christ, who is not of the world, to him by whom it was made: but if you believe not in the light, this is your condemnation.

‘ G. F.’

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so when we were called before the judge, he bid the clerk give me that paper, and then asked me, Whether that seditious paper was mine? I told him, ‘ If they would read it up in open court that I might hear it, if it was mine, I would own it, and stand by it.’ He would have had me to have taken it, and looked upon it in my own hand; but I again desired, ‘ That it might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or no; for if there was, I was willing to suffer for it.’ At last the clerk of the assize read it with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it. When he had done, I told them, ‘ It was my paper. I would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the scripture: for was not this scripture language, the words and commands of Christ and the apostle, which all true christians ought to obey?’ Then they dropped that subject; and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the gaoler take them off; which he did; and giving them to us, we put them on again. We asked the judge and justices, ‘ What we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us but about our hats?’ And as for putting off our hats, I told them, ‘ That was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is a mark of unbelievers. ‘ For “ How can ye believe,” saith Christ, “ who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?” Christ saith, “ I receive not honour from men;” and all true christians should be of his mind.’ Then the judge began to make a pompous speech, how he represented the lord Protector’s person, who made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to

come that circuit, &c. ' We desired him then, that he ' would do us justice for our false imprisonment which we ' had suffered nine weeks wrongfully.' But instead of that, they brought an indictment framed against us; so full of lies, that I thought it had been against some of the thieves. ' That we came by force and arms, and in a hostile manner into the court;' who were brought as aforesaid. I told them, ' It was all false; and still we cried for justice ' for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey ' without cause by major Ceely.' Then Peter Ceely said to the judge, ' May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty ' thousand men at an hour's warning, involve the nation in ' blood, and so bring in king Charles. I would have aided ' him out of the country, but he would not go. If it please ' you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it.' So he called upon his witness; but the judge not being forward to examine the witness, I desired, ' That he would be pleased to ' let my mittimus be read in the face of the court and country, in which my crime was signified for which I was sent ' to prison.' The judge said, It should not be read. I said, ' It ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my ' life.' The judge said again, It shall not be read. I said, ' It ought to be read; for if I have done any thing worthy ' of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it.' Then seeing they would not read it, I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners, ' Thou hast a copy of it, read it up said I.' It shall not be read, said the judge; gaoler, take him away. I'll see whether he or I shall be master. So I was taken away, and awhile after called for again. I still called to have the mittimus read; for that signified the cause of my commitment. I again spoke to the friend, my fellow-prisoner, to read it up; which he did, and the judge, justices, and the whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it. It was as followeth:

' Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this ' county, to the keeper of his highness's gaol at Lancaster, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting:

' I SEND you here withal by the bearers hereof, the ' bodies of Edward Pyot, of Bristol, and George Fox, ' of Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire, and William

‘ Salt, of London, which they pretend to be the places of  
 ‘ their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers,  
 ‘ and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread  
 ‘ several papers tending to the disturbance of the publick  
 ‘ peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into  
 ‘ those parts, being persons altogether unknown, having no  
 ‘ pass for travelling up and down the country, and refusing  
 ‘ to give sureties for their good behaviour, according to the  
 ‘ law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take the oath  
 ‘ of abjuration, &c. These are therefore, in the name of  
 ‘ his highness the lord Protector, to will and command  
 ‘ you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot,  
 ‘ George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought,  
 ‘ you them receive, and in his highness’s prison aforesaid  
 ‘ you safely keep them, until by due course of law they  
 ‘ shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will an-  
 ‘ swer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand  
 ‘ and seal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.  
 ‘ P. Ceely.’

When it was read I spoke thus to the judge and justices,  
 ‘ Thou that sayest thou art chief justice of England, and  
 ‘ you justices, know that, if I had put in sureties, I might  
 ‘ have gone whither I pleased, and have carried on the de-  
 ‘ sign (if I had had one) which major Ceely hath charged  
 ‘ me with. And if I had spoken those words to him, which  
 ‘ he hath here declared, judge ye whether bail or mainprize  
 ‘ could have been taken in that case.’ Then, turning my  
 speech to major Ceely, I said, ‘ When or where did I take  
 ‘ thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and  
 ‘ thou as rude as any of them, at our examination; so that  
 ‘ I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the  
 ‘ people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest  
 ‘ thou on the bench? It is not the place of accusers to sit  
 ‘ with the judge. Thou oughtest to come down and stand  
 ‘ by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask  
 ‘ the judge and justices, Whether or no major Ceely is not  
 ‘ guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in con-  
 ‘ cealing it so long as he hath done? Does he understand  
 ‘ his place, either as a soldier or a justice of the peace?  
 ‘ For he tells you here, “ That I went aside with him, and  
 “ told him what a design I had in hand, and how service-  
 “ able he might be for my design: that I could raise forty  
 “ thousand men in an hour’s time, bring in king Charles,

“and involve the nation in blood.” He saith moreover, “He would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour,” as the mittimus declares. Now do you not see plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.’ So that business was let fall; for the judge saw clear enough, that instead of ensnaring me, he had ensnared himself.

Major Ceely got up again, and said, ‘If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life.’ At this I smiled in my heart, and said, ‘Major Ceely, art thou a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the judge in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner, struck thee, and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, major Ceely, said I, where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by?’ He said, It was in the Castle-green, and captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. ‘I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that; and called again upon major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him, It was not fit the accuser should sit as judge over the accused.’ When I called again for his witness, he said captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, ‘Speak, captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him as he saith?’ Captain Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head towards me. ‘I desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only bowed his head again. Nay, said I, speak up, and let the court and country hear; let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.’ But captain Bradden never testified to it. The judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, Take him away, gaoler; and when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats; to be kept in prison till we paid it; and sent us back to the gaol.

At night captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him who were very civil to us, and told us, They believed, neither the judge nor any in the court gave credit to those charges which major Ceely had accused me of in the face of the country. And captain Bradden said, Major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life, if he could have got another witness. 'But said I, Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing major Ceely produced thee for a witness that thou sawest me strike him? When I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou wouldst not speak.' Why, said he, when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, How do you, Mr. Fox? your servant, Sir. Then you said to him, Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him. Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spoke so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and in the face of the country; whom he would have made believe that I struck him with my hand.

Now were we kept in prison, and divers came from far and nigh to see us, of whom some were people of account in the world; for the report of our trial was spread abroad, and our boldness and innocency in our answers to the judge and court was talked of in the town and country. Among others Humphry Lower came to visit us, a grave, sober, ancient man, who had been a justice of peace, and was very sorry we should lie in prison; telling us, how serviceable we should be if we were at liberty. We reasoned with him concerning swearing: and having acquainted him they tendered the oath of abjuration to us as a snare, because they knew we could not swear; and shewed him, that no people could be serviceable to God if they disobeyed the command of Christ; and that they that imprisoned us for the hat-honour, which was of men, and which men fought for, they prisoned the good, and grieved the Spirit of God in themselves, which should have turned their minds to him. So we directed him to the Spirit of God in his heart, the light of Christ Jesus: and he was thoroughly convinced,



and continued so to his death, and became very serviceable to us.

There came also to see us, one colonel Rouse, a justice of peace, and a great company with him. He was full of words and talk, as ever I heard any man in my life, so that without intruding, there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him, 'Whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers?' (this I said to stop him.) At school! said he, yes. At school! said the soldiers; Doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar? Then said I, 'If he be so, let him be still and receive answers to what he hath said.' Then I was moved of the Lord to speak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth. His face swelled, and was red like a turkey. His lips moved, and he mumbled something; but the people thought he would have fallen down. I stepped to him; and then he said, He was never so in his life before; for the Lord's power stopped the evil power and air in him, so that he was almost choked. The man was ever after very loving to friends, but not so full of airy words to us; though he was full of pride: but the Lord's power came over him, and the rest that were with him.

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

The assizes being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment that we were not likely to be soon released, we broke off from giving the gaoler seven shillings a week apiece for our horses, and seven shillings a week for ourselves, and sent our horses into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and devilish, and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they used to put murderers after they were condemned. The place was so noisome, that it was observed few that went in did ever come out again in health. There was no house of

office in it; and the excrement of the prisoners, that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water and urine; and he would not let us cleanse it, nor suffer us to have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw; and we went to burn a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head-gaoler in a room by them over our heads also. It seems the smoke went up into the room where the gaoler lay; which put him into such a rage that he took the pots of excrement from the thieves, and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale, till we were so bespattered that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us; so that what with stink, and what with smoke, we had like to have been choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place. Moreover he railed at us most hideously, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and such strange names as we had never heard of. In this manner we were obliged to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrement. A great while he kept us after this manner before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we got through the grate. One time a girl brought us a little meat; and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison. A great deal of trouble he put the young woman to; whereby others were so discouraged that we had much ado to get water, drink, or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, who could write and take things well in short-hand, to buy and dress our meat for us; which she was very willing to do, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

The head-gaoler, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder: his wife too had been burnt in the hand. The under-gaoler had been burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder: his wife had been burnt in the hand also. Colonel Bennet, a baptist-teacher, having purchased the gaol and

lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head-gaoler there. The prisoners and some wild people would be talking of spirits that haunted Doomfdale, and how many had died in it, thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them, ' That if all the spirits and devils in hell were ' there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no ' such thing ; for Christ, our Priest, would sanctify the ' walls of the house to us, he who bruised the head of the ' devil.' The priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law, which Christ, our Priest, ended ; who sanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the house, the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

By this time the general quarter-sessions drew nigh ; and the gaoler still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our suffering case, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. Upon the reading of which the justices gave order, ' That Doomfdale-door should be opened, and that ' we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat ' in the town.' We sent up a copy also of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we were taken and committed by major Cceley, and abused by captain Keat as aforesaid, and the rest in order. Whereupon the Protector sent an order to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis-castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us, and striking me. There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the castle ; and captain Keat's kinsman, that struck me, was sent for before them, and much threatened. They told him, ' If I should change my principle, ' I might take the extremity of the law against him, and ' might recover sound damages of him.' Captain Keat was also check'd for suffering the prisoners under his charge to be abused. This was of great service in the country ; for afterwards friends might have spoken in any market or steeple-house thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him, ' They could not do George Fox a ' greater service for the spreading of his principles in Corn- ' wall than to imprison him there.' And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for his service in those parts ; for after the assizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue prisoners, several friends from most parts of the nation came into the country to visit us. Those parts of the west were very dark countries at that

time; but the Lord's light and truth broke forth, shined over all, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the steeple-houses, several were sent to prison to us, and a great conviction began in the country: for now we had liberty to walk in the Castle-green, and divers came to us on first-days, to whom we declared the word of life. Great service we had, many were turned to God up and down the country; but great rage got up in the priests and professors against the truth and us. One of the envious professors had gathered together many scripture-sentences to prove, 'That we ought to put off our hats to the people,' and he invited the town of Lanchester to come into the Castle-yard to hear him read them. Amongst other instances that he brought, one was, 'That Saul bowed to the witch of Endor.' When he had done we got a little liberty to speak, and shewed both him and the people, 'That Saul was gone from God, and had disobeyed him, like them, when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles ever taught people to bow to a witch.' The man went away with his rude people; but some staid with us, and we shewed them, That this was not gospel-instruction, to teach people to bow to a witch. For now people began to be affected with the truth, and the devil's rage increased; so that we were often in great danger.

One time there came a soldier, and while one of our friends was admonishing and exhorting him to sobriety, &c. I saw him begin to draw his sword. Whereupon I stepped to him, and represented what a shame it was to offer to draw his sword upon a naked man, and a prisoner, and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry such a weapon; and that, if he should have offered such a thing to some men, they would have taken his sword from him, and have broken it to pieces. So he was ashamed and went his way; and the Lord's power preserved us.

Another time, about eleven at night, the gaoler being half drunk, came and told me, He had got a man now to dispute with me (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town.) As soon as he spoke these words, I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plat to slumber, and felt something still about my body; and I started up, and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and still it was

about my body. Then I rose and walked into the Castle-green, and the under-keeper came and told me, There was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words too, therefore I went not into the prison, but to the grate; and, looking in, I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjurer, who had a naked knife in his hand. I spoke to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps; but being within the gaol he could not come at me. This was the gaoler's great disputant. I went soon after into the gaoler's house, and found him at breakfast; he had then got his conjurer out with him. I told the gaoler, his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and cast his napkin away in a rage; and I left them, and went away to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomsdale. At the time the gaoler had said the dispute should be, I went down and walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour; but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again; and after awhile heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairs-head, where I saw the gaoler's wife upon the stairs, and the conjurer at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage. I asked him, 'Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back?' 'Pluck thy hand before thee,' said I; 'let's see thy hand, and what thou hast in it?' Then he angrily plucked forth his hand with a naked knife in it. I shewed the gaoler's wife their wicked design against me; for this was the man they brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, prevented their evil design; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened. Then I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down; so that he never after durst appear before me, to speak to me. I saw it was the Lord alone that preserved me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises to him.

Now while I was exercised with people of divers sorts, that came some out of good-will to visit us, some out of an envious carping mind to wrangle and dispute with us, and some out of curiosity to see us; Edward Pyot, who before his convincement had been a captain in the army, and had a good understanding in the laws and rights of the people,

being sensible of the injustice and envy of judge Glyn to us at our trial, and willing to lay the weight thereof upon him, and make him sensible thereof also, wrote an epistle to him, on behalf of us all, which was thus :

‘ To John Glyn, chief justice of England :

‘ Friend,

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

‘ In the afternoon, before we were brought before thee at  
 ‘ the assize at Lancaster, thou didst cause divers scores of  
 ‘ our books to be violently taken from us by armed men,  
 ‘ without due process of law ; which books being perused,  
 ‘ to see if any thing in them could have been found to have  
 ‘ been laid to our charge (who were innocent men, and  
 ‘ then upon our legal issue) thou hast detained from us to  
 ‘ this very day. Our books are our goods, our goods are  
 ‘ our property, and our liberty it is to have and enjoy our  
 ‘ property : and of our liberty and property the law is the  
 ‘ defence ; which saith, “ No freeman shall be disseized of  
 ‘ his freehold, liberties, or free customs, &c. nor any way  
 ‘ otherwise destroyed : nor we shall not pass upon him,  
 ‘ but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the  
 ‘ land, Magna Charta, cap. 29.” Now, friend, consider,  
 ‘ is not the taking away of a man’s goods violently, by force  
 ‘ of arms, as afore said, contrary to the law of the land ? Is  
 ‘ not the keeping of them, so taken away, a disseizing him  
 ‘ of his property, and a destroying of it and his liberty,  
 ‘ yea, his very being, so far as the invading of the guard  
 ‘ the law sets about him is in order thereunto ? Calls not  
 ‘ the law this a destroying of a man ? Is there any more than

‘ one common guard or defence to property, liberty, and  
‘ life, viz. the law? And can this guard be broken on the  
‘ former, viz. property and liberty, and the latter, viz. life,  
‘ be sure? Doth not he, that makes an invasion upon a man’s  
‘ property and liberty (which he doth, who, contrary to  
‘ law, which is the guard, acts against either) make an inva-  
‘ sion upon a man’s life; since that which is the ground of  
‘ the one is also of the other? If a penny or penny’s worth  
‘ be taken from a man contrary to law, may not by the same  
‘ rule all a man hath be taken away? If the bond of the law  
‘ be broken upon a man’s property, may it not on the same  
‘ ground be broken upon his person? And by the same rea-  
‘ son as it is broken on one man, may it not be broken upon  
‘ all, since the liberty, property, and beings of all men under  
‘ a government are relative, a communion of wealth, as the  
‘ members in the body, but one guard and defence to all, the  
‘ law? One man cannot be injured therein, but it redounds  
‘ to all. Do not such things tend to the subversion and dis-  
‘ solution of government? Where there is no law, what is  
‘ become of government? And of what value is the law  
‘ made, when the ministers thereof break it at pleasure upon  
‘ men’s properties, liberties, and persons? Canst thou clear  
‘ thyself of these things, as to us? To that of God in thy  
‘ conscience, which is just, do I speak. Hast thou acted like  
‘ a minister, the chief minister of the law, who hast taken  
‘ our goods, and yet detainest them, without so much as  
‘ going by lawful warrant, grounded upon due information,  
‘ which in this our case thou couldst not have; for none had  
‘ perused them, whereby to give thee information? Shouldst  
‘ thou exercise violence and force of arms on prisoners goods,  
‘ in their prison-chamber, instead of proceeding orderly and  
‘ legally, which thy place calls upon thee above any man  
‘ to tender, defend, and maintain against wrong, and to pre-  
‘ serve intire the guard of every man’s being, liberty, and  
‘ livelihood? Shouldst thou, whose duty it is to punish the  
‘ wrong-doer, do wrong thyself? Who oughtest to see the  
‘ law be kept and observed, break the law, and turn aside the  
‘ due administration thereof? Surely, from thee, consider-  
‘ ing thou art chief justice of England, other things were  
‘ expected, both by us and by the people of this nation.

‘ And friend, when we were brought before thee and stood  
‘ upon our legal issue, and no accuser or accusation came in  
‘ against us, as to what we had been wrongfully imprisoned  
‘ for, and in prison detained for the space of nine weeks,

' shouldest not thou have caused us to have been acquitted  
 ' by proclamation? Saith not the law so? Oughtest thou  
 ' not to have examined the cause of our commitment, and  
 ' there not appearing a lawful cause, to have discharged  
 ' us? Is it not the substance of thy office and duty, to do  
 ' justice according to the law and custom of England? Is  
 ' not this the end of the administration of the law? of the  
 ' general assizes? of the gaol-deliveries? of the judges go-  
 ' ing the circuits? Hast not thou, by doing otherwise,  
 ' acted contrary to all these, and to Magna Charta? which,  
 ' Cap. 29. saith, "We shall sell to no man, we shall deny  
 ' or defer to no man, either justice or right." Hast thou  
 ' not both deferred and denied to us, who had been so  
 ' long oppressed, this justice and right? And when of  
 ' thee justice we demanded, saidst thou not, "If we would  
 ' be uncovered, thou wouldst hear us, and do us justice?"  
 —"We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no  
 ' man either justice or right," saith Magna Charta as afore-  
 ' said: again, "We have commanded all our justices,  
 ' that they shall from henceforth do even law, and execu-  
 ' tion of right to all our subjects, rich and poor, without  
 ' having regard to any man's person; and without letting  
 ' to do right for any letters or commandments which may  
 ' come to them from us, or from any other, or by any  
 ' other cause, &c. upon pain to be at our will, body, lands  
 ' and goods, to do therewith as shall please us, in case they  
 ' do contrary," saith Stat. 20 Edw. III. Cap. 1. Again,  
 ' Ye shall swear, that ye shall do even law and execution  
 ' of right to all, rich and poor, without having regard to  
 ' any person; and that ye deny to no man common right  
 ' by the king's letters, nor none other man's, nor for none  
 ' other cause. And in case any letter come to you contrary  
 ' to the law, that ye do nothing by such letter; but certify  
 ' the king thereof, and go forth to do the law notwithstand-  
 ' ing those letters. And in case ye be from henceforth  
 ' found in default in any of the points aforesaid, ye shall  
 ' be at the king's will of body, lands and goods, thereof  
 ' to be done, as shall please him:" saith the oath appointed  
 ' by the statute to be taken by all the judges, Stat. 18 Ed.  
 ' III. But none of these, nor any other law, hath such  
 ' an expression or condition in it as this, viz. "Provided  
 ' he will put off his hat to you, or be uncovered." Nor  
 ' doth the law of God so say, or that your persons be re-  
 ' spected; but the contrary. From whence then comes



' this new law, " If ye will be uncovered, I will hear you,  
 ' and do you justice?" This hearing complaint of wrong,  
 ' this doing of justice, upon condition; wherein lies the  
 ' equity and the reasonableness of that? When were these  
 ' fundamental laws repealed, which were the issue of so  
 ' much blood and war; which to uphold, cost the miseries  
 ' and blood of the late wars, that we shall now be heard, as  
 ' to right, and have justice done us but upon condition,  
 ' and that too such a trifling one as the putting off the hat?  
 ' Doth thy saying so, who art commanded, as aforesaid, re-  
 ' peal them, and make them of no effect, and all the mis-  
 ' eries undergone, and the blood shed for them of old and  
 ' of late years? Whether it be so or not indeed, and to the  
 ' nation, thou hast made it so to us; to whom thou hast  
 ' denied the justice of our liberty when we were before thee,  
 ' and no accuser nor accusation came in against us, and the  
 ' hearing of the wrong done to us who are innocent, and  
 ' the doing us right. And bonds hast thou cast and conti-  
 ' nued upon us until this day, under an unreasonable and  
 ' cruel gaoler, for not performing that thy condition, for  
 ' conscience sake. But thinkest thou that this thine own  
 ' conditional justice maketh void the law? or can it do so?  
 ' or absolve thee before God or man? or acquit the penalty  
 ' mentioned in the laws aforesaid? unto which hast thou  
 ' not consented and sworn? viz. " And in case ye be from  
 ' henceforth found in default in any of the points aforesaid,  
 ' ye shall be at the king's will, of body, lands, and goods,  
 ' thereof to be done as shall please him." And is not thy  
 ' saying, " If ye will be uncovered (or put off your hats)  
 ' I will hear you, and do you justice;" and because we  
 ' could not put them off for conscience-sake, thy denying  
 ' us justice, and refusing to hear us, as to wrong, who had  
 ' so unjustly suffered, a default in thee against the very ef-  
 ' fence of those laws, yea, an overthrow thereof, for which  
 ' things sake (being of the highest importance to the well-  
 ' being of men) so just, so equal, so necessary those laws  
 ' were made, and all the provisions therein? To make a  
 ' default in any one point of which provisions, exposeth to  
 ' the said penalty. Dost not thou by this time see where  
 ' thou art? Art thou sure thou shalt never be made to  
 ' understand and feel the justice thereof? Is thy seat so  
 ' high, and thy fence so great, and art thou so certain of  
 ' thy time and station, above all that have gone before thee,  
 ' whom justice hath cut down, and given them their due,

' that thou shalt never be called to an account, nor with its  
 ' long and sure stroke be reached? Deceive not thyself, God  
 ' is come nearer to judgment than the workers of iniquity in  
 ' this age imagine, who persecute and evil-intreat those that  
 ' witness the Just and Holy One, for their witnessing of him,  
 ' who is come to reign for ever and ever. Saith he not, he  
 ' will be a swift witness against the false swearers? God is not  
 ' mocked.

' Surely, friend, that must needs be a very great offence,  
 ' which deprives a man of justice, of being heard as to  
 ' wrong, of the benefit of the law, and of those laws afore-  
 ' rehearsed; to defend the justice and equity of which, a  
 ' man hath adventured his blood and all that is dear to him.  
 ' But to stand covered (or with the hat on) in conscience to  
 ' the command of the Lord, is made by thee such an of-  
 ' fence (which is none in law) and rendered upon us  
 ' (who are innocent, serving the living God) effectual to de-  
 ' ny us justice; though the laws of God, and of man, and  
 ' the oath, and equity and reason say the contrary, and on it  
 ' pronounceth such a penalty. "If ye will be uncovered  
 " (Uncovered, saidst thou) I will hear you, and do you  
 " justice:" but justice we had not, nor were we heard, be-  
 ' cause Jesus Christ, who is the higher power, the lawgiver  
 ' of his people, in our consciences commanded us not to  
 ' respect persons; whom to obey we choose rather than man.  
 ' And for our obedience unto him hast thou cast us into pri-  
 ' son, and continuest us there, till this very day; having  
 ' shewed us neither law for it, nor scripture, nor instances of  
 ' either, nor examples of heathens or others. Friend, Come  
 ' down to that of God, that is just in thee, and consider,  
 ' was there ever such a thing as this heard of in this nation?  
 ' What is become of seriousness, of true judgment, and of  
 ' righteousness! An unrighteous man, standing before thee  
 ' with his hat off, shall be heard; but an innocent man, ap-  
 ' pearing with his hat on in conscience to the Lord, shall  
 ' neither be heard, nor have justice. Is not this regarding  
 ' of persons contrary to the laws aforesaid, and the oath, and  
 ' the law of God? Understand, and judge. Did we not  
 ' own authority and government oftentimes before the  
 ' court? Didst thou not say in the court, Thou wast glad to  
 ' hear so much from us of our owning magistracy? Pleased  
 ' we not to the indictment, though it was such a new-found  
 ' one as England never heard of before? Came we not when  
 ' thou sentest for us? Went we not when thou bidst us go?

‘ And are we not still prisoners at thy command and at thy will? If the hat had been such an offence to thee, couldst thou not have caused it to have been taken off, when thou heardst us so often declare, we could not do it in conscience to the commands of the Lord; and that for that cause we forbore it, not in contempt of thee, or of authority, nor in disrespect to thine or any man’s person (for we said, we honoured all men in the Lord, and owned authority, which was a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; and our souls were subject to the higher powers for conscience sake) as thou causedst them to be taken off, and to be kept so, when thou calledst the jury to find us transgressors without a law? What ado hast thou made to take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, and to cause us to suffer further, whom thou knewest to have been so long wrongfully in prison contrary to law? Is not liberty of conscience a natural right? Had there been a law in this case, and we bound up in our consciences that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conscience there to take place? For where the law saith not against, there needs no plea of liberty of conscience: but the law have we not offended; yet in thy will hast thou caused, and dost thou yet cause us to suffer for our consciences, where the law requires no such thing: and yet for liberty of conscience hath all the blood been spilt, and the miseries of the late wars undergone, and, as the protector saith, this government undertaken, to preserve it; and a natural right, he saith, it is; and he that would have it, he saith, ought to give it. And if it be a natural right, as is undeniable, then to attempt to force it, or to punish a man for not doing contrary to it, is to act against nature: which as it is unreasonable, so it is the same as to offer violence to a man’s life. And what an offence that is in the law, thou knowest; and how, by the common law of England, all acts, agreements and laws, that are against nature, are mere nullities: and all the judges cannot make one case to be law, that is against nature. But put the case, our standing with our hats on had been an offence in law, and we wilfully, and in contempt, and not out of conscience had stood so (which we deny) yet that is not a ground wherefore we should be denied justice, or to be heard, as to the wrong done to us. “If ye will not offend in one case, I will do you justice in another:” this is not the language of the law, or of justice, which distributes to eve-

' ry one their right ; justice, to whom justice is due ; pu-  
 ' nishment, to whom punishment is due. A man who doth  
 ' wrong, may also have wrong done to him ; shall he not  
 ' have right, wherein he is wronged, unless he right him  
 ' whom he hath wronged ? The law saith not so ; but the  
 ' wrong-doer is to suffer, and the sufferer of wrong to be  
 ' righted. Is not otherwise to do, a denying, a letting or  
 ' stopping of even law, and execution of justice, and a  
 ' bringing under the penalties aforesaid ? Mind and consider.

' And shouldst thou have accused, when no witness ap-  
 ' peared against us, as in the particulars of striking Peter  
 ' Ceely, and dispersing books (as thou saidst) against ma-  
 ' gistracy and ministry, with which thou didst falsely accuse  
 ' one of us ? Saith not the law, " The judge ought not to  
 " be the accuser ?" much less a false accuser. And wast  
 ' thou not such an one, in affirming, that he dispersed  
 ' books against magistracy and ministry, when the books  
 ' were violently taken out of our chamber, undispersed by  
 ' him, or any of us ? Nor didst thou make it appear in one  
 ' particular, wherein those books, thou so violently didst  
 ' cause to be taken away, were against magistracy or minist-  
 ' ry ; or gavest one instance or reply, when he denied what  
 ' thou chargedst therein ; and spoke to thee to bring forth  
 ' those books, and make thy charge appear. Is not the  
 ' sword of the magistrate of God to pass upon such evil-do-  
 ' ing ? And according to the administration of the law,  
 ' ought not accusations to be by way of indictment, wherein  
 ' the offence is to be charged, and the law expressed, against  
 ' which it is ? Can there be an issue without an indictment ?  
 ' Or can an indictment be found, before proof be made of  
 ' the offence charged therein ? And hast not thou herein  
 ' gone contrary to the law, and the administration thereof,  
 ' and thy duty, as a judge ? What just cause of offence  
 ' gave George Fox to thee, when, upon thy producing a  
 ' paper concerning swearing, sent by him (as thou saidst) to  
 ' the grand jury, and requiring him to say, Whether it was  
 ' his hand-writing ? he answered, " Read it up before the  
 " country ; and when he heard it read, if it were his, he  
 " would own it ?" Is it not equal, and according to law,  
 ' that what a man is charged with before the country,  
 ' should be read in the hearing of him and of the country ?  
 ' When a paper is delivered out of a man's hand, altera-  
 ' tions may be made in it to his prejudice, which, on a sud-  
 ' den looking over it, may not presently be discerned ; but

' by hearing it read up, may be better understood whether  
 ' any such alterations have been made therein? Couldst thou  
 ' in justice have expected, or required him otherwise to do?  
 ' Considering also, that he was not insensible how much he  
 ' had suffered already, being innocent; and what endea-  
 ' vours there were used to cause him further to suffer? Was  
 ' not what he said a plain and single answer, and sufficient  
 ' in the law? Though (as hath been demonstrated) contrary  
 ' to law thou didst act, and to thy office, in being his ac-  
 ' cuser therein, and producing the paper against him. And  
 ' in his liberty it was, whether he would have made thee  
 ' any answer at all to what thou didst exhibit, or demand  
 ' out of the due course of law: for to the law answer is to  
 ' be made; not to thy will. Wherefore then wast thou so  
 ' filled with rage and fury upon that his reply? Calmly,  
 ' and in the fear of the Lord consider: Wherefore didst thou  
 ' revile him, particularly with the reproachful names of jug-  
 ' gler and prevaricator? Wherein did he juggle? Wherein  
 ' did he prevaricate? Wherefore didst thou use such threat-  
 ' ening language, and such menacings to him and us, say-  
 ' ing, Thou wouldst serk us, with such like? Doth not the  
 ' law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, and threatening  
 ' and menacing of prisoners? Soberly mind; is this to act  
 ' like a judge, or a man? Is not this transgression? Is not  
 ' the sword of the magistrate of God to pass on this as evil-  
 ' doing, which the righteous law condemns, and the higher  
 ' power is against, which judgeth for God? Take heed what  
 ' ye do; for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is  
 ' with you in the judgment: "Wherefore now, let the fear  
 ' of the Lord be upon you; take heed, and do it: for there  
 ' is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of  
 ' persons, nor taking of gifts," said Jehoshaphat to the  
 ' judges of Judah. Pride, and fury, and passion, and rage,  
 ' and reviling, and threatening are not the Lord's: these,  
 ' and the principle out of which they spring, are for judg-  
 ' ment, and must come under the sword of the magistrate  
 ' of God; and of an ill favour, especially such an expres-  
 ' sion, as to threaten to serk us. Is not such a saying more  
 ' becoming a pedant, or schoolmaster with his rod or ferula  
 ' in his hand, than thee, who art the chief justice of the  
 ' nation, who sittest in the highest seat of judgment; who  
 ' oughtest to give a good example, and lo to judge, that  
 ' others may hear and fear? Weigh it soberly, and consider,  
 ' Doth not threatening language demonstrate an inequality

‘ and partiality in him who sits as a judge? Is it not a de-  
 ‘ terring of a prisoner from standing to and pleading the  
 ‘ innocency of his cause? Provides not the law against it?  
 ‘ Saith it not, That irons and all other bonds shall be taken  
 ‘ from the prisoner, that he may plead without amazement,  
 ‘ and with such freedom of spirit as if he were not a pri-  
 ‘ soner? But when he, who is to judge according to the  
 ‘ law, shall beforehand threaten and menace the prisoner  
 ‘ contrary to the law, how can the mind of the prisoner be  
 ‘ free, to plead his innocency before him? or expect equal  
 ‘ judgment from him, who, before he hears him, threatens  
 ‘ what he will do to him? Is not this the case between thee  
 ‘ and us? Is not this the measure we have received at thy  
 ‘ hands? Hast thou herein dealt according to law? or to  
 ‘ thy duty? or as thou wouldst be done unto? Let that of  
 ‘ God in thy conscience judge.

‘ And didst not thou say, there was a law for putting off  
 ‘ the hat; and that thou wouldst shew a law? and didst  
 ‘ not thou often so express thyself? But didst thou produce  
 ‘ any law? or shew where that law might be found? or any  
 ‘ judicial precedent, or in what king’s reign, when we so  
 ‘ often desired it of thee? having never heard of or known  
 ‘ any such law, by which thou didst judge us. Was not  
 ‘ what we demanded of thee reasonable and just? Was that  
 ‘ a favoury answer, and according to law, which thou gavest  
 ‘ us, viz. “ I am not to carry the law-books at my back, up  
 ‘ and down the country; I am not to instruct you?” Was  
 ‘ ever such an expression heard before these days to come  
 ‘ out of a judge’s mouth? Is he not to be of counsel in  
 ‘ the law for the prisoner, and to instruct him therein? Is  
 ‘ it not for this cause that the prisoner, in many cases, is  
 ‘ not allowed counsel by the law? In all courts of justice  
 ‘ in this nation, hath it not been known so to have been?  
 ‘ And to the prisoner hath not this been often declared,  
 ‘ when he hath demanded counsel, alleging his ignorance  
 ‘ in the law, by reason of which his cause might miscarry,  
 ‘ though it were righteous, viz. “ The court is of counsel  
 ‘ for you?” Ought not he, that judgeth in the law, to be  
 ‘ expert in the law? Couldst not thou tell by what act of  
 ‘ parliament it was made, or by what judicial precedent, or  
 ‘ in what king’s reign, or when it was adjudged so by the  
 ‘ common law (which are all the grounds the law of En-  
 ‘ gland hath) had there been such a law, though the words  
 ‘ of the law thou couldst not remember? Surely, to inform

‘ the prisoner when he desired it, especially as to a law  
 ‘ which was never heard of, by which he proceeds to judge  
 ‘ him, that he may know what law it is by which he is to  
 ‘ be judged, becomes him who judgeth for God: for so the  
 ‘ law was read to the Jews, by which they were to be judg-  
 ‘ ed, yea every sabbath-day; this was the commandment of  
 ‘ the Lord. But instead thereof to say, “ I am not to carry  
 ‘ the law books at my back up and down the country; I  
 ‘ am not to instruct you:” To say, “ There is a law,” and  
 ‘ to say, “ Thou wilt shew it;” and yet not shew it, nor to  
 ‘ tell where it is to be found; consider whether it be con-  
 ‘ sistent with favouriness, truth, or justice?

‘ Have not thy whole proceedings against us made it  
 ‘ evidently to appear that thy desire was to cause us to  
 ‘ suffer, not to deliver us, who being innocent, suffered;  
 ‘ to have us aspersed and reproached before the country,  
 ‘ not to have our innocency cleared and vindicated? Doth  
 ‘ not the taking away our books as aforesaid, and the pe-  
 ‘ rusing of them in such haste before our trial, and thy ac-  
 ‘ cusing us with something which thou saidst was contained  
 ‘ in them, make it appear that matter was sought out of  
 ‘ them wherewithal to charge us, when the Et Cetera war-  
 ‘ rant would not stand in law by which we were committed,  
 ‘ and were then upon our delivery according to the due  
 ‘ course of law? Doth it not further appear, by thy refu-  
 ‘ sing to take from our hands a copy of the strange Et  
 ‘ Cetera warrant by which we were committed, and of the  
 ‘ paper for which we stood apprehended, to read it or cause  
 ‘ it to be read; that so our long sufferings by reason of both  
 ‘ might be looked into, and weighed in the law, whether  
 ‘ just or righteous, and the country might as well see our  
 ‘ innocency and sufferings without a cause, and the manner  
 ‘ of dealing with us, as to hear such reports which went of  
 ‘ us as great offenders, when we called upon thee often so to  
 ‘ do, and which thou oughtest to have done, and saidst, Thou  
 ‘ wouldst do, but didst it not; nor so much as took notice  
 ‘ before the country that we had been falsely imprisoned,  
 ‘ and had wrongfully suffered? But what might asperse  
 ‘ and charge us thou broughtest in thyself, contrary to law,  
 ‘ and didst call to have us charged therewith. Is not this  
 ‘ further manifest, in that thou didst cause us on a sudden  
 ‘ to be withdrawn, and the petty jury to be called in with  
 ‘ their verdict; whereupon Peter Ceely’s falsely accusing  
 ‘ George Fox “ with telling him privately of a design, and

“persuading him to join therein,” was by George Fox  
 ‘made so clear to be a manifest falsehood, and so plainly  
 ‘to be perceived, that the cause of our sufferings was not  
 ‘any evil we had done, or law that we had transgressed,  
 ‘but malice and wickedness? And is it not abundantly  
 ‘clear from thy not permitting us to answer, and clear our-  
 ‘selves of the many foul slanders charged upon us in the  
 ‘new-found indictment, of which no proof was made?  
 ‘But when we were answering thereunto, and clearing our-  
 ‘selves thereof, thou didst stop us, saying, “Thou mindedst  
 ‘not those things, but only the putting off the hat:” when  
 ‘as before the country the new-found indictment charged  
 ‘us with those things, and the petty jury brought in their  
 ‘verdict, “Guilty of the trespasses and contempts mention-  
 ‘ed therein;” of which (except as to the hat) not one wit-  
 ‘ness or evidence was produced; and as to the hat, not  
 ‘any law or judicial precedent, upon the transgression of  
 ‘which all legal indictments are to be grounded? Now the  
 ‘law seeks not for causes whereby to make the innocent  
 ‘suffer; but helpeth him to right who suffers wrong, re-  
 ‘lieveth the oppressed, and searcheth out the matter, Whe-  
 ‘ther that of which a man stands accused be so or no;  
 ‘seeking judgment and hastening righteousness: and it  
 ‘saith, “The innocent and the righteous slay thou not.”  
 ‘But whether thou hast done so to us, or the contrary, let  
 ‘the witness of God in thee search and judge; as these thy  
 ‘fruits do also make manifest.

‘And, friend, consider how abominably wicked, and  
 ‘how highly to be abhorred, denied, and witnessed against,  
 ‘and how contrary to the laws such a proceeding is, as to  
 ‘charge a man with many offences in an indictment, which  
 ‘they who draw the indictment, they who prosecute, and  
 ‘they who find the bill, know to be false, and to be put  
 ‘in purposely to reproach and wound his good name;  
 ‘whom, with some small matter which they can prove, they  
 ‘charge and indict, as is the common practice at this day.  
 ‘Prove but one particular charge in the indictment, and it  
 ‘must stand (say they) for a true bill; though there be ne-  
 ‘ver so many falsehoods and lies therein, on set purpose  
 ‘to wrong him who is maliciously prosecuted: this is  
 ‘known to the judges, and almost to every man who hath  
 ‘to do with and attends their courts. How contrary is this  
 ‘to the end and righteousness of the law, which clears the  
 ‘innocent and condemns the guilty, and condemneth not



the righteous with the wicked! Much it is cried out of; but what reformation is there thereof? How else shall clerks of assize, and other clerks of courts fill up their bags (out of which perhaps their matter must have a secret consideration) and be heightened in pride and impudence; that even in open court they take upon them to check and revile men without reproof, when a few lines might serve instead of an hundred? How else shall the spirit that is in men, that lusteth unto envy, malice, strife, and contention, be cherished and nourished, to feed the lawyers and dependants on courts with the bread of men's children and the ruin of their families, to maintain their long suits and malicious contentions! For a judge to say, "I mind not these things; I'll not hear you; clear yourselves of what you are falsely accused of: one thing I mind in your charge, the rest are but matter of form, let there to render you such wicked men before the country, as the thing that is to be proved against you is not sufficient to make out." Oh! abominable wickedness, and perverting of the righteous end of the law, which is so careful and tender of every man's peace and innocency! How is the law in the administration thereof adulterated by the lawyers, as the scriptures are mangled by the priests! And that which was made to preserve the righteous, and to punish the wicked, perverted to the punishing of the righteous and the preserving of the wicked! An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, life for life, burning for burning, wound for wound, a stripe for a stripe; he that accuseth a man falsely, to suffer the same as he should have suffered, who was falsely accused, if he had been guilty. This saith the righteous law of God; which is agreeable to that of God in every man's conscience. Are not such forms of iniquity to be denied, which are so contrary to the law of God and man? Which serve for the generating of strife, and the kindling of contention? And of this nature was not that, with which thou didst cause us to be indicted? And this form didst not thou uphold, in not permitting us to answer to the many foul slanders therein; saying, "Those things thou mindedst not?" Will not the wrath of God be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; who are so far from the power of godliness, that they have not the form, but the form of iniquity, which is set up and held up instead of and as a

' law, to overthrow and destroy the righteousness of the  
 ' righteous, and so to shut him up as by the law he can  
 ' never get out? Is not the cry, thinkest thou, gone up?  
 " It is time for thee to set to thine hand, O Lord, for thine  
 " enemies have made void thy law!" Draws not the hour  
 ' nigh? Fills not up the measure of iniquity apace?  
 ' Surely the day is coming, and hasteneth. Warned ye  
 ' have been from the presence, and by the mouth of the  
 ' Lord; and clear will he be when he cometh to judgment,  
 ' and upright when he giveth sentence. That of God in  
 ' every one of your consciences shall so to him bear witness  
 ' and confess, and your mouths shall be stopped, and be-  
 ' fore your judge shall ye be silent, when he shall divide  
 ' you your portion, and render unto you according to your  
 ' deeds. Therefore, whilst thou hast time, prize it, and  
 ' repent: for verily, " Our God shall come, and shall not  
 " keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall  
 " be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to  
 " the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may  
 " judge his people; and the heavens shall declare his righte-  
 " ousness: for God is judge himself. Consider this, ye that  
 " forget God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none  
 " to deliver."

' And, friend, shouldst thou have given judgment against  
 ' us (wherein thou didst fine us twenty marks a-piece, and  
 ' imprisonment till payment) without causing us, being pri-  
 ' soners, to be brought before thee, to hear the judgment,  
 ' and to move what we had to say in arrest of judgment? Is  
 ' not this contrary to the law, as is manifest to those who  
 ' understand the proceedings thereof? Is not the prisoner to  
 ' be called before judgment be given? And is not the in-  
 ' dictment to be read? and the verdict thereupon? And is  
 ' not liberty to be given him to move in arrest of judgment?  
 ' And if it be a just exception in the law, ought not there  
 ' to be an arrest of judgment? For the indictment may not  
 ' be drawn up according to law, and may be wrong placed,  
 ' and the offence charged therein may not be a crime in  
 ' law; or the jury may have been corrupted or menaced,  
 ' or set on by some of the justices; with other particulars,  
 ' which are known to be legal and just exceptions. And  
 ' the judgment ought to be in the prisoner's hearing, not  
 ' behind his back; as if the judge were so conscious of the  
 ' error thereof, that he dares not give it to the face of the  
 ' prisoner. But these privileges of the law, this justice we

‘ (who had so long and so greatly suffered contrary to law)  
‘ received not, nor could have at thy hands; no, not so  
‘ much as a copy or sight of that long and new-found in-  
‘ dictment (which in England was never heard of before,  
‘ nor that the matter contained therein was an offence in  
‘ law, nor ever was there any law or judicial precedent that  
‘ made it so) though two friends of ours, in our names and  
‘ behalfs, that night, the next day, and the day following  
‘ often desired it of the clerk of the assize, and his assistant  
‘ and servants; but they could not have it, nor so much li-  
‘ berty as to see it. And it is like it was not unknown or  
‘ unperceived by thee, that, had we been called as we  
‘ ought to have been, or had known when it was to be giv-  
‘ en, three or four words might have made a sufficient legal  
‘ arrest of the judgment given on that new-found indictment,  
‘ and the verdict thereupon. Therefore as our liberties,  
‘ who are innocent, have not in thy account been worth the  
‘ minding, and esteemed fit for nothing but to be trampled  
‘ under foot and destroyed; so, if we find fault with what  
‘ thou hast done, thou hast taken care that no door be left  
‘ open to us in the law, but a writ of error: the considera-  
‘ tion whereof, and the judgment to be given thereon, is to  
‘ be had only where thyself is chief; of whom such com-  
‘ plaint is to be made, and the error assigned for the reverse  
‘ of thy judgment. And what the fruit of that may be well  
‘ expected to be, by what we have already mentioned as  
‘ having received at thy hands, thou hast given us to un-  
‘ derstand. And here thou mayst think thou hast made  
‘ thyself secure and sufficiently barred up our way of relief,  
‘ against whom (though thou knewest we had done nothing  
‘ contrary to the law or worthy of bonds, much less of the  
‘ bonds and sufferings we had sustained) thou hast proceeded,  
‘ as hath been rehearsed; notwithstanding that thou art, as  
‘ are all the judges of the nation, intrusted not with a legis-  
‘ lative power, but to administer justice, and to do “ even  
‘ law and execution to all, high and low, rich and poor,  
‘ without having regard to any man’s person;” and art  
‘ sworn so to do; and wherein thou dost contrary art liable  
‘ to punishment, as ceasing from being a judge, and becom-  
‘ ing a wrong doer and an oppressor; which what it is to be  
‘ many of thy predecessors have understood, some by death,  
‘ others by fine and imprisonment. And of this thou mayst  
‘ not be ignorant, that to deny a prisoner any of the privi-  
‘ leges the law allows him, is to deny him justice; to try

‘ him in an arbitrary way, to rob him of that liberty which  
 ‘ the law gives him, which is his inheritance as a freeman :  
 ‘ and which to do, is in effect “ to subvert the fundamental  
 ‘ laws and government of England, and to introduce an ar-  
 ‘ bitrary and tyrannical government against law ;” which is  
 ‘ treason by the common law : and treasons by the common  
 ‘ law are not taken away by the statutes of 25 Edw. III. 1  
 ‘ H. IV. 1, 2. m. See O. St. Johns, now chief justice  
 ‘ of the common pleas, his argument against Strafford, fol.  
 ‘ 65, &c. in the case.

‘ These things, friend, we have laid before thee in all  
 ‘ plainness, to the end that (with the light of Jesus Christ,  
 ‘ who lighteth every one that cometh into the world, a mea-  
 ‘ sure of which thou hast, which sheweth thee evil and re-  
 ‘ proveth thee for sin, for which thou must be accountable)  
 ‘ thou being still and cool mayst consider and see what thou  
 ‘ hast done against the innocent, and shame may overtake  
 ‘ thee, and thou mayest turn to the Lord, who now calleth  
 ‘ thee to repentance by his servants, whom, for witnessing  
 ‘ his living truth in them, thou hast cast into, and yet con-  
 ‘ tinuest under cruel bonds and sufferings.

‘ From the gaol in Lancaster,  
 ‘ the 14th day of the 5th  
 ‘ month, 1656.

‘ Edw. Pyot.’

By this letter the reader may observe how contrary to law we were made to suffer ; but the Lord, who saw the integrity of our hearts to him, and knew the innocency of our cause, was with us in our sufferings, bore up our spirits, and made them easy to us ; and gave us opportunities of publishing his name and truth amongst the people : so that several of the town came to be convinced, many were made loving to us, and friends from divers parts came to visit us ; amongst whom were two out of Wales, who had been justices of peace. Judge Hagget's wife, of Bristol, came to visit us, who was convinced, with several of her children ; and her husband was very kind and serviceable to friends, and had a great love to God's people, which he retained to his death.

In Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, truth began mightily to spread ; many were turned to Christ Jesus and his free teaching : for many friends that came to visit us were drawn to declare the truth in those

counties ; which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare friends. They set up watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up suspicious persons ; under which colour they stopped, and took up friends coming to visit us in prison ; which they did, that they might not pass up and down in the Lord's service. But that which they thought to have stopped the truth by, was the means of spreading it so much the more ; for then friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable, and t'other officer, and to the justices they were brought before ; which caused the truth to spread the more in all their parishes. And when friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again ; for no sooner had one constable taken and carried them before the justices, and they had discharged them, but another would take them up and carry them before other justices : which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire took him up ; and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket : and after being thus robbed he was cast into Exeter gaol. They cast Henry Pollexfen also into prison in Devonshire, under pretence of his being a jesuit ; who had been a justice of peace for the most part of forty years before. Many friends were cruelly beaten by them ; nay some clothiers that were but going to mill with their cloth, and others about their outward occasions, they took up and whipped ; though men of about eighty or an hundred pounds by the year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Lancelton took up all he could, and cast them into prison. He would search substantial grave women, their petticoats and their head-cloaths. A young man coming to see us, I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor, gave it him, and bid him seal it up, and go out again the back way ; and then come into the town through the gates. He did so, and the watch took him up, and carried him before the mayor ; who presently searched his pockets and found the letter ; wherein he saw all his actions characterized ; which shamed him so, that from that time he meddled little with the Lord's servants.

From the sense I had of the snare that was laid, and mischief intended in setting up those watches at that time to

stop and take up friends, it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as —

An exhortation and warning to the magistrates.

