

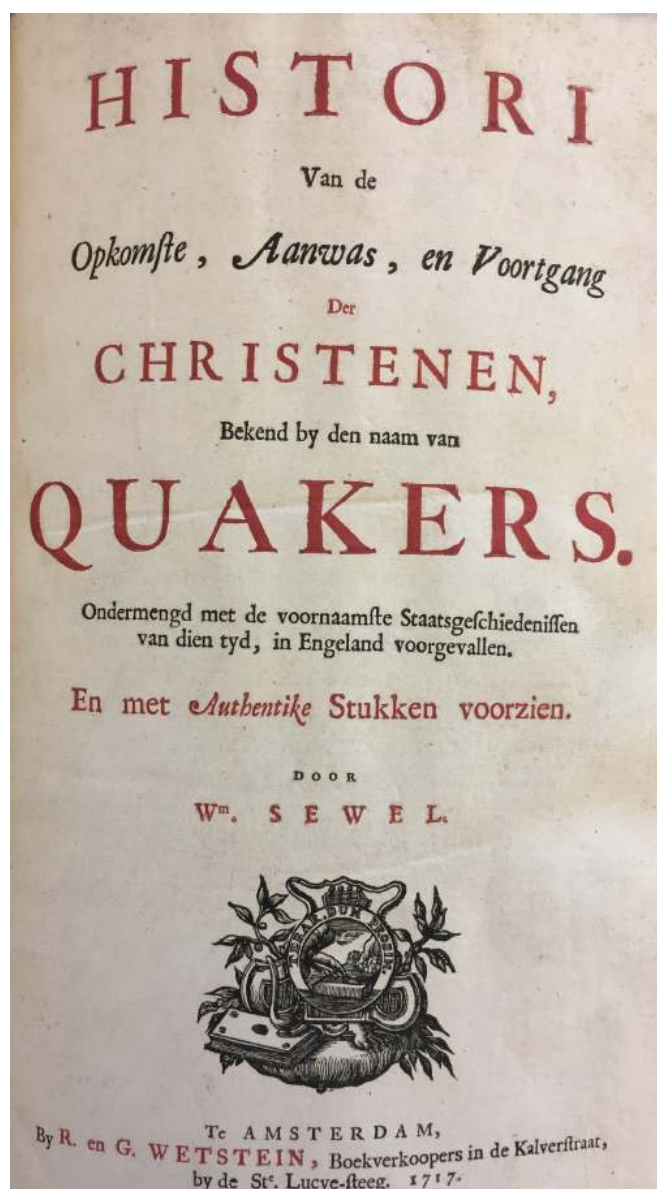
***GEORGE FOX'S  
FORMATIVE YEARS 1624-1651***



**10<sup>th</sup> Edition**

With increased analysis of impact of the additions  
to the manuscript's thrust.

Front leaf of Sewel's History in Dutch which is referred to.



**GEORGE FOX'S**

**FORMATIVE YEARS 1624-1650**

10<sup>th</sup> Edition

This Edition - Complete with Extra Notes

Edited by: Charles B. Lamb

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Cover is a photograph of lime tree in old garden outside Cork.

It was chosen because today there are so many diverse branches that look  
back to George Fox.

This booklet tries to find what roots were really there in Fox's' formative  
years, and which may have been added by the Editor of the Journal  
published 1694.

## Acknowledgements:

**“The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers** Intermixed with Several Remarkable Occurrences.

Written originally in Low-Dutch by William Sewel, and by himself translated into English. Now Revised and Published with some Amendments. London:

Printed and Sold by the Assigns of J.Sowle at the Bible in George-Yard, Lombard Street (1722).”

**HISTORI** Van de Opkomfte, Aanwas, en Voortgang **Der CHRISTIAN** Bekend by den naam van **QUAKERS** Ondermengd met de voornammfte Staatgefchieden van dien tyd, in Engeland voorgevallen. En met Authentike Stukken voorzien. Door Wm. Sewel.

Te Amsterdam by R. en G. Wetstein, Boekverkoopers in de Kelfverftraat, by de St. Lucye-fteeg. (1717).

**“THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX EDITED FROM THE MSS BY NORMAN PENNEY F.S.A**

Cambridge: at the University Press 1911.”

**Gospel-Truth Demonstrated** George Fox Printed by T.Sowle White-Hart-Court, in Gracious-Street London (1706).

**THE SHORT JOURNAL and ITINERARY JOURNAL of GEORGE FOX** Edited by Norman Penney Cambridge University Press (1925).

## **Many Thanks to:-**

- Kees Nieuwerth for comparing Sewel’s English text in this booklet with the Low Dutch text and providing his translations of passages with significant differences.
- Marjorie A. Lamb for help with editing.
- Friends House Library London for access to Sewel’s HISTORI in Dutch.
- Andrew Sheppard for photographing the relevant part of Sewel’s HISTORI in Dutch.
- Ben Pink Dandelion for reading the document and suggesting top key subjects be added.

## PURPOSE OF THIS EDITION –

- One: To make easily available the 9,964 words of George Fox’s formative years from 1624-1650, as free as possible from editing that occurred in the 1694 edition (editing that produced 17,000 words of text for the missing 16 pages that in 1911 Norman Penney estimated contained 10,000 words). This Text, (as free as possible from Elwood’s editing), was not available to most people’s consciousness for 325 years since William Mead gave the manuscript of George Fox’s Journal to Thomas Elwood - even though version, edited by William Sewel was available in Sewel’s History since 1722.
- Two: To provide context to the account, by including Sewel’s history of the period, and some contemporaneous writings in Footnotes and Appendixes.
- Three: To reveal what sections - quoted in “Britain Yearly Meeting Quaker Faith and Practice” and “Ireland Yearly Meeting Quaker Faith and Life” were from sections that Elwood added. From this revelation, hoping to give you the opportunity to decide for yourself the thrust of Elwood’s additions. (See Appendix 6)
- Four: To provide an analysis of the distinguishing aspects of Elwood’s additions and to discuss how his editing altered the thrust of the Biography. (See Chapter Three)

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## INTRODUCTION

William Sewel based this Biography of George Fox on ‘**A certain document about his life he ordered someone to write down**’<sup>1</sup> that William Sewel had requested and received. This Biography of the years 1624-1650, was included in the first chapter of William Sewel’s “The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers” published in 1722. “The History...” was originally published in low Dutch in 1717. Kees Nieuwerth of Netherland Yearly meeting has compared the text up to the Trial verdict in Derby and provided his present day translations of differences he considers significant. These differences are either used in text or noted in footnotes. (Text originating from the Dutch is in narrow lettering). The Dutch is considered more authentic as William Sewel died in 1720 before the English text was published.

### **I wonder; have I found the original first section of George Fox’s Journal?**

Ever since I discovered that Thomas Elwood reversed the order of and added words to the most famous talk George Fox gave on Firbank Fell in 1652, (and in my thinking altered the thrust of that message<sup>2</sup>, - see Appendix 3), I have desired to find an account of George Fox’s formative years without Elwood’s editing.

In 1911 Cambridge University Press published a verbatim et literatim Edition of George Fox’s Journal from the then-available manuscript MSS. This was edited by Norman Penney and so is called the Penney Edition in this booklet.

In his Editor’s introduction to the Penney edition, Norman Penney noted that the first 16 pages of the manuscript were lost which he estimated should have had 10,000 words, but for the same period, Thomas Elwood’s version had 17,500 words.

In his introduction to the Penney Edition, T Edmund Harvey said, “It is a matter of great regret that the manuscript as we now have it lacks the

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<sup>1</sup> Kees Nieuwerth’s translation of the Dutch is preferred by this Editor rather than the English Sewel text as it does not imply that the document was written specially at Sewel’s request.

<sup>2</sup> Details of change in Appendix 3

opening pages, giving the account of George Fox's earlier years, and is it not too much to hope for that someday these may be recovered?"

The preparation of the Journal for printing took longer than expected and Thomas Elwood replied to Steven Crisp's enquiry saying, "He hath spent more time in perusal and comparing than writing." Before the copy was committed to the printer, it was read carefully and reread in order that "Nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor anything inserted fit to be left out." This was so that, as William Penn said, "It might not sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears".

The Journal manuscript was with William Mead (husband of Sarah Fell) when George Fox died and William gave the manuscript to Thomas Elwood.

Norman Penney thought that since Thomas Lower wrote pages 17-20, he might also have written the missing 16 pages. William Mead, did not want to have the Draft read until Thomas Lower, who had been Fox's amanuensis was present.

Based on the document that was written as ordered by George Fox, William Sewel wrote his history in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. (Thomas Elwood used 1<sup>st</sup> person). William Sewel's<sup>3</sup> version (printed in 1722) contains 9,964 words for the period of the missing pages plus his historical context notes. From this, it may be concluded that this edition is unlikely to contain many of the words Elwood added in George Fox's Journal (published in 1694) until near the end of the court case in Derby in 1650 when Sewel's words become nearly identical with Elwood's. (This can be seen in Appendix 2 where part of the page from Sewel is placed above a page from the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition of Elwood's and both differ from the Penney manuscript which Sewel did not have). Sewel's text includes much more information than Elwood's did about George Fox's mother. (Norman Penney had Sewel's 1722 History - he mentions it in a note about Litchfield).

After the court case 1650, the fact that Sewel's words are so similar to Elwood's (and quite different to the earlier), could mean that for the earlier

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<sup>3</sup> William Sewel 1653-1720. (His history published in Low Dutch in 1717 and in English 1722)

period, Sewel's words may also have been close to the written document he received. A study of the about 1000 words of text for the short period in Derby when the Penney Manuscript is available, as well as Sewel's and Elwood's version, reveals that Elwood was often closer to the Penney Manuscript than Sewel, so Sewel's text may also have been significantly edited due to its first being published in Low Dutch. Sewel's text contains a Phrase and several full sentences from Elwood that are not in Penney.

In his introduction, William Sewel states that he started his history 25 years before it was published in 1722 i.e. in 1687 before George Fox died. Time wise it is possible that Sewel could have asked for start of George Fox's journal before it was published in 1694 and could have been sent the 16 pages, and prepared them in Low Dutch before he got the Elwood Journal.

Kees Nieuwerth also found in the 1717 Dutch Edition of Sewel's History, "Then he heard (as his Journal tells us) a voice" - words which could imply that the document he had did not have this expression - 'a voice.'

In order that the reader can get the 'feel' of the thrust of George Fox's experiences, William Sewel's added description of current affairs and other comments are in *Italics* and also in a smaller font so that, if desired, these sections can be skipped.

From the History published in 1717 written in Low Dutch, William Sewel then translated into English, and in one section (pages 17-18) he says specifically that he used Fox's own words. Kees Nieuwerth's comparing of the Dutch Text turned up two more places - one where Sewel followed Elwood adding 'as his journal says' and the other where a phrase from Elwood is left out and commentary similar to Elwood added. Sewel was clearly comparing the written document he had with the Journal edited by Elwood. Kees also turned up a few phrases that differed. Some of these were changed to the Dutch text and put in narrow font, but those, where the English phrase felt more like old English, were left, on the assumption that Sewel went back to the document phrase, instead of translating back from his Dutch text.



Information that is in Sewel's text and not in Elwood's text is in **blue**.

Footnotes have been added by the Editor of this edition. Changes due to 1<sup>st</sup> person in Elwood's and 3<sup>rd</sup> person in Sewel are not considered significant. This Editor has tried to be faithful to the original, but several unintentional errors have been found, so if something does not ring true to you, please ask and I will check original text.

For those that are interested in passages that are in Elwood, but not in Sewel, some of these passages appear in Appendix 6. They can also be read on photographed old pages in Appendix 9 where common words and ideas are **highlighted in green**.

Footnotes in **magenta** are random words and passages that were in Elwood but not in Sewel. - references are given to where these "passages" are used in Ireland Yearly meeting "Quaker Faith and Life"; (IYM QFL); Britain Yearly Meeting "Quaker Faith and Practice" (BYM QFP) and London Yearly Meeting Christian Faith and Practice (LYM CFP). Words in the text that are in Elwood but not in Penney are in **red**.

That which has a similar meaning in both Elwood and Sewel, confirms the genuine; additional information that is only in Sewel (like what he added about George Fox's mother) likely confirms that he had an additional source. What is only in Elwood begs the questions:

- **Where did "the source" come from?**
- **What was its impact?**

The Short Journal of George Fox edited by Norman Penney and published from Manuscripts in 1925 has also been compared for the period up to 1651 and some footnotes added. The Short Journal is what it is named, a short journal, but it does include some details that are not in Sewel or Elwood.

Section titles have been added by present editor.

I hope you will enjoy the read. I will leave my analysis until the Post Script in Chapter Three.

**Parents and Childhood**

George Fox was born at Drayton<sup>4</sup> in Leicestershire, in England, in the month called July, in the year 1624, from parents who were members of the public Church, or Church of England, *as appeareth to me from 'a certain document about his life he ordered someone to write down which was sent to me at my request.'*<sup>5</sup> His Father was Christopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honest man, and<sup>6</sup> of such a virtuous life that his neighbours were used to call him righteous Christer. His mother was Mary Largo, an upright woman and of the Stock of the martyrs. This George Fox was, even in his minority, endued with gravity and stayedness of mind, that is seldom seen in children; so that seeing how old people carried themselves lightly and wantonly, had such an aversion to it, that he would say within himself, 'If I ever come to be a man, surely I will not be so wanton'.

His Parents in the mean while endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worship, his mother especially contributed thereto, as being eminent in Piety, but even from a child he was seen in another frame of mind than his brethren for he was more religious, retired, still, and solid, and was also observing beyond his age, as appeared from the answers he gave, and the questions he asked concerning religious matters, to the astonishment of those that heard him. His mother, seeing this extraordinary temper and godliness, which so early did shine through him, so that he would not meddle with childish plays, did not think it fit to trouble him about the way of worship, but carried herself indulgent towards him. Meanwhile he learned to read pretty well, and to write so much as would serve him afterwards to signify his meaning to others. When he was come to eleven Years of Age, he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous Life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. **inwardly** towards God, and outwardly to man; since the Lord **by his good Spirit** had shewed him, that

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<sup>4</sup>In the Clay

<sup>5</sup> Kees Neiuwerth's translation of Dutch is used in text instead of "a paper in his lifetime, drawn up by his Order at my request sent to me" because Kees' translation does not have implication that paper was drawn up by George Fox at William Sewel's request, which Editor thinks was unintentional implication of the English.

<sup>6</sup> There was a seed of God in him

he was to keep his word<sup>7</sup> always, and ought not to commit excess in eating or drinking. He thus growing up in virtue, some of his relations were for having him train up in the school, to make a Priest of him; but others persuaded to the contrary; and so he was put to a shoemaker that dealt also in wool and in cattle.

### **Apprentice Shepard**

Being employed then by his master, he took most delight in sheep, and was very skilful in what belonged thereto, for it was an employment that very well suited his mind; and his thus being a shepherd, was, *as an eminent author said, a just Emblem of his business*, and minded it so well that his master was successful in his trade while George was with him. He often used in his dealings the word “verily”, and then he kept so strict to it, that people who knew him would say, “If George says verily, there is no altering him”.

### **Context**

*William Sewell added (text in italics), Now, though my design is not to give a description of state-affairs, yet I find it necessary to mention something of the chief temporal occurrences in England, in as much as they have relation to the affairs of the church; lest my History might seem an incomplete work. Transiently therefore I will say that in England about this time appeared the beginnings of a civil war, in which religion had some share; for the bishops began to introduce several Innovations, and caused not only rails to be made about the communion table, which now was called the High Altar; but those who approached it bowed thrice and a bow was made at pronouncing the name of Jesus. Thus ceremonies increased from time to time; and those preachers that were really religious, and spoke most of edification, were sighted and set by; the bishops in their visitations, minding chiefly to promote such rites as favoured popery. And this was not only done in England, but in Scotland also. Endeavours were made to bring in episcopacy. This caused ferment among the people, which, when it came to an insurrection, they generally believed it was for religion’s sake, which made some cry in the open streets, where there was any confluence of people, “To your tents, O Israel”. And because the Parliament was of the opinion that King Charles 1 encroached upon their privileges, which they would not suffer; this so exasperated the prince, that he brought together an army and set up his Standard, first on the Castle in Nottingham,*

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<sup>7</sup>Elwood’s section much longer

*where it was blown down the same evening, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of the Month called August in the year 1642. But before that time, the King had taken possession of some fortified places and the Parliament on the other hand had also got some in their power. Sometime after a battle was fought between the Royalists and the Parliament, near Edge-Hill in Warwickshire, where neither party prevailed much. About this time:*

### **Attendance at a Fair**

George Fox, who more and more endeavoured to lead a godly Life, being come to the nineteenth<sup>8</sup> year of his age, it happened at a fair, that a cousin of his and another coming to him asked whether he would drink a jug of beer with them? He being thirsty, said, "Yes", and went with them to an Inn. After each had drunk a glass, they began to drink 'healths', and said, he that would not drink should pay for all. This grieved George, seeing that people who professed to be religious, behaved themselves thus, and therefore he rose up to be gone; and putting his hand in his pocket, he took a groat, and laid it down upon the table, saying, "If it be so, I'll leave you", and so he went away; and when his business was done, he returned home; but he did not go to bed, that night, but prayed, and cried earnestly to the Lord; and it seemed to him that his supplications were answered after this manner, 'Thou seest how the young people gather together into vanity and old people into the earth, therefore thou must forsake all, both young and old and be a stranger to them'. **This which he took to be a Divine admonition, made such a powerful Impression on his mind that he resolved to break off all familiar fellowship and conversation with young and old, and even leave his relations, and to live a separate and retired life.** On the ninth of September in the year 1643 he went to Northampton where he also made some stay, and there passed to Newport-Pagnel in Buckinghamshire; and after having stayed a while there, he went to Barnet whither he came in the Summer<sup>9</sup> month in the year 1644.

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<sup>8</sup> LYM CFP 1, 558

<sup>9</sup> Summer used from the Dutch text instead of June in English - Elwood 4<sup>th</sup> month.