‘ ALL ye powers of the earth, Christ is come to reign,  
 ‘ and is among you, and ye know him not; who doth  
 ‘ enlighten every one of you, that ye all through him might  
 ‘ believe in him; who is the light, who treads the wine-  
 ‘ presses alone without the city, and whose feet are upon it.  
 ‘ Therefore see all, and examine with the light what ye are  
 ‘ ripe for; for the press is ready for you.

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

‘ Ye pretend liberty of conscience, yet one shall not  
 ‘ carry a letter to a friend, nor men visit their friends, nor  
 ‘ visit prisoners, nor carry a book about them, either for  
 ‘ their own use or for their friends. Men shall not see their  
 ‘ friends; but watches are set up against them to catch and  
 ‘ stop them: and these must be well armed too against an  
 ‘ innocent people, that have not so much as a stick in their  
 ‘ hands, who are in scorn called Quakers. Yet by such as  
 ‘ set up these watches is pretended liberty of conscience;  
 ‘ who take up them whose consciences are exercised towards  
 ‘ God and men, who worship God in spirit and truth;  
 ‘ which they that are out of the light call heresy. These  
 ‘ set up watches against those they in scorn call Quakers,  
 ‘ because they confess and witness the true light, that light-  
 ‘ eth every one that cometh into the world, amongst people  
 ‘ as they pass through the country, or among their friends.  
 ‘ This is the dangerous doctrine which watchmen are set up  
 ‘ against, to subdue error, as they call it, which is the light  
 ‘ that doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world;  
 ‘ him by whom the world was made, who was glorified  
 ‘ with the Father before the world began. For those whom  
 ‘ they in scorn call Quakers, have they set up their watch-

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

G. F.'

Besides this general warning, there coming to my hand  
 a copy of a warrant issued from the sessions of Exon. in  
 express terms, "For apprehending of all Quakers;" where-  
 in truth and friends were reproached and vilified, I was

moved to write an answer thereunto, and send it abroad, for the clearing of truth and friends from the slanders therein cast upon them: and to manifest the wickedness of that persecuting spirit from whence it proceeded; which was after this manner:

‘ **W**HEREAS there was a warrant granted the last  
 ‘ sessions holden at Exon, on the eighteenth day of  
 ‘ the fifth month, 1656, which warrant is “ For the appre-  
 ‘ hending and taking up all such as are Quakers, or call  
 ‘ themselves Quakers, or go under the notion of Quakers;”  
 ‘ and is directed “ to the chief constables, to be sent by  
 ‘ them to the petty constables, requiring them to set watch-  
 ‘ es, able men with bills, to take up all such Quakers as  
 ‘ aforesaid;” and whereas in your said warrant you speak  
 ‘ of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers; I  
 ‘ answer, They, whom ye in scorn call Quakers, have no  
 ‘ seditious books or papers; but their books are against se-  
 ‘ dition, and seditious men, seditious books, seditious teach-  
 ‘ ers, and seditious ways. Thus ye have numbered honest  
 ‘ men, godly men, holy men, men that fear God, among  
 ‘ beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; putting no difference  
 ‘ between the precious and the vile. You are not fit to  
 ‘ judge, who have set up your bills, and armed your men  
 ‘ to stand up together in battle against innocent people, the  
 ‘ lambs of Christ, who have not lifted up an hand against  
 ‘ you. But if ye were sensible of the state of your own  
 ‘ country. your cities. your towns, your villages, how the  
 ‘ cry of them is like Gomorrah, the ring like Sodom, and  
 ‘ the sound like the old world, where all flesh had corrupted  
 ‘ its way. which God overthrew with the flood; if you  
 ‘ did consider this with yourselves, you would find some-  
 ‘ thing to turn the sword against, and not against the lambs  
 ‘ of Christ. and not make a mock of the innocent, that  
 ‘ stand a witness against all sin and unrighteousness in your  
 ‘ towns and steeple-houses. Noah, the eighth person,  
 ‘ a preacher of righteousness, was grieved with the filthy  
 ‘ conversation of the wicked: so are we now. Just Lot was  
 ‘ grieved with their unmerciful deeds, and the filthy conver-  
 ‘ sation of Sodom. And were not these hated of the world,  
 ‘ and of them that lived in filthiness? And whereas you speak  
 ‘ of those you in scorn call Quakers, that they are a grief to  
 ‘ those whom you call pious and religious people, and their  
 ‘ religion; such as are in the religion that is vain, whose



‘ tongues are not bridled, I believe the Quakers are a grief  
‘ to ; but are not a grief to such as are in the pure religion,  
‘ which keepeth unspotted of the world ; which sets not up  
‘ bills, nor watches, to maintain it by the world ; for they  
‘ are not of the world, who are in the pure religion, which  
‘ keeps them unspotted of the world : mark, the “ pure  
‘ religion, which keeps unspotted of the world.” But such  
‘ as are in the religion that is not pure, who have a form of  
‘ godliness, and not the power, such as you call pious, the  
‘ truth itself to such was always a grief ; and so it is in this  
‘ age. And now your fruits appear, the end of your reli-  
‘ gion and profession, and what you possess ; but you are in  
‘ the error, and have been but in the profession, out of the  
‘ possession of the Spirit, who are not in the Spirit of truth.  
‘ For where did that ever set bounds, and number the just  
‘ and innocent with the wicked ? But the wicked set bounds  
‘ and limits to the just, and numbered them among the  
‘ wicked ; yea, all manner of evil they spoke of them, as ye  
‘ are doing now of us. According as it was foretold in the  
‘ scripture, such as tremble at the word of God, you cast out  
‘ and hate, you that have your temple-worship. You say,  
‘ the Quakers come to disturb you in your churches. Was  
‘ it not the practice of the apostles to go into the syna-  
‘ gogues and temples, to witness against the priesthood that  
‘ took tythes ? Was it not the practice of the Jews to hale  
‘ them out, persecute them, and stone them, that witnessed  
‘ Christ the second priest, and went to bring people off  
‘ from the first priesthood ? Was it not the practice of the  
‘ prophets to go and cry against the high places ? And was  
‘ it not the practice of the Jews, when they were back-slid-  
‘ den, and of the heathen, to imprison and persecute the  
‘ prophets, and send after them into other countries ? Is not  
‘ this your-practice now, who are holding up your high  
‘ places erected by the Papists, which ye now call your  
‘ churches ; where ye beat and persecute ? What kind of re-  
‘ ligious people are you, that are filled with so much mad-  
‘ nefs ? Did not Paul confess he was mad while he was in  
‘ your practice, haling, beating, prisoning, putting out of  
‘ the synagogues, having his authority from the chief priests ?  
‘ And are not the chief priests the cause of this ? Was there  
‘ ever such a cry made in any age past, as there is now in  
‘ the pulpits, railing against an innocent people, who list  
‘ not up an hand against you ; and who are indeed the pi-  
‘ ous, that are of the pure religion, who fear God, and

' worship him in the Spirit and in the truth, but cannot join  
 ' with you in your religion? Do not the ministers of God  
 ' say, that the scriptures are a declaration, which you call  
 ' the word? Do not you rob Christ of his title, and of  
 ' his honour, and give it to the letter, and shew yourselves  
 ' out of the doctrine of the ministers of God, who called  
 ' the scriptures by the name of writings and treatises, and  
 ' declarations; and said, Christ's name is called the Word  
 ' of God? Are not you here in the error you speak of,  
 ' which is common talk among you? There was talk  
 ' among some of you of your gospel-shining. Doth the gos-  
 ' pel persecute? Did ever any of those that did possess it  
 ' cast into prison, and not suffer others to visit them? Are  
 ' you like Christians in this, or like heathen, who set bounds  
 ' and watches over the land, that they should not pass to  
 ' visit those in prison? Was ever the like heard in any  
 ' age? Search and see, if you have not outstript them all  
 ' in your watches, if not in your manner of persecution,  
 ' and in your imprisonments. Oh! never talk that we are  
 ' a grief to them that are in the pure religion.

' And whereas in your warrant we are represented as disaf-  
 ' fected to government; I say, the law, that is a terror to the  
 ' evil-doer, we own; the higher power, to which the soul must  
 ' be subject; but we deny the evil-doer, the malicious man  
 ' reigning, and the envious man seeking for his prey, whose  
 ' envy is against the innocent; who raiseth up the country  
 ' against honest men, and so becomes a trouble to the coun-  
 ' try, in raising them up to take the innocent: but that we  
 ' leave to the Lord to judge. Your false accusations of  
 ' heresy and blasphemy we deny. You should have laid  
 ' them down in particulars, that people might have seen  
 ' them; and not have slandered us behind our backs. The  
 ' law saith, The crime should be mentioned in the warrant.  
 ' Then for your saying, "We deny the godly ministers to  
 ' be a true ministry of Christ;" that is false; for we say,  
 ' The godly ministers are the ministers of Christ. But  
 ' which of your ministers dare say that they are truly godly?  
 ' And for your charging us with seducing many weak peo-  
 ' ple, that is false also; we seduce none. But you, that  
 ' deny the light which lighteth every man that cometh into  
 ' the world, are seduced from the anointing which should  
 ' teach you; and if ye would be taught by it, ye would  
 ' not need that any man should teach you. But such as are  
 ' taught by the anointing which abideth in them, and deny

‘ man’s teaching, these ye call seducers, quite contrary to  
‘ John’s doctrine, 1. Joh. 2. That which is truth, ye call  
‘ seducing; and that which he calls seducing, you call truth.  
‘ Read the latter part of the chapter. I warn you all from  
‘ the Lord God of glory, set not any bound against him.  
‘ Limit not the Holy One of Israel; for the Lord is rising  
‘ in power and great glory, who will rule the nations with  
‘ a rod of iron, which to him are but as the drop of a buck-  
‘ et. He that measures the waters in the hollow of his  
‘ hand, will dash nations together as a potter’s vessel. And  
‘ know, you that are found in this his day blaspheming his  
‘ work which he hath brought forth, calling it blasphemy,  
‘ fighting against it, setting up your carnal weapons, making  
‘ your bonds strong; God will break asunder that which  
‘ your carnal policy hath invented, and which by your car-  
‘ nal weapons ye would uphold, and make you know there  
‘ is a God in heaven, who carries his lambs in his arms,  
‘ which are come among wolves, and are ready to be torn  
‘ in pieces in every place, yea, in your steeple-houses;  
‘ where people have appeared without reason and natural  
‘ affection. Therefore all ye petty constables, sheriffs, and  
‘ justices, take warning; take heed what ye do against the  
‘ lambs of Christ; for Christ is come, and coming, who  
‘ will give to every one of you a reward according to your  
‘ works, you that have the letter, which speaks of Christ;  
‘ who are persecuting that which the scripture speaks of:  
‘ so your fruits make you manifest. Therefore every one,  
‘ sheriffs, justices, constables, &c. consider what ye possess,  
‘ and what a profession ye are now in, that all these carnal  
‘ weapons are set up against the innocent, yea, against the  
‘ truth; which shews, that ye have not the spiritual wea-  
‘ pons: and that ye want the counsel of Gamaliel, yea, ye  
‘ want the counsel of such a man among you, who said,  
‘ “Let the apostles alone: if it be of God, it will stand;  
‘ “if it be not, it will come to nought.” But ye may see  
‘ yourselves, on the contrary, in the spirit of them that  
‘ came with Judas, with swords and staves from the chief  
‘ priests against Christ: still it is against Christ, where he is  
‘ made manifest. Paul (while Saul) went against him,  
‘ though he and the Jews professed a Christ that was to  
‘ come: yet Paul persecuted him, where he was manifested  
‘ in his saints. So ye profess a Christ that is come, but  
‘ persecute him where he is manifest. You that have the  
‘ letter, the high places, the synagogues, you persecute

‘ him where he is made manifest in his faints, as the Jews  
 ‘ did. Those who were in the letter, out of the life, per-  
 ‘ secuted them that were in the life of that which they pro-  
 ‘ fess in the letter: so do you persecute them that are in the  
 ‘ life, and are yourselves strangers to it; as your fruits make  
 ‘ appear. You have numbered the people of God amongst  
 ‘ transgressors; but have you prisoned any of the rogues  
 ‘ and transgressors you speak of? You have prisoned the in-  
 ‘ nocent, and let the others go free.

‘ G. F.’

When I had sent abroad the foregoing, so great a sense  
 came upon me of the veil of darkness that was over the  
 priests and professors of christianity, that I was moved to  
 give forth the following, as an awakening warning to them:

‘ **B**LINDNESS hath happened to the professed chris-  
 ‘ tians of the letter now-a-days, as blindness happen-  
 ‘ ed to the Jews; who professed the letter, but owned not  
 ‘ the life, which the letter speaks of: as the christians now,  
 ‘ to whom this blindness hath happened, who profess the  
 ‘ scripture, but own not the life which the scripture speaks  
 ‘ of. For against the life the Jews stood, who professed the  
 ‘ letter of the scripture; but they were blind, they gathered  
 ‘ counsel against the life: they were in an uproar, when the  
 ‘ babe was born in Bethlehem, Herod and all the chief  
 ‘ priests. And Herod sought to destroy all the young chil-  
 ‘ dren in Bethlehem, yet missed the babe; Herod, that fox,  
 ‘ though he put John to death. You may see here, how  
 ‘ the literal professors stood up, not for the truth, but  
 ‘ quite against it. Furthermore, the chief priests consulted  
 ‘ together how they might take Jesus by subtilty, and put  
 ‘ him to death; mark, by their subtilty. The professors  
 ‘ of a Christ that was to come, they preached of a Messias,  
 ‘ of a Christ, of a Saviour; but denied the life. When he  
 ‘ was made manifest, the chief priests, who were gathered  
 ‘ together with the council, said, His disciples had stolen  
 ‘ him away by night; and gave large sums of money to the  
 ‘ soldiers to declare this. Likewise in the day, when the  
 ‘ children of Israel were in Egypt, and they with their  
 ‘ children began to spread and multiply. “Come,” said the  
 ‘ Egyptians, “let us deal wisely with them to afflict them,  
 ‘ and tax them:” which held till the Lord overthrew their  
 ‘ oppressors, and brought his seed by his mighty power  
 ‘ from under the oppressor, and exalted his son above all;

though the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things. He made his power known, that all might see that there was no God upon the earth but himself. This power now hath brought forth the work of the Lord! Many, who are turned to the light, Christ, have received the power of God, and are thereby become the sons of God. Now this birth, that is born of God, are the powers of the world joined together to crucify; to put to death those Jews in the Spirit, as they put Christ to death in the flesh formerly. This is the birth that all the wicked world is enraged against. Against this they set their watches, this birth, brought forth by the mighty God of Jacob, who rides upon the high places of the earth. This is the birth that the professed christians without the life in our days rage against, and lay out all their wisdom about. Are not the chief priests and wise men of the earth consulting together how they may destroy this birth? Is not this the birth that is banished out of your hearts, you that profess the scripture, and are talkers of it, but do not own the light and life which the scripture speaks of, as the Jews would not; and so will not have Christ to reign over you, as they would not? Do you not hale out of your synagogues, and before magistrates? Do you not herein fulfil Christ's words, who said to his disciples, They should be haled out of the synagogues, and before rulers? Do you not persecute them from city to city? Do you not almost fill your prisons with them? And now set your watches, that none should visit them, whom you have put into prison? Is not this an unchristian spirit? How can you for shame say, you are upholders of truth? Or how can you for shame say, that truth hath been professed among you? We grant that you have talked of it. And how can you for shame say, "The gospel shines among you," when you will not own it, the life of it; when you call it error, and the evil seed? Yea, the very truth, the very life of truth ye have blasphemed against now, as the Jews did against Christ, calling him a devil; you now call it error, and the evil seed, and stand up against it, and turn the sword against it. It was the Jews in their days who turned the sword against Christ; so it is in these days the christian professors of the scripture, but out of the life that gave it forth; as those were the Jews outward in the flesh, not the Jews in the Spirit. Is it not a shame to the ministers of the gospel (as they are called) that they

' can find no better way to maintain that which they call  
 ' the truth, and their gospel, than by carnal weapons,  
 ' stocks, prisons, whips, watches, and wards, and powers of  
 ' the earth? Were these the apostles weapons? Carnal  
 ' watches, stocks, prisons, and halings out of the synagogues,  
 ' when they came to speak? Judge yourselves, what an  
 ' antichristian spirit you have. Never talk of defending  
 ' truth with that which is against truth. For are you not  
 ' setting up the rabble of the world against it? Do they not  
 ' join with you, with swords and staves against it? Is this  
 ' the life of christians? Is not this the life of error, and of  
 ' the evil seedman? Surely ye would find work enough,  
 ' if ye were in the fear of the Lord, to turn your swords  
 ' against the profaneness, the oaths and wickedness, that are  
 ' in your streets and highways. How do they ring like  
 ' Sodom, and give a sound like Gomorrah! But these are  
 ' become a prey in this age, that reprove in your gate sin,  
 ' wickedness, and profaneness. They are become your by-  
 ' word. Against them your councils are gathered, them  
 ' you cast into prison, and hale them out of your syna-  
 ' gogues: and cast them likewise into prison that write and  
 ' speak against it; and set your guards to stop and hinder  
 ' any from visiting them whom you cast into prison, and give  
 ' them the names of vagabonds and wanderers. Was ever  
 ' the like heard in the days of the heathen against the apos-  
 ' tles, who witnessed the gospel? Did they set guards and  
 ' watches in every town, in every city, to take the disciples,  
 ' the brethren, the believers, that heard the apostles were  
 ' cast into prison, and came to see what they wanted?  
 ' Shew ye not as much rage and fury now in your age, as  
 ' was in those in that age? How can you talk of the gospel,  
 ' and of defending the gospel, when you are setting guards  
 ' and watches against it, are defending that which stands  
 ' against it; and the lambs of Christ are almost torn to  
 ' pieces amongst you, who are like wolves? for the Lord  
 ' hath now sent his lambs among wolves. Have not you  
 ' professed the words of Christ, the prophets and apostles,  
 ' as the Jews had long professed the scriptures, the words  
 ' of Moses, and the prophets, that prophesied of Christ then  
 ' to come; and stood against him when he was come? as  
 ' you do in this day of his reign, in this day of his glorious  
 ' gospel, who are persecuting the messengers of it, impris-  
 ' oning them, persecuting them in your streets and high-  
 ' ways, and setting up your watches against them who bring

' the glad tidings of peace to your souls; whose feet are  
' beautiful atop of the mountains; mark, atop of the moun-  
' tains; that against which the mountains rage and swell;  
' but God will make them to melt; the Sun is risen, which  
' will make them to melt. God will cleave the rocks and  
' mountains asunder, and make the hills to bow perpetual-  
' ly; for his Son he will exalt, and his glory he will give  
' to him, and not to another. Therefore be awakened, ye  
' rulers of the earth, and take counsel of the Lord. Take  
' not counsel together against him. Make not your bonds  
' strong. Set not yourselves in battle against him: for ye  
' will be found but as briars and thorns before him, which  
' the fire shall consume. Therefore be awakened, all ye  
' talkers of the scripture, that gather yourselves together by  
' your multitudes and meetings, and have had your teach-  
' ers; but not having the Spirit that gave forth the scrip-  
' tures, the Lord God of glory, the Father of spirits, will  
' scatter you. All your bonds will not hold you together,  
' who are out of the Spirit, which is the bond of peace.  
' The threshing instrument is gone forth, which will beat  
' the hills to pieces. Sion is risen to thresh. Out of the ho-  
' ly mountain is the trumpet sounded. Stand not up against  
' the Lord: for all nations are to him as the drop of a buck-  
' et. He that measures the waters in the hollow of his hand,  
' and weighs the earth in scales, the Lord of Hosts is his  
' name, who is now risen and rising, to plead the cause of  
' the innocent, and is exalting his Son, and bringing his  
' sheep to him. Now are they seen and known, that feed  
' upon wind, that are lifted up, given up to believe lies;  
' who report, and say, "Report, and we will report it."  
' Now are they seen, who have a form of godliness, but  
' deny the power: so Christ is denied; for Christ is the  
' power of God. And the power being denied by you,  
' that have a form of godliness, and the words of the scrip-  
' tures; the gospel is denied: for the gospel is the power of  
' God. Thus it is among you that have the knowledge  
' and wisdom that is sensual, earthly, and devilish. Doth  
' it not appear so? Let your gaols and watches witness  
' your fruits in every town. Your wisdom is earthly, sen-  
' sual, and devilish. You have a knowledge and wisdom,  
' but not that which is from above; for that is pure and  
' gentle, so is not your knowledge. But to know Christ,  
' is life eternal. Your fruits have manifested, that you  
' are not of this; and so out of the power of God, which

' is the cross of Christ; for you are found in the world,  
 ' out of the power of God, out of the cross of Christ,  
 ' persecuting. So that which doth persecute, and send  
 ' forth writings and decrees to stop and take up all, and set  
 ' watches, and prepare bonds to limit the Lord; to im-  
 ' prison and persecute, and suffer none to go and visit  
 ' them: this shews you are not christians, but stand against  
 ' the christian life, which brings to love enemies. Where  
 ' is your love to your enemies who are thus persecuting  
 ' your friends? "He came to his own, and his own re-  
 ' ceived him not." Here is a turning the sword against the  
 ' just. Do you shew here a christian's life, or yourselves  
 ' christians, who are filling your gaols with the christians  
 ' in the Spirit, you that are in the letter (in shadows) as the  
 ' Jews in the letter did, put the Jews in the Spirit into  
 ' prison? Is not this the fruit in our days of christians  
 ' in the letter, to put christians in the Spirit into prison?  
 ' Doth not this shew that your decrees, which you have sent  
 ' forth, proceed from death, who thus act against the life,  
 ' and them that are in it; which the scriptures were given  
 ' forth from? Is it not here, as it was with Saul, when he  
 ' went to persecute, to hale to prison, and bind all that he  
 ' could find calling upon that name, who were christians  
 ' in the life, the Spirit, such as you are persecuting, because  
 ' they are in the life, though you profess their words? Are  
 ' not your decrees gone forth from the same spirit of envy,  
 ' against the same Spirit of Christ they were in? Is it not  
 ' manifest to all that fear God, and to the sober-minded and  
 ' honest-hearted people, that see your practices, your decrees,  
 ' your letters, to stop, to molest, to hinder, to imprison them  
 ' that are moved of the Lord to do his will, or to go to  
 ' visit prisoners whom you have imprisoned? Doth this  
 ' shew you to have a spirit like Paul, yea, or nay? Are  
 ' you not quite contrary, like them that persecuted Paul?  
 ' The day hath declared it. To that of God in you all I  
 ' speak, which shall witness it at the last day, the day of  
 ' judgment. Persecution was blind in all ages; and mad-  
 ' ness and folly led it: yet persecution got always a form  
 ' or pretence of godliness, a talk of religion, as in the days  
 ' of Moses, of Jeremy, of Christ, and of the apostles.  
 ' "Come," saith the council, "let us crush them while they  
 ' are young, they have almost overspread the nation in  
 ' every corner." This is as much as to say, "Let us put  
 ' this birth to death, as Pharaoh and Herod did the chil-



‘dren.” But the Lord caused his truth the more to spread.  
 ‘For you may read what numbers came out of Egypt! and  
 ‘what multitudes followed Christ! Therefore with confi-  
 ‘deration read these lines, and not with fury. Let not fool-  
 ‘ishness appear; but consider in humility the paths you  
 ‘go in, what spirit you are of, and what the end of your  
 ‘conversation is; for in love to your souls I write, that in  
 ‘the day of your visitation you may consider it.

‘From him who loveth righteousness, and the esta-  
 ‘blishing of it, and truth, peace, and faith, which  
 ‘is by Christ Jesus (Mercy and peace be multiplied  
 ‘among such!) But a witness against all hypocrites,  
 ‘and all who have a profession, but live out of the  
 ‘possession; in an hypocritical religion, in the lusts  
 ‘and fashions of the world, having a form of godli-  
 ‘ness, but standing against the power with might  
 ‘and main, sword and staff. Which things declare  
 ‘your conversation and practices to be out of Christ’s  
 ‘life against the gospel practice, and contrary to the  
 ‘manner and order of the saints.

‘G. F.’

We were continued in prison till the next assize; before which divers friends, both men and women, were sent to prison, who had been taken by the watches. When the assize was come, several of these were called before the judge, and indicted: and though the gaoler brought them into court, yet they indicted them, that they came in ‘by force of arms, and in an hostile manner;’ and the judge fined them, because they would not put off their hats. But we were not called before the judges any more.

Great work we had, and service for the Lord, both between the assizes, and after, amongst professors and people of all sorts: for many came to see us, and to reason with us. Elizabeth Trelawny of Plymouth (daughter of one called a baronet) being convinced, the priests, professors, and some great persons of her kindred, were exasperated, and wrote letters to her. She being a wise and tender woman, and fearing to give them any advantage, sent their letters to me; which I answered, and returned them to her again, for her to send the answers to them. Which she did: till growing in the power, Spirit, and wisdom of God, she became able to answer the wisest priest and professor of them.

all; and had dominion over them in the truth, through the power of the Lord, by which she was kept faithful to her death.

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and Fifth-monarchy-men prophesied, That this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward: when he was come inwardly in the hearts of his people, to reign and rule; where these professors would not receive him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell and reign in the hearts of his people. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts he hath been knocking, have opened to him; and he is come in, and doth sup with them, and they with him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man. So many of these Baptists and Monarchy-people turned the greatest enemies to the followers of Christ: but he reigns in the hearts of his saints over all their envy.

At the assize divers justices came to us, and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God soberly; expressing a pity to us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, came and looked me in the face, and said never a word; but went to his company, and told them, 'He never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said, 'Stay, man, we will see who is the simpler man.' But he went his way. A light chaffy person.

Thomas Lower also came to visit us, and offered us money, which we refused; accepting nevertheless of his love. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the scriptures to be the word of God; concerning the sacraments, and such like: to all which he received satisfaction. I spoke particularly to him; and he afterwards said, My words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him. He said, He never met with such men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart; and were as the wise master-builders of the assemblies, that fastened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a friend to this day. When he came home to his aunt Hambley's, where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us; she, with her sister Grace Billing, hearing the report of truth, came to visit us in prison, and was convinced also. Great sufferings and

spoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the truth's sake.

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

‘ Friends,

‘ **I**N the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord  
 ‘ God of life, and heaven and earth, dwell ; that in the  
 ‘ wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved, and be a  
 ‘ terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answer-  
 ‘ ing that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad,  
 ‘ awakening the witnesses, confounding the deceit, gathering  
 ‘ up out of transgression into the life, the covenant of light  
 ‘ and peace with God. Let all nations hear the sound by  
 ‘ word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue, nor  
 ‘ pen ; but be obedient to the Lord God : go through the  
 ‘ work ; be valiant for the truth upon earth ; tread and  
 ‘ trample upon all that is contrary. Ye have the power, do  
 ‘ not abuse it ; and strength and presence of the Lord ; eye  
 ‘ it, and the wisdom ; that with it you may all be ordered  
 ‘ to the glory of the Lord God. Keep in the dominion ;  
 ‘ keep in the power over all deceit ; tread over them in that,  
 ‘ which lets you see to the world’s end, and the utmost  
 ‘ parts of the earth. Reign and rule with Christ, whose  
 ‘ sceptre and throne are now set up, whose dominion is  
 ‘ over all to the ends of the earth ; whose dominion is an  
 ‘ everlasting dominion, his throne an everlasting throne,  
 ‘ his kingdom an everlasting kingdom, his power above all  
 ‘ powers. Therefore this is the word of the Lord to you  
 ‘ all : “ Keep in the wisdom of God,” that spreads over  
 ‘ all the earth ; the wisdom of the creation, that is pure  
 ‘ from above, not destructive. For now shall salvation go  
 ‘ out of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau ; now shall the  
 ‘ law go forth from Jerusalem, to answer the principle of  
 ‘ God in all ; to hew down all inventions and inventions.  
 ‘ For all the princes of the earth are but as air to the pow-  
 ‘ er of God, which you are in, and have tasted of : there-  
 ‘ fore live in it, that is the word of the Lord to you all ;  
 ‘ do not abuse it ; keep down and low ; and take heed of  
 ‘ false joys, that will change.

‘ Bring all into the worship of God. Plow up the fallow  
 ‘ ground. Thresh and get out the corn ; that the seed, the  
 ‘ wheat, may be gathered into the barn : that to the begin-  
 ‘ ning all people may come ; to Christ, who was before the

' world was made. For the chaff is come upon the wheat  
 ' by transgression. He that treads it out is out of transgres-  
 ' sion, fathoms transgression, puts a difference between the  
 ' precious and the vile, can pick out the wheat from the  
 ' tares, and gather into the garner; so brings to the lively  
 ' hope the immortal soul into God, out of which it came.  
 ' None worship God but who come to the principle of  
 ' God, which they have transgressed. None are plowed  
 ' up but he who comes to the principle of God in him,  
 ' that he hath transgressed. Then he doth service as to  
 ' God; then is the planting, watering, and increase from  
 ' God. So the ministers of the Spirit must minister to the  
 ' Spirit that is in prison, which hath been in captivity in  
 ' every one; that with the Spirit of Christ people may be  
 ' led out of captivity up to God, the Father of Spirits, to  
 ' serve him, and have unity with him, with the scriptures,  
 ' and one with another. This is the word of the Lord to  
 ' you all, a charge to you all in the presence of the living  
 ' God; Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places,  
 ' islands, nations, where-ever you come; that your life and  
 ' conduct may preach among all sorts of people, and to  
 ' them. Then you will come to walk cheerfully over the  
 ' world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in  
 ' them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God  
 ' in them to bless you: then to the Lord God you shall be  
 ' a sweet favour, and a blessing.

' Spare no deceit. Lay the Sword upon it; go over it.  
 ' Keep yourselves clear of the blood of all men, either by  
 ' word or writing, and keep yourselves clean, that you may  
 ' stand in your throne, and every one have his lot and stand  
 ' in the lot in the Ancient of days. The blessing of the  
 ' Lord be with you, and keep you over all the idolatrous  
 ' worships and worshippers. Let them know the living  
 ' God; for teachings, churches, worships must be thrown  
 ' down with the power of the Lord God, set up by man's  
 ' earthly understanding, knowledge, and will. All this  
 ' must be thrown down with that which gave forth the scrip-  
 ' ture; and who are in that, reign over it all. That is the  
 ' word of the Lord to you all. In that is God worshipped,  
 ' that brings to declare his will, and brings to the church  
 ' in God, the ground and pillar of truth: for now is the  
 ' mighty day of the Lord appeared, and the arrows of the  
 ' Almighty gone forth; which shall stick in the hearts of  
 ' the wicked. Now will I arise, saith the Lord God Al-

‘ mighty, to trample and thunder down deceit, which hath  
‘ long reigned and stained the earth. Now will I have my  
‘ glory out of every one. The Lord God Almighty over  
‘ all in his strength and power keep you to his glory, that  
‘ you may come to answer that of God in every one. Pro-  
‘ claim the mighty day of the Lord of fire and sword, who  
‘ will be worshipped in spirit and in truth; and keep in the  
‘ life and power of the Lord God, that the inhabitants of  
‘ the earth may tremble before you: that God’s power  
‘ and majesty may be admired among hypocrites and hea-  
‘ thens, and ye in the wisdom, dread, life, terror, and domi-  
‘ nion preserved to his glory; that nothing may rule or  
‘ reign but power and life itself, and in the wisdom of God  
‘ ye may be preserved in it. This is the word of the Lord  
‘ God to you all. The call is now out of transgression, the  
‘ Spirit bids, Come. The call is now from all false wor-  
‘ ships and Gods, from all inventions and dead works, to  
‘ serve the living God. The call is to repentance, to  
‘ amendment of life, whereby righteousness may be brought  
‘ forth, which shall go throughout the earth. Therefore ye  
‘ that be chosen and faithful, who are with the Lamb, go  
‘ through your work faithfully in the strength and power of  
‘ the Lord, and be obedient to the power; for that will  
‘ save you out of the hands of unreasonable men, and pre-  
‘ serve you over the world to himself. Hereby you may  
‘ live in the kingdom that stands in power, which hath no  
‘ end; where glory and life is.

‘ G. F.’

After the assizes, the sheriff, with some soldiers, came to guard a woman to execution that was sentenced to die; and we had a great deal of discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, ‘ Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth.’ For which wicked saying we rebuked him. Another time we asked the gaoler, what doings there were at the sessions? He said, small matters, only about thirty for bastardy. We thought it very strange that they, who professed themselves Christians, should make small matters of such things. But this gaoler was very bad himself. I often admonished him to sobriety; but he would abuse people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him by his wife from Bristol; and the gaoler took the cheese from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said: and though they

found no treason in the cheefe, they kept it from us. This gaoler might have been rich, if he had carried himself civilly; but he fought his own ruin, which soon after came upon him: for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness was cast into the gaol himself; and there begged of our friends. And for some unruliness in his carriage, he was by the succeeding gaoler put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, beaten, and bid to 'remember how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty prison:' and told, 'That now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness, and the same measure he had meted to others, he should have meted out to himself.' He became very poor, and died in prison. His wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison at Lancaster, a friend went to Oliver Cromwel, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in Doomsdale in my stead; if he would take him, and set me at liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said, to his great men and council; 'Which of you would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?' And though he did not accept of the friend's offer, but said, 'He could not do it, for it was contrary to law;' yet the truth thereby came mightily over him. A good while after this he sent down major general Desborow pretending to set us at liberty. When he came, he offered, if we would say, 'We would go home and preach no more,' we should have our liberty; but we could not promise him. Then he urged, that we should promise 'to go home if the Lord permitted:' whereupon Edward Pyot wrote him this following letter:

' To major general Desborow.

' Friend,

' **T**HOUGH much might be said as to the liberty of Englishmen to travel in any part of England, it being as the Englishman's house by the law, and he to be protected in any part of it; and if he transgresses the law, the penalty upon the transgressor is to be inflicted. And as to the liberty of conscience, which is a natural right, and a fundamental, and the exercise of it by those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, it is to be protected, as by the instrument of government it appears, though

' they differ in doctrine, worship, and discipline; provided  
 ' that liberty extend not to property, or prelacy, nor to li-  
 ' centiousness. Where these rights are denied us, our liber-  
 ' ties are infringed, which are the price of much blood and  
 ' treasure in the late wars. Yet in the power of God over  
 ' all, by which all are to be ruled, are we, and in it dwell,  
 ' and by it alone are guided to do the will of God; whose  
 ' will is free, and we, in the freedom of his will, walk by  
 ' the power, either as it commands or permits, without any  
 ' condition or enforcement thereunto by men; but as the  
 ' power moves, either by command or permission. And  
 ' although we cannot covenant or condition to go forth of  
 ' these parts, or to do this or that thing, if the Lord permit  
 ' (for that were to do the will of man by God's permission)  
 ' yet it is like we may pass forth of these parts in the liberty  
 ' of the will of God, as we may be severally moved and  
 ' guided by the pure power, and not of necessity. We who  
 ' were first committed were passing homeward when we were  
 ' apprehended; and, as far as I know, we might pass, if  
 ' the prison doors were commanded to be opened, and we  
 ' freed of our bonds. Should we stay, if the Lord com-  
 ' mands us to go, or should we go if the Lord command  
 ' us to stay; or having no command to stay, but being  
 ' permitted to pass from hence, the pure power moving  
 ' thereto, and we yet stay; or go, when as before com-  
 ' manded to stay; we should then be wanderers indeed:  
 ' for such are wanderers, who wander out from the will and  
 ' power of God, abroad, at large, in their own wills and  
 ' earthly minds. And so, in the fear of the Lord God,  
 ' well weigh and consider, with the just weight and just  
 ' balance, that justice thou mayst do to the just and inno-  
 ' cent in prison.

' Edward Pyot.'

Some time having passed after the foregoing was deliver-  
 ed him, and he not giving any order for our discharge, I  
 also wrote to him as followeth:

' To major general Desborow.

' Friend,  
 ' **W**E who are in the power of God, the ruler of all,  
 ' the upholder of all things, and know and dwell in  
 ' his power, to it we must be obedient; which brings us to

‘ stand out of all men’s wills, unlimited. To say, “ We  
‘ will if the Lord permit,” in a case of buying and selling  
‘ to get gain, if the intent be so to do, may be done; but  
‘ we standing in the power of God to do his will, and to  
‘ stand out of man’s will, if man propose, “ We shall have  
‘ our liberty if we will say, we will go to our outward be-  
‘ ing, if the Lord permit, or if it be the will of God;” and  
‘ because we cannot say these words in this case, shall not  
‘ have our liberty, when we know that the will of God is,  
‘ we shall “ go to speak at some other place:” here we can-  
‘ not say these words truly. For to say, “ We will go to  
‘ our outward habitation, if it be according to the will of  
‘ God,” when we know the will of God is otherwise; we  
‘ cannot speak so, truly and clearly. Neither can any man say  
‘ so to him, that requires it of him; who stands in the pow-  
‘ er, and knows the power of God to lead him, according to  
‘ God’s will, and it leads him to another place than his out-  
‘ ward home. But the Son of God, who came to do and  
‘ did the will of God, had no place whereon to lay his head:  
‘ and the apostles, and many of the followers of Christ, had  
‘ no certain dwelling-place. Now if these should have been  
‘ restrained, because they could not say they would go to  
‘ their outward homes, if it were the will of God, when  
‘ they knew it was the will of God they should not, and  
‘ they could not do the will of God in doing so, and there-  
‘ fore could not speak those words to satisfy man’s mind and  
‘ will, would not such restraint have been evil? Abraham  
‘ could not do the will of God, but in going from his native  
‘ country; and who are of faith are of Abraham. of whom  
‘ Christ came according to the flesh. Now, if you allege,  
‘ “ This is to let all loose and at liberty to idleness,” I say,  
‘ No: such as are in the power of God, who do the will of  
‘ God, come to receive his wisdom, by which all his crea-  
‘ tures were created, and by which they are used to his glo-  
‘ ry. This I shall say, whoever are moved by the Lord  
‘ God of glory and power to go to their outward habitati-  
‘ ons, such of us may go to our outward homes; and there  
‘ be diligent in serving the Lord, that they may be a bles-  
‘ sing from God in their generation; diligently serving him  
‘ in life and doctrine, in manners, in conversation, in all  
‘ things. And who are moved of the Lord to go to any  
‘ other place, we standing in his will, and being moved by  
‘ his power, which comprehends all things, and is not to be  
‘ limited, we shall do his will which we are commanded to



do. So the Lord God open your understandings, that you may see this great power of the Lord, which he is now manifesting among his children in this his day; that ye may not withstand it in our friends, that are come into the power of God, and to God, and know him by whom the world was made, by whom all things were created that were created, and there was not any thing made but what was made for him, and to him, and by him; who is the power of God, and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world. Friends being come to this light which cometh from Christ, and having received power from him by whom all things were created, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, who is the wisdom of God; we have received wisdom and power from him, by which the Lord doth give us to know how to use and order the creatures to the glory of him, the Creator of all things. Friends here are taught of the Lord to be diligent, serving him; and who come into the life, the scriptures were given forth from, are given up to serve the Lord. Of this I have in all your consciences a witness. So, if thou open the prison-door, we shall not stay there. If thou send a liberate, and set us free, we shall not stay in prison; for Israel is to go out free, whose freedom is purchased by the power of God and the blood of Jesus. But who goeth out of the power of God loseth his freedom.

' The 13th of the 6th  
' month, 1656.'

' George Fox, and the rest  
' who are sufferers for  
' the truth in Lancel-  
' ton gaol.'

After this major Desborow came to the Castle-green, and played at bowls with the justices and others. Several friends were moved to go, and admonish them against spending time so vainly; desiring them to consider, ' That though they professed themselves to be christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God mean-while in prison; ' and also told them, ' The Lord would plead with them, and visit them for such things.' But notwithstanding what was wrote or said to him, he went away, and left us in prison. We understood afterwards that he left the business to colonel Bennet, who had the command of the gaol. For some time after Bennet would have set us at liberty, if we would have paid his gaol-

er's fees. But we answered, ' We could give the gaoler no  
' fees, for we were innocent sufferers ; how could they ex-  
' pect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully ?'  
After awhile colonel Bennet coming to town sent for us to  
an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused. At  
last the power of the Lord came so over him, that the thir-  
teenth of the seventh month, 1656, we were set at liberty.  
We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called  
the Lent-assize, in the spring of the year.

Observing while I was here prisoner how much the peo-  
ple (they especially who were called gentry) were addicted  
to pleasures and vain recreations, I was moved, before I left  
the place, to give forth several papers as a warning to them,  
and to all that so mispend their time. One of which was  
thus :

' This to go abroad among those, who are given to plea-  
' sures and wantonness.

' **T**HE sins of Sodom and Gomorrah were pride, ful-  
' ness of bread, and abundance of idleness. Their fil-  
' thy conversation vexed the righteous soul of just Lot day  
' by day, and they would not take warning ; on whom God  
' therefore sent fire, and turned them into ashes. And in  
' spiritual Sodom and Egypt was our Lord Jesus Christ  
' crucified ; and it is written, " The people sat down to eat  
' and to drink, and rose up to play ; with whom God was  
' not well pleased, and there fell three and twenty thousand  
' in one day." These the apostle commanded the saints  
' they should not follow ; for these things happened to  
' them for examples, and are written for our admonition.  
' God spared not the old world ; but reserving Noah, a  
' preacher of righteousness, brought the flood upon the world  
' of the ungodly, making them an example to all that after  
' should live ungodly. Mark, ye ungodly ones, who are  
' as natural brute beasts, who speak great swelling words of  
' vanity, alluring through the lusts of the flesh, through  
' much wantonness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in  
' the day-time, sporting yourselves with your own deceiv-  
' ings ; ye shall receive the reward of unrighteousness. Ye  
' are as dogs and swine turned to the vomit, and wallowing  
' in the mire, speaking evil of things that ye know not ; and  
' unless ye repent, ye shall utterly perish in your own cor-  
' ruptions. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and

‘ been wanton. Ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day  
 ‘ of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just, and  
 ‘ he doth not resist you. Go to, weep and howl for the mi-  
 ‘ sery that is coming upon you. She that liveth in plea-  
 ‘ sures, is dead while she liveth. God condemned the ci-  
 ‘ ties of Sodom and Gomorrah, making them an example to  
 ‘ all those that after should live ungodly, in the wicked, fil-  
 ‘ thy conversation: mark, here is your example. Hear  
 ‘ this, ye that are given to pleasures, and read your exam-  
 ‘ ples. G. F.’

Another, upon my taking notice of the bowlers that came to sport in the Castle-green, was as followeth:

‘ **T**HE word of the Lord to all you vain and idle mind-  
 ‘ ed people, who are lovers of sports, pleasures, foolish  
 ‘ exercises, and recreations, as you call them; consider of  
 ‘ your ways, what it is you are doing. Was this the end of  
 ‘ your creation? Did God make all things for you, and you  
 ‘ to serve your lusts and pleasures? Did not the Lord make  
 ‘ all things for you, and you for himself, to fear and wor-  
 ‘ ship him in spirit and in truth, in righteousness and true  
 ‘ holiness? But where is your service of God, so long as  
 ‘ your hearts run after lusts and pleasures? ye cannot serve  
 ‘ God and the foolish pleasures of the world, as bowling,  
 ‘ drinking, hunting, hawking, and the like. If these have  
 ‘ your hearts, God will not have your lips. Consider, for  
 ‘ it is true. Therefore from the Lord must you all witness  
 ‘ wo and misery, tribulation and wrath, who continue in  
 ‘ the love and practice of your vain sports, lusts, and plea-  
 ‘ sures. Now is the day, when all every-where are exhort-  
 ‘ ed to repentance. O foolish people, wicked and slow of  
 ‘ heart to believe the threatenings of the great Jehovah  
 ‘ against the wicked! What will you do in the day of the  
 ‘ Lord’s fierce wrath, that makes haste to come upon the  
 ‘ world of ungodly men! What good have your foolish  
 ‘ sports and delights done you, now they are past? Or what  
 ‘ good will they do you, when the Lord calls for your souls?  
 ‘ Therefore all now awake from sleep, and see where you  
 ‘ are; and let the light of Jesus Christ, that shines in every  
 ‘ one of your consciences, search you thoroughly, and it  
 ‘ will let you clearly see, for all your profession of God,  
 ‘ Christ, and the scriptures, you are ignorant of them, and  
 ‘ enemies to them all, and your own souls also; and being

‘ found living in pleasures, you are dead while you live.  
 ‘ Therefore doth the Lord by many messengers forewarn  
 ‘ you; and calls you to repentance and deep humiliation;  
 ‘ that you may forsake the evil of your doings, own this day  
 ‘ of your visitation, and while you have time prize it; lest  
 ‘ the things which belong to your peace be hid from your  
 ‘ eyes for your disobedience and rebellion against the Holy  
 ‘ One. And then it had been good that you never had been  
 ‘ born: repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. A-  
 ‘ gain I say, Repent!

‘ To the bowlers  
 ‘ in the green.’

‘ Given forth in Lancelton-  
 ‘ gaol, in Cornwall.’

Being released, we got horses, rid towards Humphry Lower's, and met him upon the road. He told us, ‘ He  
 ‘ was much troubled in his mind concerning us, and could  
 ‘ not rest at home; but was going to colonel Bennet to seek  
 ‘ our liberty.’ When we told him, ‘ We were set at liber-  
 ‘ ty, and were going to his house;’ he was exceeding glad.  
 To his house we went, and had a fine, precious meeting;  
 many were convinced, and turned by the Spirit of the Lord  
 to the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

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

After we had tarried there two or three days, we came  
 to Thomas Mounce's, where we had a general meeting for  
 the whole county; which, being very large, was held in his  
 orchard. Friends from Plymouth were there, and from  
 many places. The Lord's power was over all, and a great  
 conviction there was in many parts of the county.  
 Their watches were down, and all was plain and open; for  
 the Lord had let me see, before I was at liberty, that he  
 would make all the country plain before us. Thomas and  
 Ann Curtis, with an alderman of Reading who was con-  
 vinced, had come to Lancelton to see us while I was pri-  
 soner; and when Ann and the other man returned, Thomas  
 Curtis staid behind in Cornwall, and had good service for  
 the Lord at that time.

From Thomas Mounce's we passed to Lancelton again,  
 and visited the little remnant of friends that had been raised  
 up there while we were in prison; and the Lord's plants

grew finely, and were established on Christ, their rock and foundation. As we were going out of town again, the constable of Lancelton came running to us with the cheese that had been taken from Edward Pyot; which they had kept from us all this while, and were troubled with it. But we, being now at liberty, would not receive it.

From Lancelton we came to Okington; and lay at an inn, which the mayor of the town kept. He had stopped and taken up several friends, but was very civil to us; and was convinced in his judgment.

From thence we came to Exeter, where many friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised up a great darkness in the nation.\* He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. From thence he was coming to Lancelton, to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there; whose blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

The night that we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Nayler: for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being first-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good friend. The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, 'Since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his shew of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him.' So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst friends to war against. I admonished him and his company. When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But

\* James Nayler was a monument of human frailty. His gift in the ministry was eminent; his experience in divine things truly great. He fell through unwatchfulness, but was restored through deep sufferings and unfeigned repentance. His own writings are the most clear and lively description of the various dispensations he underwent: some of them deserve to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to truth again: as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.

We passed from Exeter through Cullumpton and Taunton, visiting friends; and had meetings amongst them. From thence we came to Puddimoor, to William Beaton's; where on a first-day we had a very large meeting. A great convincement there was up and down that country; many meetings we had, and the Lord's power was over all; many were turned, by the power and Spirit of God, to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and came to sit under his free teaching.

From thence we went to John Dando's, where we had another precious meeting. The Lord's power was over all, and many were convinced of God's eternal truth. Some contention was raised by professors and Baptists, in some places; but the Lord's power came over them. From thence we came to Edward Pyot's, near Bristol. It was the seventh-day at night that we came thither. It was quickly noised over the town that I was come. I had never been there before.

On first-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol; which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard. There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had used before to make great disturbance in our meetings; being encouraged by the mayor, who, as was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people would he gather after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going into the orchard, the people told me, That Paul Gwin, the rude, jangling Baptist, was going to the meeting. I bid them, 'Never heed; it was nothing to me, who went to it.' When I was come into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that friends used to stand on when they spoke: and was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to stand a pretty while; and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at last, 'Ye wife men of Bristol,' said he, 'I strange at you that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which

‘ he cannot make good.’ Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word) and I asked the people, ‘ Whether they ever heard me speak : or ever saw me before ?’ And bid them ‘ take notice what kind of man this was that should so impudently say amongst them, that I spoke and affirmed that which I could not make good ; and yet neither he nor they ever heard me or saw me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spoke in him ; and it was of the devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent ; and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company. A glorious, peaceable meeting we had ; the word of life was divided amongst them ; and they were turned from darkness to light, and to Jesus their Saviour. The scriptures were largely opened to them ; and the traditions, rudiments, ways, and doctrines of men were laid open before the people, and they were turned to the light of Christ, that with it they might see them, and see him to lead them out of them. I opened also to them the types, figures, and shadows of Christ in the time of the law ; and shewed them, That Christ was come, and had ended the types, shadows, tythes, and oaths, and put down swearing, and had set yea and nay instead of it, and a free ministry : for he was now come to teach people himself, and his heavenly day was springing from on high.’ For many hours did I declare the word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God ; that by him they might come up into the beginning and be reconciled to him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God ; and the Lord’s power came over all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again ; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. The meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord’s power and glory shined over all : a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise. After awhile this Paul Gwin went beyond sea ; and many years after, I met with him again at Barbadoes : of which in its place.

From Bristol we returned to Edward Pyot’s, where we had a great meeting. The Lord’s power was over all, truth was declared and spread abroad, and many were turn-

ed to Christ Jesus, their life, their Prophet to teach them, their Shepherd to feed them, and their Bishop to oversee them. After the meeting I had reasoning with some professors; and the Lord's truth and power came over them.

From Edward Pyot's we passed to Slattenford, where we had a very large meeting (Edward Pyot and another friend being still with me;) and a great turning of people there was to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher. People were glad that they were brought to know their way, their free teacher, and their Saviour Christ Jesus.

The first-day following we went to Nathaniel Crips's house, who had been a justice of peace in Wiltshire; where it was supposed between two and three thousand people were at a meeting, and all was quiet. 'The mighty power of God was manifest, and people were turned to the grace and truth in their hearts, that came by Jesus Christ, which would teach them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present world. So that every man and woman might know the grace of God, which had appeared to all men, which was saving, and sufficient to bring their salvation. This teacher, the grace of God, would teach them how to live, what to do, and what to deny: it would season their words, and establish their hearts. This was a free teacher to every one of them: so that they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Christ, by whom it came; who hath ended the prophets, and the priests that took tythes, and the Jewish temple. And as for these hireling priests that take tythes now, and their temples (which priests were made at schools and colleges of man's setting up, and not by Christ) they, with all their inventions, were to be denied. For the apostles denied the true priesthood and temple, which God had commanded, after Christ had put an end thereto. The scriptures, and the truths therein contained, were largely opened, and the people turned to the Spirit of God in their hearts; that by it they might be led into all truth, understand the scriptures, know God and Christ, and come to have unity with them, and one with another in the same Spirit.' The people went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their Teacher and Saviour.

The next day we went to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting. The sessions being held that day, they were granting a warrant to send for me; but justice Stooks,



being at the sessions, stopped them, telling them there was a meeting at his house yesterday, at which were several thousands. So the warrant was stopped, our meeting was quiet; and several received Christ Jesus their teacher, and came into the new covenant, and abode in it.

From hence we went to Newbury, where we had a large blessed meeting; several were convinced. Thence we passed to Reading, where we had a large, precious meeting in the Lord's power amongst the plants of God. Many of other professions came in, were reached, and added to the meeting. All was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all. We went from Reading to Kingston upon Thames, where a few came to us that were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ: but since it is become a large meeting.

Leaving Kingston, we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park, we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them, espied the protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coach side. Some of his life-guard would have put me away; but he forbade them. So I rode by his coach side with him, 'declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his condition, and of the sufferings of friends in the nation; shewing him, how contrary this persecution was to Christ and his apostles, and to christianity.' When we were come to James's Park Gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day, one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came to me at my lodging, and told me, Her master came to her, and said, he would tell her some good news. When she asked him, What it was? He told her, George Fox was come to town. She replied, That was good news indeed (for she had received truth) but she said, She could hardly believe him; till he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall; and when we came before him, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was with him. We were moved to speak to Oliver Cromwel concerning the sufferings of friends, and laid them before him: and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. He said, It was a natural light; but we shewed him the contrary; and manifested that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ the spiritual and heavenly man; and that which was called the

‘ life in Christ the Word, was called the light in us. The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus.’ Several times I spoke to him to the same effect. I was standing by the table, and he came and sat upon the table’s side by me, saying, He would be as high as I was: and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord’s power came over him, so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, ‘ I never parted so from them before:’ for he was judged in himself.

After he had left us, as we were going out, many great persons came about us; one of them began to speak against the light, and against the truth; and I was made to slight him, for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Whereupon one of them told me he was the major-general of Northamptonshire. ‘ What!’ said I, ‘ our old persecutor, that has persecuted and sent so many of our friends to prison, and is a shame to christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with thee,’ said I. So I was moved to speak sharply to him of his unchristian carriages; and he slunk away: for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

After I had visited the meetings of friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot was with me; and in several places in that county many received the truth. Great meetings we had, and the Lord’s power was eminently manifested. I passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire into Lincolnshire. After several meetings in Lincolnshire, I had at last a meeting, where two knights, one called Sir Richard Wrey, the other Sir John Wrey, with their wives, were at the meeting. One of their wives was convinced, received the truth, and died in it. When the meeting was done, we passed away; and it being in the evening, and dark, a company of wild fering men encompassed me about, with intent, as I apprehended, to have done me some mischief. But I spoke aloud to them, and asked, ‘ What are ye? highwaymen? Whereupon some friends and friendly people behind came up to us, and knew some of them. So I reprov’d them for their uncivil and rude carriage, exhorted them to fear God, and the Lord’s power came over them, and stopped their mischievous design; blessed be his name for ever.

Then I turned into Huntingdonshire. The mayor of

Huntingdon came to visit me, and was very loving, and his wife received the truth.

Thence I passed into Cambridgeshire, and into the Fen Country; where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth spread. Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln) Amor Stoddart, and Alexander Parker were with me. We went to Crowland, a very rude place; for the town's people were got together at the inn we went to, and were half drunk, both priest and people. 'I reprov'd them for their drunkenness, and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all the wicked; exhorting them to leave their drunkenness, and turn to the Lord in time.' Whilst I was thus speaking to them, and shewing the priest the fruits of his ministry, the priest and the clerk broke out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire-shovel at us; so that had not the Lord's power preserved us, we might have been murdered amongst them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then; and have stood in it ever since.

From thence we passed to Boston, where most of the chief of the town came to our inn, and the people seemed to be much satisfied. But there was a raging man in the yard; and Robert Craven was moved to speak to him, and told him, He shamed christianity; which, with some few other words, so stopped the man, that he went away quiet. Some were convinced there also.

Thus we had large meetings up and down; for I travelled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting friends; and then going into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, among friends. I had a meeting at Edge-hill. There came to it Ranters, Baptists, and several sorts of rude people; for I had sent word about three weeks before, to have a meeting there; so that hundreds of people were gathered, and many friends came from far to it. The Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all; rude and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, by his power and Spirit, who came to sit under his blessed free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal, heavenly food. All was peaceable; the people passed quietly away, and some of them said, It was a mighty, powerful meeting: for the presence of the Lord was felt, and his power and Spirit amongst them.

From hence I passed to Warwick, and to Bagley; hav-

ing precious meetings. From thence into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, and great meetings we had up and down, as we travelled. Then I went to colonel Grimes's, where was a very large meeting; and from thence to Nathaniel Crips's, where came another justice to the meeting, who was also convinced. At Cirencester also we had a meeting, which is much increased; so we came to Evesham again, where I met John Camm.

Thus having travelled over most part of the nation, I returned to London, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Lancaster gaol, I was moved of the Lord to travel over most parts of the nation (the truth being now spread, and finely planted in most places) that I might answer, and remove out of the minds of people some objections, which envious priests and professors had raised and spread concerning us. For, what Christ said of false prophets and antichrists coming in the last days, that they applied to us; and said, We were they.

Therefore was I moved to open this through the nation, and to shew, ' That they, who said we were the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, that should come in the ' last days, were indeed themselves they. For when Christ ' told his disciples in the viith and xxivth of Matthew, that ' false prophets and antichrists should come in the last times, ' and; if it were possible, should deceive the very elect, he ' said, " By their fruits ye shall know them : for they should " be inwardly ravening wolves, having the sheeps cloathing." " And," said he, " do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of " thistles?" as much as to say, Their nature and spirit should ' be like a thorn, or like a thistle; and he bids his disciples ' not go after them. But before the disciples were deceased, ' the antichrists, false prophets, and deceivers were come. ' For John in his first epistle said, " Little children, it is " the last time; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall " come, even now are there many antichrists, whereby we " know that it is the last time." So here, as Christ said to ' his disciples, They should come; the disciples saw they ' were come: as may be seen at large in Peter, Jude, John, ' and other places of scripture; " whereby," says John, ' we know it is the last time:" and this last time began above ' sixteen hundred years since. John said " They went out " from us;" the false prophets, antichrists, seducers, and

deceivers, went out from the church; "But you," said he to the church, "have an anointing which abideth in you; and you need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things; and as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." Christ said to his disciples, "Go not after them, for they are inwardly ravening wolves;" and John exhorts the faints to the anointing within them; and the rest of the apostles exhort the churches to the grace, the light, the truth, the Spirit, the word of faith, and to Christ in their hearts, the hope of glory. Christ told the faints, that the Spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, should be their leader into all truth; and Jude exhorts the church to "pray in the Holy Ghost," and "to be built up in their most holy faith, which Christ was the author of." Christ, by his servant John, exhorted the seven churches to hear what the Spirit said to the churches;" and this was an inward spiritual hearing. Christ says, the inwardly ravening wolves should have the sheeps cloathing. Paul speaks of some in his time that had a form of godliness, but denied the power. John said, "They went out from us." Jude said, "They go in Cain's way, and in Balaam's and Corah's way." By all which it may be clearly seen, that the false prophets and antichrists, which Christ foretold should come, the apostles saw were come; and in their day the last time was begun. These went from them into the world, and the world went after them! These were the fore-men, the leaders of the world, that brought them into a form of godliness, but inwardly ravened from the power and Spirit! These have the sheeps cloathing, the words of Christ, of the prophets, and of the apostles; but are inwardly ravened from the power and Spirit that they were in who gave forth the scriptures. These have made up the beast, and the whore! These have gotten the dragon's power, the murdering, destroying, persecuting power! And these are they that the world wonders after! These have drunk the blood of the martyrs, prophets, and faints, and persecuted the true church into the wilderness! These have set up the false, compelling worships, and have drunk the blood of the faints, that will not drink of their cup! These have made the cage for the unclean birds, that have their several unclean notes in their cage; which cage is made up by the power of darknes, and unclean ghost: and the birds of the cage deny the Holy Ghost, and the

' power of God, which the apostles were in, to be now  
 ' manifested in the saints! Thus since Christ said, the false  
 ' prophets and antichrists should come, and the apostle  
 ' said, They were come, the beast's and the dragon's wor-  
 ' ship hath been set up; the whore is got up with her false  
 ' prophets, her cage hath been made, all nations have  
 ' drunk of her cup of fornication, the blood of the martyrs  
 ' and saints they have drunk, and the true church hath fled  
 ' into the wilderness. All this since the apostles days. Yet  
 ' the blind deceivers of all sorts, the antichrists and false  
 ' prophets of our age, would make us and people believe  
 ' that the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers are come  
 ' but now; though John and other of the apostles tell us,  
 ' they began to come above sixteen hundred years ago.  
 ' And ye may see what work and confusion they have made  
 ' in the world; how much blood these Cains have drunk,  
 ' that went in Cain's way: which blood cries to God for  
 ' vengeance upon Christendom! And how these Balaams,  
 ' who have erred from the power of the Spirit which the  
 ' apostles were in, have coveted after other men's estates,  
 ' the many gaols, courts, and spoiling of goods will bear  
 ' witness. And how these Corahs have gainfayed the life,  
 ' power, and spirit which the apostles and true church were  
 ' in, and the free teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and  
 ' the work of their ministry, which was "to present every  
 " man perfect in Christ Jesus," hath been evident.

' Therefore in the name and power of the Lord Jesus was  
 ' I sent to preach again the everlasting gospel, which had  
 ' been preached before unto Abraham, and in the apostles  
 ' days; and was to go over all nations, and to be preached  
 ' to every creature. For as the apostacy hath gone over all  
 ' nations since the apostles days, so that the nations are be-  
 ' come as waters, unstable, being gone from Christ, the  
 ' foundation; so must the gospel, the power of God, go  
 ' over all nations again. We find the false prophets, anti-  
 ' christs, deceivers, whore, false church, beast, and his wor-  
 ' ship in the dragon's power, have got up in the times betwixt  
 ' the apostles and us. For Christ said, "They should  
 " come:" and the apostles saw, "They were come," and  
 ' coming in their days; and that they went forth from them,  
 ' and the world went after them. And now hath the Lord  
 ' raised us up beyond them, and set us over them in the  
 ' everlasting gospel, the power of God: that as all have been  
 ' darkened by the beasts, whore, false prophets, and anti-

‘ christs, so the everlasting gospel may be preached again by  
‘ us to all nations, and to every creature, which will bring  
‘ life and immortality to light in them, that they may see  
‘ over the devil and his false prophets, antichrists, seducers  
‘ and deceivers, and over the whore and beast, and to that  
‘ which was before they were. This message of the glorious,  
‘ everlasting gospel was I sent forth to declare and publish,  
‘ and thousands by it are turned to God, having received it ;  
‘ and are come into subjection to it, and into the holy order  
‘ of it. And since I have declared this message in this part  
‘ of the world and in America, and have written books of  
‘ the same, to spread it universally abroad, the blind pro-  
‘ phets, preachers, and deceivers have given over telling us,  
‘ the false prophets should “ come in the last times ;” for a  
‘ great light is sprung up and shines over their heads : so that  
‘ every child in truth sees the folly of their sayings.

‘ Then they got other objections against us, and invented  
‘ shifts to save themselves from truth’s stroke. For when we  
‘ blamed them for taking tithes, which came from the tribe of  
‘ Levi, and were set up here by the Romish church, they  
‘ would plead, “ That Christ told the scribes and pharisees,  
“ they ought to pay tithes of mint, anise, and cummin,  
“ though they neglected the weightier matters :” and that  
‘ Christ said, “ the scribes and pharisees sat in Moses’s seat,  
“ therefore all that they bid you do, that do and observe.”  
‘ And when we told them they were envious persecuting  
‘ priests, they would reply, “ That some preached Christ  
“ of envy, and some of contention, and some of good-will.”  
‘ Now these scriptures and others such-like they would bring  
‘ to darken the minds of their hearers, and to persuade them  
‘ and us, “ That we ought to do as they say, though they  
“ themselves were like the pharisees ; and that we should re-  
“ joice when envious men and men of strife preached Christ ;  
“ and that we should give them the tithes as the Jews did to  
“ the tribe of Levi.” These were fair glosses ; here was a  
‘ great heap of husks, but no kernel. Now this was their  
‘ blindness ; for the Levitical priesthood Christ hath ended,  
‘ and disannulled the commandment that gave them tithes,  
‘ and the law by which those priests were made. Christ did  
‘ not come after that order, neither did he send forth his mi-  
‘ nisters after that order ; for those of that order were to take  
‘ tithes for their maintenance, but his ministers he sent forth  
‘ freely. And as for hearing the pharisees and the Jews pay-  
‘ ing tithes of mint, anise, and cummin, that was before

‘ Christ was sacrificed and offered up; the Jews were then  
 ‘ to do the law, and perform their offerings and sacrifices  
 ‘ which the Jewish priests did teach them. But after Christ  
 ‘ was offered up, he bid them then, “ Go into all nations  
 ‘ and preach the gospel; and lo,” said he, “ I will be with  
 ‘ you to the end of the world;” and in another place he  
 ‘ saith, “ I will be in you.” He did not bid them go to  
 ‘ hear the pharisees then, and pay tithe of mint, anise, and  
 ‘ cummin then; but “ Go, preach the gospel, and believe  
 ‘ in the Lord Jesus and be saved, and receive the gospel,”  
 ‘ which would bring people off from the Jews, the tithes,  
 ‘ the Levitical law, and the offerings thereof, to Christ, the  
 ‘ one Offering, made once for all. O what work had the  
 ‘ apostle both with the Galatians and the Romans to bring  
 ‘ them off the law to the faith in Christ!

‘ And as for the apostle’s saying, “ Some preached Christ  
 ‘ of envy and strife,” &c. That was at the first spreading  
 ‘ of Christ’s name abroad, when they were in danger not on-  
 ‘ ly to be cast out of the synagogues, but to be stoned to  
 ‘ death, that confessed to the name of Jesus; as may be seen  
 ‘ by the uproars that were among the Jews and Diana’s  
 ‘ worshippers at the preaching of Christ. So the apostle  
 ‘ might well rejoice if the envious, and men of strife and  
 ‘ contention did preach Christ at that time; though they  
 ‘ thought thereby to add affliction to his bonds. But af-  
 ‘ terward, when Christ’s name was spread abroad, and ma-  
 ‘ ny had got a form of godliness, but denied the power  
 ‘ thereof, “ Envious, proud, contentious men, men of strife,  
 ‘ covetous men, teachers for filthy lucre,” the apostle com-  
 ‘ manded the saints to turn from, and not to have any fel-  
 ‘ lowship with them. And the deacons and ministers were  
 ‘ first to be proved, to see if they were in the power of  
 ‘ godliness, and the Holy Ghost made them overseers and  
 ‘ preachers. So it may be seen how the priests have abus-  
 ‘ ed these scriptures for their own ends, and have wrested  
 ‘ them to their own destruction, to justify envious, conten-  
 ‘ tious men, and men of strife. Whereas the apostle says,  
 ‘ “ The man of God must be patient, and apt to teach;”  
 ‘ and they were to follow Christ, as they had them for  
 ‘ their examples. The apostle indeed was very tender to  
 ‘ people, while he saw them walk in simplicity, as in the  
 ‘ case of those that were scrupulous about meats and days;  
 ‘ but when the apostle saw, that some drew them into the  
 ‘ observation of days, and to settle in such things, he then



' reproves them sharply, and asks them, " Who had be-  
 ' witched them?" So in the case of marrying he was ten-  
 ' der, lest their minds should be drawn from the Lord's  
 ' joining; but when they came to forbid marriage, and to  
 ' set up rules for meats and drinks, he called it a " doctrine  
 ' of devils," and an " erring from the true faith." So also  
 ' he was tender concerning circumcision, and in tenderness  
 ' suffered some to be circumcised; but when he saw they  
 ' went to make a sect of it, and to set up circumcision as a  
 ' standing practice, he told them plainly, " If they were  
 ' circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing." In like  
 ' manner he was tender concerning the baptizing with  
 ' water; but when he saw they began to make sects about  
 ' it, some crying up Paul, others Apollos, he judged them,  
 ' and called them carnal, and thanks God he had baptized  
 ' no more but such and such; declaring plainly, that he  
 ' was sent to preach the gospel, and not to baptize; and  
 ' brought them to the one baptism by the one spirit, into  
 ' the one body which Christ, the spiritual man, is the head  
 ' of; and exhorted the church, " all to drink into that one  
 ' Spirit." For he asserted in the church the one faith,  
 ' which Christ was the author of; and one baptism, which  
 ' was that of the Spirit into the one body; and one Lord  
 ' Jesus Christ, who was the spiritual baptizer, who John  
 ' said should come after him. And further the apostle de-  
 ' clared, that they, who worshipped and served God in the  
 ' Spirit, were of the circumcision of the Spirit, which was  
 ' " not made with hands;" by which the " body of the sins  
 ' of the flesh was put off:" which circumcision Christ is  
 ' the minister of.

' Another great objection they had, " That the Quakers  
 ' " denied the sacrament," as they called it, " of bread and  
 ' " wine, which" they said, " they were to take, and do in re-  
 ' " membrance of Christ to the end of the world." A great  
 ' deal of work we had with the priests and professors about  
 ' this, and about the several modes of receiving it in Christ-  
 ' endom, so called: for some of them take it kneeling, some  
 ' sitting; but none of them all, that ever I could find, take  
 ' it as the disciples took it. For they took it in a chamber  
 ' after supper; but these generally take it before dinner;  
 ' and some say, after the priest hath blessed it, it is " Christ's  
 ' " body." But as to the matter, Christ said, " Do this in  
 ' " remembrance of me." He did not tell them how oft they  
 ' should do it, or how long; neither did he enjoin them to

' do it always as long as they lived, or that all believers in  
 ' him should do it to the world's end. The apostle Paul,  
 ' who was not converted till after Christ's death, tells the  
 ' Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which  
 ' he delivered unto them concerning this matter, and relates  
 ' Christ's words concerning the cup thus; "This do ye," as  
 ' oft as ye drink it, "in remembrance of me:" and himself  
 ' adds, "For [as often as] ye do eat this bread, and drink  
 ' this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come." So  
 ' according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ  
 ' nor he did enjoin people to do this always, but leaves it  
 ' to their liberty, ["as oft as ye drink it," &c.] The Jews  
 ' did use to take a cup, and to break bread and divide it  
 ' among them in their feasts; as may be seen in the Jewish  
 ' Antiquities; so the breaking of bread and drinking of  
 ' wine were Jewish rites, which were not to last always.  
 ' They did also baptize with water, which made it not seem  
 ' a strange thing to them, when John the Baptist came with  
 ' his decreasing ministration of water-baptism. But as to  
 ' the bread and wine, after the disciples had taken it, some  
 ' of them questioned whether Jesus was the Christ? For  
 ' some of them said, after he was crucified, "We trusted  
 ' that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel,"  
 ' &c. And though the Corinthians had the bread and wine,  
 ' and were baptized in water, the apostle told them they  
 ' were "reprobates, if Christ was not in them;" and bid  
 ' them "examine themselves." And as the apostle said,  
 ' "As oft as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do  
 ' shew forth the Lord's death [till he come;]" so Christ  
 ' had said before that he was the "bread of life," which  
 ' "came down from heaven;" and that "he would come,  
 ' "and dwell in them;" which the apostles did witness ful-  
 ' filled; and exhorted others to seek for that which "comes  
 ' "down from above:" but the outward bread and wine,  
 ' and water, are not from above, but from below. Now ye  
 ' that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remem-  
 ' brance of Christ's death, and have your fellowships in that,  
 ' will ye come no nearer to Christ's death than to take bread  
 ' and wine in remembrance of it? After ye have eaten in  
 ' remembrance of his death, ye must come into his death,  
 ' and die with him, as the apostles did, if ye will live with  
 ' him. This is a nearer and further advanced state, to be  
 ' with him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take  
 ' bread and wine in remembrance of it. You must have

' fellowship with Christ in his sufferings; if ye will reign  
' with him, ye must suffer with him; if ye will live with  
' him, ye must die with him; and if ye die with him, ye  
' must be buried with him; and being buried with him in  
' the true baptism, ye also rise with him. Then having suf-  
' fered with him, died with him, and been buried with him,  
' if ye are risen with Christ, "seek those things which are  
' above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God."  
' Eat the bread which comes down from above, which is  
' not outward bread; and drink the cup of salvation which  
' he gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine.  
' And then there will not be a looking at the things that  
' are seen (as outward bread and wine and water are:) for,  
' as says the apostle, "The things that are seen are tempo-  
' ral, but the things that are not seen are eternal." So here  
' are many states and conditions to be gone through before  
' people come to see that, and partake of that which  
' cometh down from above." For first, There was "a  
' taking of the outward bread and wine in remembrance of  
' Christ's death." This was temporary, and not of neces-  
' sity; but at their liberty, "As oft as ye do it," &c. Se-  
' condly, There must be "a coming into his death, a suf-  
' fering with Christ;" and this is of necessity to salvation;  
' and not temporary, but continual: there must be "a  
' dying daily." Thirdly, "a being buried with Christ."  
' Fourthly, "a rising with Christ." Fifthly, After they  
' are risen with Christ, then "a seeking those things which  
' are above, a seeking the bread that comes down from hea-  
' ven," and a "feeding on that and having fellowship in  
' that." For outward bread, wine, and water are from  
' below, and are visible and temporal; but, saith the apos-  
' tle, "We look not at things that are seen, for the things  
' that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen  
' are eternal." So the fellowship that stands in the use of  
' bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and  
' things seen will have an end: but the fellowship which  
' stands in the gospel, the power of God, which was before  
' the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light,  
' by which people may see over the devil that has darkened  
' them, this fellowship is eternal, and will stand. And all  
' that are in it seek that which is heavenly and eternal, which  
' comes down from above, and are settled in the eternal  
' mystery of the fellowship of the gospel, which is hid from  
' all eyes that look only at visible things. The apostle told

‘ the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread  
 ‘ and wine, that he “ desired to know nothing amongst  
 ‘ them, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.”

Thus were the objections which the priests and professors had raised against friends answered, and the stumbling-blocks they had laid in the way of the weak removed. And as things were thus opened, people came to see over them and through them, and to have their minds settled upon the Lord Jesus Christ, their free teacher: which was the service for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my imprisonment in Lancaster gaol. In this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for truth's testimony; some for tithes, some for going to the steeple-houses, some for contempts, as they called them, some for not swearing, and others for not putting off their hats, &c.

After I had visited most parts of the nation, and was come to London again, finding that evil spirit at work which had drawn J. N. and his followers out of the truth, to run friends into heats about him, I wrote a short epistle to friends, as followeth:

‘ **T**O all the elect seed of God called Quakers, where  
 ‘ the death is brought into death, and the elder is  
 ‘ servant to the younger, and the elect is known, which  
 ‘ cannot be deceived, but obtains victory. This is the  
 ‘ word of the Lord God to you all, Go not forth to the  
 ‘ aggravating part, to strive with it out of the power of  
 ‘ God, lest ye hurt yourselves, and run into the same na-  
 ‘ ture, out of the life. For patience must get the victory,  
 ‘ and to answer that of God in every one, which must bring  
 ‘ every one to it to bring them from the contrary. Let your  
 ‘ moderation, temperance, and patience be known unto all  
 ‘ men in the seed of God. For that which reacheth to the  
 ‘ aggravating part without life, sets up the aggravating part  
 ‘ and breeds confusion; and hath a life in outward strife,  
 ‘ but reacheth not to the witness of God in every one,  
 ‘ through which they might come into peace and covenant  
 ‘ with God, and fellowship one with another. Therefore  
 ‘ that which reacheth this witness of God in yourselves, and  
 ‘ in others, is the life and light; which will out-last all, is

‘ over all, and will overcome all. Therefore in the feed  
‘ of life live, which bruifeth the feed of death.

‘ G. F.’

I wrote another short epistle to friends, to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power; which here followeth :

‘ Dear friends,  
‘ **K** EEP your meetings in the power of the Lord; which  
‘ power is over all that which is in the fall and must  
‘ have an end. Therefore be wise in the wisdom of God,  
‘ which is from above, by which all things were made and  
‘ created; that that may be justified among you, and you  
‘ all kept in the solid life, which was before death was; and  
‘ in the light which was before darkness was with all its  
‘ works. In which light and life ye all may feel and have  
‘ heavenly unity and peace, possessing the gospel-fellowship  
‘ that is everlasting; which was before that which doth not  
‘ last for ever, and will remain when that is gone. For the  
‘ gospel being the power of God, is pure and everlasting.  
‘ Know it to be your portion; in which is stability, life,  
‘ and immortality, shining over that which darkens the  
‘ mortal. So be faithful every one to God in your mea-  
‘ sures of his power and life, that ye may answer God's  
‘ love and mercy to you, as obedient children of the Most  
‘ High; dwelling in love, unity, peace, and innocency of  
‘ heart towards one another; that God may be glorified in  
‘ you, and you kept faithful witnesses for him, and valiant  
‘ for the truth on earth. God Almighty preserve you all  
‘ to his glory, that ye may feel his blessing among you, and  
‘ that ye may be possessors thereof.

‘ G. F.’

About this time many mouths being opened in our meetings to declare the goodness of the Lord, some that were young and tender in the truth would sometimes utter a few words in thanksgiving and praises to God; that no disorder might arise from thence in our meetings. I was moved to write an epistle to friends by way of advice in that matter :

‘ **A** LL my dear friends in the noble feed of God, who  
‘ have known his power, life, and presence among

' you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life  
' break forth in any; through which ye have all unity in  
' the same, feeling life and power. And above all things  
' take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings,  
' except they be openly prophane or rebellious, such as are  
' out of the truth; that by the power, life, and wisdom ye  
' may stand over them, and by it answer the witnesses of God  
' in the world, that such, whom ye bear your testimony  
' against, are none of you: that therein the truth may stand  
' clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be  
' moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the seed  
' and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that; that is, the ten-  
' der. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it  
' in the meeting for peace and order's sake, and that the spi-  
' rits of the world be not moved against you. But when the  
' meeting is done, if any be moved to speak to them, be-  
' tween you and them, one or two of you that feel it in the  
' life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle  
' from above, for love is that which edifies, bears all things,  
' suffers long, and fulfils the law. In this ye have order  
' and edification, ye have wisdom to preserve you all wise  
' and in patience; which takes away the occasion of stumb-  
' ling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world  
' to get up: but in the royal seed, the heavy stone, ye keep  
' down all that is wrong, and by it answer that of God in all.  
' For ye will hear, see, and feel the power of God preach-  
' ing, as your faith is wholly in it (when ye do not hear  
' words) to bind, to chain, to limit, to frustrate, that no-  
' thing shall rise nor come forth but what is in the power;  
' with that ye will hold back, with that ye will let up and  
' open every spring, plant, and spark; in which will be  
' your joy and refreshment in the power of God. Ye that  
' know the power of God and are come to it, which is the  
' cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state that Adam  
' and Eve were in in the fall, and so to the world, by this  
' power of God ye come to see the state that Adam and Eve  
' were in before they fell: which power of God is the cross,  
' in which stands the everlasting glory, which brings up into  
' righteousness and holiness, the image of God, and cruci-  
' fies to unrighteousness and unholiness, the image of Satan,  
' that Adam and Eve and their sons and daughters are in  
' under the fall. Through this power of God ye come to  
' see the state they were in before they fell; yea, and I say,  
' to an higher state, to the Seed Christ, the Second Adam,

' by whom all things were made. For man hath been driv-  
' en from God. All Adam and Eve's fons and daughters,  
' being in the state of the fall in the earth, are driven from  
' God. But it is said, "The church is in God, the Father  
' of our Lord Jesus Christ:" so who come to the church,  
' which is in God the Father of Christ, they must come to  
' God again, out of the state that Adam and his children are  
' in in the fall, out of the image of God, out of righteous-  
' ness and holiness; and they must come into the righteous-  
' ness, into the true holiness, the image of God, and out  
' of the earth whither man hath been driven, when they  
' come to the church which is in God. The way to this is  
' Christ, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Saviour, the  
' Redeemer, the Sanctifier, and the Justifier, in and through  
' whose power, light, and life, conversion, regeneration,  
' and translation is known from death to life, from darknes  
' to light, and from the power of satan to God again. These  
' are members of the true church, who know the work of re-  
' generation in the operation and feeling of it; and being  
' come to be members of the church of God, they are indeed  
' members one of another in the power of God, which was  
' before the power of darknes was. So they that come to  
' the church that is in God and Christ, must come out of  
' the state that Adam was in in the fall, driven from God, to  
' know the state that he was in before he fell. But they  
' that live in the state that Adam was in in the fall, and can-  
' not believe a possibility of coming into the state he was in  
' before he fell, come not to the church which is in God;  
' but are far from that, are not passed from death to life, but  
' are enemies to the cross of Christ, which is the power of  
' God. For they mind earthly things, and serve not Christ;  
' nor love the power which should bring them up to the  
' state that Adam was in before he fell, and crucify them to  
' the state that man is in in the fall; that through this pow-  
' er they might see to the beginning, the power that man  
' was in before the heavenly image, holiness and righteous-  
' ness was lost: by which power they might come to know  
' the Seed, Christ, which brings out of the old things, and  
' makes all things new; in which life eternal is felt. For all  
' the poorness, emptiness, and barrenness is in the state that  
' man is in in the fall, out of God's power; by which  
' power he is made rich again, and in which power he hath  
' strength again: which power is the cross, in which the my-  
' stery of the fellowship stands; and in which is the true glo-

' rying, which crucifies to all other gloryings. And friends,  
 ' though ye may have been convinced, and have tasted of  
 ' the power, and felt the light, yet afterwards ye may feel a  
 ' winter-storm, tempest and hail, frost and cold, and tempt-  
 ' ation in the wilderneys. Be patient and still in the power  
 ' and in the light that doth convince you, to keep your  
 ' minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the  
 ' summer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye  
 ' sit still in the patience which overcomes in the power of  
 ' God, there will be no flying. The husbandman, after he  
 ' hath sown his seed, is patient. And ye by the power be-  
 ' ing kept in the patience, will come by the light to see  
 ' through and feel over winter-storms and tempests, and  
 ' all the coldness, barrenness, and emptiness: and the same  
 ' light and power will go over the tempter's head; which  
 ' power and light was before he was. So in the light stand-  
 ' ing still, ye will see your salvation, ye will see the Lord's  
 ' strength, ye will feel the small rain, ye will feel the fresh  
 ' springs, your minds being kept low in the power and  
 ' light: for that which is out of the power lifts up. But  
 ' in the power and light ye will feel God, revealing his  
 ' secrets, inspiring your minds, and his gifts coming in  
 ' unto you; through which your hearts will be filled with  
 ' God's love, and praises to him that lives for evermore;  
 ' for in his light and power his blessing is received. So in  
 ' that, the eternal power of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve  
 ' and keep you! Live every one in the power of God, that  
 ' ye may all come to be heirs of that, and know that to be  
 ' your portion; even the kingdom that hath no end, and  
 ' the endless life which the Seed is heir of. Feel that set  
 ' over all, which hath the promise, and blessing of God  
 ' for ever.

' G. F.'

' About this time I received some lines from a high-flown  
 professor, concerning the way of Christ; to which I return-  
 ed the following answer:

' Friend,

' **I**T is not circumstances we contend about; but the way  
 ' of Christ and his light, which are but one; though  
 ' the world hath imagined many ways, and all out of the  
 ' light, which by the light are condemned. He who preach-  
 ' ed this light, said, "He that knoweth God, heareth us;



“ he that is not of God, heareth us not : hereby know we  
“ the Spirit of truth, and the spirit of error.” It is the  
“ fame now with them that know the truth ; though the  
“ whole world lies in wickedness. All dispensations and  
“ differences that are not one in the light we deny ; and by  
“ the light, that was before separation, do we see them to  
“ be self-separations in the sensual, having not the Spirit.  
“ Their fruits and end are weighed in the even balance, and  
“ found to be in the dark, the Lo-here, and Lo-there thou  
“ tellest of ; and the presence of Christ is not with them,  
“ though the blind see it not ; who see not with the pure  
“ eye, which is single ; but with the many eyes, which lead  
“ into the many ways. Nor are any the people of God,  
“ but who are baptized into this principle of light ; which  
“ all the faithful servants of the Lord were ever guided by  
“ in all ages, since the apostacy and before. For the apo-  
“ stacy was and is from the light ; and all that oppose the  
“ light are apostates. Who contest against the truth, are  
“ enemies to it, and are not actuated by the Spirit ; but  
“ have another way than the light. All such are in the  
“ world, its words, fashions, and customs, though of several  
“ forms, as to their worship ; yet all under the god of  
“ this world, opposing the light and appearance of Christ,  
“ which should lead out from under his power, of what form  
“ soever they are ; yet are they all joined against the light.  
“ All these are of the world ; and fighting against them who  
“ are not of the world ; but are gathered and gathering out  
“ of the world : so it ever was against the people of God,  
“ under what name soever. They only are fains by calling,  
“ who are called into the light ; and sons of Sion, which  
“ vary not from the light, to which the Spirit is promised,  
“ which is not tied to any forms out of the light ; wherein  
“ all inherit, who are co-heirs with Christ ; which many talk  
“ of, who inherit the earthly, instead of the heavenly.  
“ And whereas thou speakest of Christ and his apostles cloth-  
“ ing themselves with the sayings and words of the prophets ;  
“ and of their being your example in so doing ; I say,  
“ wolves will take the sheep's cloathing ; but the light and  
“ life finds them out, and judges (not by their stolen words,  
“ but) by their works. Nor did Christ cover himself with  
“ any words, but what were fulfilled in him : neither do any  
“ of Christ's boast in other men's lines made ready without  
“ them ; to which rule if ye be obedient, fewer words and  
“ more life will be seen among you. Then ye will not

‘ count it straitness to silence the flesh ; and hear what he  
‘ faith, who speaks peace, “ that his people turn no more  
‘ to folly.” If ye once know, that what is stolen must be  
‘ restored fourfold ; the mouth of the false prophet will be  
‘ flopped, which builds up in deceit, but not in righteous-  
‘ nefs. And whereas thou sayest, “ The Spirit of truth  
‘ affords nothing but endless varieties ;” I say, the Spirit  
‘ of truth thou knowest not : for the Spirit of truth said,  
‘ “ There is but one thing needful ;” and to speak the same  
‘ thing again is safe for the hearers ; but that spirit which  
‘ affords nothing but endless varieties, is not the Spirit of  
‘ truth, but is gone out into curious notions ; and the num-  
‘ ber of his names and colours is read no-where but in the  
‘ unity of the Spirit of truth. All others call truth deceit, and  
‘ deceit truth, as the blind that opposed the light ever did,  
‘ who are ever learning endless varieties, but never able to  
‘ come to the knowledge of the truth, nor to an end of their  
‘ labours : but when they are out of one form get into ano-  
‘ ther, so long as they can find a green tree without. Thus  
‘ ye are kept at work all your life, and to the grave in sor-  
‘ row, as the dumb priests, thou tellest of, have been before  
‘ you ; only ye have got a finer image, but less life. And  
‘ thou, whose teaching hath no end, art in the horse-mill  
‘ thou speakest of. I have read the epistles to Timothy,  
‘ and to the Hebrews ; and there I find, the duty of all  
‘ believers is to see the law of the new covenant written in  
‘ the heart, whereby all may know God, from the least to  
‘ the greatest. I know the holy scriptures are profitable for  
‘ the man of God ; but what is that to the man of sin, to  
‘ the first-born, who is out of the light, and being unstable  
‘ and unlearned, wrest them to their own destruction ; but  
‘ to the life cannot come ? And for your two ordinances  
‘ thou speakest of, I say, upon the same account ye deny  
‘ the priests of the world therein, we deny you ; being both  
‘ of you not only out of the life, but out of the form too.  
‘ That command, Matt. xxviii. 19. ye never had, nor its pow-  
‘ er ; which was, “ To baptize into the name of the Father,  
‘ “ Son, and Holy Ghost.” What Paul received of the  
‘ Lord, that body and that bread, ye know as little of, but  
‘ what ye have found in the chapter ; nor of the coming of  
‘ Christ neither, who cannot believe his light. And where-  
‘ as thou speakest of preaching Christ of envy, and pleadest  
‘ for it ; I say, such preachers we have enough of in these  
‘ days. What else art thou doing, who sayest, Paul was

' sent to baptize; though Paul says, he was not: so thou  
 ' wouldest prove him a liar, if any would believe thee  
 ' before him. Thou sayest also, "For aught thou knowest,  
 ' he might baptize thousands." Thou mightest as easily  
 ' have said millions, and as soon have proved it. Thou  
 ' mayest say the same of circumcision also, and on the same  
 ' ground. As for the signs that followed those that believed,  
 ' which thou sayest are ceased; I say, they who cannot re-  
 ' ceive the light cannot see the signs, nor could believe them,  
 ' if they should see them to carp at; no more than formerly  
 ' they could do, who opposed the light in former ages.  
 ' They cannot properly be said to cease to such, who never  
 ' had them; but have only heard or read that others long  
 ' ago had them. But that the power, and signs, and pre-  
 ' sence of God is not the same that ever it was, in the mea-  
 ' sure wherein he is received in the light, that I deny; and  
 ' declare it to be false, and from a spirit that knows not God,  
 ' nor his power. And as for the gospel-foundation thou  
 ' speakest of, I say, it is to be laid again in all the world.  
 ' Ye never were on it, since the man of sin set up his forms  
 ' without power. Till ye can own the light of Christ,  
 ' which the saints preached, and their life and practice; for  
 ' shame, cease to talk of their foundation, or glorious work,  
 ' or quakings and tremblings, the saints experiences, which  
 ' the world knows not, nor can own: though ye cannot read  
 ' that ever any came aright to declare how they knew God,  
 ' or received his word, without them. In thy exhortation  
 ' thou biddest me, "Love Christ, wheresoever I see him."  
 ' But hadst thou told me where one might come to see him,  
 ' or how one might know him, thou hadst shewn more of a  
 ' christian in that than in all thou hast spoken. But it  
 ' seems, ye are not all of one mind. Some of you say,  
 ' "He is gone, and will be no more seen till doomsday."  
 ' But if ever ye come to see Christ to your comfort, while  
 ' ye oppose his light, then God hath not spoken by me.  
 ' This thou shalt remember, when thy time thou hast spent.

' G. F.'

Great opposition did the priests and professors make  
 about this time against the light of Christ Jesus, denying it  
 to be universally given; and against the pouring forth of  
 the Spirit, and sons and daughters prophesying thereby.  
 Much they laboured to darken the minds of people, that  
 they might keep them still in a dependence on their teach-

ing. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth the following lines, for the opening of the minds and understandings of people, and to manifest the blindness and darkness of their teachers.

‘ **T**O you professors, priests, and teachers, who are in  
 ‘ darkness, and know not the Spirit in prison, nor the  
 ‘ light that shines in darkness, which the darkness doth not  
 ‘ comprehend; but are as infidels, whom the god of the  
 ‘ world hath blinded, and to whom the gospel is hid. For  
 ‘ though ye have the four books, the gospel is hid to you;  
 ‘ who are now straining at the work of God, and do not  
 ‘ believe that Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh  
 ‘ into the world. To you I offer some scriptures to read,  
 ‘ which will prove your spirits, and try them, how contrary  
 ‘ they are to the apostles spirit, the Spirit of Christ and of  
 ‘ the saints. “ Christ went, and preached to the spirits in  
 ‘ prison,” 1 Pet. iii. 19. He that readeth, let him under-  
 ‘ stand whether this was a measure of the Spirit, yea or  
 ‘ nay, or the Spirit without measure, which he ministered  
 ‘ to? “ For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words  
 ‘ of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto  
 ‘ him,” Joh. iii. 34. Here Christ had not the Spirit given  
 ‘ unto him by measure. The apostle said, “ We will not  
 ‘ boast of things without (or beyond) our measure,” 2 Cor.  
 ‘ x. 13. So here was measure, and not by measure. Christ,  
 ‘ who received not the Spirit by measure, told his disciples  
 ‘ he would “ send them the Comforter, the Spirit of truth,  
 ‘ that he should guide them into all truth: for he should  
 ‘ not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that  
 ‘ shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come.  
 ‘ He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and  
 ‘ shew it unto you,” Joh. xvi. 13, 14. Mind, read, and  
 ‘ learn; the Comforter shall receive of mine, saith Christ,  
 ‘ and shall shew it unto you: who hath the measure, re-  
 ‘ ceives of his who hath not by measure. The Comforter,  
 ‘ when he comes, is to reprove the world of sin, of righte-  
 ‘ ousness, and of judgment, ver. 8. Now mind the great  
 ‘ work of God: the Spirit of truth, which leads the saints  
 ‘ into all truth, which receives of Christ’s, and shews it unto  
 ‘ the disciples, who are in the measure, he shall reprove  
 ‘ the world of sin, because they do not believe, &c. The  
 ‘ Comforter, whom Christ will send, takes of his, and shews  
 ‘ it to the disciples; the same reproves the world. Mind

‘ now, whether this be a measure, yea or nay, which comes  
 ‘ from him who received not the Spirit by measure? He  
 ‘ that leads the believer into all truth, reproves the unbe-  
 ‘ liever in the world, of sin, of righteousness, and of judg-  
 ‘ ment. He that is led into all truth, sees that which is re-  
 ‘ proved, by the Spirit of truth that leads him. Christ  
 ‘ saith, “ He shall take of mine, and shew it unto you.” Is  
 ‘ this a measure, yea or nay, from him whom God gave the  
 ‘ Spirit not by measure unto?

‘ Again the Lord said, both by his prophet, Joel ii. 28,  
 ‘ and his apostle, Acts ii. 17, 18. “ It shall come to pass  
 ‘ in the last days, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all  
 ‘ flesh, your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your  
 ‘ young men shall see visions, and your old men shall  
 ‘ dream dreams: and on my servants and on my hand-  
 ‘ maidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit, and  
 ‘ they shall prophesy.” Look, ye deceivers; here the  
 ‘ Lord saith, he will pour of his Spirit: mark the word of  
 ‘ the Lord’s Spirit upon all flesh. What! young men, old  
 ‘ men, sons and daughters, and maids, all these to have the  
 ‘ Spirit of God poured upon them? Here, say they, these  
 ‘ deny the means then. Nay, that’s the means. And the  
 ‘ great and notable day of the Lord is coming, wherein  
 ‘ it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the  
 ‘ name of the Lord shall be saved. The God of the spirits  
 ‘ of all flesh is known: and, saith the apostle, who would  
 ‘ not boast of things beyond his measure, “ That which  
 ‘ may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God  
 ‘ hath shewed it unto them,” Rom. i. 19. By this which  
 ‘ was of God manifest in them, they knew covetousness,  
 ‘ malice, murder, deceit, and ungodliness; knew that the  
 ‘ judgments of God were upon such things; and that they  
 ‘ were worthy of death; not only that did the same, but who  
 ‘ had pleasure in them that did them. Therefore, said the  
 ‘ apostle, “ the wrath of God is revealed from heaven  
 ‘ against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men,” &c.  
 ‘ Now this of God manifest in them, which God shewed unto  
 ‘ them, by which they know unrighteousness, and God’s judg-  
 ‘ ments thereupon, and that they which commit such things  
 ‘ are worthy of death; whether this be a measure, yea or nay,  
 ‘ which is of God, and which he hath shewed to them? What  
 ‘ was that in them, that “ did by nature the things cou-  
 ‘ tained in the law, which shewed the work of the law  
 ‘ written in their hearts,” Rom. ii. 14, 15. Mark, “ writ-

“ten:” shall not this judge them that have the outward law, but are out of the life of it? The apostle saith, “The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,” 1 Cor. xii. 7. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; the manifestation of it is given to “every man” to profit withal. Mark, “To one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit: to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit: to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.” Mark that, To every man severally as he will.

Again the apostle saith, “The grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world,” Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now ye that turn from this grace, which brings salvation, into lasciviousness, ye deny it, and say, that which teacheth the faints, who by grace are saved, hath not appeared to all men. Jude saith, “Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his faints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him,” ver. 15. Here mark again; him that cometh with ten thousands of his faints, to convince all of their ungodly deeds and hard speeches: here it is, ALL of their ungodly deeds; and ALL of their hard speeches; none left out, but ALL to be convinced and judged, the world reprovèd, by him who comes with ten thousands of his faints, and will reign, and be king and judge. And have not ye all something in you, that doth reprove you for your hard speeches, and your ungodly deeds, the ungodliest of you all, who live in your hard speeches against him, and against his light and spiritual appearance in his people.

Again, the apostle, writing to the Gentiles, saith, “But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ,” Ephes. iv. 7. Now mark, Here is the measure of the gift of Christ, “who lighteth every man that cometh into the world,” Joh. i. 9. “that

“all men through him might believe. He that believeth  
 “on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is  
 “condemned, &c. And this is the condemnation, that  
 “light is come into the world,” &c. Joh. iii. 18, 19. Now  
 ‘every man that cometh into the world being enlightened,  
 ‘one loveth it, and brings his deeds to the light, that with  
 ‘the light he may see whether they be wrought in God:  
 ‘the other hates the light, “because his deeds are evil;”  
 ‘he will not bring his deeds to the light, because he knows  
 ‘the light will reprove him. So he that hates the light,  
 ‘wherewith Christ hath enlightened him, knows the light  
 ‘will reprove him for his evil deeds; and therefore he will  
 ‘not come to the light.

‘Again, the Lord by his prophet saith concerning Christ,  
 “I will give him for a light to the Gentiles, that he may  
 “be my salvation to the ends of the earth,” Isa. xlix. 6.  
 ‘And what is that which the children, that walk according  
 ‘to the course of this world, according to the prince of the  
 ‘power of the air, the “spirit that now worketh in the  
 “children of disobedience,” Ephes. ii. 2. are disobedient  
 ‘to? Mark, and read yourselves, who, being disobedient,  
 ‘walk according to the course of this world, according to  
 ‘the prince of the power of the air; Mark, I say, what it  
 ‘is that all such are disobedient to? He that hath an ear,  
 ‘let him hear. The apostle saith to the Colossians, “The  
 “wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience,”  
 ‘Col. iii. 6. Come, ye professors, let us see, Is not this  
 ‘something of God that is disobeyed? Is it not that which  
 ‘is of God manifest in them, which God hath shewed  
 ‘them, which lets them see God’s judgments are upon such,  
 ‘when they act unrighteously? Is not this the measure  
 ‘of God, the Spirit that is in prison? and the Spirit of  
 ‘God that is grieved?