## Solitary Seeker

While he led this solitary life he fasted often, and read the Holy Scriptures diligently,<sup>10</sup> so that some Professors took notice of him, and sought to be acquainted with him, but he soon perceiving that they did not possess what they professed<sup>11</sup> shunned their company. In time he fell into strong temptations, almost to despair, and was in mighty trouble, sometimes keeping himself retired in his chamber, and often walking solitary to wait upon the Lord. In this state he saw how Christ had been tempted; but when he looked to his own condition, he wondered and said, “Was I ever so before?” He began to think also that he had done amiss against his relations, because he had forsaken them; and he called to mind his former times to consider whether he had wronged any. Thus temptations grew more and more; and when Satan could not effect his design upon him in the Way, he laid snares for him to draw him to commit some sin, thereby to bring him to despair. He was about twenty years of age, and continued a long while in this condition, and would fain have put it from him; which made him go to a priest to look for comfort, but he did not find it from them. In this miserable state he went to London in hope of finding some relief among the professors of that city, but being come there, he saw many darkened in their understandings. He had an uncle there - one Pickering, a Baptist<sup>12</sup>, and those of that persuasion were tender then; yet he could not resolve to impart his mind to them, or join with them, because he saw all - young and old where they were. Though some of the best would have him staid there, yet he was fearful, and so returned homewards; having understood that his parents and relations were troubled at his absence. He would rather go to them again lest he should grieve them.

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<sup>10</sup> Elwood made no mention of fasting or diligently reading the Holy Scripture Appendix 9 old page 3

<sup>11</sup> “Grew afraid of them” not in Dutch text, but the thought was in Elwood’s sentence “but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed, so it appears Sewel moved his English text nearer Elwood than his Dutch text had been.

<sup>12</sup> Dutch ‘Doopsgezinden which means Mennonites, they arose in 16<sup>th</sup> century in Netherlands. Kees Nieuwerth commented why did Sewel translate Baptist? Editor’s comment both were Anabaptist who believed in adult believers baptism by immersion and in the need to re-baptise those who were baptised as infants. There were and still are two types of belief among Baptists in England, some more like the Mennonites and pacifist, see Appendix 4 for more discussion on subject.

Now when he was come into Leicestershire, his relations would have him married; but he [prudently](#) told them, he was but a lad, and must get wisdom. Others would have had him in the auxiliary band among the forces [of the Parliament<sup>13</sup>, which being entered now into an intestine war with the King, had, with their forces this year, beaten not only the king's army under Prince Rupert, but also conquered the city of York. But to persuade George to list himself a soldier was so against his mind](#), that he refused it and went to Coventry, where he took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, where he staid some time, there being many people in that town who endeavoured to live religiously. After some time he went into his own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and trouble, walking many nights by himself. Then Nathaniel Stevens the priest of Drayton, (*The town of George's Birth*) would often come to him and George to the priest, and when Stevens visited him he would sometimes bring another priest along with him, and then George Fox would ask questions and reason with them. Once Stevens<sup>14</sup> asked him 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?" To this, George Fox answered thus: "At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which He was wounded, which He was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was man, but died not as he was God; and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world." When George Fox spoke this, he was in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what he went through. His saying did so please the Priest that he said, it was a very good, full answer, and such an one as he had not heard. He would also applaud and speak highly of George Fox to others, and what George said in discourse to him, that he would preach on the First Day of the week, for which George did not like him<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> George Fox was here pressed to join the forces of Parliament, Elwood instead of the blue section just uses the word Soldiery, "politically" to avoid showing which side George Fox's relations supported. Note George Fox and rejected joining forces, and again in the verbatim account he rejected doing so once while in Derby Gaol.

<sup>14</sup> LYM QFP 3

<sup>15</sup> [This Priest Afterwards became my great persecutor](#)

## Despair and Temptation

After some time he went to see an ancient priest in Mansetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptation; but he being altogether ignorant of George's condition, bid him take tobacco, and sing Psalms. **But George signified that he was** no lover of tobacco and as for Psalms, he was not in a state to sing. Then the Priest bid him come again and that then he would tell him many things. But when George came, the priest was angry and pettish, for George's former words had displeased him; and he was so indiscrete, what George Fox told him of his sorrows and griefs, he told again to his servants so that it got among the milk lasses; which grieved him to have opened his mind to such an one and he saw they were all miserable comforters. Then he heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and therefore he went to him, but found him like an empty hollow cask. Hearing afterwards of one Dr Craddock of Coventry, he went to him also and asked whence temptations and despair did arise, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The priest, **instead of answering, asked him**, who was Christ's father and mother? And George told him, Mary was his Mother, and he was supposed to be the Son of Joseph, but he was the Son of God<sup>16</sup>. Now as they were walking together in Dr Craddock's garden, it happened that George in turning, set his foot on the side of a bed, which so disturbed the teacher, as if the house had been on fire, and thus all the discourse was lost; and George Fox went away in sorrow, worse than when he came, seeing he found none that could reach his condition. After this he went to one Macham<sup>17</sup> a priest of high account; **and he no more skilful than the others**, was for giving George some physick, and bleeding him; but they could get not one drop of blood from him, either in the arms or the head - his body being dried up in sorrows, grief and trouble, which were so great upon him, that he could have wished never to have been born to behold the

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix 4 for how Friends saw Christ as the Word of God

<sup>17</sup> Person name Dutch Matham, English Macham was the same as Elwood so possibly typo in the Dutch.

vanity and wickedness of men; or that he had been born blind<sup>18</sup> and so he might never have seen it; and deaf that he might never have heard vain and wicked words and the Lord's name blasphemed.

### **Christmas and Weddings**

And when the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, he went from house to house, looking for poor widows, and giving them some money. And when he was invited to marriages (as sometimes he was) he would go to none at all; but the next day or soon after, he went and visited those that were newly married; and if they were poor, he gave them some money, for he had<sup>19</sup> wherewith both to keep himself from being chargeable to others and to administer something to the needful.

*Whilst the mind of George Fox was thus in trouble, the state of England was also in a great stir; for the parliament was for turning out of bishops and introducing Presbyterian Directory; which however as yet could not well be effected, although William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been made to stoop to the block and the powers of the King by this time much weakened; for his army was this summer near Nesby, not far from Leicester, overcome by an army of untrained bands, and six thousand men among which many great Officers were taken prisoners, and his Cabinet, with abundance of Letters of great moment was seized; insomuch, that some skirmishes were held but no decisive battle was fought afterwards. But since a circumstantial description of the state of affair is not within my design, I'll return to:*

### **True Believers and University Education**

George Fox, at the beginning of the year **1646** was going to Coventry, and entering toward the gate a consideration arose in him, how it was said that all Christians are believers both Protestants and Papists; And it was opened to him, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God<sup>20</sup>, 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

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<sup>18</sup> Similar LYM CFP 2

<sup>19</sup> Kees Niewerth translation of Dutch, "because he was not only able to care for himself, but also those in need". Editor: looks like Sewel simplified old English when he translated into Dutch and went back to original text when going to English again.

<sup>20</sup> Not a frequently used phrase, but topic at start of chapter 1 of Gospel Truth Demonstrated printed 1706



he was walking in a field on a first day morning, it was discovered unto his understanding that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge<sup>21</sup> was not enough to make a man a minister of Christ. At this he wondered because it was the common belief of people; but for all that, he took this to be Divine revelation, and he admired the goodness of the Lord, **believing now the ordinary ministers not to be such as they pretended to be. This made him unwilling to go any more to church, as it were called, to hear the Priest Stevens, believing that he could not profit thereby;** and therefore instead of going there, he would get into the orchard, or the fields, by himself with his Bible, **which he esteemed above all books, seeking thus to be edified in solitariness.** At this his relations were much troubled: but he told them, “Did not John the apostle say to the believers, that they needed no man to teach them; but as the anointing teacheth them?<sup>22</sup>” And though they knew this to be Scripture, and that it was true, yet it grieved them because he would not go to hear the priest with them, but separated himself from their way of worship; for he saw now that true believer was another thing than they looked on it to be; and that being bred at the universities<sup>23</sup> did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ. Thus he lived by himself, not joining with any, nay, not of the dissenting people, but became a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

### **Temples – God’s Dwelling Place**

Sometime after it was opened to him, that God, who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands<sup>24</sup>. And though this seemed at first strange to him, because both priest and people used to call their churches dreadful places, holy ground, and temples of God, yet it was immediately shewed him, that the Lord did not dwell in these temples which man had erected, but in people’s hearts, and that His people were the temple he dwelt in<sup>25</sup>. This was discovered to him when he was walking in the fields to the house of one of his relations. When he came there, it was told him, that

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<sup>21</sup> Dutch text all the time uses Universities instead of Oxford and Cambridge, words that Elwood used.

<sup>22</sup> 1 John 2 :17

<sup>23</sup> Elwood used Oxford and Cambridge instead of Universities

<sup>24</sup> Acts 7:48 Acts 17:24

<sup>25</sup> 1 Corinthians 3:16 , 1 Corinthians 6:19

Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, had been there and told them he was afraid of Fox for going after new lights. This made him smile **because he saw the true state of the priests.** But he said nothing of it to his relations, who though **they saw that something more was required than the vulgar way of worship,** yet they continued therein, being grieved because he would not also go to hear the priests. Only he told them there was an anointing in man to teach him<sup>26</sup>; and that the Lord would teach his people himself<sup>27</sup>. He had great openings now concerning the things written in Revelations; and when he spoke of them, the priest and professors would say, that was a sealed up book. But to this he said, “Christ could open the Seals; and that the things contained in the Book, very nearly concerned us; since the epistles of the apostle were written to the saints of those times, but the Revelations to point to things to come.”

### **Women without Souls?**

In England in those days were people of very odd notions, and among the rest such as held, that women have no souls. He, lighting on some of these, could not forbear reproving them, **since the Scripture, as he told them plainly, held forth the contrary; for the blessed Virgin Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.** <sup>28</sup>

### **Fox’s insight regarding Dreams**

He also came among people that relied much on dreams, but he told them; “Except they could distinguish between dream and dream, their observations would be nothing but confusion, since there were three sorts of dreams; for multiplicity of business sometimes caused dreams, and there were whisperings of Satan in the night-season; and there were also speakings of God to man in dreams.” **Because these people were more in want of a clear discerning, than of good will,** they at length came out of those imaginations, and at last became fellow believers with him; who though he had great openings **in his understanding,** yet great trouble and

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<sup>26</sup> 1 John 2:17 and 27

<sup>27</sup> Hebrews 8:8-12, Hebrews 10:16 Jeremiah 31:33-34

<sup>28</sup> Luke 1:46

temptation many times came upon him; so that when it was day he wished for the night, and when it was night he wished for the day. Nevertheless among all those troubles, his **understanding** was so opened, that he could say with David, “Day unto day uttereth speech and night unto night sheweth Knowledge”<sup>29</sup>; for even in these troubles he had great openings of many places in Scripture.

## Context

*As to state-affairs, things continued in a distracted condition; for the King, who after his army had been beaten, was gone to the Scots; was by them delivered to the English; to whom he could no more prescribe laws, but was fain to receive them. And the Churchmen were also at variance; for the Independents (several of which sat also in Parliament) began to say, that between Episcopacy (against which they had fought conjunctly<sup>30</sup>) and Presbytery, the difference was only the name and some few outward circumstances, since people of a tender conscience might apprehend no less opposition from the Presbyterians than from the Episcopalians; and that this fear was not vain or idle, time afterwards hath shewn abundantly. But let us return to:*

## Meeting Friendly People

George Fox, at the Beginning of the Year **1647**, feeling some drawings to go into Derbyshire, went thither and meeting with some friendly people, had many discourses with them. Then passing into the Peak Country, he met with more such people, and also with some that were **swayed by** empty and high notions<sup>31</sup>. And travelling into Nottinghamshire, there he met a tender people and among these one Elizabeth Hooton, **of which woman more will be said in sequel**<sup>32</sup>. With these he had some meetings and discourses. But his troubles and temptations still continued and he fasted much, and walked often abroad in solitary<sup>33</sup> places, taking his Bible with him and then sat in hollow trees, and lonesome places till night came on and frequently in the

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<sup>29</sup> Psalm 19:2

<sup>30</sup> Dictionary union.

<sup>31</sup> See appendix 5 John Burneats account of people in “high in profession of Christ and his righteousness, and what he had done for him as a Saviour, though in their sins.”

<sup>32</sup> William Edmondson’s Journal records that Elizabeth Hooton as “an ancient woman”, who travelling with him and George Fox, to Barbados in 1672 died in Jamaica. The Short Journal of George Fox records the healing of a very distraught woman at her house

<sup>33</sup> LYM CFP 4

night he walked mournfully about being surrounded with many sorrows in the times of the first working of the Lord in him.

### **Tender Young Man**

During all this time he never joined in the profession of religion with any, but gave up himself to the disposing of the Lord, having forsaken not only evil company, but also taken leave of his father and mother, and all other relations; and so he travelled up and down as a stranger on the earth, which way he felt his heart inclined; and when he came into a town, he took a chamber for himself there, and tarried sometimes a month, sometimes more, sometimes less in a place; for he was afraid of staying long in any place, lest being a tender young man, he should be hurt by too familiar a conversation with men.

### **Leather Clothes**

*Now though it might not seem very agreeable with the gravity of my work to mention what kind of clothes he wore in these first years of his peregrination<sup>34</sup>; yet I don't count it abuse to say here, that it is indeed true what a certain author viz. Gerrard Croes, relates of him, that he was clothed with leather; but not, as the author adds, because he could not, or would not, forget his former leather-work, but it was partly for simplicity of the dress, and also because such a clothing was strong, and needed but little mending or repairing, which was commodious for him who had no steady dwelling place, and everywhere in his travels he sought to live in a lonely state:-*

### **Heavenly Joy**

George Fox keeping himself thus a stranger, he sought heavenly wisdom and endeavoured to get knowledge of the Lord, and to be weaned from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Now though his troubles were great, yet they were not so continual, but had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such heavenly joy, that admiring the love of God to his soul, he would say with the Psalmist, "Thou, Lord make a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Dictionary meaning; travelling, wandering, pilgrimage.

<sup>35</sup> Psalm 107:33-34 also Section in Elwood but not included here

## Who Can Speak to His Condition?

Now he regarded the priests but little, because he clearly saw that to be trained at the universities<sup>36</sup>, and to be instructed in languages, liberal arts and the like sciences, was not sufficient to make any one a minister of the Gospel, but he looked more after the dissenting people because he sensed a certain tenderness of mind amongst them and their mind usually more open<sup>37</sup>. Yet as he had forsaken the priests<sup>38</sup> so he left the separate preachers also<sup>39</sup>, because he saw there was none among them that could speak to his condition. When all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, he heard (as his journal tells us)<sup>40</sup> a voice which said, <sup>41</sup>“There is one even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.” Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy.

*Observation by present Editor: The rest of this section in Sewel contains 630 words and while similar words are contained in Elwood, they are submerged in 3000 words. (Elwood text may be seen in Appendix 9 - old page 8-12. Both Elwood and Sewel follow section with account of woman in Lancashire*

## Why None Could Speak to His Condition

It was shewed him why there was none other upon earth that could speak to his condition, namely that he might give the Lord all the glory,<sup>42</sup> and that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence. <sup>43</sup>Then he, experimentally knowing that Christ enlightens men and gives grace, faith, and power, his desires after the Lord<sup>44</sup>, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God grew stronger, so he wished to increase therein without the help of any man, book or writing.<sup>45</sup> Yet he was a diligent reader of the Holy Scriptures that speak at large of God and Christ, though he knew him not but by revelation,

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<sup>36</sup> Elwood “Now I after I received the 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,

<sup>37</sup> Narrow text only in Dutch

<sup>38</sup> LYM CFP 5

<sup>39</sup> IYM Quaker Faith and Life page 13 instead of separate preachers ; ‘ and those called most experienced people

<sup>40</sup> Dutch text gives source Journal not the document, (Editor i.e. Elwood Journal) The Dutch more detailed than English edition ‘according to what he relates himself,’

<sup>41</sup> LYM CFP 5

<sup>42</sup> Paragraph split at this point by added words “for all are concluded under sin and shut up in unbelief as I had been,” from? Galatians 30:20 and Romans 11:32 BYM QFP 19.02 see appendix 6 CFP 5 IYM Christian Experience page 5

<sup>43</sup> Who enlightens and gives grace, faith and power. Thus when God shall work who shall let (hinder) it. This I knew experimentally. BYM QFP 19.02 see appendix 6

<sup>44</sup> LYM CFP 6 but much shorter above

<sup>45</sup> The following 113 words expanded to 220 in Elwood

as he<sup>46</sup> who had the key<sup>47</sup>, did open.<sup>48</sup> Therefore he entered into no fellowship with any society of people, because he saw nothing but corruptions everywhere, which made him endeavour to keep fellowship only with Christ; since in the greatest temptations, when he almost despaired, it was shewed him that Christ had been tempted by the same Devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruised his head, and that therefore through the Power, Light, Grace, and Spirit of God he himself might also overcome. Thus the Lord assisted him in the deepest miseries and sorrows, and he found his grace to be sufficient<sup>49</sup>: In so much that, though he had yet some desires after the help of men, his thirst was chiefly after the Lord, the Creator of all, and his Son Jesus Christ; because nothing could give him comfort but the Lord by his power; and he clearly saw that all the world<sup>50</sup> though he had possessed a King's State<sup>51</sup>, would not have profited him. In this condition his understanding came more and more to be opened, so that he saw how death in Adam had passed upon all men; but that by Christ, who tasted death for all men, a deliverance from it and the entrance into God's kingdom might be obtained.

## Overcoming Temptation

Nevertheless, his temptations continued, so that he questioned if he might have sinned against the Holy Ghost. This brought perplexity and trouble over him for many days; yet he still gave himself up to the Lord, and one day, when he had been walking solitary abroad, and was come home, he became exceeding sensible to the love of God to him, so that he could not but admire it. In this condition it was shewed him **that all was to be done in and by Christ**<sup>52</sup>; that he conquers and destroys the tempter, the Devil, and all his works; and that these troubles and temptations were good for him for the trial of his faith. The effect of this was that, though at times his

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<sup>46</sup> Dutch – “God” English – “he”

<sup>47</sup> Revelations 3:7

<sup>48</sup> *And as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit.* IYM Quaker Faith and Life 1.79

<sup>49</sup> 2 Corinthians 12:9

<sup>50</sup> Mark 8:36

<sup>51</sup> LYM CFP 6 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph

<sup>52</sup> Colossians 3:17 Romans 8:9; Ephesians 1:3; 2:12; ; 2 Corinthians 2:14, 1 Corinthians 1:24 ; 10:4 15:11 Galatians 2:20 ; 4:19 Philippians 1:21 ; 4:13

mind was much exercised, yet he was stayed on a secret belief and his soul (by a firm hope) which was to him as an anchor, was kept unhurt in a dissolute world, swimming above the raging waves of temptations. After this (as he relates himself) there did a pure fire appear in him; and he saw that the appearance of Christ in the heart was as a refiner's<sup>53</sup> fire, and as the fuller's soap; and a spiritual discerning was given to him, by which he saw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it. That which could not abide in Patience, he found to be the Flesh that could not give up to the will of God, nor yield up itself to die by the cross, to wit, the power of God. On the other hand, he perceived it was the groans<sup>54</sup> of the Spirit which did open his understanding, and that it was in that Spirit there must be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption<sup>55</sup>.

### **Lancashire Woman**

About this time he heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted twenty two days; and he went to see her, but coming there he saw that she was under a temptation: And after he had spoken with her what he felt in his mind, he left her and went to Duckenfield and Manchester, where he stayed a while among the professors he found there, and declared to them **that doctrine which he now firmly believed to be** truth; and some were convinced, so as to receive the **inward divine** teaching of the Lord, and take that for their rule.

*This, by what I can find, was the first Beginning of George Fox's preaching, which, I have been credibly informed, in those early years chiefly consisted of some few, but powerful and piercing, words, to those whose hearts were already in some measure prepared in to be capable of receiving this doctrine. It seems to me that these people, and also Elizabeth Hooton (already mentioned) have been the first who by such a mean or weak preaching came to be his fellow believers, though there may also have been some who by the like immediate way, as George Fox himself, have been convinced in their minds, and came to see that they ought diligently to take heed to the teaching of the grace of God that hath appeared to them. Thus it happened that these unexpectedly and*

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<sup>53</sup> Matthew 3:11 Luke 3:16 Revelations 3:18

<sup>54</sup> Romans 8:26

<sup>55</sup> Elwood adds "of Body" from Romans 8:23 and of the whole Creation see Appendix 10 old journal page 10

*unawares came to meet with fellow-believers, which they were not acquainted with before, as will be more circumspectly related hereafter. But to return again to:*

## **Perfection**

George Fox, set the professors of those times in a rage, that some of their adherents hearkened to his preaching; for they could not endure to hear perfection spoke of, and of a holy and sinless life, [as a state that could be obtained here](#).

## **Preaching and Reasoning**

Not long after he travelled to Broughton in Leicestershire, and went there into a meeting of Baptists, where some people of other notions also came. This gave him occasion to preach the Doctrine of Truth among them, and that not in vain; for since he had <sup>56</sup>great “openings” in the Scriptures, and that a special power of the Lord’s workings began to spring in those parts, several were so reached in their minds, that they came to be convinced, and were turned from darkness to light, partly by his preaching, and partly by reasoning with some.

## **Temptation - Understanding Source of Hurtful things?**

Yet he himself was still sometimes under great temptations, without finding any to open his condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom he cried night and day for help.

Sometimes he went back to Nottinghamshire; and there it pleased the Lord to shew him, that the nature of those things which were hurtful without, were also within the minds of wicked men<sup>57</sup>; and that the natures of dogs, swine, vipers,<sup>58</sup> and those of Cain, Ismael, Esau, Pharaoh etc. were in the hearts of many people. [Since this did grieve him](#), he cried to the Lord, saying, “Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit these evils?” **Inwardly** it was answered him, that it was needful that he should have a sense of all conditions; how else should he speak to all conditions?

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<sup>56</sup> Very different from what included in BYM QFP 19.04 see appendix 6.1.6.

<sup>57</sup> LYM CFP 7 and 134 BYM QFP 19.03 leaves out the next 3 lines. Cross reference to note 69p 29 IYM CE page3

<sup>58</sup> Elwood also had ‘of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh,’ words one would wonder did Sewel miss including or Elwood add.



<sup>59</sup> He also saw there was an ocean of darkness and death; but withal an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness; in all which he perceived the infinite love of God<sup>60</sup>.

### **Unexpected Food**

About this time, it happened that he walking in the town of Mansfield, by the steeple house side, it was **inwardly** told him, 'that which people trample must be thy food'; and at the saying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the Life of Christ people did trample upon; that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled underfoot. And it seemed at first strange to him, that he should feed on that which the professors trample upon, yet it was clearly opened to him how this could be.

### **Spiritual Experience**

Then many people came far and near to see him; and though he spoke sometimes to open **religious** matters of faith<sup>61</sup> to them, yet he was fearful to be drawn<sup>62</sup> out by them. Now the reason of people thus flocking to him might proceed partly from this: there was one, Brown, who upon his death bed spoke by way of prophecy many notable things concerning George Fox, and among the rest, that he should be made instrumental by the Lord **to the conversion of people**. And of others that then were something in shew, he said, that they should come to nothing which was fulfilled in time, though this man did not live to see it, for he was not raised from his sickness. After he was buried, George Fox **fell into such a condition, that he not only looked like a dead body, but unto many that came to see him he seemed as if he had been dead really**. Many visited him for about fourteen days' time, who wondered to see him so much altered in countenance, but at length his sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from him, so that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy in brokenness of heart. And to give an account of George's condition to those who are able

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<sup>59</sup> IYM Quaker Life and Practice 1.5. ....**And this I saw in the infinite love of God**

<sup>60</sup> **And I had great openings.**

<sup>61</sup> Dutch "matters of Faith": English "religious matters"

<sup>62</sup> Dutch 'yet he was fearful to express himself in many words'

to comprehend it, I'll, give his own words: "I saw," saith George," into that which is without End, and Things which cannot be uttered; and of the Greatness and Infiniteness of the Love of God which cannot be expressed in words; For I have been brought through the very Ocean of Darkness and Death, and through and over the Power of Satan, by the glorious Power of Christ; Even through that Darkness was I brought which covered all the World, which chained down all, and shut up all in the Death. And the same eternal Power of God, which brought me through these things was that which afterwards shook the Nation, Priests, Professors and People." Then I (George) could say, "I had been in Spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal Power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it<sup>63</sup>, into the Power of Christ. And I saw the Harvest white<sup>64</sup>, and the Seed of God lying thick on the ground, as ever did the wheat, that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it. And for this I mourned with tears"<sup>65</sup>.

Thus far, George Fox's own words, of whom now a report went abroad, that he was a young man that had a discerning Spirit: Whereupon many professors, priests and people came to him and his ministry increased; for he, having received great openings, spoke to them of the things of God, and was heard with attention by many, who going away, spread the fame thereof.

Then came the tempter, and set upon him again, charging him that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but he could not tell in what; and then Paul's condition came before him, how after he had been taken up into the third Heaven, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him<sup>66</sup>, [that he might not exalt himself](#). Thus George Fox by the assistance of the Lord, got also over that temptation.

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<sup>63</sup> "and the power of it" not in the Dutch

<sup>64</sup> Dutch "And the land white to Harvest"

<sup>65</sup> LYM CFP 8 The above words word for word with Elwood

<sup>66</sup> 2 Corinthians 12:7

## Political Situation

*Now the 47<sup>th</sup> year of the Century drew to an end; and the State-Affairs in England grew more and more clouded and intricate; for the King, not thinking himself any longer safe in Hampton-Court, whither he had been brought from the army, he withdrew to the Isle of Wight, whilst the Parliament still insisted on the Abrogation of Episcopacy<sup>67</sup>, and would be master of the Military Forces; which the King not being willing to yield to, was kept in closer custody, and no more regarded as a sovereign, to whom obedience was due from the Parliament.*

*Under these intestine<sup>68</sup> troubles the minds of many people came to be fitted to receive a nearer way and doctrine of godliness; and it was in the year **1648**, that several persons seeking the Lord were become fellow believers, and entered into society with George Fox; insomuch that they began to have great meetings in Nottinghamshire, which were visited by many.*

## Outward or Inward Law.

About that time there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house and George Fox went among them and heard them discourse about what the apostle Paul said, that he had not known sin but by the Law, which said; thou shalt not lust. And since they held that to be spoken of the outward Law, George Fox told them, "Paul spoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward Law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but it was the Law of God in his mind<sup>69</sup>, which he served and which the law in his members warred against". **This saying found so much entrance**, that those of the priests and professors that were **most moderate** yielded, and consented, that it was not the outward Law, but the **Inward**<sup>70</sup>, that showed the **inward** lust, which the Apostle spoke of.

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<sup>67</sup> Westminster Confession passed 25 November 1647 and completed with Scripture Citation 14 April 1648

<sup>68</sup> Dictionary obsolete meaning domestic not foreign

<sup>69</sup> Context Romans 7:7 to 8:1-11, especially 7:21 One translation translates 'mind' as 'conscience'

<sup>70</sup> See appendix 5

## Pentecost

After this he went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and other people; and being among them, and moved to pray, **such an extraordinary power appeared, and seized on the hearts of some in so eminent a manner**, that the house seemed to be shaken<sup>71</sup>. And after prayer, some of the Auditory began to say, that this resembled the Days of the Apostles, when on the Day of **Pentecost**, the house where they met was shaken.

## Outward or Inward?

Not long after this there was another great meeting of professors where George Fox came also; and hearing them discourse about the blood of Christ, he cried out among them: “Do you not see the blood of Christ? Ye must see it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works to serve the living God”. This was a doctrine which shattered these professors who would have the blood only without them, **not thinking that it was to be felt inwardly**. But a certain captain, whose name was Amos Stoddard, was so reached, that seeing how they endeavoured to bear George Fox down with many words, he said, “Let the youth speak; hear the youth speak”, **and coming afterward to be more acquainted with George Fox, he had further opportunity to be instructed in the way of godliness, of which he came to be a faithful follower.**<sup>72</sup>

Sometime after George Fox returned to Leicestershire, his own county, where several tender people came to be convinced by his preaching. On passing thence to Warwickshire, he met with a great company of professors,

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<sup>71</sup> Dutch includes Wm Sewel’s comment “*However strange this may appear, I do not find anything in it that surpasses faith or would be fabulous. After all common experience shows us that extraordinary emotions may also affect the body and who does not know that anger, fear or fright may make one tremble? Is this not like sailing the sea and the ship one was on has been shaken so much that the powerful movement influences our mind and sight in such a way that when we have come ashore and are on our way we imagine the firm ground under our feet is moving? So, we need not doubt whether a powerful influence on the emotions which unsettles our body could also have an extraordinary effect on our sight. So, we need not doubt whether this experience in that meeting at Mansfield really happened as told here.*”

<sup>72</sup> Priest Kellet

who came together in a field, and were praying and expounding the Scriptures. Here the Bible was given him, which he opened the 5<sup>th</sup> of Matthew, where Christ expounded some parts of the Law; from whence George Fox took occasion to open to them the **inward** and outward state of man: That which he held forth, getting some ground, they fell into a fierce contention among themselves, and so parted.

## A Woman's Question

Then he heard of a great Meeting to be at Leicester for a dispute wherein those of several persuasions, as Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians were said to be concerned. The meeting being appointed to be in the Steeple-House he went thither, where abundance of people was met, some of those who spoke being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit. At last after several reasoning's, a woman started a question, and asked, "What that birth was the Apostle Peter spoke of viz. a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God<sup>73</sup>, that liveth and abideth for ever?" The Priest, instead of answering this question, said to her, "I permit not a woman to speak in the Church," (though he had given liberty for any to speak). This kindled George Fox's zeal so that he stepped up and asked the priest, "Doest thou call this place (the Steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a Church?" But the priest not answering this, asked what a church was. And George Fox told him that the church<sup>74</sup> was the pillar and ground of Truth, made up of living stones; living members; a spiritual household, which Christ was head of, but He was not head of a mixed multitude, or an old house made of lime stone and wood. This caused such a stir that the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, whereby the dispute was marred. But George Fox went to a great inn, and there disputed with the priests and Professors of all sorts, maintaining what he had said, till they all went away. Several were

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<sup>73</sup> See Appendix 4 about how Early Friends say Jesus Christ as the Word of God from John 1

<sup>74</sup> Short Journal "I spoke how that the Church was in God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and what the woman was that was not to speak and what the woman was that might prophesy and speak, and it broke them in pieces and confused them."

convinced that day, and among these, the woman who asked the question aforesaid.

### **All Things Come by Nature?**

After this George Fox returned into Nottinghamshire, and went into the Vale of Beaver, where he preached repentance to the people: He staying some weeks there, and passing through several towns, many were convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About that time he was sitting by the fire one morning, a cloud came over him, and a temptation beset him; and he sitting still, it was suggested, “All things come by nature,”<sup>75</sup> and he was in a manner quite clouded; but continued to sit still - the people of the house perceiving nothing. At length a living hope arose in him, and also a voice, that said, “There is a living God, who made all things”; and immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, whereby his heart was made glad, and he praised the Lord.<sup>76</sup>

Not long after this he met with some people that had a **mischievous** notion, that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. He reasoned with them, so confounded them, that some were fain to confess that there was a living God. Then he saw it was good for him to have been tried under such a cloud.

### **Start of Others Preaching**

Now in those parts he had great meetings; and a divine power working in that country, and thereabouts many were gathered. <sup>77</sup>Then coming into Derbyshire, there was a great meeting of his friends at Eton, where many of them **began** to preach the doctrine of truth, who afterwards moved to declare the truth in other places also.

### **Stand Against Oppressive Wages**

George Fox coming about this time to Mansfield, heard **that in a town about eight miles off**, there was a sitting of justices, to deliberate about the hiring

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<sup>75</sup> BYM QFP 26.02 See Appendix 6.1.4

<sup>76</sup> BYM 26.02 stopped here and did not include following paragraph which was reason why George had experience above in advance, even though it was in Elwood and LYM 134

<sup>77</sup>Nottinghamshire

of servants. He went there [feeling a constraint upon his mind](#), and exhorted them, not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just for them. The Servants, many of which were come there, he admonished to do their duty, and serve honestly. They all received his exhortation kindly. He felt himself also moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, warning them to leave off oppression, deceit and other evils.

Having heard in Mansfield of one in the country who was a common drunkard, and a noted whore-master, and a poet also, he went to him and reproved him in an awful manner for his evil courses; which so struck him, that coming afterwards to George Fox he told him, that he was so smitten when he spoke to him, that he had scarce any strength left in him. And this man was so [thoroughly](#) convinced that he turned from his wickedness, and became an honest sober man, to the astonishment of those that knew him before.

Thus the work of George Fox's ministry went forward, and many were thereby turned from darkness to light; and divers meetings of his friends, who were much increased in number since the year 1646, were set up in several places.<sup>78</sup>

### **Practice Physick – Fox Questions?**

[Now George Fox was come up to quite another state than formerly he had lived in](#); for he knew now not only a renewing of the heart, and a restoration of the mind, but the virtues of the creatures were also opened to him; so he began to deliberate whether he should practice Physick for the good of mankind. But God had another service for him, and it was showed him that he was to enter into a spiritual labour; and also that those who continued faithful to the Lord, might attain a state in which the sinful inclination was subdued. Moreover the three great professions of the World, viz, Physick, Divinity, (so called) and Law, were opened to him, whereby he saw that the physicians wanted the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made, knew not their virtues; that the Lawyers generally were void of equity and

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<sup>78</sup> 1647 and 1648 and Several sections added

justice, and so out of the Law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God that was **oppressed**<sup>79</sup> in man. The priests, for the most part, were out of the true faith **which Christ is the author**<sup>80</sup> **of, and which purifies the heart, and brings men to have access to God.** So these Physicians Lawyers and Priests, who pretended to cure the body, to establish the knowledge and wisdom they ought to possess. Yet he felt there was a Divine Power, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow to it.

### **Greatest Deceivers**

He saw also, that though the priests did err, yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the Scriptures; but that these great deceivers were such, who as Cain, had heard the voice of God, and who as Corah, Datham, **and Abiram**, and their company, were come out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and had praised God on the banks of the sea shore; and who being come as far as Balaam, could speak the word of the Lord, as having heard His voice, and known his Spirit, so that they could see the Star of Jacob, and the Goodliness of Israel's tents, which no enchantment could prevail against. These that could speak so much from their divine experience, and yet turned from the Spirit of God into gainsaying<sup>81</sup> - these he saw would be great deceivers, far beyond the priests. He saw also that people generally read the scriptures, without having a true sense of them; for some cried out much against Cain, Ismael, Esau, Corah, Balaam, Judas, etc. not regarding that the nature of these was yet alive in themselves; whereby they always applied to others that nature in which they themselves lived.<sup>82</sup>

### **Everyone Enlightened**

The Lord also opened to him now, that everyman was enlightened by the divine Light of Christ; and he saw that they that believed in it, came out of condemnation, and became the Children of the Light, but they that hated

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<sup>79</sup> Grieved and transgressed in Elwood, these paragraphs have less information than Elwood and appear shortened by Sewel

<sup>80</sup> Dutch 'of which Christ is supreme Guide' Editor: as Jesus is 'author' in King James Bible (Hebrews 12:2) Editor has left the English Sewell text.

<sup>81</sup> Dictionary opposing, saying against.

<sup>82</sup> About 1000 words more in Elwood before next paragraph including reference to John



it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made profession of Christ.<sup>83</sup> *'All this was clearly opened to his mind, without him knowing then that he had read this in the Holy Scriptures, although upon closer reading he later discovered that this really was written there'*<sup>84</sup> He saw also that God had afforded a measure of his Spirit to all men, and that thereby they could truly come to serve the Lord, and to worship Him; and that his grace, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men and was able to bring them into the favour of God.

### **Name in Book of Life**

And on a certain time, as he was walking in the fields, he understood it was said to him: "Thy name is written in the Lamb's Book of Life, which was before the foundation of the world."<sup>85</sup> This he took to be the voice of the Lord and believed it to be true. Then he felt himself powerfully moved to go into the world, which was like a briary, thorny wilderness; and he found that the world swelled against him, and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea.

### **Message**

Now he was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for he saw that as many as should receive him in his Light, he would give power to become the sons of God<sup>86</sup>. Therefore, he was to turn people to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart;<sup>87</sup> and that by this grace they might be taught, and thereby obtain<sup>88</sup> salvation; since Christ had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all - having enlightened everyman with his divine and saving light,<sup>89</sup> and the

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<sup>83</sup> BYM 26:42 starts with preceding and then adds see appendix 6

<sup>84</sup>These words in the Dutch appear in Dutch text as commentary added by Sewel's, to the document text. The English text printed after Sewel's death adds "All this he saw in the pure openings of the Light." Text similar to Elwood's "This I saw in the pure openings of the light without the help of any man; neither did I know where to find it in the scriptures; though afterwards, searching the scriptures I found it." So Sewel's English Text moved closer to Elwood in one aspect but at the same time dropped his comment about scripture, (See appendix 9 old P 22) which had similar thoughts to Elwood's. The "All this...light" added text was part of the Elwood text quoted IYM QLP 1.78 LYM CFP 163 BYM QFP 26.42 and 19.04 see Appendix 6.1.6 About 190 words more in Elwood before next paragraph

<sup>85</sup> *And as the Lord spoke it I believed it and saw in it the new birth*

<sup>86</sup>BYM QFP 28.03 see appendix 6.1.7 A,B,C - LYM CFP 10

<sup>87</sup> *Which came by Jesus*

<sup>88</sup>*Bring them to* instead of obtain

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 6.2.3 *...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,*

manifestation of the Spirit of God being given to every man to profit withal.<sup>90</sup> He now, being sent to preach the everlasting gospel, did it with gladness,<sup>91</sup> and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways to Christ the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in Heaven, which Christ is the head of; and from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and of whom the Father said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him; and off from the world's worship, to the Spirit of God in the **inward** Parts,<sup>92</sup> that they might worship the Father<sup>93</sup>, who seeks such to worship him.