‘And ye professors, come, let us read the parable of the  
 ‘talents, and reckon with you, and see who it is that hath  
 ‘hid the Lord’s money in the earth? Come, ye that have  
 ‘gained, enter ye into your master’s joy. Go, thou that  
 ‘hast hid the Lord’s money in the earth, into utter dark-  
 ‘ness; “take it from him, and give it to him that hath:”  
 ‘every man shall have his reward. For the Lord hath  
 ‘given to “every man according to his several ability,”  
 ‘Mat. xxv. 15. Mark that, “To every man according to  
 “his several ability:” Read this, if you can. Now is the  
 ‘Lord coming to call every man severally to account, to

' whom he hath given severally, according to their ability.  
 ' Now the wicked and slothful servant, who hid the Lord's  
 ' money in the earth, will be found out; and the Lord's  
 ' money will be taken from him, although he hath hidden  
 ' it. To him the Lord's commands have been grievous;  
 ' but to us they are not, who love God and keep his com-  
 ' mandments. "And," saith the apostle to the Romans,  
 "I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man  
 "that is among you, not to think of himself more highly  
 "than he ought to think: but to think soberly, according  
 "as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith,"  
 ' Rom. xii. 3. Read and mark, here is a measure of faith.  
 "And," saith another apostle, "as every man hath re-  
 ' ceived the gift, even so minister the same one to another,  
 "as stewards of the manifold grace of God," 1 Pet. iv. 10.  
 "For the grace of God hath appeared to all men." The  
 ' good stewards can give their account with joy: but ye bad  
 ' stewards, that turn from the grace of God into lascivious-  
 ' ness, ye will be reckoned withal; ye shall have your re-  
 ' ward. "But," say the world, "must every one minister  
 "as he hath received the gift?" Yea, say I, "but let him  
 "speak as the oracles of God; and let him do it as of the  
 "ability which God giveth," ver. 11. John in the Reve-  
 ' lation saith, "They were judged every man according to  
 "their works," Rev. xx. 13. Christ saith, "Every idle  
 "word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof  
 "in the day of judgment," Mat. xii. 36. "Ye that name  
 "the name of Christ, depart from iniquity," 2 Tim. ii. 19.  
 "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father,  
 "with his angels, and then he shall reward every man ac-  
 "cording to his works," Mat. xvi. He who is gone into a far  
 ' country, and hath given talents to every one of you, ac-  
 ' cording to your several ability, "will render to every man  
 "according to his deeds," Rom. ii. 6. "And further I say  
 "unto you, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is  
 "none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead  
 "because of sin; but the Spirit is life, because of righteous-  
 "ness," Rom. viii. 9, 10. So let the light, which cometh  
 ' from Christ, examine; for the Lord is appearing. Ye  
 ' that have received according to your ability, smite not  
 ' your fellow-servant. Think not that the Lord delayeth  
 ' the time of his coming. Be not as they that said, "Let  
 "us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die."

' The apostle tells the Ephesians, that unto him "this



" grace was given—to make all men see what is the fellow-  
 " ship of the mystery which from the beginning of the  
 " world hath been hid in God, who created all things by  
 " Jesus Christ," Eph. iii. 9. Read and understand every  
 " one with the light which comes from Christ, the mystery;  
 " which will be your condemnation, if ye believe not in it.  
 " This is to all who stumble at the work of the Spirit of  
 " God, the manifestation of it, " which is given to every  
 " man to profit withal." Come, ye professors, who stumble  
 " at it; let us read the parables. " A sower went forth to  
 " sow; and some seed fell on the highway-ground, and  
 " some on stony ground, and some on thorny ground: the  
 " seed is the Word, the Son of Man is the seedsmen. He  
 " that hath an ear, let him hear," Mat. xiii. Now look,  
 " all ye professors, what ground ye are? And what ye  
 " have brought forth? And whether the wicked seedsmen  
 " hath not got his seed into your ground? " He that hath  
 " an ear, let him hear it." And come, read another parable  
 " of the householder hiring labourers to go into the vine-  
 " yard, and agreeing with every man for a penny, Mat. xx.  
 " Every man is to have his penny; the last that went in, as  
 " well as the first: " and the last shall be first, and the first  
 " shall be last; for many are called, but few are cho-  
 " sen. He that hath an ear, let him hear." There was a  
 " query put to Cain. " If thou dost well, shalt thou  
 " not be accepted?" Gen. iv. 7. And Esau had a birth-  
 " right, but despised it. Yet it is not " of him that wil-  
 " leth," Rom. ix. 16. but by grace ye are saved," Ephes.  
 " ii. 8. And stand still, and see your salvation. Exod.  
 " xiv. 13. And ye that are children of light, put on the ar-  
 " mour of light, that ye may come into the unity of the faith,  
 " and of the knowledge of the Son of God; unto a " per-  
 " fect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of  
 " Christ: that henceforth ye be no more children tossed to  
 " and fro," Eph. iv. 13.

" The Lord said, he would make a new covenant, by  
 " writing his law in people's hearts, and putting his Spirit  
 " in their inward parts," whereby they should all come to  
 " know the Lord, by whom the world was made. Now  
 " every one of you mind the law written in your hearts,  
 " and this Spirit put in your inward parts, that it need not  
 " be said to you, " Know the Lord:" but that ye may wit-  
 " ness the promise of God fulfilled in you. But, say the  
 " world and professors, " If every one must come to witness

‘ the law of God written in their hearts, and the Spirit put in  
 ‘ the inward parts, “ what must we do with all our teachers?”  
 ‘ As we come to witness that, we need not any man to teach  
 ‘ us to know the Lord, having his law written in our hearts,  
 ‘ and his Spirit put in our inward parts. This is the covenant  
 ‘ of life, the everlasting covenant, which decays not, nor  
 ‘ changes not: and here is the way to the Father, without  
 ‘ which no man cometh unto the Father. Here is the ever-  
 ‘ lasting priesthood, the end of the old priesthood, whose  
 ‘ lips were to preserve knowledge; but now, saith Christ,  
 “ Learn of me:” who is the high-priest of the new priest-  
 ‘ hood. And, saith the apostle,——“ That ye may grow  
 “ up in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in whom are hid the  
 “ treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” So we are brought  
 ‘ off from the old priesthood that did change, to Christ, to  
 ‘ the new priesthood that doth not change; off from the  
 ‘ first covenant that doth decay, to the everlasting covenant  
 ‘ that doth not decay, Christ Jesus, the Covenant of Light,  
 ‘ from whom every one of you have a light, that ye might  
 ‘ believe in the Covenant of Light. If ye do not believe,  
 ‘ ye are condemned; for light is come into the world, and  
 ‘ men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds  
 ‘ are evil. “ I am come a light into the world,” saith  
 ‘ Christ, “ that whosoever believeth in me should not abide  
 “ in darkness, but have the light of life,” John xii. 46.  
 “ Believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light.”  
 ‘ Ye who do not believe in the light, but hate it because it  
 ‘ manifests your deeds to be evil, ye are condemned by the  
 ‘ light. Therefore while ye have time, prize it. Seek the  
 ‘ Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he  
 ‘ is nigh; lest ye say, “ Time is past:” for the rich glutton’s  
 ‘ time was past. Therefore, while time is not quite  
 ‘ past, consider, search yourselves, and see if you be not  
 ‘ they that hate the light, and so are builders that stumble  
 ‘ at the corner-stone; for they that hated the light, and did  
 ‘ not believe in the light, did so in ages past. “ I am the  
 “ light of the world,” saith Christ, “ who,” the apostle saith,  
 “ doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world.”  
 ‘ Christ also saith, “ Learn of me;” and of him God saith,  
 “ This is my beloved Son, hear ye him.” Here is your  
 ‘ Teacher. But ye that hate the light do not learn of  
 ‘ Christ, will not have him to be your king to reign over  
 ‘ you; him, to whom all power in heaven and earth is giv-  
 ‘ en, who bears his government upon his shoulders, who is

‘ now come to reign, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, who will give to every man a reward according to his works, whether they be good or evil. So every man, with the light that comes from Christ, will see his deeds, both he that hates it and he that loves it. And he that will not bring his deeds to the light, because the light will reprove him, that is his condemnation; and he shall have a reward according to his deeds. For the Lord is come to reckon with you. He looks for fruits; the ax is laid to your root; and every tree of you, that bears not good fruit, must be hewn down and cast into the fire.

‘ G. F.’

Having staid some time in London, and visited the meetings of friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town and travelled into Kent, Suffex, and Surry, visiting friends; amongst whom I had great meetings, and often met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors; but the Lord's power went over them.

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

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town; where they had formerly very much abused friends.

There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet; for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat, and to pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report, 'That I put off my hat to them, and bid them 'good night,' which was never in my heart. After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I sent for the innkeeper, as I used to do; and he came into the room to us, and shewed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober, and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bid him go out of the chamber, and told him he should not drink there; for we sent for him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good. He was exceeding mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeness and would not be gone, I told him, 'The chamber was mine for the 'time I lodged in it;' and called for the key. Then he went away in a rage. In the morning he would not be seen; but I told his wife of his unchristian carriage towards us.

After this we came to Bridport, having meetings in the way. We went to an inn, and sent into the town for such as feared God; and there came a shopkeeper, a professor, and put off his hat to us: and seeing we did not the like to him again, but said Thou and Thee to him, he told us, 'He was not of our religion;' and after some discourse he went away. After awhile he sent to the inn to us, to desire us 'to come to his house, for some would speak with us.' Thomas Curtis went to his house; where when he came, the man had got the priest and magistrates thither, and they boasted much that they had caught George Fox, taking him for me. When they perceived their mistake they were very angry; yet the Lord's power came over them, so that they let him go again. Mean while I had an opportunity of speaking to some sober people that came to the inn. When Thomas was returned, and we were passing out of the town, some came to us, and said, 'The officers were coming to 'fetch me;' but the Lord's power was over them, so that they had not power to touch me. There were some convinced in the town who were turned to the Lord, and have stood faithful in their testimony to the truth ever since, and a fine meeting is settled there.

Passing from hence we visited Portsmouth and Pool, where we had glorious meetings; and many were turned to

the Lord. At Ringwood we had a large general meeting, where the Lord's power was over all. At Weymouth we had a meeting; and from thence came through Dorchester to Lime, where the inn we went to was taken up with mountebanks, so that there was hardly any room for us or our horses. In the evening we drew up some queries concerning the ground of all diseases, and the nature and virtues of medicinable creatures, and sent them to the mountebanks; letting them know, 'If they would not answer them, we would stick them on the cross next day.' This brought them down and made them cool, for they could not answer them; but in the morning they reasoned a little with us. We left the queries with some friendly people that were convinced in the town, to stick upon the market-cross. The Lord's power reached some of the sober people in that place, who were turned by the Light and Spirit of Christ to his free teaching.

We then travelled to Exeter; and at the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, we had a general meeting of friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire; to which came Humphry Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's-end, Henry Pollexfen, with friends from Plymouth, Elizabeth Trelawny, and divers other friends. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all; in which I saw, and said, 'That the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about as with a wall and bulwark, and his seed reached from sea to sea.' Friends were established in the everlasting seed of life, Christ Jesus, their life, rock, teacher, and shepherd.

The next morning, major Blackmore sent soldiers to apprehend me; but I was gone before they came. As I was riding up the street, I saw the officers going down. So the Lord crossed their design, and friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some friends after I was gone, 'What they did there?' but when they told them, 'They were in their inn, and had business in the city,' they passed away without meddling any further with them.

From Exeter I took meetings as I went, till I came to Bristol; and was at the meeting there. After it was done I did not stay in the town; but passed into Wales, and had a meeting at the Stone. Thence going to Cardiff, a justice of peace sent to me, desiring, 'I would come with half a dozen of my friends to his house.' So I took a friend or

two and went to him, and he and his wife received us very civilly. The next day we had a meeting in Cardiff in the town-hall; to which that justice sent about seventeen of his family. There came some disturbers, but the Lord's power was over them; and many were turned to the Lord. To some who had run out with James Nayler, and forsook meetings, I had to send word, 'That the day of their visitation was over;' and they never prospered after.

We travelled from Cardiff to Swansea, where we had a blessed meeting; and a meeting was settled there in the name of Jesus. In our way thither we passed over in a passage-boat with the high sheriff of the county. The next day I went to have spoken with him, but he refused.

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

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

At night the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room; but we, discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under pretence of discoursing with us.

We told her, ' No person should come into our room that night, neither would we go to them.' Then she said, we should ' sup in another room ;' but we told her, we would have no supper if we had it not in our own room. At length, when she saw she could not get us out, she brought up our supper. So she and they were crossed in their design ; for they had an intent to have done us mischief, but the Lord prevented them. Next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchristian carriage, shewing the fruits of their priests and magistrates ; and as I passed out of town I spoke to the people, and told them, They were a shame to Christianity and religion.

From this place we went to a great meeting in a steeple-house yard ; where was a priest, and Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, and another justice. A blessed glorious meeting we had. There being many professors, I was moved of the Lord to open the ' scriptures to them, and to ' answer the objections which they stuck at in their profession (for I knew them very well ; ) and to turn them to ' Christ, who had enlightened them ; with which light they ' might see the sins and trespasses they had been dead in, ' and their Saviour who came to redeem them out of them, ' who was to be their way to God, the truth and the life to ' them, and their priest made higher than the heavens ; so ' that they might come to sit under his teaching.' A peaceable meeting we had ; many were convinced, and settled in the truth that day. After the meeting, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other justice's, who said to me, ' You have ' this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered ' all the objections that were in their minds. For the people had the scriptures, but they were not turned to the Spirit, which should let them see that which gave them forth, the Spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

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

After this returning to England, we came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting ; and visited friends up and down the country in their meetings, till we came to William Gandy's, in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of be-

tween two and three thousand people, as it was thought; and the everlasting word of life was held forth, and received that day. A blessed meeting it was; for friends were settled by the power of God upon Jesus Christ, the rock and foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended there fell so great a rain, that friends said, They thought we could not travel, the waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had not gone so far as they had come that day to the meeting. The next day in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the ways were dusty, and no rain had fallen thereabouts.

When Oliver Cromwel set forth a proclamation for a fast throughout the nation for rain, in a very great drought, it was observed, that as far as truth had spread in the north, there were pleasant showers and rain enough; yet the south, in many places, was almost spoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the Protector's proclamation; wherein I told him: 'If he had come to own God's truth, he should have had rain; and that drought was to them a sign of their barrenness, and want of the water of life.'

About the same time was wrote the following paper to distinguish betwixt the true and false fasts.'

#### Concerning the true Fasts and the false.

**T**O all you that are keeping fasts, who "smite with the fist of wickedness, and fast for strife and debate;" against you hath the voice cried aloud, like a trumpet, that you may come to know the true fast which is accepted, and the fast which is in the strife and the debate, and "smiting with the fist of wickedness:" which fast is not required of the Lord. "Behold, in the day of your fast you find pleasure, and exact all your labour: behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice known on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen," saith the Lord, "a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth under him? Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord?"

'Consider all you that fast, see if it be not "hanging



“down the head for a day like a bulrush,” and fasting for “strife and debate,” and to “smite with the fists of wickedness, to make your voice to be known on high?” But this fast is not accepted with the Lord; but that which leads you from strife, from debate, from wickedness; which is not the “bowing down of the head as a bulrush for a day,” and yet live in exacting and pleasure; this is not accepted with the Lord: but that which separates from all these before-mentioned. That which separates from “wickedness, debate, strife, pleasures, smiting with the fist of wickedness,” brings to know the true fast, which “breaks the bonds of iniquity, and deals bread to the hungry; brings the poor that are cast out to his own house; and when he sees any naked he covers them, and hides not himself from his own flesh.” Here is the true fast which separates from them, where the bonds of iniquity are standing, the heavy burthens of the oppressed remaining, and the yoke not broken; who deal not bread to the hungry, and bring not the poor to their own house; and see the naked but let him go unclothed, and hide themselves from their own flesh. Yet such will make their voice to be heard on high, as Christ speaks of the pharisees, who “sounded a trumpet before them, and disfigured their faces,” to appear to men to fast; but the bonds of iniquity were standing, strife and debate was standing, striking with the fists of wickedness standing; those made their voice heard on high, who had their reward.’

‘But that which brings to the true fast, which appears not to men to fast, but unto the Father “who sees in secret; the Father that seeth in secret shall reward this openly.” This fast separates from the pharisees fast, and them that “bow the head for a day like a bulrush.” This is it which brings “to deal bread to the hungry, and to clothe thine own flesh when thou seest them naked, to bring the poor to thine house, and to loose the bonds of wickedness:” mark, this is the fast; and “to undo every heavy burden (mark again) and to let the oppressed go free;” this is the fast: and “to break every yoke.” When thou observest this fast, “Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am: if thou take away from the

“midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger,  
 “and speaking vanity: and if thou draw out thy soul to the  
 “hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light  
 “arise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day.”

“The light brings to know this fast; and walking in it, this  
 “fast is kept: and he that believeth in the light, abides  
 “not in darkness. And again; “The Lord shall guide thee  
 “continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat  
 “thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and  
 “like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.” Isa. lviii.  
 “11. These are they that are guided with the light, which  
 “comes from Christ where the springs are.

“And again: “They that shall be of thee that keep this  
 “fast shall build the old waste places, and thou shalt raise  
 “up the foundation of many generations; and thou shalt be  
 “called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to  
 “dwell in.” Isa. lviii. 12. Now that which gives to see  
 “the foundation of many generations, is the light which  
 “separates from all that which is out of the light; and they  
 “that go out of the light, though they may pretend a fast,  
 “and bowing down the head for a time: yet they are far from  
 “this fast, that doth raise up the foundation of many gene-  
 “rations, and is the repairer of the breach, and restorer of  
 “the paths to dwell in. That which doth give to see this  
 “foundation of many generations, and these breaches that  
 “are to be repaired and restored, and paths to dwell in, is  
 “the light which brings to know the true fast; and where  
 “this fast is known, which is from wickedness, from debate,  
 “from strife, from pleasures, from exacting, from the voice  
 “that is heard on high, from the speaking of vanity, from  
 “the bonds of iniquity, which breaks every yoke, and lets  
 “the oppressed go free; here the health grows, here the  
 “morning is known, righteousness goes forth; the glory of  
 “the Lord is the re-ward, the light riseth, the soul is  
 “drawn out to the hungry, and satisfies the afflicted soul;  
 “and the springs of living water are known and felt. The  
 “waters fail not here; the Lord guides continually, and the  
 “foundation of many generations, comes to be seen and raised  
 “up: the repairer of breaches is here witnessed, the restor-  
 “er of paths to dwell in.

“But all such as are out of the light which the prophets  
 “were in, with which they saw Christ, and such to be in  
 “fast, where was strife, where was wickedness, where was  
 “debate, where was “bowing the head like a bulrush for a

“day,” lifting their voice on high, and the bonds of wickedness yet standing, the burdens unloosed, the oppressed not let go free, the yoke not broken, the nakedness not clothed, the bread not dealt to the hungry, and this foundation of many generations not raised up: until these things before-mentioned be broken down, on such the light breaks not forth as the morning, and the Lord hears them not. Such have their reward; their iniquities have separated them from their God, their sins have hid his face from them that he will not hear, their hands are defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity; whose lips have spoken lies, and tongues have muttered perverseness. “None calleth for justice, nor any plead for truth; they trust in vanity and speak lies, they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider’s web; he that eateth of their eggs, dies, and that which is crushed breaks out into a viper; their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works.” Mark and take notice: “Their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands: their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths; the way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their doings. They have made them a crooked path; whosoever goes therein shall not know peace:” mark: Such go from the light, therefore is judgment far off, neither doth justice overtake. Here is obscurity, here is the walking in darkness, here is the groping like blind men, as though they had no eyes, and their stumbling at noon-day in desolate places, like blind men. Here is the roaring like bears, and mourning sorely like doves; here judgment is looked for, but there is none, and salvation is put far off: for the light is denied, which gives to see it. But here is the multiplying of transgression, and their sins testifying against them, and the transgression that was within them, and their iniquities which they knew in transgressing and lying against the Lord, speaking the things they should not; when they knew by that of God in them, they should not speak it: So departing from the way of God, speaking oppression, revolting, conceiving and uttering forth from the heart words of falsehood; here judgment is turned away backward, and justice stands afar off: truth is fallen in the streets, and

' equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth ; and he that de-  
 ' parteth from evil, makes himself a prey ! The Lord saw  
 ' it, and it displeas'd him. These are such as are in the  
 ' fast which God doth not accept ; and are not in the true  
 ' fast, whose " light breaks forth as the morning : " but these  
 ' are such as are in the false fast, who grope like blind men.  
 ' That which gives to know the true and false fast, is the  
 ' light, which gives the eye to see each fast ; where the  
 ' true judgment is, and the iniquity standeth not, nor the  
 ' transgressor, nor the speaker of lies : but that is judged  
 ' and condemned with the light, which makes it manifest.  
 ' And those who are in this fast, when they call upon the  
 ' Lord, the Lord will answer them, " Here am I. " Here  
 ' truth is pleaded for and falsehood flies away. But they  
 ' who are out of this fast in the perverseness, their tongues  
 ' uttering perverse things, are stumbling and groping like  
 ' blind men, out of the light, in the iniquity which sepa-  
 ' rates from God, who hides his face from them that he  
 ' will not hear : going from the light, they go from the  
 ' Lord and his face. So this is it which must be fast-  
 ' ed from, for this it is which separates from God : and  
 ' here comes the reward openly, which condemns all  
 ' that which is contrary to the light ; injustice, iniquity,  
 ' transgression, vanity, that which brings forth mischief ;  
 ' which hatcheth the cockatrice-eggs, and weaves the spi-  
 ' ders web : he that eateth of these eggs, dies. Mark, That  
 " which is crushed breaks out into a viper. " Mark again,  
 " Their webs shall not become garments, neither shall  
 " they cover themselves with their works of vanity : acts of  
 " violence are in their hands. " This is all from the light,  
 ' in the wickedness. " Their feet run to do evil, and they  
 " make haste to shed innocent blood : their thoughts are  
 " thoughts of vanity ; wasting and destruction is in their  
 " path. " This is all far from the light. Again : " The way  
 " of peace they know not, there is no judgment in their  
 " goings : they have made them crooked paths, whosoever  
 " goes therein shall not know peace. " Mark ; who goes in  
 ' their way, that know not the way of peace, shall they  
 ' know peace ? " Whose path is crooked, where there  
 " is no judgment in their goings : " take notice, " No judg-  
 " ment in their goings : " This is all from the light, which ma-  
 ' nifesteth that which is to be judged ; where the covenant  
 ' of peace is known, where all that which is contrary to it is  
 ' kept out. All who live in those things contrary to the

‘ light, in the false fast, may mark their path, and behold  
 ‘ their reward; who are out of the light, stumbling and  
 ‘ groping like blind men. They that be in the true fast are  
 ‘ separated from all these; their words, their actions and  
 ‘ fruits, and their fast; but to those whose fast breaks the  
 ‘ bonds of iniquity, whom the Lord hears, and to whom  
 ‘ righteousness springs forth, and goes before them, the  
 ‘ glory of the Lord is their re-reward.

‘ G. F.’

We passed into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so  
 into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaquer,  
 for multitudes. I walked a little aside, whilst the people  
 were gathering: and there came to me John-ap-John, a  
 Welshman, whom I desired to go to the people; and if he  
 had any thing upon him from the Lord to them, he might  
 speak in Welsh, and thereby gather more together. Then  
 came Morgan Watkins to me, who was become loving  
 to friends, and said, ‘ The people lie like a leaquer, and  
 ‘ the gentry of the country are come in.’ I bade him go  
 up also, and leave me; for I had a great travail upon me  
 for the salvation of the people. When they were well ga-  
 thered, I went into the meeting, and stood upon a chair  
 about three hours. I stood a pretty while, before I began  
 to speak: after some time I felt the power of the Lord  
 over the whole assembly: and his everlasting life and truth  
 shined over all. ‘ The scriptures were opened to them, and  
 ‘ the objections they had in their minds answered. They  
 ‘ were directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly man;  
 ‘ that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be  
 ‘ their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and come  
 ‘ to feed upon him, the bread of life from heaven. Many  
 ‘ were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teach-  
 ‘ ing that day; and all were bowed down under the power  
 ‘ of God; so that though the multitude was so great that  
 ‘ many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition.  
 ‘ A priest sat with his wife on horseback, heard attentively,  
 ‘ and made no objection. The people parted peaceably,  
 ‘ with great satisfaction; many of them saying, They never  
 ‘ heard such a sermon before, nor the scriptures so opened.  
 ‘ For the new covenant was opened, and the old, the na-  
 ‘ ture and terms of each, and the parables were explained.  
 ‘ The state of the church in the apostles days was set forth.  
 ‘ the apostacy since laid open; and the free teaching of

‘ Christ and the apostles was set atop of all the hireling teachers ; and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to him that day.’

I went from thence to Leominster, where was a great meeting in a close ; many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six congregational preachers and priests amongst the people ; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, but was now become a minister of Christ Jesus, was with me. I stood up, and declared about three hours ; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition ; the Lord’s power and truth so reached and bound them. At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me ; drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After awhile Thomas Taylor was moved to go and speak to him ; upon which he gave over : and he, with the people he had drawn off, came to us again ; and the Lord’s power went over all. At last a Baptist, that was convinced, said, ‘ Where’s priest Tombs ? how chance he doth not come out ?’ This Tombs was priest of Leominster. Hereupon some went and told the priest ; who came with the bailiffs and other officers of the town. When he was come, they set him upon a stool over against me. I was speaking of the heavenly, divine light of Christ, which he ‘ enlightens every one withal that cometh into the world ; to give them the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus their Saviour.’ When priest Tombs heard this, he cried out, ‘ That is a natural light, and a made light.’ Then I desired the people to take out their bibles, and asked the priest, ‘ Whether he did affirm that was a created, natural, made light, which John, a man sent from God, bore witness to, when he said, “ In him (to wit, in the Word) was life, and that life was the light of men,” John i. 4. Dost thou affirm and mean, said I, that this light here spoken of was a created, natural, made light ? He said, Yes. Then I shewed by the scriptures, that the natural, created, made light is the outward light in the outward firmament, proceeding from the sun, moon, and stars ? “ And dost thou affirm,” said I, “ that God sent John to bear witness to the light of the sun, moon, and stars ?” “ Then,” said he, “ Did I say so ?” I replied. “ Didst thou not say it was a natural, created, made light, that John bore witness unto ? If thou dost not like thy words, take them again, and mend them.”

‘ Then he said “ That light, which I spoke of, was a natural, created light.” I told him, He had not at all mended his cause; for that light, which I spoke of, was the very same that John was sent of God to bear witness to; which was the life in the Word, by which all the natural lights, sun, moon, and stars, were made. “ In him (to wit, the Word) was life, and that life was the light of men.” I directed the people to turn to the place in their bibles, and recited to them the words of John, “ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God: All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.” (So all natural, created lights were made by Christ the Word.) “ In him was life, and the life was the light of men: and that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.” And Christ saith of himself, John viii. 12. ‘ I am the light of the world:’ and bids them ‘ believe in the light,’ John xii. 36. And God said of him by the prophet Isaiah, ch. xlix. 6. ‘ I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth.’ So Christ in his light is saving. And the apostle said, ‘ The light, which shined in their hearts, was to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ:’ which was their treasure in their earthen vessels, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

When I had thus opened the matter to the people, the priest cried to the magistrates, ‘ Take this man away, or else I shall not speak any more.’ ‘ But,’ said I, ‘ priest Tombs, deceive not thyself, thou art not in thy pulpit now, nor in thy old mans-house; but we are in the fields.’ So he was shuffling to be gone: and Thomas Taylor stood up, and undertook to prove our principle by Christ’s parable concerning the sower, Mat. 13. Then said the priest, ‘ Let that man speak, and not the other.’ So he got up into jangling for awhile; till the Lord’s power caught him again, stopped and contounded him. Afterwards a friend stood up and told him, He had sued him for tithes eggs, and other friends for other tithes: for he was an Anabaptist preacher, yet had a parsonage at Leominster, and had several journeymen under him. He said, ‘ He had a wife, and he had a concubine; his wife was the baptized people, and his concubine was the world.’ But the Lord’s power

came over all, the everlasting truth was declared that day, and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and way to God. Of great service that meeting was in those parts. The next day Thomas Taylor went to this priest, reasoned with him, and overcame him by the power of the Word.

From this place I travelled in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby; where as I rode up the street, a justice of peace came out of his house, desired me to alight, and stay at his house; which I did. On first-day the mayor with his wife, and several others of the chief of the town, came in about the tenth hour, and staid all the time of the meeting. A glorious meeting it was. John-ap-John being then with me, left the meeting, and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house, when the officer came. The mayor and the justice went to the governor before me; and awhile after I went with the officer. When I came in I said, 'Peace be unto this house.' And before the governor could examine me, I asked him, 'Why he cast my friend 'into prison?' He said, 'For standing with his hat on in 'the church.' I said, 'Had not the priest two caps on 'his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims 'of the hat, and then my friend would have but one; and 'the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor. 'Why 'then,' said I, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such 'frivolous things?' He asked me, 'Whether I owned 'election and reprobation?' 'Yes,' said I, 'and thou 'art in the reprobation.' At that he was in a rage, and said, 'He would send me to prison till I proved it.' I told him, 'I would prove that quickly, if he would confess 'truth.' I asked him, 'Whether wrath, fury, rage, and 'persecution, were not marks of reprobation? for he that 'was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born of the 'Spirit; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted nor 'imprisoned any.' He fairly confessed, That he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him. I told him, 'Esau 'was up in him, the first birth; not Jacob, the second 'birth.' The Lord's power so reached the man, and came



over him, that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came, and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him; and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house: and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and divers other friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to 'kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them.' So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and he had the glory. A meeting continues in that town to this day.

We travelled to Pembrokehire; and in Pembroke town had some service for the Lord. From thence we passed to Haverford-west, where we had a great meeting. All was quiet; the Lord's power came over all, many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon him, their rock and foundation: and they stand a precious meeting to this day. The next day, being their fair-day, we passed through the fair, and 'founded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth amongst them.'

After this we came into another county, and at noon into a great market town; and went to several inns, before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to one, where we got some. Then John-ap-John being with me, went, and spoke through the town, declaring the truth to the people; and when he came to me again, he said he thought all the town were as people asleep. After awhile he was moved to go and declare truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and cast him into prison. Presently after, several of the chief of the town came down, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, 'They have cast your man into prison.' 'For what?' said I. 'He preached in our streets,' said they. I asked them, 'What did he say? Had he reproved some of the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?' I asked them, 'Who cast him into prison?' They said, 'The high-sheriff, the justices, and the mayor.' I asked their names, and whether they understood themselves? and whether that was their carriage to travellers who passed

through their town; and to strangers that admonished them, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reprov'd sin in their gates? These went and told the officers what I said; and after awhile they brought John-ap-John guarded with halberds, in order to put him out of the town. I being at the inn-door, bid the officers take their hands off of him. They said, 'The mayor and justices had commanded them 'to put him out of town.' I told them, 'I would talk 'with their mayor and justices anon concerning their un-'civil and unchristian carriage towards him.' I spoke to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready; and charged the officers not to touch him; and after I had declared the truth to them, and shewed the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian-like carriage, they went away and left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bid the inn-keeper give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs, but the oats were stolen from our horses. After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and were ready, we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them, and asked them the reason, 'Wherefore they had 'imprisoned John-ap-John, and kept him in prison two or 'three hours?' But they would not answer me a word; only looked out at the windows upon me. I shewed them 'how unchristian their carriage was to strangers and travel-'lers, and manifested the fruits of their teachers; and de-'clared the truth to them, and warned them of the day of 'the Lord that was coming upon all the evil-doers: and 'the Lord's power came over them, that they looked asham-'med; but not a word could I get from them in answer. So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we pass'd away; and at night came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision, and our two horses cost but eight pence: but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the truth to the people of the place, and founded the day of the Lord thro' the countries.

From thence we came to a great town, and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the truth amongst the people; who followed him to the inn, filled the inn-yard, and were exceeding rude. Yet a good service we had for the Lord amongst them. For the life of christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and

convinced; the Lord's power came over all; and the magistrates were bound, they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we came to another great town on a market-day; where John-ap-John declared the everlasting truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord. In the evening many gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us into the street again; but seeing their design, I told them, 'If there were any that feared God, and desired to hear truth, they might come into our inn; or else we might have a meeting with them next morning.' Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night and in the morning; and though they were hard to receive the truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to himself. In that inn also I turned my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse; and looking back, he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food! I had rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town, and travelling on, a great man overtook us on the way. He purposed (as he told us afterwards) to have taken us up at the next town for highwaymen. But before we came to the town, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him. What I spoke, reached to the witness of God in the man; who was so affected therewith, that he had us to his house, and entertained us very civilly. He and his wife desired us to give them some scriptures, both for proof of our principles, and against the priests. We were glad of the service, and furnished him with scriptures enough; and he wrote them down, and was convinced of the truth, both by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the scriptures, which were a confirmation to him. Afterwards he set us on in our journey; and as we travelled, we came to an hill, which the people of the country say is two or three miles high; from the side of this hill I could see a great way. And I was moved to set my face several ways, and to sound the day of the Lord there: and I told John-ap-John (a faithful Welsh minister) in what places God would raise up a people to himself, to sit under his own teaching. Those places he took notice of; and since there hath been a great people arisen there. The like I have been moved to do in many other parts inhabited by rude people: yet I have been moved to declare the Lord had a seed in those places: and afterwards there hath been a brave

people raised up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jesus; where they have salvation and free teaching.

From this hill we came to Dolegelle: and went to an inn. John-ap-John declared through the streets; and the town's people rose and gathered about him. There being two Independent priests in the town, they came out, and discoursed with him both together. I went to them: and finding them speaking in Welsh, I asked them, 'What was the subject they spoke upon, and why they were not more moderate, and spoke one by one? For the things of God,' I told them, 'were weighty, and they should speak of them with fear and reverence.' Then I desired them to speak in English, that I might discourse with them; and they did so. They affirmed, 'That the Light, which John came to bear witness of, was a created, natural, made light.' I took the bible, and shewed them (as I had done to others before) 'That the natural lights, which were made and created, were the sun, moon, and stars: but this light, which John bare witness to, and which he called the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, is the life in Christ the Word, by which all things were made and created. The same that is called the life in Christ, is called the light in man. This is an heavenly, divine light, which lets men see their evil words and deeds, and shews them all their sins; and (if they would attend to it) would bring them to Christ, from whom it comes, that they might know him to save them from their sin, and to blot it out. This light, I told them, shined in the darkness in their hearts, and the darkness in them could not comprehend it; but in those hearts, where God had commanded it to shine out of darkness, it gave unto such the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus their Saviour. I opened the scriptures largely to them, and turned them to the Spirit of God in their hearts; which would reveal the mysteries in the scriptures to them, and would lead them into all truth, as they became subject thereunto. I directed them to that which would give every one of them the knowledge of Christ, who died for them; that he might be their way to God, and might make peace betwixt God and them.' The people were attentive, and I desired John-ap-John to stand up, and speak it in Welsh to them; which he did: and they generally received it, and with hands lifted up, blessed and prais-

ed God. The priests mouths were stopped, so that they were quiet all the while ; for I had brought them to be sober at the first, by telling them, ‘ when they spoke of the ‘ things of God and of Christ, they should speak with fear and ‘ reverence.’ Thus the meeting broke up in peace in the street. Many of the people accompanied us to our inn, rejoiced in the truth that had been declared to them ; and that they were turned to the light and Spirit in themselves, by which they might see their sin, and know salvation from it. When we went out of the town, the people were so affected, that they lifted up their hands, and blessed the Lord for our coming. A precious seed the Lord hath there-away ; and a great people in those parts is since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit under his free teaching ; and they have suffered much for him.

From this place we passed to Caernarvon, a town like a castle. When we had set up our horses at an inn, and refreshed ourselves, John-ap-John went and spoke through the streets ; which were so straight and short, that one might stand in the midst of the town, and see both the gates. I followed John-ap-John, and a multitude were soon gathered about him ; amongst whom a very dark priest began to babble ; but his mouth was soon stopped. When John had cleared himself, I declared the word of life amongst the people ; ‘ directing them to the light of Christ in their hearts, ‘ that by it they might see all their own ways, religions, ‘ and teachers, and might come off from them all to Christ, ‘ the true and living way, and the free teacher.’ Some of the people were rude, but the greater part were civil ; and told us, ‘ They had heard how we had been persecuted and ‘ abused in many places, but they would not do so to us ‘ there.’ I commended their moderation and sobriety, ‘ and warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming ‘ upon all sin and wickedness ; testifying unto them, that ‘ Christ was now come to teach his people himself, by his ‘ Spirit and power.’

From hence we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John-ap-John had formerly been a preacher. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went and spoke through the street ; and there being a garrison in the town, they took him, and put him into prison. The inn-keeper's wife came, and told me, ‘ That the governor and magistrates were sending for me, to commit me to prison also.’ I told her, ‘ They had done more than they could answer already ;

‘ and had acted contrary to christianity in imprisoning him  
 ‘ for reprovng sin in their streets and gates, and for declar-  
 ‘ ing the truth.’ Soon after came other friendly people, and  
 told me, ‘ If I went into the street, they would imprison  
 ‘ me also ; therefore they desired me to keep within the inn.’  
 Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down in the  
 streets ; and told the people, ‘ What an uncivil, unchristi-  
 ‘ an thing they had done, in casting my friend into prison.  
 And they being high professors, I asked them, ‘ If this was  
 ‘ the entertainment they had for strangers ? And if they  
 ‘ would willingly be so served themselves ? And whether  
 ‘ they, who looked upon the scriptures to be their rule, had  
 ‘ any example in the scriptures, from Christ or his apostles,  
 ‘ for what they had done ?” So after awhile they set John-  
 ap-John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross a great  
 water ; and not far from the place where we were to take  
 boat, many of the market-people drew to us ; amongst whom  
 we had good service for the Lord, ‘ declaring the word of  
 ‘ life and everlasting truth unto them, and proclaiming the  
 ‘ day of the Lord amongst them, which was coming upon  
 ‘ all wickedness ; and directing them to the light of Christ,  
 ‘ which he, the heavenly man, had enlightened them with-  
 ‘ al ; by which they might see all their sins, and all their  
 ‘ false ways, religions, worships and teachers : and by the  
 ‘ same light might see Christ Jesus, who was come to save  
 ‘ them, and lead them to God.’ After the truth had been  
 declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free  
 teacher set over all the hireling teachers ; I bid John-ap-  
 John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready.  
 But there being a company of wild gentlemen, as they cal-  
 led them, got into it, whom we found very rude, and far  
 from gentleness ; they, with others, kept his horse out of  
 the boat. I rode to the boat’s side, and spoke to them,  
 shewing them, ‘ What an unmanly and unchristian carriage  
 ‘ it was ; and told them, they shewed an unworthy spirit,  
 ‘ below christianity or humanity.’ As I spoke, I leaped  
 my horse into the boat amongst them ; thinking John’s  
 horse would have followed, when he had seen mine go in  
 before him : but the water being pretty deep, John could  
 not get his horse into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out  
 again on horseback into the water, and staid with John on  
 that side, till the boat returned. There we tarried from the  
 eleventh hour of the forenoon to the second in the afternoon,

before the boat came to fetch us; and then had forty-two miles to ride that evening; and by that time we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat left between us in money. We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-house, where we thought to have staid and baited. But finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled all night; and about the fifth hour in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham; where that day we met with many friends, and had a glorious meeting; the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all: and a meeting is continued there to this day. Very weary we were with travelling so hard up and down in Wales; and in many places we found it difficult to get meat either for our horses or ourselves.

The next day we passed from thence into Flintshire, founding the day of the Lord through the towns: and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild, and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had: yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went to her house, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me, 'If she should cut my hair?' I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the Spirit of God; so after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away. Afterwards in her frothy mind she made her boast, that she 'came behind me, and cut off the curl of my hair;' but she spake falsely.

From Wrexham we came to West-chester; and it being the fair-time, we staid there awhile, and visited friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ: and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales, I wrote to the magistrates of Beaumaris concerning their imprisoning John-ap-John; letting them see their condition, the fruits of their christianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with some of them near London; but oh! how ashamed they were of their action!

From West-chester we came to Liverpool, where was at that time a fair; and as I rode through the fair, there stood

a friend upon the cross, declaring the truth to the people; who seeing me ride by, and knowing I had appointed a meeting to be the next day upon an hill not far off, gave notice to the people, 'That George Fox, the servant of the Lord, would have a meeting next day upon such an hill; and if any feared the Lord, they might come and hear him declare the word of life to them.' We went that night to Richard Cubban's, who himself was convinced, though not his wife; but at that time she was convinced also.

Next day we went to the meeting on the top of the hill, which was very large. Some rude people with a priest's wife came, and made a noise for awhile; but the Lord's power came over them, the meeting became quiet, and the truth of God was declared amongst them. Many were that day settled upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, and under his teaching; who made peace betwixt God and them.

We had a small meeting with a few friends and people at Malpoth. From thence we came to another place, where we had a meeting. There came a bailiff with a sword, and was rude; but the Lord's power came over him, and friends were established in the truth.

From thence we came to Manchester: and the sessions being there that day, many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, stones, and water: yet the Lord's power bore me up over them, that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones, and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the sessions; who thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people, plucked me down, and haled me into their court. When I came there all the court was in a disorder and a noise. Wherefore I asked, 'Where were the magistrates, that they did not keep the people civil?' Some of the justices said, They were magistrates. I asked them, 'Why then they did not appease the people, and keep them sober?' For one cried, I'll swear, and another cried, I'll swear. I declared to the justices, 'How we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, clods, dirt, and water: and how I was haled out of the meeting and brought thither, contrary to the instrument of government, which said, "None should be molested in



“their meetings that professed God, and owned the Lord “Jesus Christ;” which I did.’ The truth so came over them, that when one of the rude followers cried, ‘He would swear;’ one of the justices checked him, saying, ‘What, will you swear? hold your tongue.’ At last they bid the constable, ‘Have me to my lodging, and there I should be secured till to-morrow morning that they sent for me again.’ So the constable had me to my lodging. As we went the people were exceeding rude; but I let them see the ‘fruits of their teachers, how they shamed christianity, and dishonoured the name of Jesus which they professed.’ At night we went to a justice’s in the town, who was pretty moderate, and I had a great deal of discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had any thing more to say to us? He sent us word, ‘He had nothing to say to us, we might go whither we would.’ The Lord hath since raised up a people to stand for his name and truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester, having many precious meetings in several places, till we came to Preston; between which and Lancaster I had a general meeting: from which I went to Lancaster. There at our inn I met with colonel West, who was very glad to see me; who meeting with judge Fell, told him, ‘I was mightily grown in the truth;’ when indeed he was come nearer to the truth, and so could better discern it.

We came from Lancaster to Robert Widders’s. On the first-day after I had a general meeting near the Sands-side, of friends of Westmoreland and Lancashire, when the Lord’s everlasting power was over all; in which the word of eternal life was declared, and friends were settled upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, under his free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where friends were glad to see me. I staid there two first-days, visiting friends in their meetings there-away. They rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by his eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in his service; to him be the praise for ever!

Having got a little respite from travel, I was moved to write an epistle to friends, as followeth:

‘ ALL friends of the Lord every where, whose minds  
‘ are turned in towards the Lord, take heed to the  
‘ light within you, which is the light of Christ; which, as  
‘ you love it, will call your minds inward, that are abroad  
‘ in the creatures: so your minds may be renewed by it,  
‘ and turned to God in this which is pure, to worship the  
‘ living God, the Lord of hosts over all the creatures.  
‘ That which calls your minds out of the lusts of the world,  
‘ will call them out of the affections and desires, and turn  
‘ you to set your affections above. The same that calls the  
‘ mind out of the world, will give judgment upon the  
‘ world’s affections and lusts, that which calls out your  
‘ minds from the world’s teachers and the creatures, to have  
‘ your minds renewed. There is your obedience known  
‘ and found; there the image of God is renewed in you,  
‘ and ye come to grow up in it. That which calls your  
‘ minds out of the earth, turns them towards God, where  
‘ the pure Babe is born of the virgin; and the Babe’s food  
‘ is known, the children’s bread, which comes from the liv-  
‘ ing God, and nourishes up to eternal life: which babes  
‘ and children receive their wisdom from above, from the  
‘ pure living God, and not from the earthly one; for that  
‘ is trodden under foot by such. All who hate this light,  
‘ whose minds are abroad in the creatures, in the earth, and  
‘ in the image of the devil, get the words of the saints (that  
‘ received their wisdom from above) into the old nature and  
‘ their corrupted minds. Such are murderers of the just,  
‘ enemies to the cross of Christ, in whom the prince of the  
‘ air lodgeth, sons of perdition, betrayers of the just.  
‘ Therefore take heed to that light, which is oppressed with  
‘ that nature; which light, as it arises, shall condemn all  
‘ that cursed nature, shall turn it out, and shut it out of  
‘ the house. So ye will come to see the candle lighted, and  
‘ the house sweeping and swept. Then the pure pearl  
‘ ariseth, then the eternal God is exalted. The same light  
‘ that calls in your minds out of the world (that are abroad)  
‘ the same turns them to God the father of lights. Here in  
‘ the pure mind is the pure God waited upon for wisdom  
‘ from above; the pure God is seen night and day, and the  
‘ eternal peace, of which there is no end, enjoyed. People  
‘ may have openings, and yet their minds go into the lusts  
‘ of the flesh; but there the affections are not mortified.  
‘ Therefore hearken to that, take heed to that, which calls  
‘ your minds out of the affections and lusts of the world

' to have them renewed. The same will turn your minds  
 ' to God; the same light will set your affections above, and  
 ' bring you to wait for the pure wisdom of God from on  
 ' high, that it may be justified in you. Wait all in that  
 ' which calls in your minds and turns them to God; here  
 ' is the true cross. That mind shall feed upon nothing that  
 ' is earthly, but be kept in the pure light up to God, to  
 ' feed upon the living food which comes from the living  
 ' God. The Lord God Almighty be with you all, dear  
 ' babes, and keep you all in his strength and power to his  
 ' glory, over all the world, ye whose minds are called out  
 ' of it, and turned to God, to worship the Creator and serve  
 ' him, and not the creature. The light of God which calls  
 ' the mind out of the creatures, and turns it to himself,  
 ' brings into a being of endless joy and peace. Here is  
 ' always a seeing God present, which is not known to the  
 ' world, whose hearts are in the creatures, whose knowledge  
 ' is in the flesh, whose minds are not renewed. Therefore  
 ' all friends, the seed of God mind and dwell in, to reign  
 ' over the unjust; and the power of the Lord dwell in, to  
 ' keep you clear in your understandings, that the seed of  
 ' God may reign in you all; the Seed of God, which is  
 ' but one in all, is Christ in the male and in the female,  
 ' which the promise is to. Wait upon the Lord for the just  
 ' to reign over the unjust, for the seed of God to reign over  
 ' the seed of the serpent, and be the head; and that all that  
 ' is mortal may die: for out of that will rise presumption.  
 ' So fare ye well, and God Almighty bless, guide, and  
 ' keep you in his wisdom.

' G. F.'

About this time friends that were moved of the Lord to  
 go to the steeple-houses and markets, to 'reprove sin, and  
 'warn people of the day of the Lord,' suffered much hard-  
 ship from rude people, and also from the magistrates; being  
 commonly pulled down, buffeted, beaten, and frequently  
 sent to prison. Wherefore I was moved to give forth the  
 following expostulation to be spread amongst people, to  
 shew them how contrary they acted therein to the apostles  
 doctrine and practice, and to bring them to more modera-  
 tion.

' **I**S it not better for you that have cast into prison the ser-  
 ' vants and children of the Lord God for speaking, as they

‘ were moved, in steeple-houfes or markets, Is it not better,  
‘ I say, for you to “ try all things, and hold fast that which  
‘ is good ?” Is it not of more honour and credit, to “ prove  
‘ all things, and try all things, than to pluck down in the  
‘ steeple-houfes, pull off the hair of their heads, and cast  
‘ them into prifon ?” Is this an honour to your truth and  
‘ gospel you profefs ? Doth it not fhew that ye are out of  
‘ the truth, and are not ready to instruct the gainfayers ?  
‘ Hath not the Lord faid, “ He will pour out of his Spirit  
‘ upon all flesh, and his fons and daughters fhall prophesy,  
‘ and old men fhall dream dreams, and young men fee  
‘ vifions, and on his handmaids he will pour forth of his  
‘ Spirit ?” Was not this prophecy in ages past stood againft  
‘ by the wife, learned men in their own wifdom, and by  
‘ the fynagogue-teachers ? Were not fuch haled out of  
‘ the fynagogues and temple, who witnessed the Spirit pour-  
‘ ed forth upon them ? Doth not this fhew, that ye have  
‘ not received the pourings forth of this Spirit upon you,  
‘ who fill the gaols with fo many fons and daughters, and  
‘ hold up fuch teachers as are bred up in learning at Oxford  
‘ and Cambridge, and are made by the will of man ? Doth  
‘ not this fhew, that ye who are bred up there, who are  
‘ made teachers by the will of man, and who perfecute for  
‘ prophesying, are ftrangers to the Spirit that is “ poured  
‘ forth upon fons and daughters ;” by which Spirit they  
‘ come to “ minister to the fpirits that are in prifon ?” The  
‘ Lord hath a controverfy with you who are found  
‘ prifoning and perfecuting fuch as the Lord hath poured  
‘ his Spirit upon. Do not your fruits fhew, in all the na-  
‘ tion where ye come, in towns, cities, villages, and coun-  
‘ tries, that ye are the feedfmen made by the will of man,  
‘ who fow to the flesh, of which nothing but corruption is  
‘ reaped in nations, countries, cities, and villages ? Ye  
‘ are looked upon and your fruits, and that which may be  
‘ gathered is feen by all that are in the light, as they pafs  
‘ through your countries, towns, cities, and villages, that  
‘ ye are all the feedfmen that have fown to the flesh. Of  
‘ this take ye notice, who are of that birth that is born of  
‘ the flesh ; ye fow to your own, perfecuting him that is  
‘ born of the Spirit, who fows to the Spirit, and of the  
‘ Spirit reaps life eternal. Such ye, who fow to the flesh, cast  
‘ into prifon. Do ye not hale out of the fynagogues ? per-  
‘ fecute and beat in the fynagogues, and knock down ? Are  
‘ not thefe the works of the flesh ? Have not many been

‘ almost murdered and smothered in your synagogues?  
‘ Have not some been haled out of your synagogues, for  
‘ but looking at a priest, and after cast into prison? Doth  
‘ not all this make manifest what spirit ye are of, and your  
‘ fruits to be of the flesh? What pleasures and sports in  
‘ every town are to be seen among your flocks, that sow to  
‘ the flesh and are born of it! Whereas the ministers of  
‘ the Spirit cried against such as “ sported in the day-time,”  
‘ such as “ ate and drank, and rose up to play,” such as  
‘ “ lived wantonly upon earth in pleasures,” such as lived  
‘ in “ fulness of bread and idleness,” such as “ defile the  
‘ flesh;” such did God overthrow, destroy, and set forth  
‘ as examples to all them that after should live ungodly.  
‘ But are not the fruits of this reaped in every town? Can-  
‘ not ye from hence see, that here is sowing to the flesh?  
‘ Again, what scorning, scoffing, mocking, derision, and  
‘ strife. What oaths, drunkenness, uncleanness, and cursed  
‘ speaking! What lust and pride is seen in the streets!  
‘ These fruits we see are reaped of the flesh. So here we  
‘ see the seedsmen, him that sows to this flesh, of which  
‘ nothing but corruption is reaped. as the countries, towns,  
‘ cities, and villages make manifest. But the ministers of  
‘ the Spirit, who sow to the Spirit, come to reap life eternal.  
‘ These discern the other seedsmen, who sow to the flesh,  
‘ and of the flesh reaps corruption. For the day hath ma-  
‘ nifested each seedsmen, and what is reaped from each is  
‘ seen; glory be to the Lord God for ever! The ministers  
‘ of the Spirit, born of the Spirit, sons and daughters  
‘ which have the Spirit poured upon them, and witness the  
‘ promise of God fulfilled in them, by the Spirit of God  
‘ preach and minister to the spirit in prison in every one,  
‘ in the sight of God, the Father of spirits. God’s hand is  
‘ turned against you all that have destroyed God’s creatures  
‘ upon your lust. God’s hand is turned against you that  
‘ have wronged by unjust dealing, defrauded, and oppres-  
‘ sed the poor, and have respected the persons of the proud,  
‘ and lend not your ear to the cry of the poor. The Lord’s  
‘ hand and arm against you all is turned, and his righteous  
‘ judgment and justice upon you all will be accomplished  
‘ and repaid, who shall have a reward, every one accord-  
‘ ing to his works. Oh! the abomination and hypocritical  
‘ profession that is upon the earth, where God and Christ,  
‘ faith, hope, the holy Spirit, and truth is professed, but  
‘ the fear of God, and the faith that purifies and gives vic-

' tory over the world, not lived in! Doth it not appear  
 ' that the wisdom which rules in all those, whom the seedf-  
 ' man that sows to the flesh sows for, and who are born  
 ' of the flesh, are from below, earthly, sensual, and devilish,  
 ' their understanding brutish, and their knowledge natural  
 ' as the brute beasts? For men and women in that state  
 ' have not patience to speak one to the other of the scrip-  
 ' tures, without much corruption and flesh appearing, yet  
 ' they have a feigned humility, a will-worship, and righ-  
 ' teousness of self; but they own not the light, which  
 " lighteth every man that cometh into the world, Christ  
 " Jesus, the righteousness of God:" which light being own-  
 ' ed, self, and the righteousness of self, comes to be denied.  
 ' Here is the humility that is contrary to the light, and that  
 ' is below and feigned. Here is the wisdom that is from be-  
 ' low, earthly, sensual, and devilish: for people can scarce dif-  
 ' fer from one another without destroying one another, pri-  
 ' soning and persecuting one another, when they speak of the  
 ' scriptures. This is the devilish wisdom murdering and  
 ' destroying. This is not the wisdom that is from above,  
 ' which is pure and peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreat-  
 ' ed, full of mercy and good fruits. Here all may read each  
 ' seedfman, which hath each wisdom. He that sows to the  
 ' flesh, and is born of that, hath the wisdom that is earthly,  
 ' sensual, and devilish; he that sows to the Spirit, a minister  
 ' of the Spirit, hath the wisdom from above, which is pure,  
 ' peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; the wisdom by  
 ' which all things were made and created. Now is each wis-  
 ' dom discovered, and each seedfman: the day, which is the  
 ' light, hath discovered them.

' G. F.'

I was moved also to give forth the following epistle to  
 friends, to stir them up to be bold and valiant for the truth,  
 and to encourage them in their sufferings for it.

' **A**Ll friends and brethren every where, now is the day  
 ' of your trial, now is the time for you to be valiant,  
 ' and to see that the testimony of the Lord doth not fall.  
 ' Now is the day for the exercise of your gifts, of your  
 ' patience, and of your faith. Now is the time to be armed  
 ' with patience, with the light, with righteousness, and with  
 ' the helmet of salvation. Now is the trial of the slothful  
 ' servant, who hides his talent, and will judge Christ hard.

' Now, happy are they that can say, " The earth is the  
 ' Lord's and the fulness thereof, and he gives the increase ;"  
 ' therefore who takes it from you ? Is it not the Lord still  
 ' that suffers it ? For the Lord can try you as he did Job,  
 ' whom he made rich, whom he made poor, and whom he  
 ' made rich again ; who still kept his integrity in all condi-  
 ' tions. Learn Paul's lesson, In all states to be content ;  
 ' and have his faith, " That nothing is able to separate us  
 ' from the love of God, which we have in Christ Jesus."  
 ' Therefore be rich in life, and in grace, which will endure,  
 ' ye who are heirs of life, and born of the womb of eternity,  
 ' that noble birth that cannot stoop to that which is born  
 ' in sin, and conceived in iniquity ; who are better bred and  
 ' born, whose religion is from God, above all the religions  
 ' that are from below ; and who walk by faith, by that  
 ' which God hath given you, and not by that which men  
 ' make, who walk by sight, from the Mass-book to the Di-  
 ' rectory. Such are subject to stumble and fall, who walk  
 ' by sight and not by faith. Therefore mind him that de-  
 ' stroyes the original of sin, the devil and his works, and  
 ' cuts off the entail of Satan, viz. sin ; who would have by  
 ' entail an inheritance of sin in men and women from gene-  
 ' ration to generation, and pleads for it by all his lawyers  
 ' and counsellors. For though the law, which made no-  
 ' thing perfect, did not cut it off ; yet Christ being come  
 ' destroyes the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail  
 ' of sin. This angers all the devil's lawyers and counsel-  
 ' lers, that Satan shall not hold sin by entail in thy garden,  
 ' in thy field, in thy temple, thy tabernacle. So keep your  
 ' tabernacles, that there ye may see the glory of the Lord  
 ' appear at the doors thereof. Be faithful ; for ye see what  
 ' the worthies and valiants of the Lord did attain unto by  
 ' faith. Enoch by faith was translated. Noah by faith was  
 ' preserved over the waters in his ark. Abraham by faith  
 ' forsook his father's house and religion, and all the religions  
 ' of the world. Isaac and Jacob by faith followed his steps.  
 ' See how Samuel and other of the Lord's prophets, with  
 ' David, by faith were preserved to God over his enemies !  
 ' Daniel and the three children by faith escaped the lions  
 ' and the fire, and preserved their worship clean, and by it  
 ' were kept over the worships of the world. The apostles  
 ' by faith travelled up and down the world, were preserved  
 ' from all the religions of the world, and held forth the  
 ' pure religion to the dark world, which they had received

‘ from God ; and likewise their fellowship was received from  
‘ above, which is in the gospel that is everlasting. In this,  
‘ neither powers, principalities nor thrones, dominions nor  
‘ angels, things present nor things to come, heights nor  
‘ depths, nor death, mockings, nor spoiling of goods, prisons  
‘ nor fetters were able to separate them from the love of  
‘ God, which they had in Christ Jesus. And friends,  
“ Quench not the Spirit, nor despise prophesying,” where  
‘ it moves ; neither hinder babes and sucklings from cry-  
‘ ing Hofannah ; for out of their mouths will God ordain  
‘ strength. There were some in Christ’s day that were  
‘ against such, whom he reproved ; and there were some in  
‘ Moses’s day, who would have stopped the prophets in the  
‘ camp ; whom Moses reproved, and said by way of en-  
‘ couragement to them, ‘ Would God, that all the Lord’s  
“ people were prophets !” So I say now to you. There-  
‘ fore ye that stop it in yourselves do not quench it in  
‘ others, neither in babe nor suckling ; for the Lord hears the  
‘ cries of the needy, and the sighs and groans of the poor.  
‘ Judge not that, nor the sighs and groans of the Spirit,  
‘ which cannot be uttered, lest ye judge prayer ; for prayer  
‘ as well lies in sighs and groans to the Lord as otherwise.  
‘ Let not the sons and daughters, nor the handmaids be  
‘ stopped in their prophesyings, nor the young men in their  
‘ visions, nor the old men in their dreams ; but let the  
‘ Lord be glorified in and through all, who is over all,  
‘ God blessed for ever ! So every one may improve their  
‘ talents, every one exercise their gifts, and every one speak  
‘ as the Spirit gives them utterance. Thus every one  
‘ may minister, as he hath received the grace, as a good  
‘ steward to him that hath given it him ; so all plants may  
‘ bud, and “ bring forth fruit” to the glory of God : “ for  
“ the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one to  
“ profit withal.” See that every one hath profited in hea-  
‘ venly things ; male and female, look into your own vine-  
‘ yards, see what fruit ye bear to God ; look into your own  
‘ houses, see how they are decked and trimmed ; see what  
‘ odors, myrrh, and frankincense ye have therein, and what  
‘ a smell and favour ye have to ascend to God that he may  
‘ be glorified. Bring your deeds all to the light, which ye  
‘ are taught to believe in by Christ, your head, the heaven-  
‘ ly man : and see how they are wrought in God. Every  
‘ male and female, let Christ dwell in your hearts by faith  
‘ (Christ in the male and in the female ; ) and let your



‘ mouths be opened to the glory of God the Father, that  
 ‘ he may rule and reign in you. We must not have Christ  
 ‘ Jesus, the Lord of Life, put any more in a stable amongst  
 ‘ the horses and asses; he must now have the best chamber,  
 ‘ the heart; and the rude, debauched spirit must be turned  
 ‘ out. Therefore let him reign whose right it is, who was  
 ‘ conceived by the Holy Ghost; by which Holy Ghost ye  
 ‘ call him Lord, in which Holy Ghost ye pray, and have  
 ‘ comfort and fellowship with the Father and with the Son.  
 ‘ Therefore know the triumph in it, and in God and his  
 ‘ power (which the devil is out of) and in the seed which  
 ‘ is First and Last, the Beginning and Ending, the Top  
 ‘ and Corner-stone: in which is my love to you, and in  
 ‘ which I rest —

‘ Your friend, G. F.’

### P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ Friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the  
 ‘ tender plants that are springing up out of God’s earth,  
 ‘ lest ye tread upon them, hurt them, bruise them, or crush  
 ‘ them in God’s vineyard.’

After I had tarried two first-days at Swarthmore, and visited meetings thereabouts, I passed into Westmoreland in the same work, till I came to John Audland’s, where was a general meeting. The night before I had a vision of a ‘ desperate creature that was coming to destroy me, but I ‘ got victory over it.’ The next day in the meeting-time came one Otway, with some rude fellows. He rode round about the meeting with his sword or rapier, and would fain have got in through the friends to me; but the meeting being great, the friends stood thick, so that he could not easily come at me. When he had rid about several times raging, and found he could not get in, being also limited by the Lord’s power, he at length went away. It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord’s everlasting power came over all. This wild man went home, became distracted, and not long after died. I sent a paper to John Blaykling to read to him while he lay ill, shewing him his wickedness; and he did acknowledge something of it.

From hence I went through Kendal, where a warrant had long lain to apprehend me; and the constables seeing

me ran to fetch their warrant as I was riding through the town; but before they could come up with it I was past, and so escaped their hands.

I travelled northwards, visiting meetings, till I came to Strickland-head, where I had a great meeting. Most of the gentry of that country being gathered to an horse-race, not far from the meeting, I was moved to go and declare the truth to them; and a chief-constable did also admonish them. Our meeting was quiet, the Lord was with us; and by his word and power friends were settled in the eternal truth.

From hence we passed into Cumberland, where we had many precious, living meetings. After we had travelled to Gilsland, and had a meeting there, we came to Carlisle, where they used to put friends out of the town; but there came a great flood while we were there, that they could not put us out of the town; so we had a meeting there on the first-day. After which we passed to Abbey-holm, and had a little meeting there. This is a place where I told friends long before there would be a great people come forth to the Lord; which hath since come to pass, and a large meeting there is gathered to the Lord in those parts.

I passed from hence to a general meeting at Langlands in Cumberland, which was very large; for most of the people had so forsaken the priests, that the steeple-houses in some places stood empty. And John Wilkinson, a preacher, that I have often named before, who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left, that, giving over preaching in the steeple-houses, he first set up a meeting in his house, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he set up a silent meeting (like friends) to which came a few: for most of his hearers were come to friends. Thus he held on, till he had not past half a dozen left; the rest still forsaking him, and coming away to friends. At last, when he had so very few left, he would come to Pardsey-Crag (where friends had a meeting of several hundreds of people, who were all come to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching) and he would walk about the meeting on the first-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. During this time, I came to Pardsey-Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers, yet left him, came to the meeting that day; and were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting, Wilkinson asked me two or three questions, which I answered to his satisfaction; from that time he came amongst friends, became an able minister, preached the

gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free ministry of Christ Jesus, he died in the year 1675.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland: and had sent to colonel William Osborn of Scotland, desiring him to meet me; and he, with some others, were come out of Scotland to this meeting. After it was over (which, he said, was the most glorious meeting that ever he saw in his life) I passed with him and his company into Scotland; having Robert Widders with me; a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests.

The first night we came into Scotland, we lodged at an inn. The inn-keeper told us, an earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had a desire to see me; and had left word at his house, that if ever I came into Scotland, he should send him word. He told us, there were three draw-bridges to his house; and that it would be nine o'clock before the third bridge was drawn. Finding we had time in the evening, we walked to his house. He received us very lovingly; and said, He would have gone with us on our journey, but that he was before engaged to go to a funeral. After we had spent some time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we travelled on, and passing through Dumfries, came to Douglas, where we met with some friends; from thence we passed to the Heads, where we had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt him in the midst.

Leaving Heads, we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there: to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced: amongst whom was one called a lady. From thence we passed towards the Highlands to William Osborn's, where we gathered up the sufferings of friends, and the principles of the Scotch priests, which may be seen in a book called, "The Scotch Priests Principles."

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore, where the said lady Margaret Hambleton was convinced; who afterwards went to warn O. Cromwel and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

On first-day we had a great meeting, and several professors came to it. Now the priests had frightened the people with the doctrine of election and reprobation: telling them, That God had ordained the greatest part of men and wo-

‘ men for hell ; that, let them pray, or preach, or sing, and  
‘ do what they could, it was all to no purpose, if they were  
‘ ordained for hell ; that God had a certain number, which  
‘ were elected for heaven ; and let them do what they would,  
‘ as David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet elected  
‘ vessels for heaven. So the fault was not at all in the crea-  
‘ ture, less or more ; but God had ordained it so.’ I was  
‘ led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their  
‘ priests doctrines, and shewed them, the priests had abus-  
‘ ed those scriptures which they had brought and quoted to  
‘ them, as in Jude, and other places. For whereas they  
‘ said, “ There was no fault at all in the creature ;” I shew-  
‘ ed them, that they, whom Jude speaks of, to wit, Cain,  
‘ Core, and Balaam, who, he says, were ordained of old to  
‘ condemnation, the fault was in them. For did not God  
‘ warn Cain and Balaam, and put the question to Cain,  
‘ “ If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted ?” And did  
‘ not the Lord bring Core out of Egypt, and his company ?  
‘ yet did not he gainsay both God and his law, and his  
‘ prophet Moses ? Here people might see that there was a  
‘ fault in Cain, Corah, and Balaam ; and so there is in all  
‘ that go in their ways. For if they, who are called Chris-  
‘ tians, resist the gospel as Core did the law, err from the  
‘ Spirit of God as Balaam did, and do evil as Cain did, is  
‘ not here a fault ? which fault is in themselves, and is the  
‘ cause of their reprobation, and not God. Doth not Christ  
‘ say, “ Go, preach the gospel to all nations ?” Which is  
‘ the gospel of salvation. He would not have sent them into  
‘ all nations, to preach the doctrine of salvation, if the  
‘ greatest part of men had been ordained for hell. Was  
‘ not Christ a propitiation for the sins of the whole world,  
‘ for those that became reprobates, as well as for the saints ?  
‘ He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as  
‘ the apostle bears witness, 2 Cor. v. 15. Rom. v. vi. And  
‘ “ he enlightens every man that cometh into the world,” that  
‘ through him they might all believe. And Christ bids  
‘ them believe in the light : but all they that hate the light,  
‘ which Christ bids all believe in, are reprobated. Again,  
‘ “ The manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every  
‘ man to profit withal ;” but they that vex, quench, and  
‘ grieve it, are in the reprobation ; and the fault is in them,  
‘ as it is also in them that hate his light. The apostle saith,  
‘ “ The grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared  
‘ unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and

“worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and ‘godly in this present world,” Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now all ‘those that live ungodly, and in the lusts of the world, that ‘turn from this grace of God into wantonness, and walk ‘despitefully against it, and so deny God, and the Lord ‘Jesus Christ that bought them, the fault is in all such that ‘turn from the grace of God into wantonness, and walk ‘despitefully against that which would bring their salvation, ‘and save them out of the reprobation. But the priests, ‘it seems, can see no fault in such as deny God, and the ‘Lord Jesus Christ that bought them, such as deny his ‘light, which they should believe in, and his grace, which ‘should teach them to live godly, and which should bring ‘them their salvation. Now all that believe in the light of ‘Christ, as he commands, are in the election; and sit un- ‘der the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their ‘salvation. But such as turn from this grace into wanton- ‘ness are in the reprobation: and such as hate the light are ‘in the condemnation. Therefore I exhorted all to believe ‘in the light, as Christ commands, and own the grace of ‘God their free teacher; and it would assuredly bring them ‘their salvation: for it is sufficient.’ Many other scriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the eyes of the people were opened; and a spring of life rose up among them.

These things soon came to the priests ear; for the people, that sat under their dark teachings, began to see light, and to come into the covenant of light. The noise was spread over Scotland, among the priests, that I was come thither; and a great cry was amongst them, that all would be spoiled; for they said, ‘I had spoiled all the honest men ‘and women in England already’ (so according to their own account, the worst were left to them.) Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a number of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, that all the people should say Amen to. Some few I will here set down; the rest may be read in the book before-mentioned of “The Scotch Priests Principles.”

The first was, ‘Curfed is he that saith, Every man hath ‘a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation: and ‘let all the people say, Amen.

The second, ‘Curfed is he that saith, Faith is without ‘sin: and let all the people say, Amen.’

The third, 'Curfed is he that denieth the fabbath-day : and let all the people fay, Amen.'

In this laft they make the people curfe themselves ; for on the fabbath-day (which is the feventh day of the week, which the Jews kept by the command of God to them) they kept markets and fairs, and fo brought the curfe upon their own heads.

As to the firft, concerning the light, Chrift faith, ' Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light : ' and, ' he that believeth fhall be faved : he that believeth fhall have everlafting life : he that believeth paffes from death to life, and is grafted into Chrift.' ' And ye do well,' faith the apoftle, ' that ye take heed unto the light that fhines in the dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ftar arife in your hearts.' So the light is fufficient to lead unto the day-ftar.

As concerning faith, it is the gift of God : and every gift of God is pure. The faith, which Chrift is the author of, is precious, divine, and without fin. This is the faith which gives victory over fin, and accefs to God ; in which faith they pleafe God. But thofe are reprobates themselves concerning this faith, and are in their dead faith, who charge fin upon this faith under pain of a curfe : which faith gives victory over their curfe, and returns it into their own bowels.

There were a company of Scots near Badcow, who challenged a difpute with fome of our Scotch friends (for with me they would not difpute :) fo fome of the Scotch friends met them at the market-place. The difpute was to be concerning the fabbath-day, and fome other of their principles before-mentioned ; and I having got their principles and assertions, fhewed the friends where they might eafily be overthrown ; and a Scotch friend, a fmith, overthrew them clearly.

There were two Independent churches in Scotland, in one of which many were convinced ; but the paftor of the other was in a great rage againft truth and friends. They had their elders, who fometimes would exercife their gifts amongft the church members, and were fometimes pretty tender : but their paftor fpeaking fo much againft the light, and us, the friends of Chrift, he darkened his hearers ; fo that they grew blind and dry, and loft their tendernefs. He continued preaching againft friends, and againft the light of Chrift Jefus, calling it natural ; at laft one day in his

preaching he cursed the light, and fell down as dead in his pulpit. The people carried him out, laid him upon a grave-stone, and poured strong waters into him, which fetched him to life again; and they carried him home, but he was mopish. After awhile he stripped off his cloaths, put on a Scotch plaid, and went into the country amongst the dairy-women. When he had staid there about two weeks he came home, and went into the pulpit again. Whereupon the people expected some great manifestation or revelation from him; but, instead thereof, he began to tell them what entertainment he had met with; how one woman gave him skimmed milk, another buttermilk, and another good milk: so the people were obliged to take him out of the pulpit again, and carry him home. He that gave me this account, was Andrew Robinson, one of his chief hearers, who came afterwards to be convinced, and received the truth. He said, he never heard that he recovered his senses again. By this people may see what came upon him that cursed the light, which light is the life in Christ, the word; and it may be a warning to all others that speak evil against the light of Christ.

Now were the priests in such a rage, that they posted to Edinburgh, to O. Cromwel's council there, with petitions against me. The noise was, 'That all was gone;' for several friends were come out of England, and spread over Scotland, founding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation, and turning people to Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching. After I had gathered the principles of the Scotch priests, and the sufferings of friends, and had seen friends in that part of Scotland settled, by the Lord's power, upon Christ their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Linlithgow; where lodging at an inn, the inn-keeper's wife, who was blind, received the word of life, and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus her Saviour. At night came in abundance of soldiers, and some officers, with whom we had much discourse; some were rude. One of the officers said, 'He would obey the Turk's or Pilate's command, if they should command him to guard Christ to crucify him.' So far he was from all tenderness, or sense of the Spirit of Christ, that he would rather crucify the Just, than suffer for or with the Just; whereas many officers and magistrates have lost their places, before they would turn against the Lord and his Just One.

When I had staid awhile at Edinburgh, I went to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives; and many were convinced. Edward Billing's wife was one. She brought a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it on the table before me, to see whether I would speak against it, or no. I took no notice of it, but declared the truth to her, and she was reached. Many Baptists were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded. Then there came in another fort; one of whom said, 'He would dispute with me; and, for argument's sake, would deny there was a God.' I told him, 'He might be one of those fools that said in his heart, 'There is no God; but he should know him in the day of his judgment.' So he went his way, and a fine precious time we had afterwards with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. William Osborn was with me. Colonel Lidcot's wife, William Welsh's wife, and several of the officers themselves were convinced. Edward Billing and his wife at that time lived apart; and she being reached by truth, and become loving to friends, we sent for her husband, who came, and the Lord's power reached to them both; they joined together in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity, as man and wife.

After this we returned to Edinburgh, where many thousands were gathered together, with abundance of priests among them, about burning a witch; and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them; which when I had done, I went from thence to our meeting, whither many rude people and Baptists came. The Baptists began to vaunt with their logick and syllogisms; but, 'I was moved in the Lord's power, to thresh their chaffy light minds; and shewed the people, that, after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black seem white: as, that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs; therefore they were all cocks. Thus they might turn any thing into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ, or his apostles, to teach, speak, or reason after that manner.' Hereupon those Baptists went their way; and after they were gone, we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.

I mentioned before, that many of the Scotch priests being greatly disturbed at the spreading of truth, and the loss of their hearers thereby, were gone to Edinburgh to petition the council against me. When I came from the meeting to



the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the council brought me the following order :

‘ Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness’s  
‘ Council in Scotland :

‘ Ordered,

‘ **T**HAT George Fox do appear before the Council on  
‘ Tuesday the 13th of October next, in the Forenoon.  
‘ E. Downing, Clerk of the Council.’

When he had delivered me the order, he asked me,  
‘ Whether I would appear or no ?’ I did not tell him whether I would or no ; but asked him, ‘ If he had not forged  
‘ the order ?’ He said, ‘ No ; it was a real order from the  
‘ council, and he was sent as their messenger with it.’  
When the time came I appeared, and was had into a great  
room, where many persons came and looked at me. After  
awhile the door-keeper had me into the council-chamber :  
and as I was going, he took off my hat. I asked him,  
‘ Why he did so ? and who was there, that I might not go  
‘ in with my hat on ? I told him, I had been before the  
‘ Protector with my hat on.’ But he hung up my hat and  
had me in before them. When I had stood awhile, and  
they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say,  
‘ Peace be amongst you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye  
‘ may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things  
‘ were made and created ; that by it ye may all be ordered,  
‘ and may order all things under your hands to God’s glo-  
‘ ry.’ They asked me, ‘ What was the occasion of my com-  
‘ ing into that nation ?’ I told them I came to visit the  
‘ seed of God, which had long lain in bondage under cor-  
‘ ruption ; that all in the nation, who professed the scrip-  
‘ tures, the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles,  
‘ might come to the light, Spirit, and power, which they  
‘ were in who gave them forth ; that in and by the Spirit  
‘ they might understand the scriptures, and know Christ  
‘ and God aright, have fellowship with them, and one with  
‘ another.’ They asked me, ‘ Whether I had any outward  
‘ business there ?’ I said, ‘ Nay.’ Then they asked me,  
‘ How long I intended to stay in that country ?’ I told  
them, ‘ I should say little to that ; my time was not to be  
‘ long ; yet in my freedom in the Lord I stood, in the will  
‘ of him that sent me.’ Then they bid me withdraw ; and  
‘ the door-keeper took me by the hand, and led me forth.

In a little time they sent for me again, and told me, ' I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day sevensnight.' I asked them, ' Why? What had I done? What was my transgression, that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation?' They told me, ' They would not dispute with me.' ' I desired them to hear what I had to say to them.' They said, ' They would not hear me.' I told them, ' Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, yet he was an heathen; and Herod heard John Baptist; and they should not be worse than these.' But they cried, ' Withdraw, withdraw.' Whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand and led me out. I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh; visiting friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time I wrote a letter to the council, to lay before them their unchristian dealings, in banishing me, an innocent man that sought their salvation and eternal good.

' To the council of Edinburgh :

' **Y**OU that sit in council, and bring before your judgment-seat the innocent, the just, without shewing what evil I have done, or convicting me of any breach of law; and afterwards ye banish me out of your nation, without telling me for what; though I told you, when ye asked me ' How long I would stay in the nation?' that my time was not long (I spoke it innocently;) yet ye banish me. Will not all, think ye, that fear God, judge this to be wickedness? Consider, did not they sit in council about Stephen, when they stoned him to death? Did they not sit in council about Peter and John, when they haled them out of the temple, put them out of their council for a little season, and took counsel together; and then brought them in again, threatened, and charged them to speak no more in that name? Was not this to stop the truth from spreading in that time? Had not the priests an hand in these things, with the magistrates? and in examining Stephen, when he was stoned to death? Was not the council gathered together against Jesus Christ, to put him to death? and had not the chief priests an hand in it? When they persecute the just, and crucify the just, do they not then neglect judgment, mercy, and justice, and the weighty matters of the law, which are just? Was not the apostle Paul tossed up and down and impri-

‘ foned by the priests and the rulers? Was not John Bap-  
‘ tist cast into prison? Are not ye doing the same work,  
‘ shewing what spirit ye are of? Now, do not ye shew the  
‘ end of your profession, the end of your prayers, the end of  
‘ your religion, and the end of your teaching, who are now  
‘ come to banish the truth, and him that came to declare  
‘ it unto you? Doth not this shew that ye are but in the  
‘ words, out of the life of the prophets, Christ, and his  
‘ apostles? for they did not use such practice, as to banish  
‘ any. How do ye receive strangers, which is a command  
‘ of God among the prophets, Christ, and the apostles?  
‘ Some by that means have entertained angels at unawares;  
‘ but ye banish one that comes to visit the seed of God, and  
‘ is not chargeable to any of you. Will not all that fear  
‘ God look upon this to be spite and wickedness against the  
‘ truth? How are ye like to love enemies, that banish your  
‘ friend? How are ye like to do good to them that hate  
‘ you, when ye do evil to them that love you? How are  
‘ ye like to heap coals of fire on their heads that hate you.  
‘ and to overcome evil with good, when ye banish thus?  
‘ Do ye not manifest to all that are in the truth that ye have  
‘ not the christian spirit? How did ye do justice to me,  
‘ when ye could not convict me of any evil, yet banish me?  
‘ This shews that truth is banished out of your hearts, and  
‘ ye have taken part against the truth with evil-doers, with  
‘ the wicked envious priests, stoners, strikers, and mockers  
‘ in the streets; with these, ye that banish have taken part;  
‘ whereas ye should have been a terror to these, and a praise  
‘ to them that do well, and succourers of them that are in  
‘ the truth; then might ye have been a blessing to the na-  
‘ tion, and not have banished him that was moved of the  
‘ Lord to visit the seed of God, and thereby have brought  
‘ your names upon record, and made them stink in ages to  
‘ come, among them that fear God. Were not the magif-  
‘ trates stirred up in former ages to persecute or banish, by  
‘ the corrupt priests? and did not the corrupt priests stir up  
‘ the rude multitude against the just in other ages? There-  
‘ fore are your streets like Sodom and Gomorrah. Did  
‘ not the Jews and the priests make the Gentiles minds en-  
‘ vious against the apostles? Who were they that would  
‘ not have the prophet Amos to prophesy at the king’s  
‘ chapel; but bad him fly his way? When Jeremiah was  
‘ put in the prison, in the dungeon, and in the stocks, had  
‘ not the priests an hand with the princes in doing it? Now

‘ see all, that were in this work of banishing, imprisoning,  
 ‘ persecuting, whether they were not all out of the life of  
 ‘ Christ, the prophets, and apostles? To the witness of  
 ‘ God in you all I speak. Consider, Whether or no they  
 ‘ were not always the blind magistrates, which turned  
 ‘ their sword always backward, that knew not their friends  
 ‘ from their foes, and so hit their friends? Such magistrates  
 ‘ were deceived by flattery.

‘ G. F.’

When this was delivered, and read amongst them, some of them, I heard, were troubled at what they had done; being made sensible that they would not be so served themselves. But it was not long before they that banished me were banished themselves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor suffer others that would.

After I had spent some time among friends at Edinburgh, and thereabouts, I passed from thence to Heads again, where friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given charge, that none should buy or sell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities, nor buy what they wanted; which made it go very hard with some of them; for if they had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbours, the priests threatened them so with curses, that they would run and fetch it from them again. But colonel Ashfield, being a justice of peace in that country, put a stop to the priests proceedings. This colonel Ashfield was afterwards convinced himself, had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

After I had visited friends at and about Heads, and encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was appointed; but not one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates took me before the governor, who was a moderate man. A great deal of discourse I had with him; but he was too light to receive the truth; yet he set me at liberty: so I passed to the meeting. But seeing none of the town's people came to the meeting, we declared truth through the town; then passed away, visited friends meetings thereabouts, and returned towards Badcow. Several friends declared truth in their sceples-houses, and the Lord's power was with them.

One time, as I was going with William Osborn to his house, there lay a company of rude fellows by the way-side, who had hid themselves under the hedges and in bushes. I espying them, asked him, 'What they were?' 'Oh!' said he, 'they are thieves.' Robert Widders, being moved to go to speak to a priest, was left behind, intending to come after; so I said to William Osborn, 'I will stay here in this valley, and do thou go look after Robert Widders.' But he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone because of those fellows; till I told him, 'I feared them not.' Then I called to them, asking them, What they lay lurking there for? I bid them come up to me; but they were loth to come. I charged them to come up to me, or else it might be worse with them. Then they came trembling to me; for the dread of the Lord had struck them. I admonished them to be honest, and directed them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. I staid there till William Osborn and Robert Widders came, and then we passed on together. But it is likely, if we two had gone before, they would have robbed Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them.

We went to William Osborn's, where we had a good opportunity to declare the truth to several people that came in. Then we went among the Highlanders, who were so devilish they had like to have spoiled us and our horses; for they ran at us with pitchforks; but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power.

From thence we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers took us up, and had us to the main-guard. After a few words with their officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty; but no meeting could we get amongst them in the town, they were so closed up in darkness. Next morning there came a man with an horse that was to run a race, and most of the town's people and the officers went to see it. As they returned from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and his word of life amongst them. Some confessed to it, and some opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all.

Leaving Stirling we came to Burnt-Island, where I had two meetings at Captain Pool's; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Whilst they went to dinner I walk-

ed to the sea-side, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good friends afterward; and several officers of the army came in and received the truth.

We passed from thence through several other places in that country, till we came to Johnstons; where were several Baptists, that were very bitter, and came in a rage to dispute with us. Vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. When they could not prevail by disputing, they went and informed the governor against us, and next morning they raised a whole company of foot, and banished me, Alexander Parker, James Lancaster, and Robert Widders out of the town. As they guarded us through the town, James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God, and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the everlasting gospel to the people. For the people generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them; and the soldiers were so ashamed, that they said, 'They had rather have gone to Jamaica than have guarded us so.' But we were put into a boat with our horses, carried over the water, and there left. The Baptists, who were the cause of our being thus put out of this town, were themselves, not long after, turned out of the army; and he that was then governor was discarded also when the king came in.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons we went to another market-town, where Edward Billing and many soldiers quartered. We went to an inn, and desired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlasting gospel amongst them. The officers and soldiers said, 'We should have it in the town-hall;' but the Scotch magistrates in spite appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town. Which when the officers of the soldiery understood, and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us to have gone into the town-hall nevertheless. But we told them, 'No, by no means;' for then the magistrates might inform the governor against them, and say, 'They took the town-hall from them by force, when they were to do their town-business therein.' We told them, 'We would go to the market-place.' They said, 'It was market-day.' We replied, 'It was so much the better; for we would have all people to hear the truth and know our principles.' Alexander Parker went and stood upon the market-cross, with a bible in his hand, and declared the

truth amongst the soldiers and market-people: but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, nor hardly took notice what was said. After awhile I was moved of the Lord to stand up at the cross, and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Whereupon the people came running out of the town-hall, and gathered so together that at last we had a large meeting; for they only fate in the court for a colour to hinder us from having the hall to meet in. When the people were come away, the magistrates followed them. Some walked by, but some staid and heard; and the Lord's power came over all and kept all quiet. 'The people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ, and own him, it was told them, that this light which came from him would be their condemnation.'

Several of them were made loving to us, especially the English, and some came afterwards to be convinced. But there was a soldier that was very envious against us; he hated both us and the truth, spoke evil of the truth, and very despitefully against the light of Christ Jesus, which we bore testimony to. Mighty zealous he was for the priests and their hearers. As this man was holding his hat before his face, while the priest prayed; one of the priest's hearers stabbed him to death. So he, who had rejected the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and cried down the servants of the Lord, was murdered amongst them whom he had so cried up, and by one of them.

We travelled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting people as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me, the council had granted warrants to apprehend me, 'because I was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired that they had ordered me to depart the nation in.' Several friendly people also came and told me the same. To whom I said; 'What do ye tell me of their warrants against me? If there were a cart load of them I do not regard them; for the Lord's power is over them all.'

I went from Leith to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants from the council were out against me. I went

to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had visited friends in the city, I desired those that travelled with me to get ready their horses in the morning; and we rode out of town together. There were with me Thomas Rawlinson, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders. When we were come out of the town, they asked me, 'Whither I would go?' I told them, 'It was upon me from the Lord to go back again to Johnstons (the town out of which we had been lately thrust) and to set the power of God and his truth over them also.' Alexander Parker said, 'He would go along with me;' and I wished the other two to stay at a town about three miles from Edinburgh till we returned. Then Alexander Parker and I got over the water, which was about three miles over, and rode through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse being weak and not able to hold up with mine, I put on and got into Johnstons just as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and soldiers never questioning me. I rode up the street to captain Davenport's, from whence we had been banished. There were many officers with him: and when I came amongst them they lifted up their hands, admiring that I should come again; but I told them, 'The Lord God had sent me amongst them again.' They went their way; and the Baptists sent me a letter, by way of challenge, 'That they would discourse with me the next day.' I sent them word, 'I would meet them at such a house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour.' For I considered, if I should stay in town to discourse with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with me, have raised men to put me out of town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place, captain Davenport and his son accompanying me; where I staid some hours, but not one of them came. While I staid waiting for them, I espied Alexander Parker coming; who not being able to reach the town, had lain out the night before; and I was exceeding glad that we were met again.

Captain Davenport was then loving to friends; but afterwards coming more into obedience to truth, he was turned out of his place, for not putting off his hat, and for saying Thou and Thee to them.

When we had waited beyond reasonable ground to expect any of their coming we departed; and Alexander Parker being moved to go again to the town where we had the meeting at the market-cross, I passed alone to lieutenant Fos-



ter's quarters, where I found several officers that were convinced. From thence I went to the town where I had left the other two friends, and they and I went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bid Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the two first centries, and the Lord's power came so over them, that we passed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the street to the market-place, and by the main-guard out at the gate by the third centry, and so clear out at the suburbs, and there came to an inn and set up our horses, it being seventh-day. Now I saw and felt that we had rode, as it were, against the cannon's mouth or the sword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all. Next day I went to the meeting in the city, friends having notice I would attend it. There came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power. All was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had visited friends, I came out of the city to my inn again. The next day, being second-day, we set forward towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I espied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked, what steeple-house it was? and was answered, it was Dunbar. When I came thither, and had set up at an inn, I walked to the steeple-house, having a friend or two with me. When we came to the steeple-house yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I spoke to one of the friends that was with me, 'To go to him, and tell him, that about the ninth hour next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called Quakers; of which we desired he would give notice to the people of the town.' He sent me word, 'That they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour; but that we might have our meeting there by the eighth hour if we would.' We concluded so, and desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his troopers came also, so that we had a large concourse: and a glorious meeting it was, the Lord's power being over all. After some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but we being in the yard,

most of the people staid with us. Friends were so full, and their voices so high in the power of God, that the priest could do little in the house, but came quickly out again, stood awhile, and then went his way. I opened to the people, 'Where they might find Christ Jesus, turned them to the light, which he had enlightened them withal, that in the light they might see Christ who died for them, turn to him, and know him to be their Saviour and teacher; let them see, that the teachers they had hitherto followed were hirelings, who made the gospel chargeable; shewed them the wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apostacy, directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God; manifested unto them, how they had lost the religion and worship which Christ set up in spirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and worships of men's making and setting up; and after I had turned the people to the Spirit of God, which led the holy men of God to give forth the scriptures, and shewed them that they must also come to receive and be led by the same Spirit in themselves (a measure of which was given unto every one of them) if ever they came to know God and Christ and the scriptures aright, perceiving the other friends to be full of power and the word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord to the people.' Towards the latter end of the meeting some professors began to jangle; whereupon I stood up again and answered their questions, so that they seemed to be satisfied and our meeting ended in the Lord's power, quiet and peaceable. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland. The truth and the power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and Spirit of God were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland, tho' the time may be far distant at present. For when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness atop, and a briery, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and plowed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, where we were ques-

tioned a little by the officers; but the governor was loving towards us, and in the evening we had a little meeting, in which the power of the Lord was manifested over all.

Leaving Berwick we came to Morpeth, and through the country, visiting friends, to Newcastle, where I had been once before. The Newcastle priests wrote many books against us, and one Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious against truth and friends. He and the priests had said, 'The Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fells like butterflies.' I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to this Ledger and several others of the aldermen; 'desiring to have a meeting amongst them, seeing they had written so many books against us: for we were now come, I told them, into their great town.' But they would not yield we should have a meeting, neither would they be spoke with, save only this Ledger and one other. I queried, 'Had they not called friends butterflies, and said, We would not come into any great towns? And now we were in their town, they would not come at us, tho' they had printed books against us: who are the butterflies now?' Then Ledger began to plead 'for the sabbath-day. I told him, They kept markets and fairs on that which was the sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day which the professed christians now meet on, and call their sabbath, is the first day of the week.' As we could not have a publick meeting among them, we got a little meeting among friends and friendly people at the Gate-side; where a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jesus. As I was passing by the market-place the power of the Lord rose in me 'to warn them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.' And not long after, all those priests of Newcastle and their profession were turned out when the king came in.

From Newcastle we travelled, having meetings and visiting friends, in Northumberland and Bishoprick. A very good meeting we had at lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After which I went to visit a justice of peace, a very sober, loving man, who confessed to the truth.

From thence we came to Durham, where was a man come from London to set up a college to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went with some others to reason with the man, and to let him see, 'That to teach men He-

' brew, Greek, Latin, and the seven arts, which were all  
 ' but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to  
 ' make them ministers of Christ. For the languages began  
 ' at Babel; and to the Greeks, that spoke Greek as their  
 ' mother-tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was  
 ' foolishness; and to the Jews, that spoke Hebrew as their  
 ' mother-tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. The Ro-  
 ' mans, who had the Latin, persecuted the Christians; and  
 ' Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek,  
 ' and Latin atop of Christ when he crucified him. So he  
 ' might see the many languages began at Babel, and they set  
 ' them atop of Christ, the Word, when they crucified him.  
 ' John the divine, who preached the Word which was in the  
 ' beginning, said, "That the beast and the whore have  
 " power over tongues and languages, and they are as wa-  
 " ters." Thus, I told him, he might see the whore and the  
 ' beast have power over the tongues and the many languages,  
 ' which are in mystery Babylon; for they began at Babel,  
 ' and the persecutors of Christ Jesus set them over him,  
 ' when he was crucified by them; but he is risen over them  
 ' all, who was before them all. Now (said I to this man)  
 ' dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these na-  
 ' tural, confused languages which sprung from Babel, are  
 ' admired in Babylon, and set atop of Christ, the Life, by  
 ' a persecutor? Oh, no!' The man confessed to many of  
 these things. Then we shewed him further, ' That Christ  
 ' made his ministers himself, gave gifts unto them, and bid  
 ' them "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest to send forth  
 " labourers." And Peter and John, though unlearned and  
 ' ignorant as to school-learning, preached Christ Jesus the  
 ' Word, which was in the beginning, before Babel was.  
 ' Paul also was made an apostle, not of man, nor by man,  
 ' neither received he the gospel from man, but from Jesus  
 ' Christ; who is the same now, and so is the gospel, as it  
 ' was at that day.' When we had thus discoursed with  
 him, he became very loving and tender: and after he had  
 considered further of it, declined to set up his college.

From Durham we went to Anthony Pearson's, from  
 thence into Cleveland, and passed through Yorkshire to the  
 further end of Holderness, and had mighty meetings, the  
 Lord's power accompanying us.

After we passed from Anthony Pearson's, we went by  
 Hull and Pomfret to George Watkinson's, and visited most  
 of the meetings in these parts, till we came to Scalehouse.

and so to Swarthmore; the everlasting power and arm of God carrying us through and preserving us. After I had visited friends there-away, I passed into Yorkshire and Cheshire, and so through other counties into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; and glorious meetings we had, the Lord's presence being with us.

At Nottingham I sent to Rice Jones, desiring him 'to acquaint his people that I had something to say to them from the Lord.' He came and told me, 'Many of them lived in the country, and he could not tell how to send to them.' I told him, 'He might acquaint them about the town of it, and send to as many in the country as he could.' The next day we met at the castle, there being about fourscore people, to whom I declared the truth for about the space of two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, so that they had not power to open their mouths in opposition. When I had done, one of them asked me a question, which I was loth to have answered; for I saw it might lead into jangling, and was unwilling to go into jangling, for some of the people were tender; yet I could not well tell how to escape it. Wherefore I answered the question, and was moved forthwith to speak to Rice Jones, and lay before him, 'That he had been the man who had scattered such as had been tender, and some that had been convinced and had been led out of the vanities of the world, which he had formerly judged; but now he judged the power of God in them, and they being simple turned to him; so he and they were turned to be vainer than the world: for many of his followers were become the greatest foot-ball players and wrestlers in the whole country. I told them it was the serpent in him that had scattered and done hurt to such as were tender towards the Lord. Nevertheless, if he waited in the fear of God for the seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, to bruise the serpent's head in him, that had scattered and done the hurt; he might come to gather them again by this heavenly seed; though it would be an hard work for him, to gather them again out of those vanities he had led them into.'

At this Rice Jones said, "Thou liest, it is not the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head." "No!" said I, "what is it then?" "I say, it is the law," said he. "But" said I, the scripture, speaking of the seed of the woman, saith, "It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel;" now, hath the law an heel, said I, to be bruised?"

Then Rice Jones and all his company were at a stand, and I was moved in the power of the Lord to say, ' This seed, ' Christ Jesus, the seed of the woman, which should bruise ' the serpent's head, shall bruise thy head, and break you all ' in pieces.' Thus I left on the heads of them the seed, Christ; and not long after he and his company scattered to pieces; several of whom came to be friends, and stand to this day. Many of them had been convinced about eight years before, but had been led aside by this Rice Jones; for they denied the inward cross, the power of God, and so went into vanity. It was about eight years, since I had been formerly amongst them; in which time I was to pass over them, and by them, seeing they had slighted the Lord's truth and power, and the visitation of his love unto them. But now was the time that I was moved to go to them again, and it was of great service; for many of them were brought to the Lord Jesus Christ, and were settled upon him, sitting down under his teaching and feeding, where they were kept fresh and green; and the others that would not be gathered to him soon after withered. This was that Rice Jones, who had some years before said, ' I ' was then at the highest, and should fall;' but, poor man! he little thought how near his own fall was.

We left Nottingham, and went into Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire, visiting friends, and having meetings as we travelled. We came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's, where a general yearly meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many friends from most parts of the nation came to it; so that the inns and towns round thereabouts were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there was some disturbance by some rude people that had run out from truth; yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, which gospel brought life and immortality to light in them, and shined over all.

I was moved by the Power and Spirit of the Lord to open unto them the ' promise of God, that it was made to ' the seed, not to seeds, as many, but to one; which seed ' was Christ: and that all people, both male and female, ' should feel this seed in them, which was heir of the pro- ' mise; that so they might all witness Christ in them, the

‘ hope of glory, the mystery which had been hid from ages  
 ‘ and generations, which was revealed to the apostles, and  
 ‘ is revealed again now, after the long night of apostacy.  
 ‘ So that all might come up into this seed, Christ Jesus, walk  
 ‘ in it, and sit down together in heavenly places in Christ  
 ‘ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apos-  
 ‘ tles, the rock of ages, and is our foundation now. All  
 ‘ sitting down in him, sit down in the substance, the first  
 ‘ and the last, that changes not, the seed that bruises the  
 ‘ serpent’s head, which was before he was, who ends all the  
 ‘ types, figures, and shadows, and is the substance of them  
 ‘ all; in whom there is no shadow.’ Now, these things  
 were upon me to open unto all, that they might mind and  
 see what it is they sit down in.

‘ First, They that sit down in Adam in the fall, sit down  
 ‘ in misery, in death, in darkness and corruption.

‘ Secondly, They that sit down in the types, figures, and  
 ‘ shadows, and under the first priesthood, law, and covenant,  
 ‘ sit down in that which must have an end, and which made  
 ‘ nothing perfect.

‘ Thirdly, They that sit down in the apostacy, that hath  
 ‘ got up since the apostles days, sit down in spiritual Sodom  
 ‘ and Egypt; and are drinking of the whore’s cup, under  
 ‘ the beast’s and dragon’s power.