### **No Hat Honour...Equality**

Now he also found that the Lord forbad him to put off his hat to any man, high or Low; **but to reserve that homage to God alone**<sup>94</sup>; and he was required to 'thou' and 'thee' every man and woman, without distinction, and not to bid people good morrow, or good evening; neither might he bow, or scrape with his Leg to anyone. **This was such an unusual thing with people**, that it made many of all persuasions and professions rage against him; but by the assistance of the Lord he was carried over all, and many came to be his fellow-believers, and turned to God, in a little time; although it is almost unspeakable what rage and fury arose; what blows, pinchings, beatings, and imprisonments they underwent, besides the danger they were sometimes in of losing their lives for these matters. So indiscrete is man in his natural state. For him it did not avail to say, that the hat-honour was an honour from below, which the Lord would lay in the dust and stain it; that it was an honour which the proud looked for, without seeking the honour that came from God alone; that it was an honour invented by men in the Fall, who therefore were offended if it was not given to them; though they would be looked upon as church-members and good Christians. Christ

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<sup>90</sup> Long often-quoted section not in Sewel. Addition shown in context old page 23 appendix 9. A thrust changing addition.

<sup>91</sup> See appendix 6.2.3 Text contains a lot of accounts of struggle rather than feeling of infallibility?

<sup>92</sup> **That they might be lead thereby** see also appendix 5

<sup>93</sup> Of spirits

<sup>94</sup> In Dutch text only - not in Elwood. Did Sewel drop in English text to match Elwood?

himself said, “How can you believe, who receive honour of one another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?”<sup>95</sup> That was an honour, which in relation to the outward ceremony, viz. the putting off of the hat, was the same which was given to God; so that in the outward sign of reverence, no distinction or difference was made between the creator and the creature. Nay, that the saying of ‘you’ to a single person went yet a degree further; for not only king’s and princes formally among the heathens and Jews had not been offended at it when they were ‘thee’d’ and ‘thou’d’, but experience shewed that it was still the language wherewith God was daily spoken to - both in religious assemblies and without.” All these reasons found little entrance with priests, magistrates, and others. Bitter revelling’s, ill usage, and shameful abuses, were now become the lot and share of those who, for conscience sake, could no longer follow the ordinary custom. For though it pretended that the putting off of the hat was but a small thing; [which none ought to scruple](#); yet it was a wonderful thing to see what great a disturbance this pretended small matter caused among the people of all sorts; so that even such that would be looked upon as those who practiced humility and meekness, soon shewed what spirit<sup>96</sup> they were of, when this worldly honour was denied them. [But all this served to strengthen the fellow-believers more and more in their plain carriage, and made them live up faithful to the conviction of their conscience, without respect of persons.](#)

### **King Sentenced to Death**

*In the mean, while the troubles in the land continued, we have left the King in the foregoing year in the Isle of Wight, in effect un-kinged. Sometime after this, the Duke of York, being then passed fourteen years of age and the second son of the King was fled to Holland, disguised in woman’s apparel; and his eldest brother the Prince of Wales, who two years before was fled to France, now came to Helvoot-Slucce in Holland, and went from thence with some English Men of War, whose commanders were for the King, to the Downs in England, with intention to take the ships coming from London. He also published, by the spreading of a Declaration that he came to*

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<sup>95</sup> This saying was earlier in Elwood

<sup>96</sup> George Fox had a realization that the spirit in some people was not the Holy Spirit. See also about the nature of some people on page 24

*release his father. Now there was also a negotiation on foot between the King and the Parliament, and there seemed some hopes of an accommodation, had not the army, the chiefest instrument of breaking down Royal power, opposed it, by calling for justice against all those who had wronged the country, none excepted. This broke off the Treaty. Several suspected members were turned out of the Parliament, and the King was carried to Windsor about the time of Christmas; and it was resolved henceforth to send no more deputations to him, or receive any from him; who was now no more named King but only Charles Stuart - A very strange turn of mundane affairs, and a mighty evidence of the fluctuating inconsistency thereof. But things made no stand here, for it was concluded to bring him to a trial; and the Parliament appointed General Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant General, with more than 100 other persons, to be his Judges. These being formed into a court of justice, the King was conducted from Windsor to St James', and from thence brought before them in Westminster-Hall, where he was arraigned as guilty of high treason, for having levied war against the Parliament and people of England. But he, not owning the court to be lawful, nor acknowledging their authority, said, "I am not intrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance". And being unwilling to answer the charge, he was on the 27<sup>th</sup> of the Month called January sentenced to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer and a publick enemy to the Commonwealth. Before the sentence was pronounced, the King desired that he might be permitted to make a proposition to both houses of Parliament in the painted chamber, designing as was since said, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son, the Prince of Wales, to the throne. This request was denied by the Court. Now though the said Prince, considering his father's danger, had applied himself to the Stated General of the United Provinces of the Hague for assistance; and that these sent two ambassadors to the Parliament, who coming to London on the same day the fatal sentence of death was pronounced, could not obtain admission till next day to the speakers of both Houses, and were afterwards with Fairfax and Cromwell, and other commanders; and one of them also had audience in the Parliament to intercede with them for the king's life; yet all proved in vain. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of the aforesaid month, the King was brought on a scaffold erected before the banqueting-house and his head severed from his body. The same day the Parliament ordered a Declaration to be published, whereby it was declared treason to endeavour to promote the Prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, to be King of England, or any other single person to be the chief governor thereof. Having abolished the House of Peers, they assumed to themselves the chief government of the nation, with the title of The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.*

*No sooner had the news of the King's death come into Scotland but Charles, Prince of Wales, was proclaimed in Edinburgh King of Great Britain, provided he should, before*

*assuming the royal authority, give satisfaction in some matters, concerning religion. Though this displeased the English, yet the Scottish asserted that they might as well do so, as the English, who had done the same at the death of the Late King's, Father in the year 1625. Leaving the State-Affairs, let's return to:*

### **Exposure of Sins and Imprisoned for the First Time.**

In the year 1649, George Fox was much exercised to declare openly against all sorts of sins; and therefore he went not only to the courts, crying for justice, and exhorting the judges and justices to do justice, but he warned also those that kept public-houses for entertainment, not to let people have more drink, than would do them good. He also testified against wakes, May-games, plays, and shows, by which people were led into vanity, and drawn off from the fear of God - the days that were set forth as [holy-days](#)<sup>97</sup>, being the usual times wherein God was most dishonoured. When he came to markets, he also declared against deceitful merchandising, and warned to deal justly, and to speak the truth, and he testified against the mountebanks<sup>98</sup> playing tricks on their stages. When occasion offered, he warned the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach their children to mind the fear of the Lord; [saying they ought themselves to be examples and patterns of virtue](#). Very burdensome it was to him when he heard the bell ring to call people together to the steeple house; for it seemed to him just like market-bell, to gather the people that the priest might set forth his ware to sell. Going once on the first day of the week, in the morning, with some of his friends in Nottingham to have a meeting there; and having seen from the top of a hill the great steeple-house of the town, he felt it required of him to cry against that idol-temple and the worshipers therein. He said nothing of this to those who were with him, but went on with them to the meeting, where after some stay, he left them and went away to the steeple-house, where the priest took for his text these words of the apostle Peter, "We have a most sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts". The priest told the people this was the

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<sup>97</sup> Holidays in the 1881 version of Elwood I have

<sup>98</sup> Dictionary a quack who harangues and plat the fool, a charlatan.

scripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religion, and opinions. Hearing this, George Fox felt such a mighty power and Godly zeal working in him that he was made to cry out, “O, no, it is not the scriptures, but the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgements are to be tried. **That was** it (the Holy Spirit<sup>99</sup>) **that** lead into all truth<sup>100</sup>, and gave knowledge **thereof**. For the Jews had the scriptures<sup>101</sup>, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright Morning-Star, and persecuted him and His apostles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the scriptures; but they erred in judgement, and did not try them **aright**, because they **did it** without the Holy Ghost.”<sup>102</sup> He thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him into a nasty stinking prison. At night he was brought before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of the town; they examining him, he told them, that the Lord had moved him to come **there into the steeple-house**: And though the Mayor at first appeared peevish and fretful, yet he was allayed. However, after some discourse, George Fox was sent back to prison. Sometime after, the head sheriff, John Reckless sent for him to his house; and when George Fox came in, the Sheriff’s wife met him in the hall and said, “Salvation is come into our house”. His speech in the steeple-house had so amazed many, that they could not get the sound of it out of their ears; and not only this woman was wrought upon, but also her husband, children, and servants were much changed by the power of the Lord.

George Fox thus coming to lodge at this sheriff’s house, had great meetings there, **and some persons of quality in the world came to them; and they were reached very eminently in their minds by an invisible power**. John Reckless being of that number, sent for the other sheriff, and for a women they traded with; and he told her in the presence of the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, and that therefore they

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<sup>99</sup> The Editors understanding of the word “it” in this context

<sup>100</sup> John 16:13

<sup>101</sup> John 5:39-40

<sup>102</sup> Sewel put this in italics as if it was a quote. Elwood’s version has mostly the same words except for those in blue.

ought to make her restitution; to which John Reckless exhorted the other sheriff, being himself made sensible that this was an indispensable duty.

A mighty change was now wrought in him (Reckless), and his understanding came to be opened so that on the next market day, as he was walking with George Fox in the chamber, in his slippers, he said; "I must go into the market and preach repentance to the people." Accordingly, he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets preaching repentance. Some others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent, but this the magistrates could not endure; **and to vent their passion** on George Fox they sent for him to the sheriff's house and committed him to the common prison, where he was kept till the assizes came on. Then he was to have been brought before the judge, but the Sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching him, the judge was risen before George Fox came to the session-house. However, the judge was **a little displeased**, having said, he would have admonished the youth (Meaning George Fox) if it had been brought before him. So he was carried back to prison. In the meanwhile, such a wonderful power broke forth among Friends, that many were astonished at it, so that even several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord. Now though the people began to be very rude, yet the governor of the castle **was so moderate**, that he sent down the soldiers to disperse them. George Fox having been kept a prisoner a **pretty long time**, was at length set at liberty, and then travelled as before in the work of the Lord.

### **Distracted Woman**

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, he found a distracted<sup>103</sup> woman under a doctor's hand, being bound, and with her hair loose. The doctor, being about to let her blood could get no blood from her, which made George Fox desire to unbind her; and after this was done, he spoke to her in the Name of the Lord, to be quiet and still. **This proved of such effect** that she became

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<sup>103</sup> Short Journal has a longer account of healing of distracted woman at Elizabeth Hooton's

still and her mind coming to be settled, she mended and afterwards [received the doctrine](#) of truth, and continued in it unto her death.

### **Cruelly Beaten**

While George Fox was in this place, he was moved to go into the steeple house, and declared there the truth to the priest and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, bibles and sticks. Then they hauled him out who was hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours. They having brought horse-whips, threatened to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates, at a knight's house; who, seeing how ill he had been used, set him at liberty, after much threatening. The rude multitude stoned him out of the town; and though he was scarce able to go, yet with much ado he got about a mile from the town, where he met some people who gave him something to comfort him because he was **inwardly** bruised. But it pleased the Lord soon to heal him again; and some people were that day convinced of the truth, [which had been declared by him in the steeple house](#), at which he rejoiced.

### **Encounter with Baptists**

Now he went out of Nottinghamshire into Leicestershire, accompanied by several of his friends; and coming to Barrow he discussed with some Baptists; and one of them saying, "What was not of faith, was sin." He asked what faith was - how it was wrought in man, but they turned off from that, spoke of their water baptism; which gave occasion for George Fox and his friends to ask, "Who baptised John the Baptist, and who baptised Peter, John, and the rest of the Apostles?" But they were silent at those questions. After some other discourse they parted.

### **People Who Claimed They Were Gods**

On the next first day of the week, George Fox and those with him came to Bagworth, and went to the steeple house; and after the priest had done, they had some service there by speaking to the people. Then passing from



thence, he heard of people that were in prison in Coventry for religion; and as he was walking towards the gaol, the word of the Lord (as he relates) came to him saying, "My Love is always to thee, and thou art in my Love." **By this he was overcome with a** sense of the love of God, and much strengthened in his **inward** man. But coming to the Gaol, a great power of darkness struck at him; **for instead of meeting such as were imprisoned for religion, he found them to be blasphemers**, who had come to that degree that they said, they were gods; and this, their wicked opinion, they endeavoured to maintain by scripture, misapplying what was said to the apostle Peter, when the sheet was let down to him, viz. "What was sanctified, he should not call common or unclean", and the words of the apostle Paul, concerning God's "reconciling all things to himself, things in Heaven and things on earth". George Fox was greatly grieved at this profaneness, and told them that these scriptures were nothing to their purpose. Seeing they said, they were God, he asked them if they knew whether it would rain tomorrow and they saying, they could not tell. He told them God could tell. He asked them also, if they thought they should be always in that condition or should change? And they answering, that they could not tell. George Fox told them, that God could tell it, and that He (God) did not change. This confounded them, and brought them down for that time; so after having reproved them for their blasphemous expressions he went away. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, gave forth a book of recantation, upon which they were set at Liberty. From Coventry, George Fox went to Atherstone, where, going into the chapel, he declared to priests and people, "God is come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from man-made-teachers, to hear his Son." **Though some few raged, yet they were generally pretty quiet**, and some were convinced.

### **Nathaniel Stevens**

After this service, he went to Market-Bosworth, and coming into the public place of worship he found Nathaniel Stevens, preaching, who, as hath been said already, was priest of the town where George Fox was born. Here George Fox had occasion to speak. Stevens told the people he was mad,

and they should not hear him; though he had said before to one Colonel Purefoy concerning him, that “there never was such a plant bred in England”. The people now being stirred up by this priest, fell upon George Fox and his friends, and stoned them out of the town. Nevertheless, this wrought in the minds of some others, so that they were made loving.

### **Healing and Naked Rapier**

Now travelling on, George Fox came to Two-Cross where he spoke to the excise-men, and warned them to take heed of oppressing the poor. There being in that town a great man that had long lain sick, and was given over by the physicians, he went to visit him in his chamber; and having spoken some words to him, he was moved to pray by his bedside. The Lord was entreated so that the sick man was restored to health. George Fox being come down, and speaking to some that were in a room there, a servant came with a naked rapier in his hand, **and threatened to stab him**; but he looking steadfastly on this man, said, “Alack for thee, poor creature! What wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw.” **This servant being stopped thus**, went away in a rage and his master hearing of it, turned him out of his service. Afterwards he<sup>104</sup> was very loving to Friends; and when George Fox came to town, both he and his wife came to see him.

### **Changed by Getting Parsonage**

After this he went into Derbyshire, where his fellow believers increased in godly strength. Coming to Chesterfield, he found one Britland to be priest there who had been partly convinced of the doctrine of truth; had spoken much on behalf of it, and saw beyond the common sort of priests<sup>105</sup>.

### **----- End of Missing Pages -----**

But when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage. George Fox now speaking to him and his people,<sup>106</sup> endeavoured to bring them off from

<sup>104</sup> “he” the sick man who had been healed

<sup>105</sup> The surviving manuscript used by Norman Penney in the Verbatim et Literatim and edition does not contain script pages before this point. Sewel’s text continues to vary somewhat from Elwood up to George Fox being put in the house of Correction in Derby, when it became a “copy” other than changing from first to third person.

<sup>106</sup> No mention in Sewel of speaking “in the great love of God “ which is in both Manuscript and Elwood

man's teaching, unto God's teaching, and thought the priest was not able to gainsay<sup>107</sup>, yet they had him before the mayor<sup>108</sup>, and threatened to send him to the house of correction,<sup>109</sup> but when it was late in the night, the officers and the watchmen led him out of the town.

*Concerning State Affairs it hath been said already, that Charles 2<sup>nd</sup> had been proclaimed King by the Scots; but being still in Holland, they sent to him there, that he would subscribe the Covenant, and so abrogate Episcopacy in Scotland: It was also desired that he would put some Lords from him, But those that were sent, received only an answer from the young King in general terms, which made them return home again where we leave them, to see in the meanwhile how it went with:*

### **The Bell Rung      Trial in Derby**

George Fox having been sent away, as hath been said, from Chesterfield,<sup>110</sup> came to Derby in the year 1650, and lay at a doctor's house, whose wife, was convinced of the truth he preached<sup>111</sup>. Now it happened as he was walking there in his chamber, that the bell rung;<sup>112</sup> and he hearing it, asked the woman of the house what the bell rung for? She told him there was to be a <sup>113</sup>lecture there that day; so that many of the officers of the army, and priests and preachers were to be there, also a colonel that was a preacher. Then he felt himself moved <sup>114</sup>to go to that congregation<sup>115</sup>: and when the service<sup>116</sup> was done, he spoke to them what<sup>117</sup> he believed the Lord required of him<sup>118</sup>; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, who took him by the hand, and said, that he, and the other two that were

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<sup>107</sup> Dictionary contradict, deny, dispute.

<sup>108</sup> Short Journal The Maior sent for me and [after some speech with me about coming to the steeple house and when it was said to him whether it was better to obey god or man Judge ye, and the apostle suffered for declaring against the Temple, and did bring people to Christ from Traditions.]

<sup>109</sup> No mention in Sewel or Elwood that "the judgement of the Lords came on the priest after and he was cut off and died) " which is in the Manuscript, so Sewel may have followed Elwood here.