‘ Fourthly, They that sit down in the state in which  
 ‘ Adam was before he fell, sit down in that which may be  
 ‘ fallen from; for he fell from that state, though it was  
 ‘ perfect.

‘ Fifthly, They that sit down in the prophets, sit down  
 ‘ in that which must be fulfilled: and they that sit down in  
 ‘ the fellowship of water, bread, and wine, these being tem-  
 ‘ poral things, they sit down in that which is short of Christ,  
 ‘ and of his baptism.

‘ Sixthly, To sit down in a profession of all the scriptures,  
 ‘ from Genesis to the Revelations, and not be in the pow-  
 ‘ er and Spirit which those were in that gave them forth;  
 ‘ that was to be turned away from, by them that came into  
 ‘ the power and Spirit which those were in that gave forth  
 ‘ the scriptures.

‘ Seventhly, They that sit down in the heavenly places  
 ‘ in Christ Jesus, sit down in him that never fell, nor ever  
 ‘ changed. Here is the safe sitting for all his elect, his  
 ‘ church, his spiritual members, of which he is the living  
 ‘ head, his living stones, the household of faith; of which

' house he is the corner-stone, that stands and abides all  
 ' weathers. " For," as the apostle said, " he hath quick-  
 ' ened us, who were dead in sins and trespasses, &c. and  
 ' made us sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus ;  
 ' that in the ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches  
 ' of his grace, in his kindness towards us, through Jesus  
 ' Christ." Now the ages are come, that his kindness and  
 ' exceeding riches towards us through Jesus Christ is truly  
 ' manifested in us, as it was in the apostles days ; even in us,  
 ' who have been dead in sins and trespasses, as they were ; but  
 ' now are quickened, and made to sit together in the hea-  
 ' venly places in Christ Jesus, the first and the last, by  
 ' whom all things were created ; who is ascended above all,  
 ' and is over all, and whose glorious presence is now known.  
 ' All that sit down here, in Christ Jesus, see where all other  
 ' people sit, and in what. The promise of God being to the  
 ' seed, which is one, Christ Jesus, every man and woman  
 ' must come to witness this seed, Christ in them, that they  
 ' may be heirs of the promise ; and inheriting that, they will  
 ' inherit substance. These things were largely declared of ;  
 ' the state of the church, and the state of the false church since  
 ' the apostles days, opened ; and how the true church fled  
 ' into the wilderness : and the state of the false prophets,  
 ' which Christ said should come, and John saw were come,  
 ' and how all the world wondered after them ; and how they  
 ' had filled the world with false doctrines, ways, worships,  
 ' and religions : and how the everlasting gospel is now  
 ' preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues and peo-  
 ' ple ; for all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people had  
 ' drunk the whore's cup, and she was over them, and sat up-  
 ' on them. In this night of apostacy the pure religion and  
 ' worship in spirit, which was in the apostles days, the way  
 ' of life and living faith, and the power and Holy Ghost  
 ' were lost ; but now they came to be set up again by Christ  
 ' Jesus. his messengers and ministers of the gospel, as in the  
 ' apostles days. For as Christ sent his disciples to go and  
 ' preach the gospel into all the world, and after that, the false  
 ' prophets and antichrists went over the world, and preach-  
 ' ed their false doctrines and traditions, and heathenish and  
 ' Jewish rudiments, so now again the everlasting gospel must  
 ' be preached to all nations, and to every creature, that  
 ' they may come into the pure religion, to worship God in  
 ' the Spirit and truth, and may know Christ Jesus, their  
 ' way to God, to be the author of their faith, and may re-



‘ ceive the gospel from heaven, and not from men ; in which  
 ‘ gospel, received from heaven, is the heavenly fellowship,  
 ‘ which is a myſtery to all the fellowſhips in the world.’  
 After theſe things had been largely opened, with many  
 others concerning Chriſt Jeſus and his kingdom, and the  
 people were turned to the divine light of Chriſt and his  
 Spirit, by which they might come to know God and Chriſt,  
 and the ſcriptures, and to have fellowſhip with them, and  
 one with another in the ſame Spirit, I was moved to de-  
 clare and open divers other things to thoſe friends who had  
 received a part of the miniſtry, concerning the exerciſe of  
 their ſpiritual gifts in the church : which, being taken in  
 writing by one preſent, was after this manner ;

‘ Friends,

‘ **T**AKE heed of deſtroying that which ye have begot-  
 ‘ ten : for that which deſtroys, goes out, and is the  
 ‘ caſt-away. And though that be true, yea, and may be  
 ‘ the pure truth which ſuch an one ſpeaks, yet if he doth  
 ‘ not remain in that, and live in that in his particular, but  
 ‘ goes out, the ſame which he is gone out from cometh over  
 ‘ him. So that which calms and cools the ſpirits, goes  
 ‘ over the world, and brings to the Father, to inherit the  
 ‘ life eternal ; and reaches to the ſpirits in priſon in all.  
 ‘ Therefore in the living, immovable Word of the Lord  
 ‘ God dwell, in the renown thereof : and remain on the  
 ‘ foundation that is pure, and that is ſure : for whoſoever  
 ‘ goes out from the pure, and miniſters not in and from  
 ‘ that, he comes to an end, and doth not remain ; although  
 ‘ he may have had a time, and may have been ſerviceable  
 ‘ for a time, while he lived in the thing.

‘ Take heed of many words ; what reacheth to the life,  
 ‘ ſettles in the life. That which cometh from the life, and  
 ‘ is received from God, reacheth to the life, and ſettles  
 ‘ others in the life : the work is not now as it was at firſt ; the  
 ‘ work now is, to ſettle and ſtay in the life. For as friends  
 ‘ have been led to miniſter in the power, and the power  
 ‘ hath gone through, ſo that there hath grown an under-  
 ‘ ſtanding among both people of the world and friends,  
 ‘ ſo friends muſt be kept in the life which is pure, that with  
 ‘ that they may answer the pure life of God in others. If  
 ‘ friends do not live in the pure life which they ſpeak of,  
 ‘ to answer the life in thoſe they ſpeak to, the other part  
 ‘ ſteps in ; and ſo there comes up an outward acquaintance,

' and he lets that come over him. But as every one is  
 ' kept living in the life of God, over all that which is con-  
 ' trary, they are in their places; then they do not lay hands  
 ' on any suddenly, which is the danger now: for if any one  
 ' do, he may lose his discerning, may lay hands on the  
 ' wrong part, so let the deceit come too near him; and the  
 ' deceit will steal over, so that it will be an hard thing for  
 ' him to get it down. There is no one strikes his fellow-ser-  
 ' vants, but first he is gone from the pure in his own parti-  
 ' cular; for when he goeth from the light he is enlightened  
 ' withal, then he strikes; and then he hath his reward: the  
 ' light, which he is gone from, Christ, comes and gives him  
 ' his reward. This is the state of the evil servants. The  
 ' boisterous, the hasty and rash, beget nothing to God; but  
 ' the life, which doth reach the life, is that which begets to  
 ' God. When all are settled in the life they are in that  
 ' which remains for ever; and what is received there, is re-  
 ' ceived from the Lord; and what one receiveth from the  
 ' Lord, he keepeth; so he sitteth still, cool, and quiet in  
 ' his own spirit, and gives it forth as he is moved; but to  
 ' the harlots, judgment.

' Friends, This is the word of the Lord to you all, be  
 ' watchful and careful in all meetings ye come into; for  
 ' where friends are sitting together in silence, they are many  
 ' times gathered into their own measures. When a man  
 ' is come newly out of the world, from ministering to the  
 ' world's people, he cometh out of the dirt; and then he  
 ' had need take heed that he be not rash. For when he  
 ' comes into a silent meeting, that is another state; then he  
 ' must come, and feel his own spirit, how it is when he  
 ' comes to them that sit silent. If he be rash, they will  
 ' judge him; that having been in the world, and amongst  
 ' the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come  
 ' in the heat of his spirit out of the world; whereas the  
 ' others are still and cool; and his condition in that, not be-  
 ' ing agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt, by  
 ' begetting them out of the cool state into the heating state;  
 ' if he be not in that which commands his own spirit, and  
 ' gives him to know it.

' There is great danger too in travelling abroad in the  
 ' world. The same power, that moves any to go forth, is  
 ' that which must keep them. For it is the greatest danger  
 ' to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go  
 ' in the power of the Lord; for then, he keeping in the

‘ power, is kept by it in his journey, and in his work ; it will  
 ‘ enable him to answer the transgressed, and keep above the  
 ‘ transgressor. Every one feeling the danger to his own par-  
 ‘ ticular in travelling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord  
 ‘ will be placed and kept in. Though they that travel may  
 ‘ have openings when they are abroad, to minister to others ;  
 ‘ yet, for their own particular growth, they must dwell in  
 ‘ the life which doth open ; and that will keep down that  
 ‘ which would boast. For the minister comes into the  
 ‘ death, to that which is in the death and in prison : and so  
 ‘ returns up again into the life, into the power, and into the  
 ‘ wisdom, to preserve him clean.

‘ This is the word of the Lord God to you all ; feel, that  
 ‘ ye stand in the presence of the Lord ; for every man’s word  
 ‘ shall be his burden ; but the word of the Lord is pure, and  
 ‘ answers the pure in every one. The Word of the Lord is  
 ‘ that which was in the beginning, and brings to the begin-  
 ‘ ning. It is an hammer to beat down the transgressor (not  
 ‘ the transgressed) and as a fire to burn up that which is con-  
 ‘ trary to it. Friends, come into that which is over all the  
 ‘ spirits of the world, fathoms all the spirits of the world,  
 ‘ and stands in the patience ; with that ye may see where  
 ‘ others stand. and reach that which is of God in every one.  
 ‘ Here is no strife, no contention, out of transgression : for  
 ‘ he that goeth into strife, and into contention, he is from  
 ‘ the pure Spirit. For where any goeth into contention, if  
 ‘ any thing hath been begotten by him before, that conten-  
 ‘ tious nature doth get atop, spoileth that which was begot-  
 ‘ ten, and quenqueth his own prophesying. So if that be  
 ‘ not subjected by the power in the particular, which would  
 ‘ arise into strife, that is dangerous.

‘ If any one have a moving to any place, and have spo-  
 ‘ ken what they were moved of the Lord, let them return  
 ‘ to their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God,  
 ‘ and in the fear of the Lord ; so will ye be kept in the life,  
 ‘ in the solid and seasoned spirit, and preach as well in life  
 ‘ as with words (none must be light or wild.) For the seed  
 ‘ of God is weighty, brings to be solid, and leads into the  
 ‘ wisdom of God, by which the wisdom of the creation is  
 ‘ known. But if that part be up which runs into the ima-  
 ‘ ginations, and that part be standing in which the inagi-  
 ‘ nations come up, and the pure spirit be not thoroughly  
 ‘ come up to rule and reign, then that will run out that  
 ‘ will glory, boast, and vapour ; and so will such an one

' spoil that which opened to him ; this is for condemnation.  
 ' Let every one mind that which feels through and com-  
 ' mands his spirit, whereby every one may know what spi-  
 ' rit he is of ; for he should first try his own spirit, and then  
 ' he may try others ; he should first know his own spirit, and  
 ' then he may know others. Therefore that which doth  
 ' command all these spirits, where the heats and burnings  
 ' come in and get up, in that wait which chains them down  
 ' and cools : that is the elect, the heir of the promise of  
 ' God. For no hasty, rash, brittle spirits (though they  
 ' have prophecies) have held out, and gone through, they  
 ' not being subjected in the prophecy. The earthly will  
 ' not abide, for it is brittle ; in that state the ministry was  
 ' another's, not the Son's ; for the Son hath life in himself,  
 ' and the Son hath the power, which man being obedient  
 ' to, he may be serviceable : but if he go from the pure  
 ' power, he falls and abuseth it. Therefore let your faith  
 ' stand in the pure power of the Lord God, and do not  
 ' abuse it ; but let that search through, and work through ;  
 ' and let every one stand in the power of the Lord, which  
 ' reacheth the seed of God ; which is the heir of the promise  
 ' of life without end. Let none be hasty to speak ; for ye  
 ' have time enough, and with an eye ye may reach the wit-  
 ' nefs ; neither let any be backward when ye are moved ;  
 ' for that brings destruction. Truth hath an honour in the  
 ' hearts of those who are not friends ; so that all friends be-  
 ' ing kept in the truth, they are kept in the honour, they  
 ' are honourable, for that will honour them ; but if any  
 ' lose the power, lose the life, they lose their crown, they  
 ' lose their honour, they lose the cross which should crucify  
 ' them, and they crucify the just ; and by losing the power,  
 ' the Lamb comes to be slain. And as it is here, so will  
 ' it be in other nations ; for all friends, here and there, are  
 ' as one family : the seed, the plants, they are as a family.  
 ' All being kept in that which subjects all, and keeps all  
 ' under, to wit, the seed itself, the life itself, that is the heir  
 ' of the promise ; and that is the bond of peace : for there  
 ' is the unity in the Spirit with God and with one another.  
 ' He that is kept in the life hears God, and sees man's con-  
 ' dition : and with that he answers the life in others that  
 ' hear God also : thus one friend, that is come into that,  
 ' comprehends the world. But that which friends speak,  
 ' they must live in ; so may they expect that others may  
 ' come into that which they speak, to live in the same. For

' the power of the Lord God hath been abused by some,  
 ' and the worth of truth hath not been minded. There hath  
 ' been a trampling on, and marring with the feet, and that  
 ' abuseth the power. But now every friend is to keep in  
 ' the power, and to take heed to it; for that must be kept  
 ' down which would trample and mar with the feet, and the  
 ' pure life and power of God is to be lived in over that;  
 ' that none with the feet might foul or mar, but every one  
 ' may be kept in the pure power and life of the Lord.  
 ' Then the water of life cometh in; then he that minister-  
 ' eth drinketh himself, and giveth others to drink.

' When any shall be moved to go to speak in a steeple-  
 ' house or market, turn in to that which moves, and be  
 ' obedient to it; that that which would not go may be kept  
 ' down: for that which would not go will be apt to get up.  
 ' And take heed on the other hand, that the lavishing part  
 ' do not get up, for it is a bad favour; therefore that must  
 ' be kept down and kept subject. Wait in the light of the  
 ' Lord that ye may be all kept in the wisdom of God. For  
 ' when the seed is up in every particular, there is no dan-  
 ' ger; but when there is an opening and prophecy, and the  
 ' power stirs before the seed comes up, there is something  
 ' that will be apt to run out rashly; there's the danger, and  
 ' there must be the patience in the fear. For it is a weighty  
 ' thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God,  
 ' and to go forth in that. It is not as a customary preach-  
 ' ing; it is to bring people to the end of all outward preach-  
 ' ing. For when ye have declared the truth to the people,  
 ' and they have received it, and are come into that which  
 ' ye spake of; the uttering of many words, and long de-  
 ' clarations out of the life, may beget them into a form.  
 ' And if any should run on rashly into words again, with-  
 ' out the favour of life, those that are come into the thing  
 ' he spake of will judge him; whereby he may hurt again  
 ' that which he had raised up before. So friends, ye must  
 ' all come into the thing that is spoken in the openings of  
 ' the heavenly life among you, and walk in the love of  
 ' God, that ye may answer the thing spoken to.

' And take heed all of running into inordinate affections;  
 ' for when people come to own you, there is danger of the  
 ' wrong part getting up. There was a strife among the dis-  
 ' ciples of Christ, who should be the greatest? Christ told  
 ' them, "The heathen exercise lordship, and have domi-  
 ' nion over one another; but it shall not be so among

" you." For Christ the Seed was to come up in every one  
 ' of them ; so then where is the greatest ? That part in the  
 ' disciples, which looked to be the greatest, was the same  
 ' that was in the Gentiles. But who comes here to live in  
 ' the Word that sanctified him, having the heart sanctified,  
 ' the tongue and lips sanctified, living in the Word of wis-  
 ' dom, that makes clean the heart, and reconciles to God,  
 ' all things being upheld by the Word and power ; as there  
 ' is an abiding in the Word of God, that upholds times  
 ' and seasons, and gives all things increase, here dwelling  
 ' in the Word of wisdom, if there be but two or three  
 ' agreed in this on earth, it shall be done for them in hea-  
 ' ven. So in this must all things be ordered by the Word  
 ' of wisdom and power, that upholds all things, the times  
 ' and the seasons, that are in the Father's hands ; to the  
 ' glory of God, whereby his blessing may be felt among  
 ' you ; and this brings to the beginning. This is the word  
 ' of the Lord God to you all, Keep down, keep low, that  
 ' nothing may rule nor reign in you, but life itself.

' The power being lived in, the cross is lived in ; and  
 ' where-ever friends come in this, they draw the power and  
 ' the life over ; they leave a witness behind them, answering  
 ' the witness of God in others. Where this is lived in,  
 ' there is no want of wisdom, no want of power, no want of  
 ' knowledge ; he that ministereth in this, seeth with the eye  
 ' which the Lord openeth in him, what is for the fire, and  
 ' what is for the sword, what must be fed with judgment,  
 ' and what must be nourished. This brings all down, and  
 ' to be low, every one keeping to the power ; for let a man  
 ' get up ever so high, he must come down again to the  
 ' power where he left ; what he went from, he must come  
 ' down again to that. Before all these wicked spirits be got  
 ' down, which are rambling abroad, friends must have pa-  
 ' tience, must wait in the patience, in the cool life ; and who  
 ' is in this doing the work of the Lord, he hath the tasting  
 ' and the feeling of the Lamb's power and authority. There-  
 ' fore all friends, keep cool and quiet in the power of the  
 ' Lord God ; and all that is contrary will be subjected ;  
 ' the Lamb hath the victory, in the seed, through the  
 ' patience.

' If any have been moved to speak, and have quenched  
 ' that which moved them, let none such go forth afterwards  
 ' into words, until they feel the power to arise and move  
 ' them thereto again ; for after the first motion is quenched,

' the other part will be apt to get up ; and if any go forth  
 ' in that, he goeth forth in his own, and the betrayer will  
 ' come into that—And all friends, be careful not to med-  
 ' die with the powers of the earth ; but keep out of all such  
 ' things ; as ye keep in the Lamb's authority, ye will answer  
 ' that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which  
 ' is the end of the law. Keep out of all jangling ; for all  
 ' that are in the transgression are out from the law of love ;  
 ' but all that are in the law of love come to the Lamb's  
 ' power, in the Lamb's authority, who is the end of the law  
 ' outward. For the law being added because of transgres-  
 ' sion, Christ, who was glorified with the Father before the  
 ' world began, is the end of the law ; bringing them that  
 ' live in the law of life, to live over all transgression ; which  
 ' every particular must feel in himself.'

More was then spoken to many of these particulars ; which was not taken at large as delivered.

After this meeting was over, and most of the friends gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there came a party of horse, with a constable, to seize me. I heard them ask, ' Who was in the house ? ' Somebody made answer, ' I was there.' They said, ' I was the man they looked for ; ' and went forthwith into the house, where they had many words with John Crook, and some few friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them, that they came not into the garden to look for me ; but went their way in a rage. When I came into the house, friends were very glad to see them so disappointed, and that I had escaped them. Next day I passed from thence : and after I had visited friends in several places, came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me, and bearing me up in his service.

I had not been long in London, before I heard that a Jesuit, who came over with an embassador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers to dispute with them at the earl of Newport's house ; whereupon some friends let him know some would meet him. Then he sent us word, ' He would meet with twelve of the wisest learned men we had.' Awhile after he sent us word, ' He would meet with but six ; ' after that, he sent us word again, ' He would have but three to come.' We hastened what we could, lest, for all his great boast, he should put it quite off at last. When we were come to the house, I bid Nicholas Bond

and Edward Burrough go up, and enter the discourse with him; and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I advised them to state this question to him, 'Whether or no the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that they were in?' They stated the question accordingly: and the Jesuit affirmed, 'That the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church.' By this time I was come to them. Then we asked him, 'Whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had?' He said, 'No.' 'Then,' said I, 'If ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and Spirit that the apostles had, ye are degenerated from the power and Spirit which the primitive church was in.' There needed little more to be said to that. Then I asked him, 'What scripture they had for setting up cloysters for nuns, abbeyes and monasteries for men; for all their several orders; for their praying by beads, and to images; for making crosses; for forbidding of meats and marriages; and for putting people to death for religion? If, (said I) ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by scriptures where-ever they practised any such things?' (For it was agreed on both hands, that we should make good by scriptures what we said.) Then he told us of a written word, and an unwritten word? I asked him what he called his unwritten word? He said, 'The written word is the scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spoke by word of mouth; which (said he) are all those traditions that we practise.' I bid him prove that by scripture. Then he brought that scripture where the apostle says, 2 Theff. ii. 5. 'When I was with you, I told you these things. That is,' said he, 'I told you of nunneries and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the church of Rome; which,' he said, 'was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and have since been continued down by tradition unto these times.' Then I desired him to read that scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words; for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians, "he had told them before," is not an un-



‘ written word, but is there written down; namely, That  
 ‘ the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed be-  
 ‘ fore the great and terrible day of Christ, which he was  
 ‘ writing of, should come: so this was not telling them any  
 ‘ of those things that the church of Rome practises. In  
 ‘ like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epif-  
 ‘ tle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, “ he  
 ‘ heard were amongst them, busy-bodies, who did not work  
 ‘ at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by  
 ‘ his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if  
 ‘ any would not work, neither should he eat: which now  
 ‘ he commands them again in his written word in this epif-  
 ‘ tle,” 2 Theff. iii. So this scripture afforded no proof  
 for their invented traditions, and he had no other scripture-  
 proof to offer. Therefore I told him, ‘ This was another  
 ‘ degeneration of their church into such inventions and tra-  
 ‘ ditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practised.’

After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, begin-  
 ning at the paschal lamb, and the shew-bread, and came to  
 the words of Christ, ‘ This is my body,’ and to what the  
 apostle wrote of it to the Corinthians; concluding, ‘ That  
 ‘ after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it  
 ‘ was immortal and divine, and he that received it, received  
 ‘ the whole Christ.’ I followed him through the scriptures  
 he brought, till I came to Christ’s words and the apostle’s.  
 I shewed him, ‘ That the same apostle told the Corinthi-  
 ‘ ans, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance  
 ‘ of Christ’s death, that they were reprobates, “ if Christ  
 ‘ was not in them;” but if the bread they ate was Christ,  
 ‘ he must of necessity be in them after they had eaten it.  
 ‘ Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians  
 ‘ ate and drank, was Christ’s body, then how hath Christ a  
 ‘ body in heaven?’ I observed to him also, ‘ That both the  
 ‘ disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards,  
 ‘ were to eat the bread and drink the wine in “ remem-  
 ‘ brance of Christ,” and to “ shew forth his death till he  
 ‘ come; which plainly proves the bread and wine, which  
 ‘ they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real  
 ‘ body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then  
 ‘ there present, and it had been improper to have done such  
 ‘ a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then pre-  
 ‘ sent with them, as he must have been, if that bread and  
 ‘ wine which they ate and drank had been his real body.’  
 As to those words of Christ, ‘ This is my body,’ I told him,

' Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in  
 ' scripture a rock. Is Christ therefore an outward rock,  
 ' door, or vine?' O, said the Jesuit, ' Those words are to  
 ' be interpreted;' ' so, said I, are those words of Christ,  
 " This is my body." Having stopped his mouth as to argu-  
 ment, I made the Jesuit a proposal thus; ' That seeing  
 ' he said, " The bread and wine was immortal and divine,  
 " and the very Christ; and that whosoever received it, re-  
 " ceived the whole Christ;" let a meeting be appointed be-  
 ' tween some whom the pope and his cardinals should ap-  
 ' point, and some of us; let a bottle of wine and loaf of  
 ' bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let  
 ' them consecrate which of those parts they would. Then  
 ' set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine  
 ' in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it; and let trial be  
 ' thus made, Whether the consecrated bread and wine  
 ' would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and  
 ' mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as  
 ' soon as that which was unconsecrated? By this means,  
 ' said I, the truth of this matter may be made manifest.  
 ' And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but  
 ' retain their favour and goodness, this may be a means to  
 ' draw many to your church: if they change, decay, and  
 ' lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake  
 ' your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much  
 ' blood hath been shed about these things; as in queen Ma-  
 ' ry's days.' To this the Jesuit made this reply, " Take,"  
 said he, " a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces,  
 " and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon  
 " king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and  
 " the one garment shall wear away as well as the other."  
 ' Is this thy answer, said I? Yes, said he. Then, said I,  
 ' by this the company may all be satisfied that your conse-  
 ' crated bread and wine is not Christ. Have ye told peo-  
 ' ple so long, that the consecrated bread and wine was im-  
 ' mortal and divine, and that it was the very and real body  
 ' and blood of Christ, and dost thou now say it will wear  
 ' away or decay as well as the other! I must tell thee,  
 " Christ remains the same to day as yesterday," and never  
 ' decays; but is the saints heavenly food in all generations,  
 ' through which they have life.' He replied no more to  
 this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were  
 present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.  
 Then I asked him, ' Why their church did persecute, and

‘ put people to death for religion?’ He replied, ‘ It was not the church that did it, but the magistrates.’ I asked him, ‘ Whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and christians?’ He said, Yes: ‘ Why then, said I, are they not members of your church?’ ‘ Yes,’ said he. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own concessions, whether the church of Rome doth not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted, and his subtilty was confuted by simplicity.

During the time I was at London, I had many services lay upon me; for it was a time of much suffering. I was moved to write to O. Cromwel, and lay before him the sufferings of friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also a talk about this time of making Cromwel king; whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warned him against accepting it, and of divers dangers; which if he did not avoid, I told him, ‘ He would bring shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity.’ He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me; yet afterwards I was moved to write to him more fully concerning that matter.

About this time the lady Claypool (so called) was sick and much troubled in mind, and could receive no comfort from any that came to her; which when I heard of, I was moved to write her the following letter:

‘ Friend,

‘ **B**E still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God to turn thy mind to the Lord, from whom life comes; whereby thou mayest receive his strength and power to allay all blusterings, storms and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into soberness, into stillness, into stayedness, into quietness up to God, with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God thou mayst feel, and thy faith in it, to work down that which troubles thee; for that is it which keeps peace and brings up the witness in thee, which hath been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the transgression of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, the creature is led into the night, nature goes out of its course, an old garment goes on, and an uppermost clothing: and thy nature being led out of its course, it

comes to be all on fire in the transgression, and that defaceth the glory of the first body. Therefore be still awhile from thy own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires, and imaginations, and be stayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt find strength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; to deny thyself, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou must be kept. Then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and give thee to see the glory of the first body. There the wisdom of God will be received (which is Christ, by which all things were made and created) and thou be thereby preserved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the physician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God and do his will. For all distractions, unruliness, and confusion are in the transgression; which transgression must be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been transgressed against, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be seasoned and stilled, and a right understanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his blessings enter, and are felt over all that is contrary in the power of the Lord, which raises up the principle of God within, gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord unto thee. For all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves and your own weakness, that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Let the time past be sufficient to every one, who in any thing hath been lifted up in transgression out of the power of the Lord; for he can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore, all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the secrets of God and his wisdom, may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it in all tempests, storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the

‘ children of men. This is the word of the Lord God un-  
 ‘ to you all ; what the light doth make manifest and dif-  
 ‘ cover, as temptations, distractions, confusions ; do not  
 ‘ look at these temptations, confusions, corruptions, but at  
 ‘ the light which discovers them and makes them manifest ;  
 ‘ and with the same light you may feel over them, to receive  
 ‘ power to stand against them. The same light which lets  
 ‘ you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant  
 ‘ of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which  
 ‘ gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into cove-  
 ‘ nant with God. For looking down at sin, corruption,  
 ‘ and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it ; but looking at  
 ‘ the light, which discovers them, ye will see over them.  
 ‘ That will give victory, and ye will find grace and strength ;  
 ‘ there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation ;  
 ‘ by it ye may see to the beginning, and the “ Glory that  
 ‘ was with the Father before the world began ;” and come  
 ‘ to know the seed of God, which is the heir of the promise  
 ‘ of God, and of the world which hath no end ; and which  
 ‘ bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from  
 ‘ coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an end-  
 ‘ less life, the power of God which is immortal, which  
 ‘ brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in  
 ‘ whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the  
 ‘ Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee.

‘ G. F.’

When the foregoing paper was read to her, she said, ‘ It  
 ‘ stayed her mind for the present.’ Afterwards many friends  
 got copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it  
 to people that were troubled in mind ; and it was made  
 useful for the settling of the minds of several.

About this time came forth a declaration from O. Crom-  
 wel, the Protector, for a ‘ collection towards the relief of  
 ‘ divers protestant churches,’ driven out of Poland, and of  
 ‘ twenty protestant families, driven out of the confines of  
 ‘ Bohemia.’ And there having been a like declaration pub-  
 lished some time before to invite the nation to a day of  
 solemn fasting and humiliation, in order to a contribution  
 to be made for the suffering protestants of the vallies of  
 Lucern, Angrona, &c. who were persecuted by the duke of  
 Savoy ; I was moved to write to the Protector and chief  
 magistrates on this occasion, both to shew them the nature  
 of a true fast (such as God requires and accepts) and to

make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation in blaming the papists for persecuting the protestants abroad, while they, calling themselves protestants, were at the same time persecuting their protestant neighbours and friends at home. That which I wrote to them was after this manner :

‘ To the heads and governors of this nation, who have  
 ‘ put forth a declaration for the keeping a day of so-  
 ‘ lemn fasting and humiliation, for the persecution (as  
 ‘ you say) of divers people beyond the seas professing  
 ‘ the reformed religion, which, ye say, hath been trans-  
 ‘ mitted unto them from their ancestors.

‘ **A** PROFESSION of the reformed religion may be trans-  
 ‘ mitted to generations, and so holden by tradition ;  
 ‘ and in that wherein the profession and tradition is holden,  
 ‘ is the day of humiliation kept, which stands in the will of  
 ‘ man. This is not the fast that the Lord requires, “ To  
 ‘ bow down the head like a bulrush for a day,” and the day  
 ‘ following be in the same condition as they were the day  
 ‘ before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences  
 ‘ do I speak, which testifieth for God every day, and wit-  
 ‘ nesseth against all sin and persecution ; which measure of  
 ‘ God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day,  
 ‘ but leads to the fast the Lord requires, which is “ to loose  
 ‘ the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to  
 ‘ break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free,” Isa.  
 ‘ lviii. 6, 7. This is the fast that the Lord requires, and  
 ‘ this stands not in the transmissiion of times, nor in the tra-  
 ‘ ditions of men. But this stands in that which was before  
 ‘ times were, and which leads out of time, and shall be when  
 ‘ time shall be no more. These that teach for doctrine the  
 ‘ commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the  
 ‘ life and power, when it came. And whereas ye mention  
 ‘ a decree or edict that was made against the said persecuted  
 ‘ protestants, all such decrees or edicts proceeded from the  
 ‘ ground of the pope’s religion and supremacy, and therein  
 ‘ stands his tyranny and his cruelty, acted in that will which  
 ‘ is in that nature which exerciseth lordship over one ano-  
 ‘ ther, as ye may read, Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25. as all  
 ‘ the heathen do, and ever did ; and in the heathenish na-  
 ‘ ture is all the tyranny and persecution exercised by them  
 ‘ that are out of the obedience to the light of Christ Jesus  
 ‘ in the conscience, which is the guide and leader of all,

‘ who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But  
‘ who are not led by this, know not what it is to suffer for  
‘ conscience sake. Now, whereas ye take into your considera-  
‘ tion the sad persecution, tyranny, and cruelty exercised  
‘ upon them whom ye call your protestant brethren, and  
‘ contribute and administer to their wants outwardly; this  
‘ is good in its place, and we own it; and see it good to  
‘ administer to the necessities of others, and to do good to  
‘ all; and we, who are sufferers by a law derived from the  
‘ pope, are willing to join and to contribute with you to  
‘ their outward necessities. For “ the earth is the Lord’s,  
‘ and the fulness thereof;” who is good to all, gracious to  
‘ all, and willing that all should be saved and come to the  
‘ knowledge of the truth. But in the mean time, while ye  
‘ are doing this, and taking notice of others cruelty, tyrann-  
‘ ny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and  
‘ see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ  
‘ Jesus in all your consciences I speak, which cannot lie,  
‘ nor err, nor bear false witness; but doth bear witness for  
‘ God, and cries for equity, justice, and righteousness to be  
‘ executed. See what ye are doing who profess the scrip-  
‘ tures, which were given forth by the saints in light, who  
‘ dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For these who  
‘ now witness the same light, the same life, and the same  
‘ power which gave forth the scriptures, which ye in words  
‘ profess, them ye persecute, them ye hale out of your sy-  
‘ nagogues and markets; them ye beat, stock and imprison.  
‘ Let that of God in your consciences, which is just, right-  
‘ eous, and equal, examine and try whether ye have any  
‘ example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which  
‘ many now in this nation suffer under, who are a people  
‘ harmless and innocent, waiting in obedience towards God  
‘ and man. And though ye account the way of truth they  
‘ walk in heresy, yet therein do they exercise themselves, to  
‘ have always a “ conscience void of offence towards God  
‘ and man;” as ye may read the saints of old did, Acts  
‘ xxiv. 14, 15, 16. not wronging any man, neither giving  
‘ any just cause of offence, only being obedient to the com-  
‘ mands of the Lord, to declare as they are moved by the  
‘ Holy Ghost: and standing for the testimony of a good  
‘ conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences  
‘ bearing them witness that they lie not: for this do they suf-  
‘ fer under you, who in words profess the same thing for  
‘ which they suffer. Now see if any age or generation did

' ever persecute as ye do? For ye profess Christ Jesus who  
 ' reveals the Father, and persecute those who witness the re-  
 ' velation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. Ye  
 ' profess Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, " that  
 " enlightens every one that cometh into the world ;" yet per-  
 ' secute them that bear witness and give testimony to this  
 ' light. Ye profess that the word is become flesh, yet perse-  
 ' cute them that witness it so. Ye profess that whosoever  
 ' confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an  
 ' antichrist, yet persecute them that do confess him come in  
 ' the flesh, and call them antichrists and deceivers. Ye pro-  
 ' fess that the kingdom of Christ is come, yet persecute them  
 ' that witness it come. Ye profess Christ Jesus the resurrec-  
 ' tion and the life, yet persecute them that witness him to be  
 ' so. If ye say, " How shall we know that these people,  
 " who say they witness these things, do so or no?" I an-  
 ' swer, Turn your minds to the light which Christ Jesus  
 ' hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if  
 ' ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life; then  
 ' ye will know and see what ye have done, who have per-  
 ' secuted the Lord of Glory (in his people) in whom is life,  
 ' and the life is the light of men. To no other touchstone  
 ' shall we turn you, but into your own consciences; there  
 ' may ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you,  
 ' according to the holy scriptures. When the books of con-  
 ' sciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall  
 ' ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true.  
 ' Though now ye may stop your ears, and harden your  
 ' hearts, while it is called to-day, then ye shall know what  
 ' ye have done, and whom ye have transgressed against;  
 ' then ye will see that no persecutors, in any age or genera-  
 ' tion before you, did ever transgress against that light and  
 ' measure of God made manifest in such manner as ye have  
 ' done. For though Christ and the apostles were persecut-  
 ' ed in their time, the Jews for the most part did not know  
 ' that he was the Christ when he came, notwithstanding they  
 ' had the scriptures which prophesied of him; neither did  
 ' they believe that he was risen again when the apostles  
 ' preached his resurrection. But ye say, " Ye believe he is  
 " come, ye believe his resurrection;" yet ye persecute those  
 ' that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried  
 ' with him in baptism, those that are conformable to his  
 ' death, and know the power of his resurrection: those ye  
 ' persecute, hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten



‘ in your synagogues; those ye cause to be whipped and  
‘ stocked, shamefully entreated, cast into prison, and kept,  
‘ as many gaols in this nation at this day testify to your fa-  
‘ ces. Therefore honestly consider what ye are doing while  
‘ ye are taking notice of others cruelties, lest ye overlook  
‘ your own. There is some difference in many things be-  
‘ tween the popish religion and that which ye call the pro-  
‘ testant, but in this persecution of yours there is no differ-  
‘ ence; for ye will confess that the foundation of your reli-  
‘ gion is grounded upon the scriptures, yet ye persecute  
‘ them that are in the same life which they were in who gave  
‘ forth the scriptures, yourselves being the meanwhile under  
‘ a profession of the words they spoke: this ye shall one day  
‘ witness. So ye have a profession and form, and persecute  
‘ them that are in the possession, life, and power. Know  
‘ assuredly that ye must come to judgment; for he is made  
‘ manifest to whom all judgment is committed. To the  
‘ light of Christ Jesus in your consciences, which searcheth  
‘ and trieth you, turn your minds; stand still, and wait  
‘ there to receive the righteous law, which is according to  
‘ that of God in the conscience, which is now rising and  
‘ bearing witness against all ungodliness and unrighteous-  
‘ ness of men; and they whom ye persecute are manifest to  
‘ God, and that of God in all consciences shall bear witness  
‘ for us that we are of God; this ye shall one day witness,  
‘ whether ye will hear or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the  
‘ testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly  
‘ sincerity (not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of  
‘ God) we have had our conversation in the world, not  
‘ handling the word of God deceitfully, but in the mani-  
‘ festation of the truth, commending ourselves to every  
‘ man’s conscience in the sight of God; and if our gospel  
‘ be hid, it is hid to them that are lost. For witnessing the  
‘ holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience do we  
‘ suffer, and are subject for conscience sake. This is thank-  
‘ worthy, if a man, for conscience sake, endure griefs and  
‘ sufferings wrongfully. In this is our joy and rejoicing,  
‘ having a good conscience, that whereas we are evil spoken  
‘ of as evil-doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse  
‘ our good conversation in Christ; which is not only the  
‘ putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a  
‘ good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus  
‘ Christ. This we witness made manifest (eternal praises  
‘ to the living God!) and bear testimony to that which

‘ spoke it in the apostle in life and power. Therefore do  
 ‘ we bear witness and testify against those, who, being got  
 ‘ into a form and profession of it, do persecute the life and  
 ‘ power. To the eternal light of Christ Jesus, the searcher  
 ‘ and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and see what ye  
 ‘ are doing; lest ye overturn your foundation, whereon ye  
 ‘ pretend to stand, while ye are professing the scriptures,  
 ‘ and persecuting the life, light, and power, which those  
 ‘ were in who gave them forth. For the stone cut out of  
 ‘ the mountain without hands, is now striking at the feet  
 ‘ of the image, the profession which is set up, and stands  
 ‘ in the will of man. Now is that made manifest, unto  
 ‘ which all must answer, and appear before the judgment-  
 ‘ seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done  
 ‘ in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it  
 ‘ be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the  
 ‘ Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto  
 ‘ God, and shall be made manifest in all your consciences,  
 ‘ which ye shall witness.

‘ G. F.’

Divers times, both in the time of the long parliament, and of the protector (so called) and of the committee of safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them, their fasts were like unto Jezebel's: for commonly, when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New-England professors soon after did; who, before they put our friends to death, proclaimed a fast also.

Now it was a time of great suffering; and many friends being in prisons, many other friends were moved to go to the parliament, to offer themselves up to lie in the same prisons where their friends lay, that those in prison might go forth, and not perish in the stinking gaols. This we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads; which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favour could we find from those professing parliaments; instead thereof, they would rage, and sometimes threaten friends that attended them, to whip, and send them home. Then commonly soon after the Lord would turn them out,

and fend them home ; who had not an heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned ; for I was moved to write to them, in their feveral turns, as I did to the long-parliament, unto whom I declared, before they were broken up, ‘ that thick ‘ darknefs was coming over them all, even a day of dark- ‘ neffs that fhould be felt.’

And becaufe the parliament that now fat was made up moftly of high profeflors, who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed greater perfecutors of thole that were truly religious, I was moved to fend them the following lines, as a reproof of their hypocriſy :

‘ **O** FRIENDS, do not cloak and cover yourſelves : ‘ there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that ‘ will uncover you. He ſeeth your way. “ Wo be to ‘ him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, faith the ‘ Lord.” Do ye act contrary to the law, and then put it ‘ from you ! Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, ‘ what was ſpoken againſt ſuch. My Saviour ſpoke againſt ‘ ſuch ; “ I was fick, and ye viſited me not : I was hungry, ‘ and ye fed me not : I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not ‘ in : I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not.” But they ‘ ſaid, “ When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come ‘ to thee ? Inaſmuch as ye did it not unto one of theſe ‘ little ones, ye did it not unto me.” Friends, ye imprifon ‘ them that are in the life and power of truth, and yet pro- ‘ feſs to be the miniſters of Chriſt ; but if Chriſt had ſent ‘ you, ye would bring out of priſon, out of bondage, and ‘ receive ſtrangers. Ye have lived in pleaſure on the earth, ‘ and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a ‘ day of ſlaughter ; ye have condemned and killed the juſt, ‘ and he doth not reſiſt you.

‘ G. F.’

After this, as I was going out of town, having two friends with me, when we were little more than a mile out of the City, there met us two troopers belonging to colonel Hacker’s regiment, who took me, and the friends with me, and brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us priſoners a little while ; but the Lord’s power was ſo over them, that they did not bring us before any officer ; but after awhile ſet us at liberty. The ſame day, taking boat, I went to Kingſton, and from thence to Hampton Court, to ſpeak

with the Protector about the sufferings of friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of friends before him, and had warned him, as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and the next day went to Hampton Court, to have spoken further with him. But when I came, he was sick, and — Harvey, who waited on him, told me, The doctors were not willing I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting; and the Lord's truth and power were preciously manifested amongst us. After I had visited friends in those parts, I returned to London; and soon after went into Essex; where I had not been long, before I heard the Protector was dead, and his son Richard made Protector in his room. Whereupon I came to London again.

Before this time the church faith (so called) was given forth, which was said to be made at the Savoy in eleven days. I got a copy of it before it was published, and wrote an answer to it: and when their book of church faith was sold up and down the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This displeased some of the parliament-men; so that one of them told me, 'They must have me to Smithfield.' I told him, I was over their fires, and feared them not. Reasoning with him, I wished him to consider, Had all people been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? Did not the apostle say that Jesus was the author and finisher of their faith? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles faith, of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs faith, should not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher of their faith, and not to the priests? A great deal of work we had about the priests made-faith; for they called us house-creeper, leading silly women captive, because we met in houses, and would not hold up their priests and temples which they had made and set up. I told them, it was they that led silly women captive, and crept into houses, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had got a forma

of godliness, but denied the power and Spirit, which the apostles were in. Such began to creep in the apostles days; but now they had got the magistrates on their side, who upheld those houses for them, which they had crept into, their temples, with their tithes: whereas the apostles brought people off from even that temple, and those tithes and offerings, which God had for a time commanded. And the apostles met in several private houses, being to preach the gospel in all nations; which they did freely, as Christ commanded them. Thus do we, who bring people off from these priests, temples, and tithes (which God never commanded) to meet in houses, or on mountains, as the saints of old did, who were gathered in the name of Jesus; and Christ was their Prophet, Priest and Shepherd.

Major Wiggan, a very envious man, was present, yet he bridled himself before the parliament-men, and some others that were there in company. He took upon him to assert, 'Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin remaining in us.' I told him, that was strange doctrine; for Christ came to destroy the devil's works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin. So major Wiggan's mouth was stopped at that time. But next day desiring to speak with me again, I took a friend or two with me, and went to him. Then he vented a great deal of passion and rage, beyond the bounds of a christian, or moral man; whereupon I was made to reprove him; and having brought the Lord's power over him, and let him see what condition he was in, left him.

After some time I passed out of London, and had a meeting at sergeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came; some of considerable quality. A glorious meeting it was, wherein the scriptures were largely and clearly opened, and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the hearers.

But there was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London, the rude people usually came out of several parishes round about, to abuse friends, and often beat and bruised them exceedingly. One day they abused about eighty friends, that went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, throwing them into ditches and ponds; and, when they had belined them with dirt, they said they looked like witches. The next first-day I was moved of

the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there, I bid friends bring a table, and set it in the close, where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course, the rude people came; and I, having a bible in my hand, shewed them theirs and their teachers fruits; and the people became ashamed, and were quiet. I opened the scriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith; and turned them from darkness to the light of Christ and his Spirit, by which they might understand the scriptures, see themselves and their sins, and know Christ Jesus to be their Saviour. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all, to his glory. But it was a time of great sufferings; for besides imprisonments (through which many died) our meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and brought in drums beating, and kettles, to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and, among these, the priests were as rude as any; as may be seen in the book of the fighting priests, wherein a list is given of some priests that had actually beaten and abused friends.

Many friends were brought prisoners to London, to be tried before the Committee; where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not suffer friends to come in, except they would put off their hats; but at last the Lord's power came over him, so that through the mediation of others, they were admitted. Many of us having been imprisoned upon contempts (as they called them) for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that friends, who had suffered so long for it from others, should put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over all, and wrought so, that several were set at liberty by them. Inasmuch as sufferings grew very sharp, I was moved of the Lord to write a few lines, and send among friends, to encourage them to go on faithfully and boldly through the exercises of the day; of which a copy here follows:

‘ **M**Y dear friends every where, in prison or out of prison; Fear not, because of the reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and Anakims are in the land; for at the blowing of the rams horns did the walls of Jericho fall, and they that brought the evil report perished in the wilderness. Dwell in faith, patience, and

' hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is be-  
 ' yond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant,  
 ' Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes  
 ' them to run all on heaps; in that stand, and ye will see  
 ' all things work together for good to them that love God.  
 ' In that triumph, when sufferings come, whatever they be.  
 ' Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour you  
 ' have on. You are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall,  
 ' or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though  
 ' they be as heaps upon heaps. The evil spies of the good  
 ' land may preach up hardness; but Caleb, which signifies  
 ' an heart, and Joshua, a Saviour, triumph over all.

' G. F.'

After awhile I went to Reading, where I remained under  
 great sufferings and exercises, and in great travail of spirit  
 for about ten weeks. For I saw there was great confusion  
 and distraction amongst the people, and that the powers  
 were plucking each other to pieces. And I saw how many  
 were destroying the simplicity, and betraying the truth. A  
 great deal of hypocrisy, deceit, and strife, was got upper-  
 most in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their  
 swords in one another's bowels. There had been tender-  
 ness in many of them formerly, when they were low; but  
 when they were got up, had killed, and taken possession,  
 they came to be as bad as others: so that we had much to  
 do with them about our hats, and saying Thou and Thee  
 to them. They turned their profession of patience and  
 moderation into rage and madness; many of them were  
 like distracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hard-  
 ened themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at  
 this time crucifying the Seed, Christ, both in themselves  
 and others; till at last they fell a biting and devouring one  
 another, until they were consumed one of another; who  
 had turned against and judged that which God had wrought  
 in them, and shewed unto them. So shortly after God  
 overthrew them, turned them upside down, and brought  
 the king over them, who were often furnishing that the  
 Quakers met together to bring in king Charles, whereas  
 friends did not concern themselves with the outward powers  
 or government. But at last the Lord brought him in, and  
 many of them, when they saw he would be brought in,  
 voted for the bringing him in. So with heart and voice  
 praise the name of the Lord, to whom it doth belong; who

over all hath the supremacy, and who will rock the nations, for he is over them. I had a sight and sense of the king's return a good while before, and so had some others. I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know, that while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When some forward spirits, that came amongst us, would have bought Somerset-house, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so: for I then foresaw the king's coming in again. Besides, there came a woman to me in the Strand, who had a prophecy concerning king Charles's coming in, three years before he came; and she told me, she must go to him to declare it. I advised her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herself; for if it should be known that she went on such a message, they would look upon it to be treason; but she said, she must go and tell him, that he should be brought into England again. I saw her prophecy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon those in power: for they that had then got possession were so exceeding high, and such great persecution was acted by them who called themselves saints, that they would take from friends their copyhold lands, because they could not swear in their courts. Sometimes, when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwel, he would not believe it. Wherefore Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the gaols in England, and to get copies of friends commitments under the gaolers hands, that they might lay the weight of their sufferings upon Oliver Cromwel. And when he refused to give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was 'moved to take his cap off his head, and rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house." Another friend also, a woman, was 'moved to go to the parliament (that was envious against friends) with a pitcher in her hand, which she broke into pieces before them, and told them, "So should they be broken to pieces:" which came to pass shortly after. And in my great suffering, and travail of spirit for the nation, being grievously burdened with their hypocrisy, treachery, and falsehood, I saw God would bring that atop of them which they had been atop of; and that all must be brought down to that which convinced them, before they could get over that bad spirit within and without: for it is the pure,



invifible Spirit, that doth and only can work down all deceit in people.