<sup>110</sup> Nothing in Sewel between Chesterfield or Derby , The manuscript tell of a story told about him and that "on his way he met many professors; and at Kidsley Park many were convinced" Elwood only mentioned Kidsley Park

<sup>111</sup> "And several in the town" in Penney but not in Sewel

<sup>112</sup> *And it struck at my life - at the very hearing of it.* Not included from Elwood or MMS Penney

<sup>113</sup> *great* Not included from Elwood or MMS Penney

<sup>114</sup> *of the Lord* Not included from Elwood or MMS Penney

<sup>115</sup> *them* rather than congregation in Elwood or MMS Penney

<sup>116</sup> *they* rather than Service in Elwood or MMS Penney

<sup>117</sup> *What the lord commanded me* in Elwood rather than he believed the Lord required of him or MMS Penney

<sup>118</sup> Short Journal [of the truth and the day of the Lord and the light within them and the spirit to teach and lead them to God]

with him, must go before the magistrates. He then coming about the first hour of the afternoon before them, they asked him, Why he came thither? To which having answered,<sup>119</sup> *“That God had moved him to it;”* he further said, *“that God did not dwell in Temples made with hands;<sup>120</sup> and that all their Preaching, Baptism, and Sacrifices would never sanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Christ in them<sup>121</sup>, and not unto men; because it is Christ that Sanctifies.”* They then running into many words, he told them, *“They were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him.”* But this Doctrine<sup>122</sup> did so displease them that they often put him in and out of the room, and sometimes told him scoffingly, that ‘he was taken up in the raptures’. At last they asked him, whether he was sanctified and he answering *“Yes.<sup>123</sup>”* They then asked, If he had no sin? To which he said, *“Christ my Saviour has taken away my Sin, and in him there is no sin”* Then he and Friends were asked how they knew that Christ did abide in them? And George Fox said, *by his Spirit, that he has given us.* Then they temptingly asked if any of them was Christ? But he answered, *“Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all”*. At length they also asked, if a man steals, is it a sin? To which he answered with the words of Scripture, *“All Unrighteousness is Sin”*.<sup>124</sup> When they had wearied themselves in examining him, they committed him and another man, to the house of correction in Derby for six months as blasphemers<sup>125</sup> as appears by the following Mittimus.

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<sup>119</sup> Short Journal “them that God was power and a Consuming fire, and not for them to dispute of him, for all their preaching, sprinkling, sacraments would never sanctify a man, nor their readings or expoundings; and they said was sanctified and I said yes. And they said had I no sin, I said no Christ had taken away my sin.”

<sup>120</sup> Phrase about “Temples made with hands” not in Penney but in Sewel and Elwood

<sup>121</sup> The sentence “but that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; because it is Christ that Sanctifies.” Is not in Penney but is in Elwood so it appears Sewel may have copied Elwood here and put copied words in “ ” The “in them” part of the addition rings similar to Elwood’s “in themselves” addition to the talk on Firbank Fell detailed Appendix 3

<sup>122</sup> Sentence from here to after Raptures very different in Elwood or MMS Penney. *The power of the Lord thundered among them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room, often, hurrying me backwards and forwards, for they were from the first hour to the ninth at night examining me. Sometimes they would tell me in a deriding manner that, I was taken up in the raptures.*

<sup>123</sup> *For I was in the paradise of God* These words in Penney and Elwood

<sup>124</sup> The preceding section in red is not in Penney but is in Elwood so it appears Sewel likely copied from Elwood.

<sup>125</sup> They committed me upon that as a Blasphemer and {as by the Mittimus may be seen} a Man having no sin and committed another man with me to ye house of Correction for 6 months. [and then many people came from far and near to see a Man that had no sin] “A man having no sin” words included by Penney which are not in Sewel or Elwood. Hugh McGregor Ross saw that Fox’s expression of perfection was what got him into prison, and Hugh McGregor Ross expressed view that pages went missing to prevent any valid accusation of blasphemy being levelled. (George Fox Speaks for Himself p128 published 1991 William Sessions Ltd York ISBN 1 85072 081 9 )

“To the master of the house of correction in Darby, Greeting.

We have sent you here withal the bodies of George Fox late of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby in the County of Darby - husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with avowed uttering, and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late Act of Parliament<sup>126</sup>, which upon examination before us have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them - the said George Fox and John Fretwell into thy custody, and them safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprise, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of good behaviour, or thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30<sup>th</sup> Day of October 1650.....” Ger Bennett. Nathan Barton

*George Fox being thus, as hath been said, locked up, the priests bestirred themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and they endeavoured to persuade people that it was erroneous doctrine, to assert the possibility of being freed from sin in this life, as was held forth by the Quakers; for this began now to be the name whereby George Fox’s fellow believers were called in a reviling way: and since that denomination hath continued to them from that time downward, we cannot therefore pass by the first rise of it in silence. Until this time those who professed the light of Christ as shining in man’s heart, and reprovng for sin, were not improperly called professors of the light, or children of the light; but Gervas Bennet, one of the justices of the peace who signed the aforesaid Mittimus, and an independent - hearing that George Fox bade him, and those about him tremble at the word of the Lord; took this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him (Fox) and his friends scornfully QUAKERS. This unusual denomination was taken up eagerly, and spread so among people, that not only the priests there from that time gave no other name to the professors of the light, but sounded it so gladly abroad, that it soon ran all over England; and making no stand there; it quickly reached neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, insomuch that the said professors of the light, (for distinction’s sake from other religious societies), have been called*

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<sup>126</sup>? Was this referring to the **Westminster Confession of Faith that was presented to the Long Parliament 25 November 1647 and Scripture Citations were added on 14 April 1648. Shorter Catechism** is a catechism written in 1646 and 1647 by the Westminster Assembly, a synod of English and Scottish theologians and laymen intended to bring the Church of England into greater conformity with the Church of Scotland.

*everywhere by that English name, which, sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories.*

*Now because in those early times among the many adherents of this persuasion, were also some that, having been people of rude and dissolute life, came to be pricked to the heart, that they grew true penitents, with real sorrow for their former transgressions. It happened that not only they at meetings did burst out into tears, but also were affected with such a singular commotion of the mind, that some shakings of their bodies was perceived - some people naturally being more affected with passions of the mind, than others. Even anger doth transport some men so violently that it makes them tremble; whereas others will quake with fear. What wonder then, if some, being struck with the terrors of God did tremble? This being seen by envious men, they took occasion from thence to tell, that these professors of the light performed their worship with shaking; yet they themselves never asserted that trembling of the body was an essential part of their religion, but have occasionally said to the contrary; though they did not deny themselves to be such as trembled before God; and they also did not stick to say, that all people ought to do so; however thereby not enjoining a bodily shaking.*

*We have seen now how one Fretwell was committed with George Fox to the house of correction; but he, not standing faithful to his testimony<sup>127</sup>, obtained by intercession with the jailor, leave of the justice to go see his mother and so got his liberty; and then a report was spread, that George Fox had bewitched and deceived him.*

## **Object of Hatred**

George Fox was now become the object of many people's hatred. Magistrates, priests, and professors were all in a rage against him<sup>128</sup>; and the jailer, to something wherewithal to ensnare him, would sometime ask him silly questions, as whether the door was latched or not - thinking thereby to draw some sudden unadvised answer from him whereby he might charge sin upon him, but he was kept so watchful and circumspect,<sup>129</sup> that they could never get advantage of him.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Short Journal records that he was in trouble for a great while before he returned to the power of God again.

<sup>128</sup> Short Journal "and said I was a deceiver and a false prophet and a seducer; And then the Lord opened to me if all forsake me my spirit doubled to me, and that I was a king set up for ye defence of the faith that giveth victory, and the hope that purified as he was pure, and the belief that passed from death to life in which condemnation is not. And all other hopes' faiths, beliefs, that do not give victory and purify and passeth out of death to life, Judge and deny. And great disputes I had with all sorts of people; and as I preached down sin the priests raged and preached up sin:

<sup>129</sup> Sewel missing "which they admired" which was in both manuscript and Elwood.

<sup>130</sup> From here on Sewel nearly follows Elwood word for word,

Now since Ger Croese<sup>131</sup> in the beginning of his history represents George Fox as one altogether unfit, not only to write legibly, but also to express his mind clearly in writing, and that therefore he was always obliged to employ others that could set down the meaning intelligently. It won't be beside the purpose to say, that this, more than ever will be able to prove. For though it can't be denied, that he was no elegant writer or good speller, yet it is true, that his characters being tolerable, his writing was legible, and the matter treated was intelligible though his style not like that of a skilful linguist. And albeit he employed others, because himself was not a quick writer, yet generally they were young lads, who as they durst not have attempted to alter his words and phrases, so they would not have been skilful enough to refine his style. I don't write this from hear-say but I have seen it at sundry times. And how true it is what the same author said, that mostly all that George Fox did write, was scarce of anything besides a rough collection of several Scripture<sup>132</sup> places, may be seen by the sequel of this History, wherein may be found many of his writings. The first of his letters I met with is the following which he wrote to the priests of Darby, from the house of correction, where certainly he had not the convenience of a writing clerk.<sup>133</sup>

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## Present Editor's Note

From just before the above historical context input, Sewel's text went nearly word for word (see photo copy of text Appendix 2) with Elwood's version of George Fox's Journal. The fact that William Sewel said in his introduction, that the greater part of George Fox's Life and Transactions were taken from his Journal does not mean that the account of his early years was not from the document he received - the document that, as William Sewel said, was written on George Foxes Instruction.

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<sup>131</sup> Sewel's history was (according to Wikipedia) largely undertaken to correct *Historia Quakeriana* (Amsterdam, 1695; English translation, London, 1696, by Gerard Croese, a German author, to whom Sewel had given letters and narratives from England)

<sup>132</sup> From Fox's frequent use elsewhere of the phrase "Turned the grace of God into Wantonness" which comes from Jude 4 in translations like Wycliff Tyndale and Coverdale of the Bible that were earlier than the King James Authorized Bible I feel that it was probably the English of Coverdale Bible, that George Fox was most familiar with.

**8.Pet.2.a** to the sayntes. \* For there are certayne craftely crept in, of which it was wrytten afore tyme vnto soche iudgement. They are vngodly, and turne the grace of oure God vnto wantānes, and denye God the onely LORDE, and oure LORDE Jesus Christ.

<sup>133</sup> The letters that followed in Sewel are virtually word for word the same as Elwood's Version, so I wonder how much Elwood edited these letters. The manuscript version does contain a letter to Justice Bennet in much less refined language, see Appendix 1 so one wonders of Sewel was so unsuspecting of the letters being edited that he ascribed better writing ability to George Fox than was real

*After George Fox's arrival in Derbyshire - the account at the start of the Penney Text there are about 1000 words when Sewel, Penney and Elwood are all available, before Sewel's words become identical with Elwood.*

*During this time Elwood is closer to Penney than Sewel. (Maybe Sewel translated the document he got from George Fox into low Dutch and back to English).*

*Not long after George's commitment to Gaol, the Elwood text says that he was moved to write both to the priests and magistrates of Darby.*

*Subsequent to this, the Sewel text virtually quotes Elwood word for word so is not repeated here, but the Penney Text follows in Chapter 2 until George Fox's release from Gaol.*

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## **Chapter Two - Biography 1650-51 - Based on Manuscript (Penney's 1911 Edition)**

### **Gaol in Derby**

Several times George Fox had motions from the Lord to go into the town at times of fairs and markets to speak to the people, although he was in Prison. He would tell the keeper of the prison and ask him to let him go, but he was not allowed. Then George Fox said to the jailor, "Then let it be on thee - the iniquity of the people, and the Lord said to me (*Fox*), that I was not to get out yet, but was set as a king for the bodies sake, and for the true hope, that purifies, and the true faith that gives victory: and the true belief that overcomes the world".

### **Discourses in Prison - Pleading for Sin and Imperfection**

George Fox got the feeling that the professors coming for discourse with him were coming to dispute and plead for sin<sup>134</sup> and imperfection<sup>135</sup>, and George Fox asked them whether they believed and they said 'yes'. Then George Fox asked them; 'in whom' and they said, 'In Christ', and George Fox said to them: "If you believe, you are passed from death to life, and therefore from the sin that bringeth death..." {They said they believed no such thing - that any could be free from sin while on earth}. Then George Fox bid them keep from babbling about the Scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst pleading for un-holiness. Then (it may be) another company of professors would come and they would also be pleading for sin, and George Fox would ask them whether they had hope and they would say, 'Yes, God forbid else, but that we should have hope.' George asked them, 'What hope is it? Did it purify you as he is pure? Christ in you the hope of Glory?' And they could not endure to hear of purity {Or being made pure here} and then George Fox bid them keep from talking of 'ye

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<sup>134</sup> Editor's Note Perfection Matthew 5:48. Power to be free John 1:12 Romans 8: 1-8 Cleansing 1 John 1:5-9, way of escape 1 Corinthians 10:13 George Fox was taken aback and upset when James Naylor fell, While the freedom and power to do what is right that George Fox proclaimed is available for us to be free from doing over and over again what we know to be wrong, this does not mean we can reach a place from which we cannot fall, pride comes before a fall, and we need to be alert 1Corinthians 10:12

<sup>135</sup> George Fox asked 3 questions about belief - Elwood abbreviated (See Appendix 2)

Scriptures - ye holy men's words {for ye holy men pleaded for holiness in heart & life & conversation here} & you pleading for impurity & sin which is of ye Devil {what have you to do with holy men's words}? '

And then it may be another company would come that would be talking of the Scriptures and pleading for sin, and George Fox would ask them, 'Have you any faith'<sup>136</sup>? They would say, 'Yes', and that 'they were Christians'. George Fox would ask, 'What faith is it? Will it give victory over sin and over the Devil and purify your hearts and bring you to have access to God again and to please God, which faith is held with a pure conscience?' And they could not endure to hear talk of purity nor victory over sin & the Devil {here upon the earth}. Then George Fox bid them give over talking and babbling of 'ye Scriptures that were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by ye Holy Ghost'.

### **Gaoler and His Wife**

The Keeper being a great professor was in a mighty rage against him, yet it pleased the Lord to strike him so one day that as George Fox was walking in his chamber he heard a doleful noise and he stood, and the keeper was speaking to his wife how that he saw the Day of Judgement and he saw George there and he was afraid of George because he had done him so much wrong. He had spoken so much against him to the professors and justices {and the Priests}; in taverns and alehouses, etc. Towards evening he came up to George's chamber and the Keeper said to George, "I have been like a lion against you, but now I come like a Lamb" - come like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling.<sup>137</sup> George told him that he was in his power; that he might do what he would. The Keeper said 'nay, he would have me leave.' He could {desire to} be always with George, but not {to have George} as a prisoner. So George permitted him, and the keeper told George all his heart and believed all that George said to be true and of

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<sup>136</sup> In the manuscript text there are 3 questions one about belief the second about hope and the third about belief faith, and hope and in 3 ways pointed out why they should have victory over sin. Elwood abbreviated into the belief and faith sections into one and so reduced the clarity and specific dealing with 3 different aspects.

<sup>137</sup> Short journal says that "he was like the Gaoler in Acts that came to the apostles and that he must lye with me and that he had been sent to the Justice that first called us Quakers whose name was Bennett, and told him that he was willing to keep me but not as a prisoner; for he did believe that the plagues would never depart from his house as long as he kept me a prisoner, and the Justice said he believed the same; and that I was the honestest amongst them all;

the true faith, and hope etc. He wondered that the other man who was put in prison with George did not continue to stand with George and said he was a knave and George was an honest man etc. The keeper went to the justices and told them he and his house had been plagued for George's sake and the justices said the plagues were on them too {for keeping George in prison}. (This was Justice Bennet of Derby that first called the Children of God<sup>138</sup> 'Quakers' because Quakers bid them tremble at the word of God and this was in the year 1650<sup>139</sup>

Also the Keeper confessed all to George "how that when George had the several motions from the Lord to go out to speak to people and he would not let me go, and when I laid it upon him that, then he was distracted and amazed for an hour after & much troubled and in such a condition for a time [that one might have killed him with a Crabb {as the keeper said}, and the justices gave leave that I should have liberty to go a mile and George perceived their end, and George told the goaler that if they would set {down to} me how far a mile was, I might walk in it but it's like they thought I would go away, but I told him I was not of that spirit and the goaler confessed it after that they did it with the intent to have me gone away {to ease the plague on them}, and they said I was an honest man".

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### **Appeal for Young Woman**

And there was a young woman that was to be put to death for robbing her master and judgement was given and a grave made for her and she carried to execution and I was made to write to the judge and the jury about her and when she came there, they had no power to hang her {as by the paper which I had sent to be read at the gallows may be seen} but she was brought

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<sup>138</sup> "Children of God" used here instead of "us" in Manuscript, as George Fox used this phrase in his letter to Colonel Bennett Appendix 1 in text here, Sewel who did not have this letter to include earlier used the title "Children of the light."

<sup>139</sup> The letter that followed in the manuscript was written at a later time, partly to put the record straight about rumour, that was being spread about George Fox so is not being included here but copy of the *Verbatim et Literatim* and version copied from Penney's version is in Appendix. It is in that version so you can get some feel of how it was written. Appendix 3 gives John Burnyeat's contemporaneous

back again and they came with great rage against George {into the prison} but afterwards this young woman came to be convinced.

### **Threatening Conjuror**

One time while George Fox was in gaol a conjurer was brought in and the conjurer threatened how he would talk to George and what he would do with him. He was a wicked ungodly man, but he never had power to open his mouth. One time the conjurer fell out with the gaoler and threatened the gaoler that he would raise the Devil to break his house down and he made the gaoler afraid. George Fox was moved of the Lord to go in the Lord's power and thresh him in it and to say to the conjurer, come let's see what you can do; do your worst and told him that the Devil was raised high enough in him already, but the power of God chained him, and the conjurer slunk away.

### **Allowed to Walk in the Market**

George Fox was allowed to walk by himself a mile from the gaol. He used this liberty and went into the market, and streets and warned people to repentance and back to prison again.

### **Visit of Relations**

Relations of George Fox were much troubled that he was in prison, and say it is a great shame on them for him to be there. (It was strange for people to be in prison for religion at that time). Some thought that George Fox was mad because he stood for purity, perfection and righteousness.

### **Elizabeth Hooten Preaches**

*It has been said already that some of George Fox's Friends were moved, as well as he, to preach the Doctrine of Truth, and in this Year, it also happened, that Elizabeth Hooten, of whom mention has been made before, from a true experience of the Lord's work in her, also felt herself moved publicly to preach the way of Salvation to others, being the first woman preacher, by what I am informed of among those that began now generally to be called by the name Quaker. Yet I have found a Dutch book printed in Dort in the year 1647, and called: History of the Troubles in England, concerning the various sects risen there that among other persuasions in London, there were also*

*Women that did preach in large meetings, and were heard by many with great satisfaction: so that the preaching of a Woman was not such a novelty as otherwise it might have been.*

*In the forgoing year it hath been said, that some Scottish Commissioners having been with Charles II in Holland, were returned to Scotland; and thought the King at first seemed backward to consent to the Presbyterian Covenant, yet seeing that there was no other way open to the Scottish Throne, he came to other thoughts, and so went over to Scotland, and made his entry to Edinburgh, through the gate on which the Quarters of the Earl of Montross were placed; who having endeavoured not long before to subdue the Scots with Arms, had been beaten with his forces and being taken prisoner, executed. The young King now being come into Scotland seemed willing to comply as much as he could, thereby to ingratiate himself, not only to the Scots, but also with the English, if possible: and in order there unto, he gave forth a Declaration at his Court at Dunfirmling, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> August 1650. "Though his majesty as a dutiful Son, be obliged to honour the Memory of his Royal Father, and have in estimation the person of his Mother, yet does he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in Spirit before God, because of his father's hearkening to evil counsel, and his opposition to the work of Reformation, and to the solemn league and Covenant, by which so much of the Blood of the Lord's people hath been shed in these Kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother. Here the King confessed openly that his Father's house was guilty of great Crimes, [Civil war had been fought by one in 5 of the men and one in 20 had died] and plainly signified, that the nation indeed had been wronged by his father's behaviour; and he seemed to promise amendment if he came to be restored. In the mean while they began to see in England, that the Scots were like to make him Head against them; and therefore they openly sent General Fairfax with an Army thither; but he showed himself unwilling to go, chiefly it is believed, by the advice of his wife, who hearkened to the counsel of the Presbyterian Preachers; and those that thought it would contribute to their own settlement, if those of their own persuasion in Scotland were not resisted. But the Parliament many of whose members were independents, did not matter that; but resolved, since General Fairfax resigned voluntarily, to create Oliver Cromwell General of the National Forces in place of Fairfax. Which being done, Cromwell was sent with an army to Scotland, and beat the Scots, not far from Edinburgh, where by that City not long after yielded to him. [In this year was born in Holland, on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, Willian the III Prince of Orange, whose Mother was the daughter of the Late King Charles Ist. And this Prince, by a strange revolution in human affairs was advanced to the English Throne in 1689].*

## Visit of Rice Jones

Rice Jones, a Soldier from Nottingham who had been a Baptist, and several others came on their way to a fight and said to George Fox, “Thy faith stands in a man who died at Jerusalem, and that never happened.” George said to him. “Did not Christ, suffer without the gates of Jerusalem through the professing Jews and chief priests and Pilate? And Jones denied that Christ suffered there outwardly. Then George Fox asked him whether there were not chief priests & Jews and Pilate there outwardly. Then Jones said I (Fox) was a chief priest, but I told him if he did confess there was a chief priest & Jews there outwardly then he must need to confess that Christ was persecuted and suffered there outwardly under them; which as the priest being there outwardly he would not deny, and said he would say little to them: and from this man and his company was the slander raised upon us that the Quakers deny that Christ died and suffered at Jerusalem; which was utterly false and never the least thought of this in our hearts. [But it was these Baptists that cast this upon Friends even though they did not learn it from Friends]. Rice Jones also said that none of the prophets or apostles nor Holy men of God suffered anything outwardly, but that all their sufferings were **inward**. George Fox gave him many instances of how many prophets and apostles suffered, and who inflicted the suffering. So George Fox brought the power of the Lord over Jones’ whims and imaginations.

Other people pretended to George Fox that they were ‘tryers’ of Spirits. George Fox asked them “What is the first step to peace? What was it by which a man might see his salvation?” They said George Fox was mad; that they came to try Spirits and did not know themselves or their own Spirits.

*Early in 1651, notwithstanding their recent defeat, the Scots resolved to crown their new King, which they did in January 1651 after he had sworn to maintain the covenant.*

Returning to George fox in Derby Gaol:

### **Will you be a Captain?**

Just as George Fox’s six-month sentence in the house of correction was due to end, the battle at Worcester also approached. The house of correction

was filled with persons that they had taken up to be soldiers, and then they wanted George Fox to be their Captain, and go forth to Worcester to fight, and the soldiers cried that they would have none but Him. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring George up before the commissioners and soldiers in the market place, and there they professed Georges' preferment because of his virtues as they said with many other compliments. They asked George if he would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against the King.<sup>140</sup>

George told them that he lived in the life and power that took away the occasion of all wars, and he knew from whence all wars did arise - from the lust according to James' doctrine.

They still courted George to accept their offer, and George says, "They thought that I did but compliment them, but I told them I was come into a covenant of peace which was before wars and strife's. They said their offer was made in love and kindness to me because of 'Georges' virtues etc. I told them if the offer was made in love and kindness, I trample it under my feet".

They then<sup>141</sup> told the gaoler to take George away and cast him into the dungeon amongst rogues and felons. George was put in the dungeon amongst 30 felons in a lousy stinking place without any bed; where they kept him almost half a year although sometimes they would let George walk in the garden for they had a belief in him that he would not go away.

### **Brings Back another Prisoner**

[One fellow that should have been the Lieutenant and refused, was also cast into prison. The gaoler's wife said she would let him go out and walk with George in the backyard'. As George walked a little ahead of him, George heard the hedge crack and so George stepped back to him and asked him

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<sup>140</sup> Editor's Note: When in 1651 George Fox was put forward to be a captain in Cromwell's Army, he presumably knew that the Civil war had been won by parliament and that the head of King Charles the 1st was removed early in 1649. It is not known if he also knew that in Ireland in 1649, Cromwell's army massacred the 2000 inhabitants of Wexford and 4000 people at Drogheda or that the During the Civil war in England one in five men had fought and one in twenty had died.

<sup>141</sup> Short journal "in a rage"

why he would try to escape. George brought him in so he went out no more with George, but when this fellow walked out alone, he ran away. They soon captured him again.]

### **Life in Prison**

There were several sorts of religions in the prison, and on the first days (Sundays) when George got out, he would go and visit them in their meetings in the prison.

### **A Trooper's Visit**

Then George was in the house of correction, there came a trooper to George and said he was sitting in the steeple house hearing the priest and he was in exceeding great trouble and the voice of the Lord came to him saying, 'What, dost not thou know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for directions'. He came and George spoke to him and opened his understanding and settled his mind in the light and spirit of God in himself. He told [him] that which showed him his sin and troubled him for it, would show him his salvation; for he that shows a man his sin is he that takes it away. So the Lord's power opened to him so he began to have great understandings of the Lord's truth and mercies and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers and others {concerning truth}. The Scriptures were very much opened to him so that he said that his two colonels [Barton & Saunders] were as blind as Nebuchadnezzar to cast George Fox - the servant of the Lord - into prison. The colonels began also to have a spite and malice against the trooper, so that when he came to the Worcester fight and the two armies lay one nigh the other; two came out of the kings army to challenge two out of the parliament army to fight with them and then his two colonels made choice of him and another to go and fight with them. They went forth and the trooper's companion was killed and the trooper then drove the two from the king's army within musket shot of the town without firing his pistol at them. (This he told George with his own mouth). When the fight was over the trooper saw their deceit and hypocrisy and he lay down his arms and saw an end to fighting, and how the Lord had miraculously preserved him.



When George was in the House of Correction, George's relatives came to see him and went to the Justice that cast George into prison. They were willing to put up bail<sup>142</sup> money of £100 and others in Derby £50 that George might go home with them, and George not come amongst them again to declare against the priests. They brought George up with them before the Justice, but George would not have them bound by putting up money, because he was innocent of any ill behaviour and had spoken the word of life and truth to them. Justice Bennett<sup>143</sup> got up into a rage and as George was kneeling down to pray that the Lord would forgive him, he ran upon George and struck him and cried, 'Away with him gaoler; take him away gaoler'. [Many times when they were setting George at liberty, George was moved of the Lord God to write to them and then their rage would be up and they would keep George in prison again].

### **Death Penalty - George Writes to Judges**

In this George was exceedingly oppressed and burdened with Judges & Magistrates and Courts; and was moved several times to write to the Judges concerning the putting of men to death for such small things as cattle and for money. He wrote to let them know how contrary to the law of God it was. After George wrote, the burden lifted; the heavens were opened and the glory of God shown over it all. (Two men were sentenced to suffer death for small things and George was moved to admonish them for their theft and to encourage them concerning their expected suffering, showing them that it is contrary to the law of God. A little after they had suffered, (by being put to death), their spirits appeared to George as he was walking and he saw the men well).

George also wrote to the Judges what a sore thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in gaol, and how that they learned badness one from another in talking of their bad things and therefore speedy justice should have been done. George was a tender youth in the fear of God and was

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<sup>142</sup> To be bound in one hundred pounds presumably means to put up bail money

<sup>143</sup> See Appendix 1 George Fox's letter a few years later to Judge Bennett

grieved to hear the bad language and George was made often to reprove them for their words and bad carriage each towards another.

### **Preserved and Released**

So people came to admire that George should be so preserved and kept for they could never catch a word<sup>144</sup> nor action for almost a whole year to make anything of, for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preserved George all the time [but many turned away that had been convinced, because of the persecution].

Sometimes George Fox's accusers would have had George up before the Parliament and another time they would have banished George to Ireland. At first they called George a deceiver and seducer and a blasphemer, then when God brought his plagues upon them, they said George was an honest virtuous man, but people speaking good report and bad report did not lift up or put down George Fox - praise be the Lord.

So at Last George was set free in 1651 and went toward his home county; where he had meetings and the Lord's power and Spirit accompanied him.

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<sup>144</sup> Compare with uncontrolled tongue in James 3 contrasted with the wise man and wisdom from above. Elwood edited this to "they styled me an honest virtuous man" last paragraph before his release from Derby. Note also that the attention grabbing "see the man with no sin" had gone

### **Chapter Three - POST SCRIPT – Discussion on impact of Elwood’s Additions and Editing.**

Sewel said he had received an original document written on George Fox’s instructions. As was stated in the introduction, the additional text and significant differences found in Sewell are **shown in blue** in Chapter One.

Significant additions in Sewel were about George Fox’s childhood and mother (p10) and about his family’s encouragement to join the forces of Parliament (p13). It is understandable that Elwood edited out the possibly-politically-sensitive families’ support of forces of Parliament.

Sewel also had the Elwood text, and after Fox entered Derby Gaol in 1650 Sewel virtually word for word copied Elwood (See Appendix 2). How much copying Sewel did before this is unknown, except when he said he copied.

A copy of pages of a 1694 Elwood Edition of George Fox’s journal was photographed (Appendix 9). When referring to these pages, the Old Page numbers from that document are used instead of the page numbers in this booklet. Topics and words that are also in Sewel are **highlighted green** on the old pages. Text not highlighted in green reveals Elwood’s additional and differing text.

The Sequence of Locations and Events in Sewell is virtually in the same order as in Elwood. This means that the written scripts that Elwood and Sewell used were very similar. Could they even have been the same?

Wording about Events has similar primary wording and is compatible with Sewel’s having been translated into Low Dutch and back to English, and Elwood from his literary experience making his text more easy to read.

The Editor knows that some of Elwood’s Additions are from later writings of George Fox and these are **highlighted in red** on the old pages in Appendix 9

Elwood spent years writing for the blind poet John Milton, (the Author of Paradise Lost), so he was possibly so used to using poetic licence that he may not have been conscious that ascribing words to George Fox that he (Elwood) was the source of was hardly truthful. Providing a different

context to a phrase, commonly used by George Fox, is very hard to distinguish from the original and **is** particularly deceptive.

Consequently, it was virtually impossible for the committee who listened to the reading of the Journal in London to spot distortions. Even Thomas Lower that had written down George Fox's dictation when they were in Prison 25 years earlier, would have had little chance of detecting additions without comparing with the original. (William Mead had insisted that his brother in Law, Thomas Lower was at the reading).

Words about religious experiences and thinking are often common to both editions. Accepting that Sewel wrote in 3rd person and Elwood in 1<sup>st</sup>. In some cases, they are identical - in others they differ slightly, but there are some significant differences.

### **Submerged**

On average Elwood added 70% to the script. After George Fox's pivotal experience when all his hope in men was gone; of Jesus Christ being able to speak to his condition, 630 words were submerged and hidden (by Elwood) in 3000 words - a 376% addition! The additional words start on p 21 and finish at before Lancashire Woman heading p 23. Appreciate how central Christ Jesus is in the paragraph. (Text including Elwood additions gives a jumbled and very different impression. (Old page 8 -12 Appendix 9).

### **Infallible Guide?**

The following versions of a quote show how the thrust was changed. Sewel and Elwood tell how George Fox went out with gladness and use very similar words when Elwood's additions are not included.

Sewel p34 note 90

- He now, being sent to preach the everlasting gospel, did it with gladness, and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways to Christ the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in Heaven, which Christ is the head of.

Elwood Appendix 9 Old page number 23 (page number of old book reproduced in appendix) section 6.2.3 with ..... instead of the additions

- Now when (... sent...) forth into the world, to preach his everlasting Gospel and Kingdom, I was glad.....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 assembly written in heaven, which Christ is head of:

The Passages above have similar meanings until the left-out-words are added in from Elwood. Consider the thrust of the inserted **words in bold**. (Appendix 9 old p 23)

- Now when the Lord God and his Son Jesus Christ did send 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 assembly written in heaven, which Christ is head of:

Note how the gladness in both accounts was about very different messages. *It is ironic that Elwood added passage about “infallible Spirit that would never deceive any”, and that very passage deceiving all Quakers for 320 years into thinking it was from George Fox!*

### **A Real Voice?**

Another example of an addition: Sewel appears to use the insertion (as his journal tells us) to indicate that the text he was using did not have the words “a voice which said”, and that Sewell was quoting Elwood’s Journal. For the rest of Elwood’s addition to this account, see Appendix 9 old p 8.

And then when all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, then he heard (as his journal tells us) a voice which said, “There is one even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.”

### **Lost Poignant Insights**

After Elwood dramatized and emphasized, this pivotal experience, there are 4 pages<sup>145</sup> of mostly added text. This text is a miss-mash of accounts—none of which are quoted in books of Faith and Practice of Britain or Ireland Yearly meeting (quoted from in Appendix 6). Without the additional text, Sewel contains these poignant passages:

“.....in the greatest temptations, when he almost despaired, it was shewed him that Christ had been tempted by the same Devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruised his head, and that therefore through the Power, Light, Grace, and Spirit of God he himself might also overcome. Thus, the Lord assisted him in the deepest miseries and sorrows, and he found his grace to be sufficient:<sup>146</sup>”

“..... he became exceeding sensible to the love of God to him, so that he could not but admire it. In this condition it was shewed him that all was to be done in and by Christ; that he conquers and destroys the tempter, the Devil, and all his works; and that these troubles and temptations were good for him for the trial of his faith. The effect of this was that, though at times his mind was much exercised, yet he was stayed on a secret belief and his soul (by a firm hope) which was to him as an anchor, was kept unhurt in a dissolute world, swimming above the raging waves of temptations.<sup>147</sup>”

“After this (as he relates himself) there did a pure fire appear in him; and he saw that the appearance of Christ in the heart was as a refiner’s fire, and as the fuller’s soap; and a spiritual discerning was given to him, by which he saw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it: That which could not abide in Patience,

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<sup>145</sup> Appendix 9 old pages 8-12

<sup>146</sup> P20 & Appendix 9 old P8

<sup>147</sup> P 21 also Appendix 9 old page 10

he found to be the Flesh, that could not give up to the will of God, nor yield up itself to die by the cross, to wit, the power of God. On the other hand, he perceived it was the groans of the Spirit which did open his understanding, and that it was in that Spirit there must be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption.<sup>148</sup>

### **Inserts from Later Insights**

The Elwood-only parts of these 4 pages (old pages 8-12 Appendix 9) also contain two sections highlighted in **Red** on old pages to indicate that the editor knows other places they appear in later George Fox writings:-

“Christ the Word of God”<sup>149</sup>(See Appendix 4 and Gospel of John Chapter 1)<sup>150</sup>

“The Law and the prophets are until John”<sup>151</sup> From Luke 16:16 and Last Chapter of Gospel Truth Demonstrated written in 1689.

This concept, of the law and the prophets being until John, was taken from a 1689 writing of Fox. The concept was repeated three times in the Elwood Edition. (Old pages 10, 20, 21 - Appendix 9)

### **Reinforcing Thoughts by Repetition**

On at least three occasions, Elwood used the tool of double or triple commenting on subjects to reinforce concepts in people’s minds. Other Examples:

During George Fox’s time in Derby Gaol (See Chapter 2 p51) there is only one account of George Fox refusing to serve in Cromwell’s Army in the Penney Literatim and verbatim edition of written text, but in Elwood there are two accounts.

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<sup>148</sup> P21-22 Appendix 9 old P 10

<sup>149</sup> Appendix 9 old page 9

<sup>150</sup> Also on old pages 20, 21 Appendix 9

<sup>151</sup> Appendix 9 old page 10-11 also added old page 20 and 21

## Downplaying Influence of Scripture

Elwood twice included the concept of George Fox having a thought or “opening” and afterwards finding in the scripture. (Old Pages 22 and 23 Appendix 9).

At the same time, Elwood downplayed George Fox’s study of Scripture. While Elwood and Sewel both include section about George Fox reading the Bible (P 17), Elwood did not include the reinforcing phrase “which he esteemed above all books.” Elwood left out altogether the statement: “While he led this solitary life he fasted often, and read the Holy Scriptures diligently” at start of paragraph on P12. Elwood again downplayed George Fox’s study of Scripture by not including the word “diligently” in the account of reading scripture just after the realization that Christ could speak to his condition. (P20, and old page 8 - Appendix 9).

Sewel’s Dutch text - bottom P30 says (Instead of the first of Elwood’s inclusions Old Page 22 Appendix 9). “All this was clearly opened to his mind, without him knowing then where he had read this in the Holy Scriptures, although on closer reading he later discovered that this really was written there” .<sup>152</sup> Sewel’s Dutch text sits much more comfortably with George Fox being a person who, as a young person, was saturated with diligent reading of the scriptures - the Holy Spirit revealing the meaning of what Jesus said and leading into all truth (John 14:26 and John 16:7-14): As described on p20 -a young person taught by **revelation**.<sup>153</sup> .

Compare this with Elwood versions - Appendix 9 old p22 section 6.1.6 the repeat on old p23 section 6.2.2. Note Elwood’s shift towards disconnect from scripture and towards independent revelation. Elwood’s shift made its way into books of faith of both Britain and Ireland Yearly Meeting (see Appendix 6.1.6). There, Elwood’s addition appears as a quote from George Fox.

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<sup>152</sup> The English edition of Sewel which was printed 2 years after Sewel’s death moved much more like Elwood see not 81 P30.

<sup>153</sup> Appendix 9 old p8



## Most Influential Additions Become Quotes in Books of Yearly Meetings

The most influential of the “Elwood” quotes that appear as George Fox quotes are the ones that became part of the books of experience of Britain (London) and Ireland Yearly Meeting. (Quotes used are in Appendix 6.1.) You are encouraged to read them in context, they are underlined in Appendix 9 (if you find old text too small in Appendix 9...ask....and pdf version of all 31 old pages will be e-mailed to you).