While I was under that fore travail at Reading, by reafon of grief and forrow of mind, and the great exercife that was upon my fpirit, my countenance being altered, and my body become poor and thin; there came a company of unclean fpirits to me, and told me, 'The plagues of God were upon me.' I told them, It was the fame fpirit fpoke in them that faid fo of Chrift, when he was ftricken and fmitten; they hid their face from him. But when I had travailed with the witnefs of God, which they had quenched, and had got through with it, over all that hypocrify which the outside profeflors were run into, and faw how that would be brought down, and turned under, and that life would rife over it, I came to have eafe; and the light, power, and fpirit, fhined over all. And then, having recovered, my body and face fwelled, when I came abroad into the air; then the bad fpirits faid, 'I was grown fat;' and they envied at that alfo. So I faw that no condition nor ftate would pleafe that fpirit of theirs: but the Lord preferved me by his power and Spirit through and over all; and in the Lord's power I came to London again.

Now was there a great bufile about the effigy of Oliver Cromwel lying in ftate; men ftanding and founding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my fpirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended. Then did I write the following lines, and fent among them, to reprove their wickednefs, and warn them to repent.

‘ **O** FRIENDS, what are ye doing! What mean ye to found before an image! Will not all fober people think ye are like mad people? “Oh, how am I grieved with your abominations! Oh, how am I wearied! My foul is wearied with you, faith the Lord; will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations?” O how have ye plucked down and fet up! O how are your hearts made whole, and not rent! How are ye turned to fooleries, which in times paff ye flood over. How have ye loft my dread, faith the Lord! O therefore fear and repent, left the fnare and the pit take you all! The great day of the Lord is come upon your abominations: the fwift hand of the Lord is turned againft them all. The fober people in thefe nations ftand amazed

‘ at your doings, and are ashamed, as if ye would bring in  
 ‘ popery. ‘ G. F.’

About this time great stirs were in the nation, the minds of people being unsettled. Much plotting and contriving there was by the several factions, to carry on their several interests. And a great care being upon me, lest any young or raw people, that might sometimes come amongst us, should be drawn into that snare, I was moved to give forth the following epistle, as a warning to such :

‘ **A**LL friends every where, keep out of plots and bus-  
 ‘ tling, and the arm of flesh ; for all these are amongst  
 ‘ Adam's sons in the fall, where they are destroying men's  
 ‘ lives like dogs, beasts, and swine, goring, rending, and  
 ‘ biting one another, destroying one another, and wrestling  
 ‘ with flesh and blood. From whence arise wars and killing,  
 ‘ but from the lusts ? Now all this is in Adam in the fall, out  
 ‘ of Adam that never fell, in whom there is peace and life.  
 ‘ Ye are called to peace, therefore follow it ; that peace is  
 ‘ in Christ, not in Adam in the fall. All that pretend to  
 ‘ fight for Christ, are deceived ; for his kingdom is not of  
 ‘ this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Fighters  
 ‘ are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's king-  
 ‘ dom : for his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness,  
 ‘ but fighters are in the lust : and all that would destroy  
 ‘ men's lives are not of Christ's mind, who came to save  
 ‘ men's lives. Christ's kingdom is not of this world ; it is  
 ‘ peaceable : and all that are in strife, are not of his king-  
 ‘ dom. All that pretend to fight for the gospel, are deceiv-  
 ‘ ed : for the gospel is the power of God, which was before  
 ‘ the devil, or fall of man was : and the gospel of peace  
 ‘ was before fighting was. Therefore they that pretend  
 ‘ fighting, and talk of fighting so, are ignorant of the gos-  
 ‘ pel. All that talk of fighting for Zion, are in darkness :  
 ‘ Zion needs no such helpers. All such as profess them-  
 ‘ selves ministers of Christ, or christians, and go about to  
 ‘ beat down the whore with outward, carnal weapons, the  
 ‘ flesh and the whore are got up in themselves, and they are  
 ‘ in a blind zeal : for the whore got up by the inward ra-  
 ‘ vening from the Spirit of God ; and the beating down of  
 ‘ the whore must be by the inward stroke of the sword of  
 ‘ the Spirit within. All such as pretend Christ Jesus, and  
 ‘ confess him, yet run into the use of carnal weapons, wrest-

‘ling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual weapons. They that would be wrestlers with flesh and blood, throw away Christ’s doctrine; the flesh is got upon them, and they are weary of their sufferings. Such as would revenge themselves, are out of Christ’s doctrine. Such as being stricken on one cheek, would not turn the other, are out of Christ’s doctrine. Such as do not love one another, nor love enemies, are out of Christ’s doctrine. Therefore ye, that are heirs of the blessings of God, which were before the curse and the fall was, come to inherit your portions: and ye that are heirs of the gospel of peace, which was before the devil was, live in the gospel of peace, seeking the peace and good of all men: and live in Christ, who came to save men’s lives, out of Adam in the fall, where they destroy men’s lives, and live not in Christ. The Jews sword outwardly, by which they cut down the heathen, was a type of the Spirit of God within, which cuts down the heathenish nature within. So live in the peaceable kingdom of Christ Jesus. Live in the peace of God, and not in the lusts, from whence wars arise. Live in Christ, the prince of peace, the way of God, the second Adam that never fell. Live not in Adam in the fall, in the destruction, where they destroy one another. Come out of Adam in the fall, into the second Adam that never fell. Live in love and peace with all men; keep out of all the bustlings in the world; meddle not with the powers of the earth; but mind the kingdom, the way of peace. Ye that are heirs of grace, heirs of the kingdom, heirs of the gospel, heirs of salvation, saints of the Most High, and children of God, whose conversation is in heaven, that is above the combustions of the earth; let your conversation preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that those who speak evil of you, beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. Friends every where, this I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, “Live in peace, in Christ the way of peace;” therein seek the peace of all men, and no man’s hurt. In Adam in the fall is no peace; but in Adam out of the fall is the peace: So ye being in Adam which never fell, it is love that overcomes, not hatred with hatred, nor strife with strife. Therefore live all in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and seeking the good and welfare of all men.

. Not long after this, George Booth rose in arms in Cheshire, and Lambert went against him. At which time some foolish rash spirits, that came sometimes amongst us, were ready to have taken up arms; but I was moved of the Lord to warn and forbid them, and they were quiet. In the time of the committee of safety (so called) we were invited by them to take up arms, and great places and commands were offered some of us; but we denied them all, and declared against it both by word and writing; testifying, that our weapons and armour were not carnal, but spiritual. And lest any that came amongst us, should be drawn into that snare, it came upon me from the Lord to write a few lines on that occasion, and send them forth, as a caution to all amongst us. Of which this is a copy:

‘ **A**LL friends every where, take heed to keep out of the  
 ‘ powers of the earth, that run into wars and fightings,  
 ‘ which make not for peace, but go from that; such will  
 ‘ not have the kingdom. And friends, take heed of joining  
 ‘ with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being  
 ‘ busy with other men’s matters; but mind the Lord, his  
 ‘ power, and his service. Let friends keep out of other  
 ‘ men’s matters, and keep in that which answers the witness  
 ‘ in them all, out of the man’s matters part, where they  
 ‘ must expect wars, and the dishonour. Friends every  
 ‘ where, dwell in your own, in the power of the Lord, to keep  
 ‘ your minds up to God, from falling down to the strength  
 ‘ of Egypt, or going thither for strength, after ye are come  
 ‘ out of it, like the children of Israel, after they were come  
 ‘ out of outward Egypt. But dwell in the power of the  
 ‘ Lord God, that ye may keep over all the powers of the  
 ‘ earth, amongst whom the just hand of God is come: for  
 ‘ they have turned against the just, and disobeyed the just  
 ‘ in their own particulars, and so gone on in one against the  
 ‘ just; therefore the just sets them one against another.  
 ‘ Now he that goes to help among them, is from the just  
 ‘ in himself, in the mad and unstayed state, and doth not  
 ‘ know by the All-seeing eye (that beholdeth) him that re-  
 ‘ compenseth and rewardeth, and lives not in the hand, in  
 ‘ the power that mangles and overturns, which vexeth the  
 ‘ transgressors, that come to be blind and zealous for they  
 ‘ do not know what. Therefore keep in peace, and in the  
 ‘ love and power of God, and in unity and love one to ano-  
 ‘ ther, lest any go out, and fall with the uncircumcised:

‘ that is, they that are from the Spirit in themselves, and  
 ‘ they that go from it, go into the pit together. Therefore  
 ‘ stand in that (it is the word of the Lord God to you all)  
 ‘ in the fear and dread of the Lord God, his power, life,  
 ‘ light, feed and wisdom, by which ye may take away the  
 ‘ occasion of wars, and so know a kingdom which hath no  
 ‘ end, and fight for that with spiritual weapons, which takes  
 ‘ away the occasion of the carnal: and there gather men to  
 ‘ war, as many as ye can, and set up as many as ye can  
 ‘ with these weapons.

‘ G. F.’

After I had staid some time in London, and had visited friends meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was set over all, I travelled into the counties again, passing through Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk, visiting friends, till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Christmas. The mayor of Norwich, having got notice beforehand of the meeting I intended to have there, granted a warrant to apprehend me. Wherefore when I was come thither, and heard of the warrant, I sent some friends to the mayor to reason with him about it. His answer was, the soldiers should not meet; and did we think to meet? he would have had us met without the city: for he said, the town's-people were so rude, that he could hardly order them, and he feared that our meeting would make tumults in the town. But our friends told him, we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace; for we could not but meet to worship God, as our manner was. So he became pretty moderate, and did not send his officers to the meeting. A large meeting it was, and abundance of rude people came, with intent to have done mischief: but the Lord's power came over them, so that they were chained by it, though several priests were there, and professors, and Ranters. Among the priests, one, whose name was Townsend, stood up and cried, Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting! I bad him not burden himself with that which he could not make good; and I asked him, what was our error and blasphemy? for I told him, he should make good his words, before I had done with him, or be shamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I said, I did believe there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchristian and uncivil in him, to charge civil godly people with an ungodly meeting. He said,

My error and blasphemy was, in that I said, people must wait on God by his power and Spirit, and feel his presence, when they did not speak words: I asked him then, Whether the apostles and holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spake forth the Scripture, and before it was written? He replied, Yes: David and the prophets did hear God, before they did pen the scriptures, and felt his presence in silence, before they spake them forth. Then said I, All people take notice, he said this was error and blasphemy in me to say these words; and now he hath confessed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witnessed. So I shewed the people, that as the holy men of God, who gave forth the Scriptures, were moved by the Holy Ghost, did hear and learn of God, before they spake them forth, so must they all hearken and hear what the Spirit saith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the Scriptures. O, said the priest, this is not that George Fox I would speak withal; this is a subtil man, said he. So the Lord's power came over all, the rude people were moderate, and were reached by it; and some professors called to the priests, saying, 'Prove the blasphemy and errors, which ye have charged them with: ye have spoken much against them behind their backs, but nothing ye can prove now to their faces.' But the priest began to get away: whereupon I told him, we had many things to charge him withal, therefore let him set a time and place to answer them; which he did and went his way. A glorious day this was: for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and Spirit, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, their free teacher, who was exalted over all. And as we passed away, generally people's hearts were filled with love towards us; yea, the ruder sort of them desired another meeting: for the evil intentions they had against us were thrown out of their hearts. At night I passed out of town to a friend's house, and from thence to colonel Dennis's, where we had a great meeting: and afterwards travelled on, visiting friends up and down in Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire. But George Whitehead, and Richard Hubberthorn staid about Norwich, to meet the priest, who was soon confounded and down, the Lord's power came so over him.

After I had travelled through many counties in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding

that in some places the people were very rude, I returned to London again, when general Monk was come up thither, and the gates and posts of the city were pulling down. ' Long before this I had a vision, wherein I saw the city lie in heaps, and the gates down; and it was then represented to me, just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps when it was burned.'

Divers times had I, both by word and writing, forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompense that was coming upon them: but they rejecting counsel, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them, thus:

**F**RRIENDS, Now are the prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you, which have been spoken to you by the people of God in your courts, in your steeple-houses, in your towns, cities, markets, highways, and at your feasts, when ye were in your pleasures, and puffed up, that ye would neither hear God nor man; when ye were in your height of authority, though raised up from a mean state, none might come nigh you without bowing, or the respect of persons, for ye were in the world's way, compliments and fashions, which for conscience sake towards God, they could not go into, being redeemed therefrom: therefore they were hated by you for that cause. But how are ye brought low, who exalted yourselves above your brethren, and threw the just and harmless from among you, until at last God hath thrown you out: and when ye cast the innocent from amongst you, then ye fell a biting one another, until ye were consumed one of another. And so the day is come upon you, which before was told to you, though ye would not believe it. And are not your hearts so hardened, that ye will hardly yet believe, though ready to go into captivity? was it not told you, when ye spilt the blood of the innocent in your steeple-houses, in your markets, in your highways and cities, yea, and even in your courts also, because they said the word Thou to you, and could not put off their hats to you, " That if something did not rise up amongst yourselves, " to avenge the blood of the innocent, there would come " something from beyond the seas, which lay reserved there; " which being brought by the arm of God, the arm of flesh

“and strongest mountain cannot withstand?” Yet ye would not consider, nor regard, nor hear; but cried, peace, peace, and feasted yourselves, and sat down in the spoil of your enemies, being treacherous both to God and man; and who will trust you now? have ye not taken covenants and oaths? and broken covenants and oaths betwixt God and man, and made the nations breakers both of covenants and oaths; so that nothing but hypocrisy, and rottenness, and falsehood under fair pretence, was amongst you? When ye pretended to set up the old cause, it was but yourselves; for which ye long stunk to sober people, who saw that ye would do no good. But it was a joy for any of you to get up into authority, that ye might have praise, and honour, and respect; and they that were in the self-denial were a derision to you; from amongst whom that was banished. Thus ye became the nations masters, and not servants; whereas the greatest of all should be the servants of all. But there ye lost your authority, not considering your estates, from whence ye were, and to what end God had raised you up; but forgot the Lord, and quenched that which was good in yourselves, and persecuted them that lived in it: and so are grown so gross and perverse, that at last ye are fit for neither God nor man. Have not ye used to call the Quakers the fanatic people, and the giddy heads? but whither now are ye giddy? into Cain's city Nod, which signifies fugitive, or wandering? Have not ye persecuted and imprisoned to death, such as God had respect to, and is now reproving you for their sakes, by them whom ye have hated? Were not many amongst you cut off for your persecution, and yet the rest of you would not take warning? Was not there a book of examples set out unto you, of what sudden and strange deaths happened upon the persecutors of the innocent? and yet ye would not take warning, until the overflowing scourge is now coming upon you. Are not ye they that have killed like Cain, who have killed about your sacrifice, and mingled the blood of the innocent with it? Hath not God now vagabonded you, that ye should become a curse upon the earth, who have persecuted friends to death? Did not the blood of the righteous cry out of the ground for vengeance? And will not the blood of the righteous be required? Could ye think, that the Lord would sit always with bloody hands, and fists of wickedness! Ah! What's become of



‘ all your feasts and your fasts, the prayers and blessings of  
 ‘ your priests!

‘ G. F.’

Being now clear of the city, and finding my spirit drawn to visit friends in the western parts of England, I went out of town; and passing first into Surry and Suffex, came to a great town, where there was a large meeting, to which several friends from Reading came; and a blessed meeting it was. The priest of the town was in a great rage, but did not come out of his house, wherefore, hearing him make a great noise in his house, as we were passing from the meeting, we bid him come out into the street, and we would discourse with him; but he would not. So the Lord's power being over all, friends were refreshed therein. From thence I went to another market-town, where in the evening we had a precious meeting; and the fresh sense of the presence of the Lord God was sweetly felt amongst us. Then turning into Hampshire and Dorsetshire, I went to Ringwood and Pool, visiting friends in the Lord's power, and had great meetings amongst them.

At Dorchester we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, to which many soldiers came, and were pretty civil. But the constables and officers of the town came, under pretence to look for a Jesuit, whose head (they said) was shaven: and they would have all to put off their hats, or else they would take them off, to look for the Jesuit's shaven crown. So they took off my hat (for I was the man they aimed at) and they looked very narrowly; but not finding any bald or shaven place on my head, they went away with shame; and the soldiers, and other sober people were greatly offended with them. But it was of good service for the Lord, and all things wrought together for good; for it affected the people: and after the officers were gone, we had a fine meeting; and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God.

From thence we passed into Somersetshire, where the Presbyterians and other professors were very wicked, and often disturbed friends meetings. ‘ One time especially  
 ‘ (as we were then informed) a very wicked man put a bear's  
 ‘ skin on his back, and undertook with that to play pranks  
 ‘ in the meeting. Accordingly, setting himself opposite to  
 ‘ the friend that was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of

‘ his mouth, and made sport to his wicked followers, causing  
 ‘ great disturbance in the meeting. But an eminent judg-  
 ‘ ment overtook him, and his punishment slumbered not ;  
 ‘ for as he went from the meeting there was a bull-baiting in  
 ‘ the way, which he staid to see ; and coming within the  
 ‘ bull’s reach, he struck his horn under the man’s chin into  
 ‘ his throat, and thrust his tongue out of his mouth, so that  
 ‘ it hung lolling out, as he had used it before in derision in  
 ‘ the meeting. And the bull’s horn running up into the  
 ‘ man’s head, he swung him about upon his horn in a most  
 ‘ remarkable and fearful manner. Thus he that came to do  
 ‘ mischief amongst God’s people was mischieved himself ;  
 ‘ and well would it be if such apparent examples of divine  
 ‘ vengeance would teach others to beware.’

We travelled through Somersetshire and Devonshire, till we came to Plymouth, and so into Cornwall, visiting the meetings of friends, to the Land’s-end. Many precious and blessed meetings we had all along as we went, wherein the convinced were established, and many others were added to them. At the Land’s-end an honest fisherman was convinced, who became a faithful minister of Christ. I took notice of him to friends, telling them, ‘ He was like Peter.’

While I was in Cornwall, there were great shipwrecks about the Land’s-end. It was the custom of that country at such a time, both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people’s lives ; and in some parts of the country they called shipwrecks God’s grace. It grieved my spirit to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul, made him a fire, and were courteous towards him, and those that suffered shipwreck with him. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper, and send it to all the parishes, priests, and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that, if they could assist to save people’s lives and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein ; and consider, if it had been their own condition, they would judge it hard, if they should be upon a wreck and the people should strive to get what they could from them, and not regard their lives.

‘ Friends and people,

‘ **T**AKE heed of greediness and covetousness, for that  
 ‘ is idolatry ; and the idolater must not enter into the

kingdom of God. Take heed of drunkenness, oaths, and  
curings, for such are destroyers of the creation, and make  
it to groan. Lay aside all fighting, quarrelling, brawling,  
and evil-speaking, which are the works of the flesh and  
not of the Spirit, for who follow such things are not like  
to inherit the kingdom of God. Put away all corrupt  
words, which are unfavoury, and misnaming one another,  
for ye must give an account for every idle word. Lay  
aside all profession and religion that is vain, and come to  
the possession, the pure religion, which is to visit the fa-  
therless, the widow, and the stranger, and receive them,  
for some thereby may entertain angels or the servants of  
the Lord unawares, as Paul was entertained after the ship-  
wreck at Melita. Do not take people's goods from them  
by force out of their ships, seamen's or others, neither  
covet after them; but rather endeavour to preserve their  
lives and goods for them, for that shews a spirit of com-  
passion, and the spirit of a christian. But if ye be greedy  
and covetous after other men's goods, not mattering what  
becomes of the men, would ye be served so yourselves?  
If ye should have a ship cast away in other places, and the  
people should come to tear the goods and ship in pieces,  
not regarding to save your lives, but be ready to fight one  
with another for your goods, do not ye believe such goods  
would become a curse to them? May ye not as surely be-  
lieve such kind of actions will become a curse to you?  
When the spoil of one ship's goods is idly spent and consu-  
med upon the lusts in alehouses, taverns, and otherwise, then  
ye gape for another. Is this to "do as ye would be done  
by;" which is the law and the prophets? Priest Hull, are  
these thy fruits? What dost thou take people's labour and  
goods for? Hast thou taught the people no better man-  
ners and conversation, who are so brutish and heathenish?  
All such things we judge in whomsoever. But if any  
friend or others preserve men's lives, and endeavour to  
save their goods and estates, and restore what they can  
save of a wreck to the owners, if they consider them for  
their labour, doing in that case unto them what they  
would have done to themselves, that we approve. And  
if they buy or sell, and do not make a prey, that is al-  
lowed of still in the way of "doing as ye would be done  
by," keeping to the law and to the prophets. If you  
should be wrecked in another country, ye would have  
other people save your lives and goods, and have your

' goods restored to you again, and you ought to consider  
 ' them for so doing. All that do otherwise, who wait for a  
 ' wreck and take the goods for yourselves, not regarding the  
 ' lives of the men, but if any escape drowning turn them a  
 ' begging up and down the country, and if any escape with  
 ' a little rob them of it, all that do so are not for preserving  
 ' the creation, but destroying it : and those goods which  
 ' are so got shall be a curse, a plague, and a judgment to  
 ' them, and the judgments of God will follow them for act-  
 ' ing such things ; the witness in your consciences shall an-  
 ' swer it. Therefore, all ye who have done such things,  
 " do so no more," lest a worse thing come unto you. But  
 ' that which is good, do : preserve men's lives and estates,  
 ' and labour to restore the loss and breach : that the Lord  
 ' requires. Be not like a company of greedy dogs, and  
 ' worse than heathens, as if ye had never heard of God, nor  
 ' Christ, nor the scriptures, nor pure religion. And priest  
 ' Hull, have people spent their money upon thee for that  
 ' which is no bread ? for a thing of nought, that thou hast  
 ' such fruits ? All such teachers, that make a trade of the  
 ' scriptures (which are given forth from the Spirit of God,  
 ' to be believed, read, and practised, and Christ, whom  
 ' they testify of, enjoyed) we utterly deny ; who own Christ,  
 ' and are come off from your steeple-houses, which were the  
 ' old mass-houses ; for there are these bad fruits harboured,  
 ' those are the cages of them. But come to the church  
 ' which is in God (1 Thess. i.) and come all to the light  
 ' which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you with, which  
 ' shews you all your ungodly words, ungodly thoughts, and  
 ' ungodly actions. This will be your teacher if ye love  
 ' it, your condemner if ye hate it. For the mighty day of  
 ' the Lord is coming upon all wickedness and ungodliness ;  
 ' therefore lay aside your whoredoms and fornications. And  
 ' ye magistrates, who are to do justice, think ye not that  
 ' the hand of the Lord is against you, and that his judgments  
 ' will come upon you who do not look after these things, and  
 ' stop them with the law, which is, " To do unto all men  
 " as they would have done unto them," whereby ye might  
 ' be a good favour in your country ? Is not the law to pre-  
 ' serve men's lives and estates, " Doing unto all men as  
 " they would men should do unto them ?" For all men  
 " would have their lives and estates preserved ; therefore,  
 ' should not ye preserve others, and not suffer them to be

‘ devoured and destroyed? The evil of these things will lie  
‘ upon you, both priests and magistrates.

‘ G. F.’

‘ P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ All dear friends who fear the Lord God, keep out of  
‘ the ravenous world’s spirit, which leads to raven and de-  
‘ stroy, and is out of the wisdom of God. When ships are  
‘ wrecked, do not run to destroy and make havock of ship  
‘ and goods with the world; but run to save the men, and  
‘ the goods for them: and so deny yourselves, and do unto  
‘ them as ye would they should do unto you.

‘ G. F.’

This paper had good service among people: and friends have endeavoured much to save the lives of men in time of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some, who suffered shipwreck, have been almost dead and starved, friends have taken them to their houses to succour and recover them, which is an act to be practised by all true christians.

I had many precious, blessed, living meetings in Cornwall, several eminent people being convinced in that county, whom neither priests nor magistrates, by spoiling goods or imprisonments, could bring to forsake their shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, who bought them; and friends who were turned to Christ, their Teacher and Saviour, being settled in peace and quietness upon him, their Foundation, we left them to the Lord’s teaching and ordering, fresh and green. Thomas Lower, who had accompanied me through that county, brought me over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again; and after several meetings in Devonshire we came to Somersetshire, where we had divers large and peaceable meetings, and visited friends till we came to Bristol.

I entered Bristol on a seventh-day. The day before the soldiers came into the meeting, and were exceeding rude, beating and striking friends with their muskets, and drove them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if they came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had, it seems, combined together to make a disturbance amongst us. When friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly they

had been the day before, I sent for George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and request them, seeing they had broke up our meetings, to let us have the town-hall to meet in; and for the use of it we would give them twenty pounds a year, to be distributed amongst the poor: and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, friends would not meet in it, but only on the first-days. Those friends were astonished at this, and said, The mayor and aldermen would think they were mad. I said, Nay; for they should offer them a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go. At last they consented, and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor, it came so over him, that he said, 'For his part he could consent to it, but he was but one.' He told them of another great hall they might have, but that they did not accept of, it being inconvenient. So they came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I spoke to them to go to the colonel, and lay before him the rude carriage of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst naked innocent people, who were waiting upon and worshipping the Lord; but they were backward to go to him. Next morning, being first-day, we went to the meeting in the Orchard, where the soldiers had so lately been so rude. After I had declared the truth a pretty while in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The innkeepers had made some of them drunk; and one of them had bound himself with an oath, 'to cut down and kill the man that spoke.' He came pressing in through the crowd to within two yards of me, and stopped at those four friends before-mentioned (who should have gone to the colonel as I would have had them) and fell a jangling with them. On a sudden I saw his sword was put up and gone; for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest. We had a blessed meeting, for the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt amongst us. The day following those four friends went and spoke with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers, and cut and flashed some of them before the friends faces. Which when I heard of I blamed them for letting him do so, and also for not going on the seventh-day as I would have had them, which might have

prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. Thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting was held in peace for a good while after.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's near Bristol, at which it was judged were several thousands of people; for besides friends from many parts thereabouts, some of the Baptists and Independents, with their teachers, came to it, and many of the sober people of Bristol; in-somuch that the people who staid behind said, 'The city 'looked naked,' so many were gone out of it to this meeting. It was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who is the end of all figures and shadows, of the law and the first covenant. It was declared to the people, that all figures and shadows were given to man after man fell, and that all the rudiments and inventions of men which have been set up in Christendom, many of which were Jewish and heathenish, were not set up by the command of Christ; and all images and likenesses man has made to himself or for himself, whether of things in heaven or things in earth, have been since he lost the image and likeness of God, which God made him in. But now Christ is come to redeem, translate, convert, and regenerate man out of all these things that he hath set up in the fall, out of the true types, figures and shadows also, and out of death and darkness, up into the light, life, and image of God again, which man and woman were in before they fell. Therefore all now should come, and all may come to receive Christ Jesus, the substance, by his light, spirit, grace and faith, and should live and walk in him, the Redeemer and Saviour.

And as we had a great deal of work with priests and professors, who pleaded for imperfection, I was opened to declare and manifest to them that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell, and all that God made he saw was good, and he blessed it; but the imperfection came in by the fall, through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil who was out of truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works, which made man and woman imperfect. Christ saith to his disciples, 'Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect:' and he, who himself was perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the

state which God made them in. So he is the maker up of the breach, and the peace betwixt God and man. That this might the better be understood by the lowest capacities, I used a comparison of two old people who had their house broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. And there came some to them that pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up their house again, if they would give them so much a year; but when they had got their money they left their house as they found it. After this manner came a second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, each with his several pretence to build up the old house, and each got the people's money, and then cried, 'They could not rear up the house, the breach could not be made up; for there is no perfection here.' They tell them, the house can never be perfectly built up again in this life, though they have taken the people's money for doing it. For all the sect-masters in christendom (so called) have pretended to build up Adam's and Eve's fallen house, and when they have got people's money, tell them the work cannot be perfectly done here; so their house lies as it did. But I told the people, Christ was come to do it freely, who by one offering hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified, and renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and makes man's and woman's house as perfect again as God made them at the first; and this Christ, the heavenly Man, doth freely. Therefore all are to look unto him, and all that have received him are to walk in him, the Life, the Substance, the First, and the Last, 'The Rock of Ages, the Foundation of many Generations.' Largely were these and many other things opened to people, the word of life was preached, which lives and abides, and all were exhorted to hear and obey it, that by it all might be born again of the immortal seed, and feed of the milk of the word. A glorious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's everlasting seed, Christ Jesus, was set over all, and friends parted in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in peace, and in his truth, that is over all.

About this time the soldiers under general Monk's command were rude and troublesome at friends meetings in many places, whereof complaint being made to him, he gave forth the following order, which somewhat restrained them:



“ St. James's, the 9th of March, 1659.

“ I DO require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

“ George Monk.”

After this meeting, I passed to Oldefton, to Nailsworth, and to Nathaniel Crisp's; where was a large meeting, and several soldiers, but quiet. From thence we passed to Gloucester, visiting meetings. In Gloucester we had one that was peaceable, though the town was very rude and divided; for one part of the soldiers were for the king, and another for the parliament. As I passed out of the town over the bridge, Edward Pyot being with me, the soldiers there said, ‘ They were for the king.’ After we were past them, they were in a great rage that I had escaped them, and said, ‘ Had they known it they would have shot me with hail-shot rather than I should have escaped.’ But the Lord prevented their devilish design, and brought me safe to colonel Grimes's, where we had a large general meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was set over all; friends were established upon the Rock, and settled under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

We passed from thence to Tewksbury, and so to Worcester, visiting meetings as we went. And in all my time I never saw the like drunkenness as then in the towns; for they had been choosing parliament-men. At Worcester the Lord's truth was set over all, people were finely settled therein, and friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced. Yet great fears and troubles were in many, looking for the king's coming in, and that all things should be altered. They would ask me what I thought of times and things? I told them the Lord's power was over all, his light shined over all, and that fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not been faithful to God, and on our persecutors. In my travail and sufferings at Reading, when people were at a stand, and could not tell who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I travelled through in it) and his day shined whosoever should come in, and whether the king came in or no. all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faith-

ful to him. Therefore I bid all friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power that was over all.

From Worcester I visited friends meetings till I came to Badgely; from thence I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations. While I was there, one Burton, a justice, hearing I had a good horse, sent a warrant to search for me and my horse; but I was gone before they came, so he missed of his wicked end. I passed to Twycrofs, Swanington, and Derby, where I visited friends, and found my old gaoler amongst them, who had formerly kept me in the house of correction there, who was now convinced of the truth which I then suffered under him for. Passing into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Synderhill-green, visiting friends meetings; and so to Balby in Yorkshire, where our yearly meeting at that time was held, in a great orchard of John Killam's, where it was supposed some thousands of people and friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard a troop of horse was sent from York, about thirty miles off, to break up our meeting, and that the militia newly raised was to join them. I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool; and after I had spoken some time, two trumpeters came, sounding their trumpets pretty near me, and the captain of the troop cried, 'Divide to the right and left, and make way.' Then they rode up to me. I was declaring the everlasting truth and word of life, in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bid me 'Come down, for he was come to disperse our meeting.' After some time I told him, they all knew we were a peaceable people, and that we used to have such great meetings; but if he apprehended we met in an hostile way, I desired him to make search among us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer. He told me, 'He must see us dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse us.' I asked him, What honour it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many unarmed men and women as there were? If he would be still and quiet, our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours, and when it was done, as we came peaceably together, so we should part; for he might perceive the meeting was so large all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He said, 'He could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went.' I desired him then, if he

himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay, and see the order and peaceableness of our meeting. He said, 'He would permit us an hour's time,' and left half a dozen soldiers with us. Then he went away with his troop, and friends of the house gave the soldiers that staid, and their horses, some meat. When the captain was gone, the soldiers that were left told us, 'We might stay till night if we would.' But we staid but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us, and the seed, Christ, was set over all. Friends were built upon him the foundation, and settled under his glorious, heavenly teaching. After the meeting friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. Many of the militia-soldiers staid also, much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broke up our meeting, and cursed the captain and his troopers. It was reported they intended evil against us that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant to us, in not joining them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed. Yet this captain was a desperate man; for it was he that said to me in Scotland, 'He would obey his superior's commands, if 'it was to crucify Christ he would do it, or execute the 'great Turk's commands against the christians if he was 'under him.' So that it was an eminent power of the Lord, which chained both him and his troopers, and those envious militia-soldiers also, who went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

Next day we had an heavenly meeting at Warmfworth of friends in the ministry, with several others; and then friends parted. As they passed through the country several were taken up; for the day that our first meeting was held on, Lambert was routed, and it made great confusion in the country; but friends were not kept long in prison at that time. As I went to this meeting there came several to me at Skegby in Nottinghamshire, who were going to be soldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horse of me; and because I would not sell him, they were in a great rage against me, using many threatening words: but I told them, 'God would confound and scatter them;' and within two or three days after they were scattered indeed.

From Warmfworth I passed, in the Lord's power, to

Barton-abbey, where I had a great meeting; from thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to Skipton, where was a general meeting of men friends out of many counties concerning the affairs of the church. 'A friend went naked through the town, declaring truth, and was much beaten. Some other friends also came to me all bloody.' As I walked in the street, a desperate fellow had an intent to have done me mischief; but he was prevented, and our meeting was quiet. To this meeting came many friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the church both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several friends who had been magistrates, and others who understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business friends met about, and saw friends books, and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our friends beyond sea, and provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, &c. the justices and officers confessed that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, 'commending friends practice.' Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and wait till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor) and after the meeting friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught 'to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith.'

After this meeting, I visited friends meetings till I came to Lancaster; from whence I went to Robert Withers's, and so to Arncliffe, where I had a general meeting for all the friends in the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. This meeting was quiet and peaceable, and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us. I went

back with Robert Withers, and friends passed away, fresh in the life and power of Christ, in which they had dominion, being settled upon him the Heavenly Rock and Foundation. Several rude fellows, serving-men belonging to Sir George Middleton, a justice, that lived not far off, came to have made some disturbance, as it was thought; but the meeting being ended they did nothing there: but lighting on three women friends going homeward, they set upon them with impudent scoffs, and one of them carried himself very abusively and immodestly towards them. The same man abused other friends also, and was so outrageous that he would have cut some with an ax, but that he was restrained by some of his fellows. At another time the same man set upon six friends that were going to a meeting at Yelland, and beat and abused them so, that he 'bruised their faces and shed much of their blood,' wounding them very sore, and one of them in several parts of his body; yet they lifted not an hand against him, but gave him their backs and cheeks to beat.

From Robert Withers's I went next day to Swarthmore, Francis Howgil and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before Henry Porter, a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me. I had a sense of the thing beforehand; and being in the parlour with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, some of her servants came and told her, there were some come to search the house for arms, and they went up into some of the chambers under that pretence. It came upon me to go out to them, and as I was going by some of them, I spoke to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name, and they laid hold on me, saying, I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverstone. There they kept me all night at the constable's, and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me; some of whom sat in the chimney, for fear I should go up the chimney: such dark imaginations possessed them. They were very rude and uncivil to me, and would neither suffer me to speak to friends nor friends to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust them out, and kept a strong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noise they made about me. One of the constables, whose name was Ashburnham, said, 'He did not think a thousand men could have taken me.' Another of the constables, whose name was Mount, a very wicked man,

said, 'He would have served judge Fell himself so, if he had been alive, and he had a warrant for him.' Next morning, about the sixth hour, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off my spurs, took my knife out of my pocket, and hasted me away along the town, with a party of horse and abundance of people, not suffering me to stay till my own horse came down. When I was gone about a quarter of a mile with them, some friends, with Margaret Fell and her children, came towards me, and then a great party of horse gathered about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, 'Will they rescue him! will they rescue him!' Whereupon I said, 'Here is my hair, here is my back, here are my cheeks, strike on!' Upon which their heat was a little assuaged. Then they brought a little horse, and two of them took up one of my legs, and put my foot in the stirrup, and two or three lifting over my other leg, set me upon the little horse, behind the saddle, and so led the horse by the halter, but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come a pretty way out of the town, they beat the little horse, and made him kick and gallop; whereupon I slipped off him, and told them, 'They should not abuse the creature.' They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet, and set me upon the same horse behind the saddle again, and led the horse about two miles, till we came to a great water called Carter-ford. By this time my own horse was come to us, and the water being deep, and their little horse scarce able to carry me through, they let me get upon my own horse through the persuasion of some of their own company, they leading him through the water. One wicked fellow 'kneeled down, and lifting up his hands blessed God that I was taken.' When I was come over the sands, I told them I had heard I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before; but the constables cried, 'No, I should not.' They led me to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had; but as they led me I was moved to 'sing praises to the Lord, in his triumphing power over all.' When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them, and they cried, 'Look at his eyes!' After a while I spoke to them, and they were pretty sober. Then came a young man who took me to his house, and after a little time the officers had me to major Porter's, the justice

who had sent the warrant against me, who had several others with him. When I came in, I said, 'Peace be amongst you.' Porter asked me, 'Why I came into the country that troublesome time?' I told him, 'To visit my brethren.' But said he, 'You have great meetings up and down.' I told him though we had, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people. He said, 'We saw the devil in people's faces.' I told him, 'If I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish heady man, I could not say I saw the Spirit of God in him.' And I asked him, 'If he could see the Spirit of God?' He said, 'We cried against their ministers.' I told him, While we were as Saul, sitting under the priests, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called pestilent fellows nor makers of sects; but when we were come to exercise our consciences towards God and man, we were called pestilent fellows, as Paul was. He said, We could express ourselves well enough, and he would not dispute with me; but he would restrain me. I desired to know, 'for what, and by whose order he sent his warrant for me;' and complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. He would not take notice of that, but told me, 'He had an order, but would not let me see it; for he would not reveal the king's secrets;' and besides, 'a prisoner,' he said, 'was not to see for what he was committed.' I told him, that was not reason; for how should he make his defence then? I said I ought to have a copy of it. But he said, There was a judge once, 'that fined one for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; and,' said he, 'I have an old clerk, though I am a young justice.' Then he called to his clerk, saying, 'Is it not ready yet? Bring it;' meaning the mittimus. But it not being ready, he told me I was a disturber of the nation. I told him, I had been a blessing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the Spirit of God in all consciences would answer it. Then he charged me as an 'enemy to the king, that I endeavoured to raise a new war, and imbrue the nation in blood again.' I told him, I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things; and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the gaoler was sent for and commanded to take me, put me into the Dark-house, and

let none come at me, but keep me there close prisoner till I should be delivered by the king or parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was? 'For 'I hear,' said he, 'he hath a good horse; have ye brought 'his horse?' I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him. As they had me to the gaol the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it him: I told him, Nay; he had not been so civil to me. So they put me into the gaol, and the under-gaoler, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceeding rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door. Many came to look at me, some in a rage, and very uncivil and rude. One time there came two young priests, and very abusive they were; the meanest people could not be worse. Amongst those that came in this manner, old Preston's wife of Howker was one. She used many abusive words to me, telling me, my 'tongue should be cut out,' and that 'I 'should be hanged;' shewing me the gallows. But the Lord God cut her off, and she died in a miserable condition.

Being close prisoner in the common gaol at Lancaster, I desired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the gaoler, and desire a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I stood committed for. They went; and the gaoler answered, 'He could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for so doing;' but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the best of their remembrance, the matters therein charged against me were, 'That I was 'a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of 'the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief 'upholder of the Quakers sect; and that I, together with 'many of my fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured 'to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and 'embroil the whole country in blood. Wherefore the gaoler was commanded to keep me in safe custody, till I 'should be released by order from the king or parliament.'

When I had thus got the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus, I wrote a plain, downright answer, in vindication of my innocency to each particular, as followeth:

**I** AM a prisoner at Lancaster, committed by justice Porter. A copy of the mittimus I cannot get; but such expressions I am told are in it as are very untrue. As that I am "generally suspected to be a common dis-



rber of the nation's peace, an enemy to the king, and that I, with others, should endeavour to raise insurrections, to embroil the nation in blood." All which is utterly false; and I do, in every part thereof, deny it. For I am not a person generally suspected to be a disturber of the nation's peace, nor have given any cause for such suspicion; for through the nation I have been tried for these things formerly. In the days of Oliver I was taken up on pretence of raising arms against him, which was also false; for I meddled not with raising arms at all. Yet I was then carried up prisoner to London, and brought before him; when I cleared myself, and denied the drawing of a carnal weapon against him, or any man upon the earth; for my weapons are spiritual, which take away the occasion of war, and lead into peace. Upon my declaring this to Oliver, I was set at liberty by him. After this I was taken, and sent to prison by major Ceely, in Cornwall, who, when I was brought before the judge, informed against me, "That I took him aside, and told him, that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time to involve the nation in blood, and bring in king Charles." This also was utterly false, a lie of his own inventing, as was then proved upon him; for I never spoke any such word to him. I never was in any plot, I never took any engagement or oath, nor ever learned war-posture. As those were false charges against me then, so are these now which come from major Porter, who is lately appointed to be justice, but wanted power formerly to exercise his cruelty against us; which is but the wickedness of the old enemy. For the peace of the nation I am not a disturber of, nor ever was; but seek the peace thereof, and of all men, and stand for all nations peace and men's peace upon the earth, and wish that all nations and men knew my innocency in these things.

And whereas major Porter saith, I am an "enemy to the king," this is false; for my love is to "him and to all men," even though they be enemies to God, to themselves, and me. And I can say, It is of the Lord that he is come in, to bring down many unrighteously set up; of which I had a sight three years before he came in. It is much he should say I am an enemy to the king; for I have no reason so to be, he having done nothing against me. But I have been often imprisoned and persecuted these eleven or twelve years by those that have been both

' against the king and his father, even the party that Porter  
 ' was made a major by and bore arms for; but not by them  
 ' that were for the king. I was never an enemy to the  
 ' king, nor to any man's person upon the earth. I am in  
 ' the love that fulfils the law, which thinks no evil, but  
 ' loves even enemies; and would have the king saved, and  
 ' come to the knowledge of the truth, and be brought into  
 ' the fear of the Lord, to receive his wisdom from above,  
 ' by which all things were made and created; that with that  
 ' wisdom he may order all things to the glory of God.

' Whereas he calleth me, "A chief upholder of the  
 ' Quaker's sect," I answer: the Quakers are not a sect, but  
 ' are in the power of God, which was before sects were,  
 ' and witness the election before the world began, and are  
 ' come to live in the life which the prophets and apostles  
 ' lived in who gave forth the scriptures; therefore are we  
 ' hated by envious, wrathful, wicked, persecuting men.  
 ' But God is the upholder of us all by his mighty power,  
 ' and preserves us from the wrath of the wicked that would  
 ' swallow us up.

' And whereas he saith, "That I, together with others  
 ' of my fanatick opinion," as he calls it, "have of late en-  
 ' deavoured to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole  
 ' kingdom in blood:" This is altogether false; to these  
 ' things I am as a child, and know nothing of them. The  
 ' postures of war I never learned; my weapons are spiritual  
 ' and not carnal, for with carnal weapons I do not fight.  
 ' I am a follower of him who said, "My kingdom is not  
 ' of this world." And though these lies and slanders are  
 ' raised upon me, I deny drawing of any carnal weapon  
 ' against the king or parliament, or any man upon the  
 ' earth; for I am come to the end of the law, "to love  
 ' enemies, and wrestle not with flesh and blood;" but am  
 ' in that which saves men's lives. A witness I am against  
 ' all murderers, plotters, and all such as would "imbrue  
 ' the nation in blood; for it is not in my heart to have any  
 ' man's life destroyed. And as for the word fanatick, which  
 ' signifies furious, foolish, mad, &c. he might have confi-  
 ' dered himself before he had used that word, and have  
 ' learned the humility which goes before honour. We are  
 ' not furious, foolish, or mad; but through patience and  
 ' meekness have borne lies, slanders, and persecutions ma-  
 ' ny years, and have undergone great sufferings. The spi-  
 ' ritual man, that wrestles not with flesh and blood, and the

‘ Spirit that reproves sin in the gate, which is the Spirit of  
 ‘ truth, wisdom, and sound judgment, is not mad, foolish  
 ‘ furious, which fanatick signifies ; but all are of a mad, fu-  
 ‘ rious, foolish spirit, that wrestle with flesh and blood, with  
 ‘ carnal weapons, in their furiousness, foolishness, and rage.  
 ‘ This is not the Spirit of God, but of error, that persecutes  
 ‘ in a mad, blind, zeal, like Nebuchadnezzar and Saul.

‘ Inasmuch as I am ordered to be kept prisoner till I be  
 ‘ delivered by order from the king or parliament, therefore I  
 ‘ have written these things to be laid before you, the king  
 ‘ and parliament, that ye may consider of them before ye act  
 ‘ any thing therein ; that ye may weigh, in the wisdom of  
 ‘ God, the intent and end of men’s spirits, lest ye act the  
 ‘ thing that will bring the hand of the Lord upon you and  
 ‘ against you, as many have done before you who have been  
 ‘ in authority, whom God hath overthrown. In him we  
 ‘ trust whom we fear and cry unto day and night, who  
 ‘ hath heard us, doth hear us, and will hear us, and avenge  
 ‘ our cause. Much innocent blood hath been shed. Many  
 ‘ have been persecuted to death by such as were in authority  
 ‘ before you, whom God hath vomited out because they  
 ‘ turned against the just. Therefore consider your standing  
 ‘ now that ye have the day, and receive this as a warning of  
 ‘ love to you.

‘ From an innocent sufferer in bonds, and close pri-  
 ‘ soner in Lancaster castle, called

George Fox.

Upon my being taken, and forcibly carried away from Margaret Fell’s, and charged with things of so high a nature, she was concerned, looking upon it to be an injury offered to her. Whereupon she wrote the following lines, and sent them abroad, directed thus :

‘ To all magistrates concerning the wrong taking up and im-  
 ‘ prisoning George Fox at Lancaster.

‘ **I** DO inform the governors of this nation, that Henry  
 ‘ Porter, mayor of Lancaster, sent a warrant with four  
 ‘ constables to my house, for which he had no authority nor  
 ‘ order. They searched my house, and apprehended George  
 ‘ Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of  
 ‘ any offence against any in the nation. After they had taken  
 ‘ him and brought him before the said Henry Porter, bail

‘ was offered what he would demand for his appearance, to  
 ‘ answer what could be laid to his charge ; but he (contrary  
 ‘ to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept of  
 ‘ any bail, and clapped him up in close prison. After he  
 ‘ was in prison a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which  
 ‘ ought not to be denied to any prisoner, that he may see  
 ‘ what is laid to his charge ; but it was denied him ; a copy  
 ‘ he could not have, only they were suffered to read it over.  
 ‘ Every thing there charged against him was utterly false ;  
 ‘ he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be prov-  
 ‘ ed and manifested to the nation. Let the governors con-  
 ‘ sider of it. I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he  
 ‘ was apprehended in my house, and if he be guilty, I am  
 ‘ so too. I desire to have this searched out.

‘ Margaret Fell.’

After this Margaret Fell determined to go to London to speak with the king about my being taken, to shew him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received. Which when justice Porter heard of, he vapoured that he would go and meet her in the gap. But when he came before the king, he having been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several courtiers spoke to him concerning his plundering their houses ; so he had quickly enough of the court, and returned into the country. Meanwhile the gaoler seemed very fearful, and said, He was afraid major Porter would hang him because he had not put me in the Dark-house. But when the gaoler went to wait on him, after he was come from London, he was very blank and down, and asked ‘ how I did ? ’ pretending he would find a way to set me at liberty. But having overshot himself in his mittimus, by ordering me ‘ to be ‘ kept prisoner till I should be delivered by the king or ‘ parliament,’ he had put it out of his power to release me if he would. He was the more dejected also upon reading a letter which I sent him ; for when he was in the height of his rage and threats against me, and thought to ingratiate himself into the king’s favour by imprisoning me, I was moved to write to him, and put him in mind, ‘ How fierce ‘ he had been against the king and his party, though now ‘ he would be thought zealous for the king.’ Among other passages in my letter, I called to his remembrance, that when he held Lancaster castle for the parliament against the king, he was so rough and fierce against those that favoured

the king, that he said, 'He would leave them neither dog nor cat if they did not bring him provision to his castle.' I asked him also, 'Whose great buck's horns those were that were in his house? and where he had them and the wainscot that he cieled his house withal? Had he not them from Hornby castle?'