London YM book of Faith and Practice 1966; Section 10, 6.1.7A 6.1.7B 6.1.7C (Appendix 9 old p23) while largely made up of Elwood’s additions, skips many words several times. It only includes the words in bold from the following poignant section:

He now, being sent to preach the everlasting gospel, did it with gladness, and endeavoured **to bring people off from their own ways to Christ the new and living way;** and from their churches, which men had gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in Heaven, which Christ is the head of; and from the world’s teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and of whom the Father said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him; and off from the world’s worship, to the Spirit of God in the inward parts, **that they might worship the Father** , who seeks such to worship him.

## Sewel’s Editorial Policy

As Sewel faithfully copied Elwood Text after the Gaoling 1650, (Appendix 2), it is the editor’s opinion that Sewel also faithfully copied content of the document he had been given from earlier period, even though he had Elwood’s Journal text; How much Sewel copied Elwood before this is unknown.

There is only a short section **in 1650** where the Manuscript Penney used exists as well as Sewel, before Sewel follows Elwood virtually word for word other than changing from Elwood’s first person ‘I’ to Sewel’s third person,

'he George Fox'. The words in bold red in the following quote from Sewel were not in Penney, but were in Elwood.

“That God had moved him to it;” he further said, “that God did not dwell in Temples made with hands; and that all their Preaching, Baptism, and Sacrifices would never sanctify them; **but that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; because it is Christ that Sanctifies.**” (See page 43 footnote number 121)

So in this case, Sewel included phrase Elwood added to sentence that was not in manuscript printed in Penney, how much else he added is undetectable.

The above addition will be discussed later in the text.

### **Distinguishing Features of Elwood Additions**

Analysis of distinguishing features of Elwood's additions and their impact, together with impact of known editorial changes of the content of the Manuscript in Penney, on the thrust of the biography:

Let us consider whether there is any difference in thrust and meaning of message of text that is only in Elwood and not in Sewel, or Manuscript printed in Penney. When “Elwood-only” text is compared with text that is ‘common’ to Elwood and Sewel (or in Penney), significant differences leave the choice between concluding that differences **were** added by Elwood or that George Fox was inconsistent with himself.

Changing of person from “I” in Elwood to “He” (George Fox) in Sewel, is not considered a change to common text. Sewel's text is used in the rest of this chapter as the common text.

## **Spirit in those who gave forth Scripture or Holy Spirit?**

A clear difference is the shift in the Elwood additions:

In Sewel – From text that says ‘looking to Holy Spirit to understand scripture’

To (Elwood addition in his edition) - looking to the spirit that gave forth the scriptures.

George Fox looked to the Holy Spirit to open the scriptures as can be seen from the following quote that is common to both Sewel and Elwood<sup>154</sup>,

“O, no, it is not the scriptures, but the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgements are to be tried. That was it - the Holy Spirit - that lead into all truth, and gave knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the scriptures<sup>155</sup>, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright Morning-Star, and persecuted him and His apostles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the scriptures; but they erred in judgement, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost.”

As stated above, clearly the Holy Spirit is to open the Scriptures to us. That other early Friends also thought this way, is shown in the section in bold type of the following quote from Barbara Blaugdon. In Dublin (1655), Barbara told a priest that, “The Spirit of God was true, and did speak as it meant, and meant as it spoke; but men of corrupt minds did pervert the Scripture by putting their own imaginations and conceiving’s upon it, and so did deceive the people, but the Holy men of God wrote and gave forth the Scriptures as they were inspired of the Holy Ghost; and that they were of no private interpretation; and could not be understood but by the same spirit that gave them forth”.

Instead of directing people to the Holy Spirit to interpret scripture, the section Elwood added (See Appendix 6.1.7A) directs “people to the spirit

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<sup>154</sup> Elwood’s text for this passage is on p 110 with Sewel words highlighted in green.

<sup>155</sup> p38

that gave forth the scriptures.” The section added by Elwood was quoted on several occasions by London and Britain Yearly Meeting. “...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 they had been who gave them forth.”

While this phrase, “directing people to the Spirit that gave forth the scriptures,” (See p 67) was similar to the phrase used by Barbara Blaugdon, it was used without the context of the Holy Spirit. In other words, Elwood is directing people to be guided by the spirit behind any sacred writing that people call ‘Scripture’.

Consistent with the above, Elwood included the following sentence (Appendix 9 old page 20 ref 6.2.1) that was not in Sewel, “I saw plainly, that none could read Moses aright without Moses’s Spirit...” (Actually, Moses was not mentioned at all in Sewel’s text for the period).

Does anyone know of a writing of George Fox that includes this sentence about Moses? The Editor does not, and feels that George Fox would not have written it because of what he said in court in Lancaster in 1652. Penney records George Fox as saying,

“I was moved to declare that the Scriptures were given forth by the spirit of God and all people must first come to the spirit of God in themselves by which they might know God and Christ of whom the prophets and the Apostles learnt, and by the same spirit they might know the holy Scriptures ‘and the spirit which was in them that gave them forth: so the Spirit of God must be in them that comes to know them – again’ by which spirit they might have fellowship with the Son and the Father and with the Scriptures and one with another and without it they cannot know either God or Christ or the Scriptures or have fellowship one with another.”

The above requires that with the spirit by which we may know God and Christ we might know the spirit that was in them that gave forth scripture. In my opinion, this wording leaves open the possibility that the Holy Spirit (the Spirit of Christ) was not the spirit behind all writings that some people call “Scripture.”

The way Elwood edited what was said in court appears to assume that the spirit behind all those who gave forth “scripture” was the Holy Spirit.

As we have already seen, the sections Elwood added lost the concept of looking to the Holy Spirit to understand Scripture and instead directed people to look to the spirit that was in them that gave forth “scripture” - to look to understand what Moses wrote with Moses’s spirit. In doing so, he appears to have assumed that none had ever added anything to scripture from human desire or any other spirit.

What George Fox said in Court left open the possibility that, while most of the contents of Moses’s ten commandments<sup>156</sup> were endorsed by the teaching of Jesus as from the “same spirit”, there were teachings attributed to Moses that do not appear to have been endorsed by Jesus. For example, Jesus said “You have heard it said, ‘love your neighbour and hate your enemies’, but I say unto you, love your enemies; do good to those who hate you” Luke 6:27-36 - a message from a very different spirit than the source of Deuteronomy 20 (Joshua 6:17). Was not going away from what Jesus taught trampling on the Life of Christ? (See p 25).

Could the message in Deuteronomy 20 have come from Moses going on in the flesh? Could it have been added by Editors like Elwood himself adding to what George Fox wrote and putting it in 1<sup>st</sup> person as if it was written by George Fox?

### **Historical Context of Elwood’s Editing**

Historical Context of the early 1690’s that may have encouraged Elwood to edit the way he did:

Elwood’s editing took place about 40 years after the period of rapid growth in the number of Friends in the 1650’s. There were about 50,000 Quakers in England in 1660 - one Quaker per hundred of a Population at the time of the restoration of King Charles 2. Then followed a prolonged period of persecution. 10,000 Friends were imprisoned at one time or another. The Conventicle Act made it unlawful for more than Five Friends to meet. Some

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<sup>156</sup> The story of the rich man and Lazarus also endorsed Moses’s teaching about the poor.

Friends had all their property confiscated for speaking at meetings. They were then kept in Prison for refusing to swear. For example, William Dewsbury spent 16 years in prison between the Restoration of Charles 2nd in 1660 and 1685 - a patient and joyful sufferer for the "truth as it is in Jesus."

### **Act of Toleration; Attitude to Bible**

Elwood's editing also took place less than 6 years after The Act of Toleration, which was introduced to Parliament in 1688 while James was King and later passed under King William in 1689. This Act granted freedom to gather and worship for those who "acknowledge that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by divine inspiration".

While Elwood might have included reference to Moses, to appear compliant with the Act, he may not have wanted Friends to lose the insights they had. For example, the insight that the message of Jesus replaced what had gone before that did not tie up with the teachings of Jesus. Elwood appears to have added (at a much earlier time in George Fox's life) "He made me sensible how the Law and the prophets were until John" to George Fox's Journal in 1647 (See Appendix 4) and the same thought again added twice in 1648 (Appendix 9 old pages 10, 20 & 21 highlighted red). This was a message from one of George Fox's last writings entitled, "Several Treaties Worthy of Every True Christian's Serious Consideration" written in 1689. This thought from Luke 16:16 supports the superseding of the Old Testament teaching with the new and living way Jesus lived and taught. The thought has been very important in my thinking, since I read it in the Journal as a young person.

The above quote (about the law and the prophets being until John...) contrasts with:

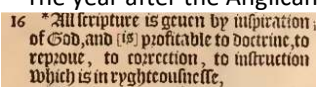
- The 39 articles of the Church of England of 1563 - Article XX - which includes "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another."

- The 1646 Westminster Confession says, “Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament...list of 66 books..... All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life.”

Many times, supporters of the above, have emphasised the first “is” in 2 Timothy 3:16 from the 1611 King James Bible. “All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine; for reproof; for correction; for instruction in righteousness.”<sup>157</sup> The Coverdale Bible which George Fox likely read as a young man<sup>158</sup> did not have the first “is” and when George Fox and others wrote the letter to the Governor of Barbados in 1672, they avoided including the first “is”. Robert Barclay did not include the extra “is” in his Apology. Nor did Elizabeth Bathurst in “Truth Vindicated” in 1667. Instead, Barclay and Bathurst followed the Wycliff, Tyndale and 1540 Coverdale translations. The Revised Standard Version of 1881 and the Aramaic Peshitta<sup>159</sup> 1st Century text do not have the extra “is” implications either. The extra “is” first appeared in the 1568 Bishops Bible produced just a year after the 39 articles. George Fox was not committed (as Anglicans were by their 39 articles) not to expound one part of the 66 books of the Bible as contrary to another, or as superseding another.

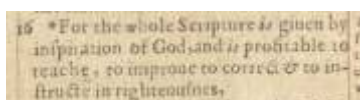
While considering George Fox’s attitude to the Scriptures, it should be realized that he emphasised that Jesus Christ is the Word of God (See Appendix 4). In a tract “To All Who Would Know the Way to the

<sup>157</sup> The year after the Anglican Bishops produced their 39 Articles they produced the Bishops 1568 bible 2 Timothy 3:15



This Bible was the work of the bishops of the Church of England. The claim is that this Bible was translated from the original languages of the Bible and not from the Latin Vulgate. It is said that many translators were responsible for doing the translations and that after the work was finished, the editing and checking of the translations was not thorough (due to people being busy).

The 1569 Geneva Bible translation has different words similar meaning to the Bishops Bible



<sup>158</sup> See note 124 P71 for other reasons for thinking George Fox read Coverdale

<sup>159</sup> Peshitta “every writing which is by the Spirit written is profitable”

Kingdom”(1653), Fox used very strong language, saying that it was disrespectful to Jesus Christ to call any letter ‘the Word of God.’

### **Firbank Fell Alterations**

What started me looking for the impact of Elwood’s editing was comparing the very famous 1652 Talk on Firbank Fell in the Elwood Journal with that in the Penney Manuscript. (Full comparison in Appendix 3).

Not only did Elwood reverse the order of the paragraphs from the logical order of addressing the people in the Chapel first, he put the last paragraph of that Talk first and then added words to direct people to look “in themselves” rather than to Jesus Christ as their teacher. Elwood adding the words, “in themselves” made the phrase “to the spirit of God in themselves” the same phrase that George Fox had used in the court in Lancaster, quoted a few paragraphs ago. Again, a phrase used out of context, changed meaning.

Compare the thrust of the following paragraph:

<sup>160</sup>“Now he was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus” with the thrust of the Elwood Addition<sup>161</sup>, I was commanded to turn People to that Inward<sup>162</sup> Light, Spirit and Grace, by which all might know their Salvation and their Way to God.” (See also footnote number 85 p31) Consider this in the context of Appendix 9 old p23. This Editor’s opinion is that Elwood, in the above addition, again turns people to look into themselves instead of looking to Christ Jesus just as Elwood did in the alterations to the record of what Fox preached on Firbank Fell. (See Appendix 3).

In both Elwood and Sewel (page 33) it is recorded that George Fox was “sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ

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<sup>160</sup> starting p31 of this booklet Appendix 9 old page 22 bottom,

<sup>161</sup> appendix 9 old p23 section

<sup>162</sup> In George Fox’s day, much of religion, was to do with outward conformity, baptism, communion, church attendance, where as his emphasis can be seen in the following “When he was come to eleven Years of Age, p10 he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous Life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. inwardly towards God, and outwardly to man;” For those who are interested, a word search for the word inward, was done on the Sewel text. The word inward was found 10 times and **inward** emphasised on pages 10,23,24,25,27,28,29,34,40,41.54. In the editors opinion all are about internal experiences rather than internal sources, Inward also occurs in Quote used from added items in appendix 6



Jesus; for he saw that as many as should receive him in his Light, he would give power to become the sons of God.” - The last phrase coming from John 1:12 - the preceding verse in John having noted those that did not receive him.

Consider again the quote **in red type** at the start of this chapter (from page number 44 footnote number 121) the implication that Christ was in everyone Fox addressed in the court in Derby in 1650 is surprising as George Fox knew the scriptures like John 1:11 where people had a choice to receive Christ or not (See also Revelation 3:20). This editor’s opinion is that the thought came from Elwood; was copied by Sewel, as Sewel did not have the manuscript that Penney used.

### **That of God in Everyone**

If George Fox did not believe that Christ was in everyone, what did he mean by “That of God in everyone?”

Maybe best to start with what he did not mean. Both Sewel and Elwood include the phrase, “It pleased the Lord to shew George Fox, that the nature of those things which were hurtful without, were also within the minds of wicked men; and that the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, and those of Cain, Ismael, Esau, Pharaoh etc. were in the hearts of many people. For context see P 24.

The first references I know of to the phrase “That of God in everyone” . were in the 1652 letters in Penney from George Fox written<sup>163</sup> “To all Magistrates and those in Authority in these nations” .....”I am moved to charge all to be meek; to be humble; to be patient, and not to be rash nor be heady nor to be fierce, but to be gentle and fear before the lord god whereby ye may receive his wisdom that in all Countries wherever you come where you are Judges Justices rulers and magistrates you may be a praise in the country where ye are and wherever you come and a good savour to ye lord god answering that of god in every man which will exercise the conscience towards god and towards man for conscience sake” .....<sup>164</sup> “The word of the

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<sup>163</sup> Penney Vol 1 p79

<sup>164</sup> Penney Vol 1 p 92

living god to all ye people scattered abroad to the light in all your consciences I do speak which you are enlightened withal, Christ Jesus said I am ye light of the world and doth enlighten everyone that cometh into the world” .....<sup>165</sup> “as god hath given to everyone a light and a measure to profit withal mind every one that which is of god in you to teach you to walk to god and before him”<sup>166</sup> “Renewing of your mind you will come to witness and that stirred and brought up that bringeth to stand in the Counsel of the lord god and to do his will and the eye being unclosed to that which lets you see and ear being unstopped to that which cries to the lord the lords voice is heard which keepeth you tender and from hardness of heart and to you this is the word of the lord god and with that ye answer that of God in everyone.”

### **To Summarize**

In conclusion while Elwood did not take away much from the core text, [He did take away the sentence - page 13, “While he led this solitary life he fasted often, and read the Holy Scriptures diligently,” and added section page 90 IYM Quaker Life and Practice 1.78 to put forward ‘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 in searching the scriptures I found it.] Elwood diluted the Core Text with 70% additional words. The added words included commonly used Quaker phrases, placing some of them out of context; distorting meanings and changing thrust. The change has magnified over time, or maybe evolved would be a better description. It has contributed towards the diversity among Quakers today, and lost the centrality of Christ Jesus in George Fox’s message.

What strikes me from Sewell’s shorter text is the simplicity and straightforwardness of the message. The following core message, heard by George Fox when his hope in all men was exhausted, is contained in both Sewell and Elwood, in virtually the same words:

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<sup>165</sup> Penney Vol 1 p96

<sup>166</sup> Penney Vol 1 p83

- Jesus Christ is able to speak to your condition - having heard this, his heart leapt for joy; and it was shewed him why there was none other upon earth that could speak to his condition, namely that he might give the Lord all the glory,<sup>167</sup> and that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence.
- It was shewed him that all was to be done in<sup>168</sup> and by Christ; that he conquers and destroys the tempter, the Devil, and all his works, and that these troubles and temptations were good for him for the trial of his faith.
- O, No, it is not the scriptures<sup>169</sup>, but the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgements are to be tried. That was it - the Holy Spirit - that lead into all truth, and gave knowledge thereof.
- George Fox was sent to turn people<sup>170</sup> from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for he saw that as many as should receive him in his Light, he would give power to become the sons of God.

As an example of the emphasis on Christ, here is account from the journal<sup>171</sup> 1655 when about 1000 people were present at Capt. Lawren's. "A great convincement there was - they being turned to Christ [their Way and their Teacher](#); they sit under him - their vine to this day."<sup>172</sup>

The resultant actions from the new source of vitality George Fox experienced, and their impact, also stand out.

In both Sewel and Elwood, George Fox heard 'that which people trample must be thy food'; and at the saying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the Life of Christ people did trample upon; that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled underfoot.

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<sup>167</sup> Copied from Page 21 and without paragraph being split by added words "for all are concluded under sin and shut up in unbelief as I had been,"

<sup>168</sup> Page 22

<sup>169</sup> Page 38

<sup>170</sup> Page 33

<sup>171</sup> Norman Penney 1911 edition Vol 1 page 187

<sup>172</sup> Penney Vol 1 p 187 Elwood left out "there way and teacher" adding instead "and many of them received him and sat down under him".

## **More Reliable Source**

The most reliable source of what George Fox's message was in 1653 was written at that time and printed as the tract, "To All Who Would Know the Way to the Kingdom" – This Tract survives, and was printed again in 1655. It forms the bulk of the first chapter of Gospel Truth Demonstrated - printed in 1706.

## **Editor's Comment**

Early Friends' view was that Jesus had brought the new and living way that God had planned. Where this differed from what went before, Friends chose to follow what Jesus taught - not that they saw this differed from the 10 commandments, but they did see the New Covenant and New Testament different from the Old Covenant and Old Testament. For example, under the Old Testament, fighting with outward weapons was allowable, but not under the New Covenant.

There are God-inspired Scriptures that are profitable for teaching; for reproof; for correction and for instruction in righteousness. These are Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament that Friends in 1689 were comfortable in declaring as coming from the Divine.

We need the promised Counsellor/Holy Spirit - the Spirit of Truth<sup>173</sup> to bring to remembrance what Jesus Christ taught and to guide us into all truth, to sort out for us what spirit was behind the sacred writings that people look to as scripture.

We all need to be aware, how close the counterfeit can be to the real - to be alert that the light in us is not darkness. Aware that we may want to justify ourselves as did the man who asked Jesus "who is my neighbour?"