About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me; and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the king about it. Her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring the king in; upon which consideration she had some hopes the king might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the king together; who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. And her request to him being 'to send for me up, and hear the cause himself,' he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send an order for bringing me up. But when they came to the secretary for the order, he said, 'It was not in his power; he must go according to law; and I must be brought up by an Habeas Corpus before the judges.' So he wrote to the judge of the king's bench, signifying it was the king's pleasure I should be sent up by an Habeas Corpus. Accordingly a writ was sent, and delivered to the sheriff; but because it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaster, the sheriff put it off to him; on the other hand the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but said the sheriff must do that. At length both chancellor and sheriff were got together; but being both enemies to truth they sought occasion for delay, and found an error in the writ, which was, that being directed to the chancellor, it said, 'George Fox in prison under YOUR custody,' whereas the prison I was in was not in the chancellor's custody, but the sheriff's; so the word YOUR should have been HIS. Upon this they returned the writ to London again, only to have that one word altered. When it was altered and brought down again, the sheriff refused to carry me up, unless I would seal a writing to him, and become bound to pay for the sealing and the charge of carrying me up: which I denied, telling them, I would not seal any thing to them, nor be bound. So the matter rested awhile, and I continued in prison. Meanwhile the assize came on; but as there was a writ for removing me up, I was not brought before the

judge. At the assize many came to see me. I was moved to speak out of the gaol-window to them, and shew them, 'How uncertain their religion was, and that every sort, when uppermost, had persecuted the rest. When popery was uppermost, people had been persecuted for not following the mass; and those who held it up cried, "It was the higher power," and people must be subject to the higher power. Afterwards they that set up the Common Prayer persecuted others for not following that; saying, "It was the higher power, and we must be subject to that." Since that, the Presbyterians and Independents cried each of them, "We must be subject to the higher power, and submit to the directory of the one and the church faith of the other." Thus all, like the apostate Jews, have cried, "Help, men of Israel, against the true Christians." So people might see how uncertain they are of their religions. But I directed them to Christ Jesus, that they might be built upon him, the Rock and Foundation, that changeth not.' Much on this wise I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a little paper concerning True Religion, as followeth:

**T**RUE Religion is the true rule and right way of serving God. And religion is a pure stream of righteousness flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law of life, which bringeth the soul, mind, spirit, and body to be conformable to God, the Father of Spirits, and to Christ; so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with all his holy angels and saints. This religion is pure from above, undefiled before God, leads to visit the fatherless, widows, and strangers, and keeps from the spots of the world. This religion is above all the defiled, spotted religions in the world, that keep not from defilements and spots, but leave their professors impure, below, and spotted; whose fatherless, widows, and strangers, beg up and down the streets.

' G. F.'

Soon after this I gave forth another against persecution, on this wise:

**T**HE Papists, Common-prayer-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists persecute one another

' about their own inventions, their Mass, their Common-  
 ' Prayer, their Directory, their Church-faith, which they  
 ' have made and framed, and not for the truth; for they  
 ' know not what spirit they are of, who persecute, and  
 ' would have men's lives destroyed about church-worship  
 ' and religion, as Christ saith, who also said, " He came  
 ' " not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." They that  
 ' know not what spirit they are of, but will persecute and  
 ' destroy men's lives, and not save them, we cannot trust  
 ' our bodies, souls nor spirits in their hands; they know  
 ' not what spirit they are of themselves, therefore they are  
 ' not fit to be trusted with others. They would destroy by  
 ' a law, as the disciples once would have done by prayer,  
 ' who would have commanded " fire to come down from  
 ' " heaven," to destroy them that would not receive Christ.  
 ' But Christ rebuked them, and told them, " They knew  
 ' " not what spirit they are of." If they did not know what  
 ' spirit they were of; do these who have persecuted about re-  
 ' ligion since the apostles days, who would compel men's  
 ' bodies, goods, lives, souls, and estates into their hands by  
 ' law, or make them suffer? Those that destroy men's lives  
 ' are not the ministers of Christ, the Saviour; and seeing  
 ' they know not what spirit they are of, the lives, bodies,  
 ' and souls of men are not to be trusted in their hands. And  
 ' ye that persecute shall have no resurrection to life with  
 ' God, except ye repent. But they that know what spirit  
 ' they are of themselves are in the unrebukeable zeal, and by  
 ' the Spirit of God they offer up their spirits, souls, and bo-  
 ' dies to the Lord, which are his, to keep them.

' G. F.'

While I was kept in Lancaster gaol, I was moved to give  
 forth the following paper, ' For slaying the minds of any  
 ' such as might be hurried or troubled about the change of  
 ' government.'

' All friends,

' **L**ET the dread and majesty of God fill you! Concern-  
 ' ing the changing of times and governments, let not  
 ' that trouble any of you; for God hath a mighty work and  
 ' hand therein. He will yet change again, until that come  
 ' up which must reign, and in vain shall powers and armies  
 ' withstand the Lord; for his determined work shall come  
 ' to pass. But what is now come up, it is just with the

' Lord that it should be so, and he will be served by it.  
 ' Therefore let none murmur, nor distrust God; for he will  
 ' provoke many to zeal against unrighteousness, and for  
 ' righteousness, through things which are suffered now to  
 ' work for a season: yea many, whose zeal has been even  
 ' dead, shall revive again, and they shall see their backslid-  
 ' ings and bewail them bitterly. For " God shall thunder  
 ' from heaven, and break forth in a mighty noise, his ene-  
 ' mies shall be astonished, the workers of iniquity con-  
 ' founded, and all that have not on the garment of righte-  
 ' ousness shall be amazed at the mighty and strange work of  
 ' the Lord, which shall be certainly brought to pass." But  
 ' my children, look ye not out, but be still in the light of  
 ' the Lamb, and he shall fight for you. The Almighty  
 ' Hand, which must break and divide your enemies, and  
 ' take away peace from them, preserve and keep you whole,  
 ' in unity and peace with himself, and one-with another.  
 ' Amen.

' G. F.'

I was moved also to write to the king, to ' exhort him  
 ' to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and  
 ' to warn him to restrain the prophaneness and looseness  
 ' that was got up in the nation upon his return.'

#### To the KING.

' King Charles,  
 ' **T**HOU camest not into this nation by sword, nor by  
 ' victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now  
 ' if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the  
 ' Lord hath shewed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou  
 ' dost not shew mercy and forgive, God will not hear thy  
 ' prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou dost not  
 ' stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws  
 ' that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in  
 ' them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind  
 ' as those that have gone before thee: for persecution hath  
 ' always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by  
 ' his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and  
 ' bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the  
 ' sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-  
 ' games, with such like abominations and vanities be en-  
 ' couraged or go unpunished, as setting up of May-poles,  
 ' with the image of the crown atop of them, &c. the na-



' tions will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be  
' as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he  
' overthrew them ; and so he will you, if these things be not  
' suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at li-  
' berty before as there is at this day, as though there was no  
' terror nor sword of magistracy ; which doth not grace a  
' government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our  
' prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them  
' we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and  
' that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them.  
' Hear and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou  
' hast power ; be merciful and forgive ; that is the way to  
' overcome and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

' G. F.'

It was long before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London, unless I would seal a bond to him, and bear their charges ; which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me up, and first concluded to send up a party of horse with me. I told them, ' If I were such a man as they had represented me to be, they had need send a troop or two of horse to guard me.' When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the gaoler and some bailiffs. But upon farther consideration they found that would be a great charge to them also, and therefore sent for me to the gaoler's house, and told me, if I would put in bail that I would be in London such a day of the term, I should have leave to go up with some of my own friends. I told them I would neither put in bail, nor give one piece of silver to the gaoler ; for I was an innocent man, they had imprisoned me wrongfully, and laid a false charge upon me. Nevertheless I said, If they would let me go up with one or two of my friends to bear me company, I might go up and be in London such a day, if the Lord should permit ; and, if they desired it, I or any of my friends that went with me would carry up their charge against myself. When they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff consented that ' I should come up with some of my friends, without any other engagement than my word, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord should permit.' Whereupon I was let out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I staid two or three

days; and from thence went to Lancaster, and so to Preston, having meetings amongst friends till I came into Cheshire, to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting without doors, the house not being sufficient to contain it. That day the Lord's everlasting seed was set over all, and friends were turned to it, who is the heir of the promise. Thence I came into Staffordshire and Warwickshire, to Anthony Bickliff's, and at Non-eaton, at a priest's widow's house, we had a blessed meeting, wherein the everlasting word of life was powerfully declared, and many settled in it. Then travelling on, visiting friends meetings, in about three weeks time from my coming out of prison, I reached London, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

When we came to Charing-cross, multitudes of people were gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of the old king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered.

We went next morning to judge Mallet's chamber, who was putting on his gown to sit upon more of the king's judges. He was then very peevish and froward, and said, I might come another time. We went another time to his chamber, when judge Foster was with him, who was called Lord Chief Justice of England. With me was one called Esquire Marsh, one of the bed-chamber to the king. When we had delivered to the judges the charge against me, and they had read to those words, 'That I and my friends were 'embroiling the nation in blood,' &c. they struck their hands on the table. Whereupon I told them, 'I was the 'man whom that charge was against, but I was as innocent 'of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought 'it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me, 'without any guard.' As yet they had not minded my hat; but now, seeing my hat on, they said, 'What, did I 'stand with my hat on!' I told them I did not stand so in any contempt of them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and when they had called for the marshal of the king's bench, they said to him, You must take this man and secure him, but you must let him have a chamber, and not put him amongst the prisoners. My Lord, said the marshal, I have no chamber to put him into; my house is so full that I cannot tell where to provide for him but amongst the prisoners. Nay, said the judges, you must not put him amongst the prisoners. But when he still answered, he had

no other place to put me in, judge Foster said to me, 'Will you appear to-morrow, about ten of the clock, at the king's bench bar in Westminster-hall?' I said, 'Yes, if the Lord give me strength.' Then said judge Foster to the other judge, 'If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word.' So I was dismissed. The next day I appeared at the king's bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Withers, Richard Hubberthorn, and Esquire Marsh going with me. I was brought into the middle of the court, and as soon as I came in I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, said, 'Peace be among you;' and the power of the Lord sprang over the court. The charge against me was read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part of it which said, 'That I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the king,' &c. they lifted up their hands. Then, stretching out my arms, I said, 'I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. And, said I, do ye think, that if I and my friends were such men as the charge declares, that I should have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should be suffered to come up with one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse. But the sberiff and magistrates of Lancashire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which, you may be sure they would not have done if they had looked upon me to be such a man.' The judge asked me, Whether it should be filed? or what I would do with it? I answered, Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what ye will; for I am the man these charges are against, and here ye see I have brought them up myself. Do ye what ye will with them, I leave it to you. Then judge Twisden beginning to speak some angry words, I appealed to judge Foster and judge Mallet, who had heard me over night. Whereupon they said, 'They did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me.' Then stood up 'squire Marsh, and told the judges, 'It was the king's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me.' They asked me, 'Whether

‘ I would put it to the king and council?’ I said, ‘ Yes, with a good-will.’ Thereupon they sent the sheriff’s return, which he made to the writ of Habeas Corpus, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus, to the king, that he might see for what I was committed. The return of the sheriff of Lancaster was thus :

‘ **B**Y virtue of his majesty’s writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, That before the receipt of the said writ, George Fox, in the said writ mentioned, was committed to his majesty’s gaol at the castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, esquire, one of his majesty’s justices of peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fifth of June now last past ; for that he, the said George Fox, was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our sovereign Lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers sect ; and that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless, the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majesty’s justices, assigned to hold pleas before his majesty, at his chamber in Serjeants-inn, in Fleet-street, to do and receive those things which his majesty’s said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required. ‘ George Chetham, esquire, sheriff.’

Upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, the king, being satisfied of my innocency, commanded his secretary to send an order to judge Mallet for my release ; which the secretary did, thus :

‘ **I**T is his majesty’s pleasure, That you give your order for the releasing and setting at full liberty the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster gaol, and commanded hither by an Habeas Corpus. And this signification of his majesty’s pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October 1660. ‘ Edward Nicholas.’

For Sir Thomas Mallet, knight, one of the justices of the king’s bench.’

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the king's bench for my release; which warrant was thus worded.

‘**B**Y virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the Right Honourable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster gaol, and from thence brought hither by Habeas Corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release and set the said prisoner George Fox at liberty: for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God 1660.

‘To Sir John Lenthal, knight,  
‘marshal of the king's bench,  
‘or his deputy.’

‘Thomas Mallet.’

Thus, after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the king's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency, and Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me. But after it was known I was discharged, a company of envious, wicked spirits were troubled, and terror took hold of justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife, and children. And indeed I was pressed by some in authority to have made him and the rest examples; but I said, I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them I should not trouble myself with them.

Now did I see the end of the travail which I had in my fore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and his blessed truth, life, and light shined over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked unto the truth. Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, who said, ‘None should molest us so long as we lived peaceably.’ and promised this upon the word of a king; telling him, we might make use of his promise. Some friends were also admitted in the house of Lords, to declare their reasons, why

they could not pay tithes, swear, nor go to the steeple-house-worship, or join with others in worship; and they heard them moderately. There being about seven hundred friends in prison, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts (so called) when the king came in he set them all at liberty. There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to have granted friends liberty, because they were sensible we had suffered as well as they under the former powers. But when any thing was going forward in order thereunto, some dirty spirits or other, that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, which only wanted signing; when on a sudden that wicked attempt of the Fifth-monarchy-people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a first-day night, and very glorious meetings we had that day, wherein the Lord's truth shined over all, and his power was exalted above all; but about midnight the drums beat, and the cry was, 'Arm, Arm.' I got out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and landing at Whitehall-stairs, walked through Whitehall. They looked strangely at me there; but I passed through, and went to Pall-mall, whither divers friends came to me, though it was now grown dangerous passing the streets; for by this time the city and suburbs were up in arms, and exceeding rude the people and soldiers were; inso-much that Henry Fell, going to a friend's house, the soldiers knocked him down, and he had been killed if the duke of York had not come by. Great mischief was done in the city this week; and when first-day came, that friends went to their meetings, many were taken prisoners. I staid at Pall-mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on the seventh-day night a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The maid letting them in, they straight laid hold of me; and there being amongst them one, that had served under the parliament, he clapped his hand to my pocket, and asked, 'Whether I had any pistols?' I told him, He knew I did not use to carry pistols; why did he ask such a question of me, who he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of the soldiers ran up into the chambers, and there found in bed 'squire Marsh, who, though he was one of the king's bed-chamber, out of his love to me had come and lodged where I did. When they came down again, they said, 'Why should we take this man away with us? We

will let him alone, Oh! said the parliament-foldier, he is one of the heads and a chief ringleader. Upon this the foldiers were taking me away; but 'squire Marfsh hearing of it, sent for the commander of the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forth-coming in the morning. In the morning, before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot to the house, and one of them, drawing his sword, held it over my head. I asked him, 'Why he drew his sword at a naked man?' At which his fellows being ashamed bid him put up his sword. These foldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me. As I was going out several friends were coming in to the meeting, whose boldness and cheerfulness I commended, and encouraged them to persevere therein. When I was brought to Whitehall, the foldiers and people were exceeding rude, yet I declared truth to them; but some great persons coming by, who were very full of envy, 'What,' said they, 'do ye let him preach? Put him into such a place where he may not stir.' So into that place they put me, and the foldiers watched over me. I told them, 'Tho' they could confine my body and shut that up, they could not stop up the word of life. Some thereupon came, and asked me, 'What I was?' I told them, I was a preacher of righteousness. After I had been kept there two or three hours, 'squire Marfsh spoke to lord Gerrard, who came and bid them set me at liberty. The marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him, I could not give him any, neither was it our practice. I asked him, How he could demand fees of me who was innocent? Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and after I had declared truth to the foldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall to an inn, where many friends were prisoners under a guard. I desired those colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends that were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I slept to the centry, and desired him to let me go up; which he did. While I was there the foldiers went to Pall-mall again to search for me; but not finding me they turned towards the inn, and bid all come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the foldiers within, Whether I might not stay awhile with my friends? They said, Yes. I staid, and escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-mall, to

see how it was with friends there, and after went into the city. Great rifling of houses there was at that time to search for people. I went to a private friend's house and Richard Hubberthorn with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the king and council; but when we had finished it, and sent it to the press, it was taken in the press.

Upon this insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men great havock was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad several weeks after; and hardly could either men or women go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the country they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one that was in a fever the soldiers dragged out of his bed to prison; and when he was brought thither he died. His name was Thomas Patching.

Margaret Fell went to the king, and told him what sad work there was in the city and nation, and shewed him we were an innocent peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as we used to do whatever we suffered; but it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed.

Now were the prisons every where filled with friends and others in the city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters, that none could pass unsearched. We heard of several thousands of our friends that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more that were cast into prison, and she went and laid them also before the king and council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it that we had an account notwithstanding all their stoppings. In the deep sense I had of the grievous sufferings friends underwent, and of their innocency towards God and man, I was moved to send the following epistle to them, as a word of consolation, and to put them upon sending up their sufferings.

‘ My dear friends,

‘ **I**N the immortal seed of God, which will plead its own  
‘ innocency, who are inheritors of an everlasting king-



‘ dom, which is incorruptible, and of a world and riches  
 ‘ that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied amongst  
 ‘ you in all your sufferings; whose backs were not unready,  
 ‘ but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared suf-  
 ‘ ferings, as knowing it is your portion in the world, from  
 ‘ the foundation of which the Lamb was slain; who reigns  
 ‘ in his glory, which he had with his Father before the  
 ‘ world began. He is your rock in all floods and waves,  
 ‘ upon which you can stand safe, with a cheerful counte-  
 ‘ nance, beholding the Lord God of the whole earth on  
 ‘ your side. So in the seed of God, which was before the  
 ‘ unrighteous world in which the sufferings are, live and  
 ‘ feed, wherein the bread of life is felt, and no cause of  
 ‘ complaint of hunger or cold. Friends, your sufferings  
 ‘ all, that are or have been of late in prison, I would have  
 ‘ you send up an account of, and how things are amongst  
 ‘ you, that it may be delivered to the king and his council;  
 ‘ for things are pretty well here after the storm.

‘ G. F.’

‘ London, the 28th of the  
 ‘ 11th month, 1660.’

Having lost our former declaration in the press, we made haste and drew up another against plots and fighting, got it printed, and sent some copies to the king and council; others were sold up and down the streets, and at the Exchange. Which Declaration was some years after reprinted.

‘ A declaration from the harmless innocent people of  
 ‘ God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters,  
 ‘ and fighters in the world; for removing the ground  
 ‘ of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and  
 ‘ people in the kingdom concerning wars and fight-  
 ‘ ings.

‘ Presented to the king the 21st day of the 11th month,  
 ‘ 1660.

‘ **O**UR principle is, and our practices have always been  
 ‘ to seek peace and ensue it; to follow after righteous-  
 ‘ ness and the knowledge of God; seeking the good and  
 ‘ welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all.  
 ‘ We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts  
 ‘ of men, as Jam. iv. 1, 2, 3, out of which lusts the Lord

‘ hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war.  
 ‘ The occasion of war and the war itself (wherein envious  
 ‘ men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of  
 ‘ God, lust, kill, and desire to have men’s lives or estates)  
 ‘ ariseth from the lust. All bloody principles and practices  
 ‘ we, as to our own particulars, do utterly deny, with all  
 ‘ outward wars, strife, and fighting with outward weapons  
 ‘ for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever: this is  
 ‘ our testimony to the whole world.

‘ And whereas it is objected:

‘ But although you now say, “ That you cannot fight  
 ‘ nor take up arms at all; yet if the Spirit move you, then  
 ‘ you will change your principle, you will sell your coat  
 ‘ and buy a sword, and fight for the kingdom of Christ.

‘ To this we answer, Christ said to Peter, “ Put up thy  
 ‘ sword in his place;” though he had said before, he that  
 ‘ had no sword might sell his coat and buy one (to the ful-  
 ‘ filling of the law and the scripture) yet after, when he had  
 ‘ bid him put it up, he said, “ He that taketh the sword  
 ‘ shall perish with the sword.” And Christ said to Pilate,  
 ‘ Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father,  
 ‘ and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions  
 ‘ of angels?” And this might satisfy Peter, Luke xxii. 36.  
 ‘ after he had put up his sword, when he said to him, “ He  
 ‘ that took it, should perish by it;” which satisfieth us,  
 ‘ Mat. xxvi. 51, 52, 53. In the Revelations it is said, “ He  
 ‘ that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword; and  
 ‘ here is the faith and the patience of the faints.” So  
 ‘ Christ’s kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his  
 ‘ servants fight, as he told Pilate, the magistrate who cruci-  
 ‘ fied him. And did they not look upon Christ as a raiser  
 ‘ of sedition? and did not he pray, “ Forgive them?” But  
 ‘ thus it is that we are numbered amongst transgressors,  
 ‘ and amongst fighters, that the scriptures might be fulfilled.

‘ That the Spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is  
 ‘ not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing,  
 ‘ as evil, and again to move unto it. We certainly know  
 ‘ and testify to the world, That the Spirit of Christ, which  
 ‘ leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and  
 ‘ war against any man with outward weapons, neither for  
 ‘ the kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdoms of this world.

‘ First. Because the kingdom of Christ God will exalt,  
 ‘ according to his promise, and cause it to grow and flourish  
 ‘ in righteousness, “ Not by might, nor by power (of out-

“ward sword) but by my Spirit, saith the Lord,” Zech. iv. 6. So those that use any weapon to fight for Christ; or for the establishing of his kingdom or government, their spirit, principle, and practice we deny.

‘ Secondly, We earnestly desire and wait, that (by the word of God’s power, and its effectual operation in the hearts of men) the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; and that he may rule and reign in men by his Spirit and truth; that thereby all people, out of all different judgments and professions, may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another; and that all may come to witness the prophet’s words fulfilled, who said, “Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,” Isa. ii. 4. Mich. iv. 3.

‘ Since we, whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his truth, have denied wars and fightings, and cannot any more learn them. This is a certain testimony unto all the world of the truth of our hearts in this particular, that as God persuadeth every man’s heart to believe, so they may receive it. For we have not, as some others, gone about cunningly with devised fables, nor have we ever denied in practice what we have professed in principle; but in sincerity and truth, and by the word of God, have we laboured to be made manifest unto all men, that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all. And whereas all manner of evil hath been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occasion of that offence, that so we, being innocent, may not suffer for other men’s offences, nor be made a prey of by the wills of men for that of which we were never guilty; but in the uprightnes of our hearts we may, under the power ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well, live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For although we have always suffered, and do now more abundantly suffer, yet we know it is for righteousness sake: “For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world,” 2 Cor. i. 12, which for us is a witness for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can say to all the world, we have wronged no man, we have used no force nor violence

' against any man, we have been found in no plots, nor  
 ' guilty of sedition. When we have been wronged we have  
 ' not fought to revenge ourselves, we have not made resistance  
 ' against authority; but wherein we could not obey for con-  
 ' science sake, we have suffered the most of any people in  
 ' the nation. We have been counted as sheep for the  
 ' slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wound-  
 ' ed, flogged, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of the syna-  
 ' gogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults, where ma-  
 ' ny have died in bonds, shut up from our friends, denied  
 ' needful sustenance for many days together, with other the  
 ' like cruelties. And the cause of all these our sufferings is  
 ' not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of  
 ' our God, and in obedience to his requiremings. " For which  
 " cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice, rather  
 " than disobey the Lord;" knowing, as the Lord hath kept  
 ' us innocent, he will plead our cause when there is none  
 ' in the earth to plead it. So we, in obedience to his truth,  
 ' do not love our lives unto death, that we may do his will,  
 ' and wrong no man in our generation, but seek the good  
 ' and peace of all men. He who hath commanded us,  
 " That we shall not swear at all," Matth. v. 34, hath also  
 ' commanded us, " That we shall not kill," Matth. v. So  
 ' that we can neither kill men, nor swear for nor against  
 ' them. This is both our principle and our practice, and  
 ' hath been from the beginning; so that if we suffer, as sus-  
 ' pected to take up arms or make war against any, it is  
 ' without any ground from us; for it neither is, nor ever  
 ' was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God; nei-  
 ' ther shall we ever do it, because it is contrary to the Spirit  
 ' of Christ, his doctrine, and the practices of his apostles;  
 ' even contrary to him for whom we suffer all things and  
 ' endure all things.

' And whereas men come against us with clubs, staves,  
 ' drawn swords, pistols cock'd, and beat, cut, and abuse  
 ' us; yet we never resisted them, but to them our hair,  
 ' backs, and cheeks have been ready. It is not an honour  
 ' to manhood or nobility to run upon harmless people, who  
 ' lift not an hand against them, with arms and weapons.

' Therefore consider these things, ye men of understand-  
 ' ing; for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones,  
 ' and fighters, running with swords, clubs, staves, and pis-  
 ' tols, one against another; we say, these are of the world,  
 ' and have their foundation from this unrighteous world,

‘ from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain :  
‘ which Lamb hath redeemed us from this unrighteous  
‘ world ; we are not of it, but are heirs of a world of which  
‘ there is no end, a kingdom where no corruptible thing  
‘ enters. Our weapons are spiritual, not carnal, yet mighty  
‘ through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of  
‘ sin and Satan, who is the author of wars, fighting, murder,  
‘ and plots. Our swords are broken into plough-shares,  
‘ and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in Micah  
‘ iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise  
‘ up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons,  
‘ though you have numbered us amongst the transgressors  
‘ and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency herein,  
‘ and will plead our cause with all people upon earth at  
‘ the day of their judgment, when all men shall have a re-  
‘ ward according to their works.

‘ Therefore in love we warn you for your souls good,  
‘ not to wrong the innocent, nor the babes of Christ, which  
‘ he hath in his hand, and tenders as the apple of his eye ;  
‘ neither seek to destroy the heritage of God, nor turn your  
‘ swords backward upon such as the law was not made for,  
‘ i. e. the righteous ; but for the sinners and transgressors,  
‘ to keep them down. For those are not peace-makers nor  
‘ lovers of enemies, neither can they overcome evil with  
‘ good, who wrong them that are friends to you and all  
‘ men, and wish your good and the good of all people  
‘ upon earth. If you oppress us as they did the children  
‘ of Israel in Egypt, if you oppress us as they did when  
‘ Christ was born, and as they did the Christians in the  
‘ primitive times, we can say, “ The Lord forgive you ; ”  
‘ leave the Lord to deal with you, and not revenge our-  
‘ selves. If you say, as the council said to Peter and John,  
‘ “ You must speak no more in that name ; ” and if you serve  
‘ us as they served the three children spoken of in Daniel,  
‘ God is the same as he ever was, that lives for ever and  
‘ ever, who hath the innocent in his arms.

‘ Oh ! friends ! offend not the Lord and his little ones,  
‘ neither afflict his people ; but consider and be moderate.  
‘ Run not hastily into things, but mind and consider mercy,  
‘ justice, and judgment ; that is the way for you to prosper  
‘ and get the favour of the Lord. Our meetings were stop-  
‘ ped and broken up in the days of Oliver, under pretence  
‘ of plotting against him ; in the days of the Committee of  
‘ Safety we were looked upon as plotters to bring in king

‘ Charles ; and now our peaceable meetings are termed fe-  
 ‘ ditious. Oh ! that men should lose their reason, and go  
 ‘ contrary to their own consciences ; knowing that we have  
 ‘ suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters all  
 ‘ along, though we have always declared against them both  
 ‘ by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any  
 ‘ such thing ! Though we have suffered all along, because  
 ‘ we would not take up carnal weapons to fight against any,  
 ‘ and are thus made a prey upon because we are the inno-  
 ‘ cent lambs of Christ, and cannot avenge ourselves ! These  
 ‘ things are left upon your hearts to consider ; for we are  
 ‘ out of all those things in the patience of the faints, and  
 ‘ we know as Christ said, “ He that takes the sword shall  
 ‘ perish with the sword,” Matth. xxvi. 52. Rev. xiii. 10.

“ This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to  
 “ satisfy the king and his council, and all that have any  
 “ jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion  
 “ may be taken away, and our innocency cleared.”

#### ‘ P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ Though we are numbered amongst transgressors, and  
 ‘ have been given up to rude, merciless men, by whom our  
 ‘ meetings are broken up, in which we edified one another  
 ‘ in our holy faith, and prayed together to the Lord that  
 ‘ lives for ever, yet he is our pleader in this day. The Lord  
 ‘ saith, “ They that feared his name spake often together,”  
 ‘ as in Malachi ; which were as his jewels. For this cause,  
 ‘ and no evil doing, are we cast into holes, dungeons, houses  
 ‘ of correction, prisons (sparing neither old nor young, men  
 ‘ nor women) and made a prey of in the sight of all nations,  
 ‘ under pretence of being seditious, &c. so that all rude peo-  
 ‘ ple run upon us to take possession ; for which we say, The  
 ‘ Lord forgive them that have thus done to us ; who doth  
 ‘ and will enable us to suffer ; and never shall we lift up  
 ‘ hand against any man that doth thus use us ; but that the  
 ‘ Lord may have mercy upon them, that they may consider  
 ‘ what they have done. For how is it possible for them to  
 ‘ requite us for the wrong they have done to us ? Who to  
 ‘ all nations have founded us abroad as seditious or plotters,  
 ‘ who were never plotters against any power or man upon  
 ‘ the earth, since we knew the life and power of Jesus Christ  
 ‘ manifested in us, who hath redeemed us from the world

‘ and all works of darknes, and plotters therein, by which  
 ‘ we know the election before the world began. So we  
 ‘ say, The Lord have mercy upon our enemies, and forgive  
 ‘ them for what they have done unto us.

‘ Oh! do as you would be done by; do unto all men as  
 ‘ you would have them do unto you; for this is the law  
 ‘ and the prophets.

‘ All plots, insurrections, and riotous meetings, we deny,  
 ‘ knowing them to be of the devil, the murderer; which we  
 ‘ in Christ, who was before they were, triumph over. And  
 ‘ all wars and fightings with carnal weapons we deny, who  
 ‘ have the sword of the Spirit; and all that wrong us, we  
 ‘ leave to the Lord. This is to clear our innocency from  
 ‘ that asperſion caſt upon us, “ That we are ſeditious or  
 ‘ plotters.”

Added in the reprinting.

‘ Courteous reader,  
 ‘ **T**HIS was our testimony above twenty years ago, and  
 ‘ since then we have not been found acting contrary to  
 ‘ it, nor ever shall; for the truth that is our guide is un-  
 ‘ changeable. This is now reprinted to the men of this age,  
 ‘ many of whom were then children, and doth stand as our  
 ‘ certain testimony against all plotting and fighting with  
 ‘ carnal weapons. And if any, by departing from the truth,  
 ‘ should do so, this is our testimony in the truth against  
 ‘ them, and will stand over them, and the truth will be  
 ‘ clear of them.’

This Declaration did somewhat clear the dark air that was over the city and country; and soon after the king gave forth a proclamation, ‘ That no soldiers should search any house without a constable.’ But the gaols were still full, many thousands of friends being in prison; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of those Fifth-monarchy-men. But when those of them that were taken came to be executed, they did us the justice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. After that the king, being continually importuned thereunto, issued forth a Declaration, “ That friends should be set at liberty without paying fees.” But great labour, travail, and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.

Much blood was shed this year, many of the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. Amongst those that suffered colonel Hacker was one, who sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of O. Cromwel, when several were hanged, drawn, and quartered for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God that their blood would not be put up, but would be required, and I said as much then to several, and now also upon the king's return, when several that had been against the king were put to death, as the others that were for the king had been before by Oliver. This was sad work, destroying people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity. Therefore when friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the commonwealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write unto them, to draw up their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions; and if they would not do them justice, then to lay them before the judges at the assize; and if they refused them justice, to lay it before the parliament, and before the protector and his council, that they might all see what was done under their government; and if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, the widows, and fatherless, whom they had made so. For that which we suffered for, and which our goods were spoiled for, was our obedience to the Lord in his Power and in his Spirit, who is able to help and succour, and we had no helper in the earth but him. And he heard the cries of his people, and brought an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a quaking, a dread, and a fear amongst and on them all; so that those who had nick-named us (who are the children of light) and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made to quake, and many of them would have been glad to have hid themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length confess to the truth. Oh! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent amongst them, even in the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying Thou and Thee to them! Oh! the havock and spoil the priests



made of our goods, because we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes! Besides casting into prisons, and besides the great fines laid upon us because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet some of them were so hardened in their wickedness, that when they were turned out of their places and offices, they said, 'If they had power they would do the same again.' And when this day of overturning was come upon them, they said, 'It was all along of us.' Wherefore I was moved to write to them, and to ask, 'Did we ever resist them when they took away our ploughs and plough-gears, our carts and horses, our corn and cattle, our kettles and platters from us, and whipped us, and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison, and all this only for serving and worshipping God in spirit and truth, and because we could not conform to their religions, manners, customs, and fashions? Did we ever resist them? Did we not give them our backs to beat, our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to spit on? Had not their priests, that prompted them on to such work, plucked them with themselves into the ditch? Why then would they say, "It was all along of us?" when it was owing to themselves and their priests, their blind prophets, that followed their own spirits, and could foresee nothing of these times and things that are come upon them, which we had long forewarned them of; as Jeremiah and Christ had forewarned Jerusalem. They thought to have wearied us out and undone us; but they undid themselves. Whereas we could praise God, notwithstanding all their plundering of us, that we had a kettle, a platter, an horse, and plough still.'

Many ways were these professors warned, by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none till it was too late. William Symfson was moved of the Lord to go at several times for three years naked and bare-footed before them, as a sign to them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests houses, and to great men's houses; telling them, "So should they be stripped naked as he was stripped naked!" And sometimes he was moved to put on hair-sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, "So would the Lord God besmear all their religion as he was besmeared." Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, fore whippings with horse-whips and coach-whips on his bare body, grievous stoning and imprisonments in three

years time, before the king came in, that they might have taken warning ; but they would not, and rewarded his love with cruel usage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him, and took him into his house.

Another friend, Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house with a white sheet about him, amongst the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to shew them that the surplice was coming up again ; and he put an halter about his neck to shew them that an halter was coming upon them ; which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors not long after.

Another, Richard Sale, living near Westchester, being constable of the place where he lived, had a friend sent to him with a pass (whom those wicked professors had taken up for a vagabond, because he travelled up and down in the work of the ministry) and this constable, being convinced by the friend thus brought to him, gave him his pass and liberty, and was afterwards himself cast into prison. After this, on a lecture-day, Richard Sale was moved to go to the steeple-house in the time of their worship, and to carry those persecuting priests and people a lanthorn and candle, as a figure of their darkness ; but they cruelly abused him, and like dark professors as they were put him into their prison called Little Ease, and so squeezed his body therein that not long after he died. Many warnings of divers sorts were friends moved in the power of the Lord to give unto that generation ; which they not only rejected, but abused friends, calling us giddy-headed Quakers, but God brought his judgments upon those persecuting priests and magistrates. For when the king came in, most of them were turned out of their places and benefices, the spoilers were spoiled ; and then we could ask them, Who were the giddy-heads now ? Then many confessed we had been true prophets to the nation, and said, Had we cried against some priests only they should have liked us then ; but we crying against all, that made them dislike us. But now they saw that those priests, then looked upon to be the best, were as bad as the rest. For indeed some of those that were counted the most eminent priests were the bitterest and greatest stirrers up of the magistrates to persecution, and it was a judgment upon them to be denied the free liberty of their consciences when the king came in, because when they were uppermost they would not have liberty of conscience granted to others. One

Hewes, of Plymouth, a priest of great note in Oliver's days, when some liberty was granted, prayed, 'That God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation to remove this cursed Toleration.' Others of them prayed against it by the name of Intolerable Toleration. But a while after, when the king was come in, and priest Hewes turned out of his great benefice for not conforming to the Common Prayer, a friend from Plymouth meeting with him, asked him, 'Whether he would account Toleration accursed now? And whether he would not now be glad of a Toleration?' To which the priest returned no answer, save by the shaking of his head. But as stiff as this sort of men were then against Toleration, it is well known many of them petitioned the king for Toleration and for meeting-places, and paid for licences too. But to return to the present time, the latter end of the year 1660 and the beginning of 1661.

Although those friends, who had been imprisoned upon the rising of those Monarchy-men, were set at liberty, yet meetings were much disturbed, and great sufferings friends underwent; for besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in. There came one time, when I was at Pall-mall, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen with rude fellows: the meeting was over before they came, and I was gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them say, he would 'kill all the Quakers.' I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him, the law said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' but thou threatenest to 'kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt.' But, said I, here is gospel for thee: 'Here's my hair, here's my cheek, here's my shoulder,' turning it to him. This came so over him, that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said, If that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them, What I was in words, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador who had stood without, came in; for he said, that Irish colonel was such a desperate man, he durst not come in with him for fear he should have done us some mischief; but truth came over him, and he carried himself lovingly towards us, as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-end friends were kept out of their meeting-place

by soldiers; but friends stood nobly in the truth, valiant for the Lord's name, and at last the truth gave them dominion.

About this time we had an account that John Love, a friend that was moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the Papists, was dead in prison at Rome: it was suspected he was privately put to death. John Perrot was also prisoner there, and being released came over again; but after his arrival here, he, with Charles Baily and some others, turned aside from the unity of friends and truth. Whereupon I was moved to give forth a paper, declaring how the Lord would blast him and his followers, if they did not repent and return, and that they should wither like the grass on the house-top; which many of them did: but others repented and returned.

Also before this time we received account from New-England, 'That the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death in case they returned; that several of our friends, having been so banished and returning, were thereupon taken and actually hanged, and that divers more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence to be executed upon them.' When those were put to death, I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it. But as soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the king, and told him, 'There was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped would over-run all.' To which the king replied, 'But I will stop that vein.' Edward Burrough said, 'Then do it speedily, for we know not how many may soon be put to death.' The king answered, 'As speedily as ye will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently.' The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the king to desire the matter might be expedited, the king said, He had no occasion at present to send a ship thither, but if we would send one we might do it as soon as we would. Edward then asked the king, If it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker to carry the mandamus to New-England? He said, 'Yes, to whom ye will.' Whereupon E. B. named Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New-England was banished by their law, to

be hanged if he came again, and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks time, arrived before the town of Boston in New-England, upon a first-day morning. With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions. The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told him, He was the commander. They asked him, If he had any letters? He said, Yes. They asked, If he would deliver them? He said, 'No, not to-day.' So they went ashore, and reported, There was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law to be put to death for coming again after banishment; but they knew not his errand nor his authority. So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore; next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the governor's, John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the king of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted in, and the governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then going out, he bid the friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the friends, and said, 'We shall obey his majesty's commands.' After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were thus met, in came a poor friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This

added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praises to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for he only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in him. Here follows a copy of the mandamus.

‘ C H A R L E S R.

‘ **T**RUSTY and well-beloved, We greet you well.  
 ‘ Having been informed, that several of our subjects  
 ‘ amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are impris-  
 ‘ oned by you, whereof some have been executed, and  
 ‘ others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to  
 ‘ undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our plea-  
 ‘ sure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require,  
 ‘ that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst  
 ‘ you, now already condemned to suffer death or other cor-  
 ‘ poral punishment, or that are imprisoned and obnoxious  
 ‘ to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed  
 ‘ any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said  
 ‘ persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this  
 ‘ our kingdom of England, together with the respective  
 ‘ crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end such  
 ‘ course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable  
 ‘ to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these  
 ‘ our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.  
 ‘ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of Septem-  
 ‘ ber, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.’

Subscribed: ‘ To our trusty and well-beloved John En-  
 ‘ dicott, esquire, and to all and every other the gover-  
 ‘ nor or governors of our plantations of New-England,  
 ‘ and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now  
 ‘ are or hereafter shall be, and to all and every the  
 ‘ ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies  
 ‘ whatsoever within the continent of New-England.

‘ By his majesty’s command,

William Morris.’

Some time after this several New-England magistrates came over, with one of their priests. We had several discourses with them concerning their murdering our friends,

the servants of the Lord; but they were ashamed to stand to their bloody actions. At one of those meetings I asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New-England magistrates, Whether he had not an hand in putting to death those four servants of God, whom they hanged for being Quakers only, as they had nicknamed them? He confessed, He had. I then asked him, and the rest of his associates then present, Whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subjects to the laws of England? And if they did, by what law they had put our friends to death? They said, They were subjects to the laws of England, and they had put our friends to death by the same law as the Jesuits were put to death here in England. I asked them then, Whether they did believe those friends of ours, whom they had put to death, were Jesuits or jesuitically affected? They said, Nay. Then, said I, ye have murdered them, if ye have put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they were no Jesuits. By this it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law. Then Simon Broadstreet, finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, said, Did we come to catch them? I told them, they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson (who was one of those that were put to death) was in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. Hereupon they began to excuse themselves, saying, 'There was no persecution now amongst them;' but next morning we had letters from New-England, giving us account that our friends were persecuted there afresh. Thereupon we went to them again, and shewed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame. In great fear they seemed to be, lest some should call them to account and prosecute them for their lives, especially Simon Broadstreet; for he had at first before so many witnesses confessed, 'He had a hand in putting our friends to death,' that he could not get from it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. After this he and the rest soon left the city, and got back to New-England again. I went also to governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him about these matters; but he assured me, 'He had no hand in putting our friends to death, or in any way persecuting of them, but was one of them that protested against it.' These

stingy persecutors of New-England were a people that fled out of Old England thither from the persecution of the bishops here; but when they had got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas the bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday (so called) for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day upon such as should not conform to their will-worship there, and spoiled the goods of friends that could not pay it. Besides, many they imprisoned, divers they whipped, and that most cruelly; they cut the ears off some, and some they hanged: as the books of friends sufferings in New-England largely shew, particularly one written by George Bishop of Bristol, intituled, *New-England judged*: (in two parts.) Some of the old Royalists were earnest with friends to have persecuted them; but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. And the judgments of God have since fallen heavy on them; for the Indians have been raised up against them, and have cut off many of them.

About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands: it was a useful, teaching book, containing the signification and explanation of Names, Parables, Types, and Figures in the scriptures. Those who took it were so affected therewith that they were loth to destroy it; but thinking to have made a great advantage of it, they would have let us had it again, if we would have given them a great sum of money for it; which we were not free to do.

Before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, the book called the *Battledore* came forth, which was written to shew that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person, and You to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken out of the scriptures, and out of books of instruction in about thirty languages. John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I put them upon; and some things I added to it. When it was finished, some of them were presented to the king and his council, to the bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one apiece; and many bought of them. The king said, 'It was the proper language of all nations.' The bishop of Canterbury, being asked what he thought of it, was so at a stand that he could not tell what to say to



it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterwards were so rugged towards us for saying Thou and Thee to a single person, which before they were exceeding fierce against us for. For Thou and Thee was a fore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour; who, though they would say it to God and Christ, would not endure to have it said to themselves. So that we were often beat and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives for using those words to some proud men, who would say, 'What! you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me!' as though there lay christian breeding in saying You to one, which is contrary to their grammars and teaching books, by which they instructed their youth.

Now the bishops and priests being busy and eager to set up their form of worship, and compel all to come to it. I was moved to give forth the following paper, to open the nature of the true worship which Christ set up, and which God accepts; thus:

'CHRIST's worship is free in the Spirit to all men;  
 'and such as worship in the Spirit and in the truth  
 'are those that God seeks to worship him; for he is the  
 'God of truth, and is a Spirit, and the God of the spirits  
 'of all flesh. He hath given to all nations of men and wo-  
 'men breath and life, to live, move, and have their being  
 'in him, and hath put into them an immortal soul. So all  
 'nations of men and women are to be temples for him to  
 'dwell in; and they that defile his temple will he destroy.  
 'Now as the outward Jews, while they had their outward  
 'temple at Jerufalem, were to go thither to worship (which  
 'temple God hath long since thrown down, and destroyed  
 'that Jerufalem, the vision of peace, and cast off the Jews  
 'and their worship, and in the room thereof hath set up his  
 'gospel-worship in the Spirit and in the truth) so now all  
 'are to worship in the Spirit and in the truth. This is a  
 'free worship; for where the Spirit of the Lord is and  
 'ruleth, there is liberty; the fruits of the Spirit are seen,  
 'and will manifest themselves; and the Spirit is not to be  
 'limited, but to be lived and walked in, that the fruits of it  
 'may appear. The tares are such as hang upon the wheat,  
 'and thereby draw it down to the earth; yet the tares and  
 'the wheat must grow together till the harvest, lest they  
 'that take upon them to pluck up the tares should pluck up  
 'the wheat with the tares. The tares are such as worship

' not God in the Spirit and in the truth, but grieve the  
 ' Spirit, vex and quench it in themselves, and walk not in  
 ' the truth; yet will hang about the wheat, the true wor-  
 ' shippers in the Spirit and in the truth. Christ's church  
 ' was never established by blood, nor held up by prisons;  
 ' neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal armed men,  
 ' nor is it preserved by such. When men went from the  
 ' Spirit and truth, they took up carnal weapons to maintain  
 ' their outward forms, and yet cannot preserve them with  
 ' their carnal weapons; for one plucketh down another's  
 ' form with his outward weapons. And this work hath  
 ' been among the Christians in name since they lost the  
 ' Spirit, and spiritual weapons, and the true worship which  
 ' Christ set up, that is in the Spirit and in the truth; which  
 ' Spirit and truth they that worship in are over all the tares.  
 ' All that would be plucking up the tares are forbidden by  
 ' Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to  
 ' him; for the tares and the wheat must grow together till  
 ' the harvest, as Christ hath commanded. The stone that  
 ' smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the  
 ' whole earth: now if the stone do fill the whole earth, all  
 ' nations must be temples for the stone. All that say they  
 ' travail for the seed, and yet bring forth nothing but a birth  
 ' of strife, contention, and confusion, their fruit shews their  
 ' travail to be wrong; for by the fruit the end of every one's  
 ' work is seen of what sort it is.

' G. F.'

About this time many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn  
 upon friends, and talked up and down where they came,  
 that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-  
 denying people; and said, ' It was great pity that they did  
 ' not return to the holy mother church.' Thus they made  
 a buzz among the people, and said, ' They would willingly  
 ' discourse with friends.' But friends were loth to meddle  
 with them, because they were Jesuits, looking upon it to  
 be both dangerous and scandalous. But when I under-  
 stood it, I said to friends, ' Let us discourse with them, be  
 ' they what they will.' So a time being appointed at Ger-  
 rard Roberts's, there came two of them like courtiers. They  
 asked our names, which we told them; but we did not ask  
 their names, for we understood they were called Papists,  
 and they knew we were called Quakers. I asked them the  
 same question that I had formerly asked a Jesuit, namely,

• Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from  
‘ the church in the primitive times, from the Spirit, power,  
‘ and practice that they were in in the apostles times?’ He  
to whom I put this question, being subtle, said, ‘ He would  
‘ not answer it.’ I asked him, Why? But he would shew  
no reason. His companion said, he would answer me;  
and said, ‘ They were not degenerated from the church in  
‘ the primitive times.’ I asked the other, ‘ Whether he was  
‘ of the same mind?’ He said, Yes. Then I replied, for  
the better understanding one another, and that there might  
be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after  
this manner: ‘ Whether the church of Rome now was in  
‘ the same purity, practice, power, and Spirit, that the  
‘ church in the apostles time was in?’ When they saw we  
would be exact with them, they flew off, and denied that,  
saying, ‘ It was presumption in any to say they had the  
‘ same power and Spirit which the apostles had.’ I told  
them, It was presumption in them to meddle with the words  
of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they  
succeeded the apostles, yet be forced to confess, ‘ They were  
‘ not in the same power and Spirit that the apostles were in:’  
This, said I, is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the  
apostles Spirit. I shewed them how different their fruits  
and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apos-  
tles. Then got up one of them, and said, ‘ Ye are a com-  
‘ pany of dreamers.’ Nay, said I, ye are the filthy dream-  
ers, who dream ye are the apostles successors, and yet con-  
fess, ‘ Ye have not the same power and Spirit which the  
‘ apostles were in.’ And are not they defilers of the flesh,  
who say, ‘ It is presumption for any to say, they have the  
‘ same power and Spirit which the apostles had?’ Now,  
said I, if ye have not the same power and Spirit which the  
apostles had, then it is manifest that ye are led by another  
power and spirit than the apostles and church in the primi-  
tive times were led by. Then I began to tell them how  
that evil spirit, which they were led by, had led them to  
pray by beads and to images, and to set up nunneries, fri-  
aries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for reli-  
gion; which practice I shewed them was below the law,  
and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty. They were  
soon weary of this discourse, and went their way, and gave  
a charge, as we heard, to the Papists, ‘ That they should  
‘ not dispute with us, nor read any of our books.’ So we  
were rid of them; but we had reasonings with all the other

sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal-men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy-men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm they had the same power and Spirit that the apostles had and were in; so in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.

As for the Fifth-monarchy-men I was moved to give forth a paper, to manifest their error to them; for they looked for Christ's personal coming in an outward form and manner, and fixed the time to the year 1666; at which time some of them prepared themselves when it thundered and rained, thinking Christ was then come to set up his kingdom, and they imagined they were to kill the whore without them. But I told them the whore was alive in them, and was not burned with God's fire, nor judged in them with the same power and Spirit the apostles were in. And their looking for Christ's coming outwardly to set up his kingdom, was like the Pharisees 'Lo here,' and 'Lo there.' But Christ was come and had set up his kingdom above sixteen hundred years ago (according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy) and he had dashed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet part of iron part of clay; and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer threshing-floor. And when Christ was on earth, he said, His kingdom was not of this world: if it had, his servants would have fought; but it was not, therefore his servants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-monarchy men, that are fighters with carnal weapons, are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the whore's. Christ said, 'All power in heaven and in earth is given to me;' so then his kingdom was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, and he reigns. And we see Jesus Christ reign, said the apostle, and he shall reign till all things be put under his feet; tho' all things are not yet put under his feet, nor subdued.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.