In the account of George Fox's formative years we have read how he, rather than trying to justify himself, realised that Jesus Christ could speak to his condition<sup>174</sup> and empower him to live<sup>175</sup>. As he lived and proclaimed that

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<sup>173</sup> George Fox said to his relations, footnote 13 p13 and footnote 17 p 14, "Did not John the apostle say to the believers, that they needed no man to teach them; but as the anointing teaches them?"

<sup>174</sup> p 21

<sup>175</sup> Bottom of P20

Message, Fox was imprisoned in Derby. George's imprisonment was extended for telling those that wanted to make him their Captain to go and fight, that he lived in the life and power that took away the occasion of all wars, and he knew from whence all wars did arise - from the lust according to James' doctrine. ... He said that he was come into a covenant of peace, which was before wars and strife's.

Subsequently Fox and other Friends lived as radical Friends of Jesus by doing what Jesus taught - like gathering in the name of Jesus to worship God in Spirit and in Truth when there were laws against them doing so; refusing to swear etc. Some Friends died in Prison. George Fox also found Quote in the Qur'an that says that Jesus will be a witness on the day of Judgement and used it in a letter to the Great Turk in 1688 (See part in Appendix 8).

We too are called to live radical lives: faithful inwardly towards God and outwardly to others.<sup>176</sup> Living daily the call to forgive and love our enemies and find ways to overcome evil with good. Called to do all in and by Christ<sup>177</sup>; that Jesus Christ may have the pre-eminence.

Let us finish with the question George Fox asked several people in slightly different words; "Are you living in the Life Power and Spirit that was experienced in the book of Acts?" It was the Holy Spirit that made the difference - the Holy Spirit promised to those who dare to ask (See Luke 11:9-13).

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<sup>176</sup> George Fox's desire as a youth p10

<sup>177</sup> p21

## Appendix 1

1650]

### *Letter to Justice Bennett*

5

[*Collonell Bennett that called the  
servants of the Lord Quakers*

*G. F. paper to him: Collonell bennett  
of darbe 1650<sup>1</sup>.*

friend

The lord will persue thee though thou run to the uttmost parts of the Earth, & be lifted upp Among the princes which are but as dust, thou wast the first man that turned Against the truth one of them in the north, and thou saids thou prisonest one they call george ffox for saying that Christ that dyed att Jerusalem was A rogue, this thou saids when thou wast att London A parlement man and declared it ther Abroad when sence that time to<sup>a</sup> men was sent out of the north, Robert Whither<sup>2</sup> and James Tayler<sup>3</sup> {& another} to queery at the Goale, wher hee was prisoned, and to see the mittymus and query the country and the towne, for thou keeping him In prison twelve month (within three weekes). If Any such thing had bine, the Country the towne the keepers of the prisone whould have knowne it, but noe such thing Ever could bee heard, others have queeried in the same towne, and gon to the priest, which was one that did Examine him, and hee declared and gave it under his hand (Baker<sup>4</sup> by name) that hee never hard Any such thing, neither was ther Any such word spoken, and gave it under his hand to Myles Halehead<sup>5</sup>, now thou being in place to doe Justice, and A publisher of lyes to the nation when thou wart a parlament man, now in this thou dishonourest thy place (who bends thy tongue to tell lyes) thou wast the first man in the nation that gave the people of god the name quaker And Called them quakers, when thou Examinest George in thy house att Derbey (which they had never the name before) now A Justice to wrong name people, what may the brutish people doe, if such A one A Justice of peace give names to men, but thou art Lifted upp proud and haughty and soe turnest Against the Just one given upp to misname the saints, and to make lyes for others to beeleve: for all the Country people and the toune and the priests and Jayler cleared George from thy lyes

<sup>a</sup> Altered to *three* in another hand.

and slanders, and did not god bring his plagues upon thee whiles hee was in prison, and upon the Jayler both, was not sume of you made to confess it, was not sume of your housis plagued, did you not see and feele the hand of god, and sayd the plague of god would never bee ofe you whiles you kept him, now did thou, the plague being A litle off thee bend thy tongue to fforch lyes Againe in the cheiffest Assembly in the nation, will not this ffall upon thee.

Unto the wittnes in thee doe I speake of god dids not thou render thy self odyous beeffore men and god, canst thou hide thy self from his presents (or his children) but both will fiend thee out, oh man the day will come upon thee that thou wilt ffeelee, thou hads better never bine borne, oh man what hast thou sowen in the nation how many Reprochers scoffers & mockers through Every towne in the nation, hast thou beegotten yee the very tables and housis and feasts<sup>a</sup> thy children mockers and scoffers, for thou wast the first man that gave the children of god that name of quakers, and soe it spread over the nation, the Lord will rewards thee According to thy workes, and what thou hast sowen, that that thou must Reape, and thou hast the biggest crap In the nation to Reape (of Reprochers) of one seedsman, ffor all the whole Reprochis in the nation have come upp in that kiends, through thee (as quakers), thou art the man and father that hath begotten all thees reproches and the day of thy Lementation is come, for they that are reproched as quakers by thee they with that which cannot bee shaken which Are of the Riall seed of gods Elect, and pretious before the world was made, thou hast opened all mouths in strets and townes and highways and all the dronkards and brutish people to shut and mocke, and call quaker and heares thy ofspring and of thy stocke and roote and heare is thy worke and fruit of thy generation Ismaells first borne, and all the mockers and scoffers upon the Earth, that gives the name quaker to the people of god thou wert the father of, soe the father of mockers scoffers scorners, and scorners they all ly upon thee, and thou canst never gett that downe which thou hast begotten in all mockers scoffers and reprochers throout the nation,

<sup>a</sup> An ancient copy of this letter (Spence MSS. iii. 5) reads *streets*

and nations and all their dominions, ffor the sober people follow thee not, neither doe they Learne thy doctrine, but all the Light prophaine heady Earthly proud ungodly people, thees receive thy doctrine of Reproch, for Long<sup>1</sup> before thou In scorne called them quakers, hath the people of the Lord god bine knowne About Mansfeild Notinggham, and sune parts of Lester sheare, and ther Abouts.

Now all the Reprochis in the world in this thing, will be thy begetting, for of it art thou Author and farther, to us the people of God, whos burden thou must beare, for thou hast filled the mouth of scornors with Reprochis, and soe made the people of god in scorne bee called by that name thorowout all thees nations, and this is thy worke thou hast brought forth the 30 day of October 1650 In Darby, who was the first Reprocher and scorner and giving the name to the people of god (quaker) which sence in the nation thou mayest see what fruit it hath brought forth, and how many children thou hast in all the streets, and townes, and how many deciples thou hast drane After thee, which hast caused the truth to bee Evell spoken of, and soe all may see heare, that thou hast sown to the flesh, that soe much corruption thou must reape In all towns streets marktts, and steple housis and see if this state must not quake, Among you, before the seed of god be raysed upp over all, and will not this word be Redeemed from the people of god who are of the Ryall seed of god, that wittneseth wher ther is noe shaking types nor figuirs nor shadows.

And must not thou who first gave the name quaker to them of the Ryall seed of god quake, is not that word to thy self and all the Reprochers scoffer mockers proud Earthly ones fatt dronken lust full ones, beastly people that follow pleaswer, headdy high miended and haughty and covitious given upp to Uncleanenes hath they word quaker in their mouths Against the Ryall seed must not they quake, Is not the word quake to them, and tremble both from the Lord god, fighters strikers persecutors hath gott the word quake to the Royall seed, now is not the word quake to all them And tremble both and shake before they know the seed of god (that they say quake to) doe the Ryall seed of god quake must not thou and all thy Children that have Learned



*Quaking and Trembling*

8

thy doctrine know quaking and trembling before they know soulvation wrought out, and all mockers scoffers and miss namers of people is not this all in the transgression, out of the saintyfyed state, and is it not of Ishmaells stocke, and yett you are Ignorant of the scripters, and the holy men of gods words and his power which wrought upon them which made them to tremble, make proud flesh to tremble that is the soulvation and workes out the seed, the heir of the promis of god, Mosis trembled, David trembled, Habaceok trembled, Job trembled, the Alarhum is sounded in the holy mountain, the Trumpet is sonded out of Syon, which shall make the Inhabitants of the Earth tremble, the day of the Lord is Appered and A sword is drane, and the battle of the Lord is begone with all the Inhabitants of the Earth, his fury is gon out (woe) is pronounced, the vialls are powering out the thunders untering Eathquakes shall bee downe and art knowne<sup>a</sup> the kings of the Earth the beast and the false prophett and the ould dragon shall Rise Against the Lambe the saints but the Lambe the saints shall gett the victory and they shall be taken and cast A live in to the Lake of fier hee shall they slay with the sword that comes forth of his mouth, soe thou hast bine one of the beasts heads, that gives the names which doe not the saints nor Apostles nor Christ teach Any such docktrine, that the saints should doe soe, but all this Giving of names Among people is come upp Among you from them that are Apostatised, the divells geneation and the dragons power and soe to cause the people to give names on to Another, wher by to Envy one another and to hate one Another, and this they are Ignorant off that they ware all off one blood and mould that dwell uppon the face of the whole Earth, and Ignorant of the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles which is Love, and stopts that which causes Envy and hatreed, soe that which went out of the truth and abroad not in truth is the Enmyty is the cause of people hating one Another, and the quakers now in scorne called soe shall make the nations Tremble.

G. F.]

<sup>a</sup> Or might be read *un knowne* The other ms. reads *Earth Quakes shall be knowen and are knowen*

<sup>1</sup>[G. F. hearing y<sup>t</sup> Phillip Bennet<sup>2</sup> a Justice of peace of Darby, after he had prisoned G. F. wrongfully & kept about a year, after he being a parlement man, he Reported at London: that he had Imprisoned G. F. for calling Christ Rogue—& this was about 3 years after y<sup>t</sup> g. f. was first Imprisoned by him: & g. f. wondered at this slander he should cast upon him, that he sent 3 substantiall men out of ye north to Darbie town wher I was in prison to ye geole and to ye preist, who took a Coppie of my mittimus & ye examination as is here inserted wher all may see, how this Justice Benet of Darby had wronged g. f. in say he had spoke those words, which he never said nor thought: but abhorred in his heart: & this both Geollers & ye preist & ye people of ye town testified, that was at ye examination.

g. f.]

## Appendix 2 - Section from George Fox's Journal - 1650

Elwood's Edition of George Fox's Journal

Contains the following:

*Friends,*

‘**T**Ake heed of *Pleasures*, and prize your Time now, while you have it; and 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*. O Consider! *Time* is precious: Fear God and rejoyce in him, who hath made Heaven and Earth.

Now, while I was there in *Prison*, divers of the *Professors* came unto me to discourse with me: And I had a Sense, before they spake, that they came to plead for *Sin* and *Imperfection*. And I asked them; Whether they were *Believers*, and had *Faith*? and they said, *Yes*. Then I asked them, *In whom*? and they said, *In Christ*. Then I replied; If ye are true *Believers* in *Christ*, you are passed from *Death to Life*; and if passed from *Death*, then from

And Sewel's History Page 29 the following . Note how the letter in the first paragraph is word ofr word apart from the capita letters and the second part which above is in the first person is just changed below from "I" into "George Fox or he."

*Friends,*

Take heed of *Pleasures*, and prize your Time now, while you have it; and 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*. O Consider! *Time* is precious: Fear God and rejoyce in him, who hath made Heaven and Earth.

Now whilst G. Fox was in Prison there, several of the Professors came to discourse with him; and he perceiving that they came to plead for Sin *Pleading for Sin.* and Imperfection, asked them, *Whether they were Believers, and had Faith?* And they saying, *Yes*; he farther asked them, *In whom?* To which they answering, *In Christ*; he 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, and purify your Hearts and Consciences, (for the true Faith is held in a pure Conscience) it will bring you to please God, and give you Access to him again." But such a Language as this they could not endure; for they said, *They could not believe that any could be free from Sin on this Side the Grave.* To which he answered, *That then they might give over their Talking concerning the Scriptures, which were the Words of Holy Men, whilst they themselves pleaded for Unbelief.* At another Time another Company of such Professors coming, and they also pleading for Sin, he asked them, *Whether they had Hope?* To which they answered, *Yes, God forbid but we should have Hope.* Then he asked, *What Hope is it 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; and therefore he had them, "Forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the Holy Mens Words; for the Holy

### **Appendix 3 – 1652 TALK GIVEN ON FIRBANK FELL**

See quote below from George Fox's account taken from Verbatim et Literatim Edition of manuscript of his journal - edited by Norman Penney in 1911. [Language updated by Editor]. Note as you read that firstly, the people in the chapel were addressed; secondly, he explained his calling and purpose in a logical sequence.

"...I went to a brook and got a little water and came and sat down on top of a rock, for the word of the Lord came to me that I must sit down on the rock in the mountain even as Christ had done before. In the afternoon people gathered ... it was judged there were about 1000 people.

I declared freely and largely God's everlasting truth and word of life for about three hours.

Many old people had gone into chapel and were looking out of the windows and thought it strange to see a man preach on a hillside instead of in their church as they called it. So, I opened to the people that the steeple-house and the ground on which it stood was no holier than the mountain and that the temples and dreadful houses of God as they were called were not set up by the command of God or Christ. Nor were the priests as Aron's priesthood, nor were tithes to them set up by the command of God or Christ. For Christ was come who ended the temple and the priests and tithes. Christ said learn of me, and God said this is my beloved son hear him.

For the Lord had sent me with his everlasting Gospel to preach his word of life and bring people off from all those temples, tithes, priests and rudiments of the world that had gotten up since the apostle's days - that had been set up by those who had erred from the spirit and power the apostles were in. This was so that all might come to know Christ as teacher, counsellor, and shepherd to feed them; bishop to oversee them; prophet to open to them, and to know their bodies to be temples of God and Christ to dwell in.

So I opened the prophets and the figures and shadows and turned them to Christ the substance. I opened the parables of Christ and the things that had been hid from the beginning. I showed them how the epistles were written to the elect: and the state of apostasy that had been since the apostle's days. I showed how the priests had gotten the scriptures but they are not in the Spirit<sup>178</sup> that gave them forth, for they have made a trade of their words and have put them into chapter and verse<sup>179</sup>. I showed how the teachers and priests were now to be found in the steps of the false prophets, chief priests, scribes and Pharisees, against which the prophets, Christ and his apostles cried, so they are judged by the prophets, Christ and the apostle's spirit and all that were in it could not own them.

So I turned the people to the spirit of God and from darkness to light that they might believe in it and become children of Light; turned them from the power of Satan which they had been under to God so that with the Spirit of Truth, they might be led into all the truth of the prophets, Christ and the Apostles words.”

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In contrast to the order of the text above, when Thomas Elwood edited the manuscript to produce the 1694 Edition of George Fox's Journal, he

- Relegated addressing the people in the chapel to last.
- Put the last paragraph of the message first.
- Added the words '**in themselves**' to the opening sentence of his opening paragraph so that it reads; "So I turned the people to the spirit of God **in themselves**....." London Yearly Meeting in their 1956 Christian Faith and Practice approved in 1959 LYM CFP 166 included the "**in themselves**" addition.

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<sup>178</sup> Note it is the importance of being in the Spirit that gave forth the scriptures, rather than in the spirit **of them** that gave them forth the scripture see Appendix 5

<sup>179</sup> The Coverdale Bible had chapters but not verses, and as it was more available in George Fox's youth than the then recently published King James Version, this reference to verses may be evidence that George Fox read it when he was a young man. George Fox's use of the phrase "Turned the grace of God into Wantonness" is direct quote of Jude 4 Coverdale. King James use 'lasciviousness' instead of 'wantonness'. Also avoiding the 'is' in the letter the Governor of Barbados could be another indication see page 71 note 157. Editor wonders if George Fox's wrote Coverdale styles English, of a century earlier?

Sewel preceded the Firbank Talk with the words; “But George Fox told them afterwards” (See A on old Sewel page that follows). Presumably, Sewel observed that to address people in Chapel afterwards did not make sense and the alternate manuscript he had ended in 1650. The “in themselves” phrase was also included (See B on old Sewel page that follows) in the copy of the Elwood text.

PEOPLE called QUAKERS. 53

*This Man speaks with Authority, and not as the Scribes.* After this G. Fox opened to the People, “That that Ground and House was not more holy than another Place; and that the House was not the Church, but the People, whom Christ was the Head of.” Then the Priests coming to him, he warned them to repent; upon which one of them said, *He was mad*: But notwithstanding his saying so, many were convinced there that Day; and amongst these, one Captain Ward. The next First-Day G. Fox came to Firbank-Chappel in Westmorland, where the foresaid Francis Howgil, and one John Audland had been preaching in the Morning. The Chappel at that Time was so full of People, that many could not get in: And Howgil said afterwards, *He thought G. Fox look'd into the Chappel, and his Spirit was ready to fail.* But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgil had been so reach'd when he heard him preach in the Steeple-house Yard at Sedburgh, that he was, as it were, check'd, and so quickly made an End of his Sermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that Day, as indeed he did: For having refreshed himself at Noon with a little Water out of a Brook, he went and sat down on the Top of a Rock hard by the Chappel, intending to have a Meeting there. At this People wondered, because they look'd upon the Church (so called) as an holy Place, requisite for Worship. But G. Fox told them afterwards, *That the Ground whereon he stood, was as good as that of the Steeple-house*; besides, we find, that Christ himself did preach on a Mountain, and also at the Sea-side. Now in the Afternoon the People gathered about him, with several of their Preachers, and amongst these, F. Howgil, and J. Audland. To this Auditory, which was judged to consist of more than a thousand People, G. Fox began to preach, and spoke about the Space of three Hours, directing all “To the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from Darknes to Light, and from the Power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become Children of the Light, and, by the Spirit of Truth, be led into all Truth, and so sensibly understand the Words of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles; and 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; that so their Bodies might be prepared, sanctify'd, and made

1652

Capt. Ward:  
Firbank-  
Chappel in  
Westmor-  
land.  
J. Audland.

SEWEL'S  
HISTORY

< A

< B

Similar attempt to turn people to look in themselves, inwardly instead of to Christ occurs on Old P 23 Appendix 9

## Appendix 4 - The Word of God.

(See Appendix 9 - old page 9 - Christ, the Word of God)

It is recorded in George Fox's journal at the end of 1652 that "a priest, a Baptist<sup>180</sup>, came to a meeting atop of a hill and fell a jangling: first he said the scriptures was the word of God: and I told him they were the words of God but not Christ the word: and bid him prove it by scripture what he said"..... it was agreed to meet again. So when they met again George "declared the day of the Lord to them, and turned them to Christ Jesus: and he (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 that he would prove the scriptures to be the word of God before all the people. So I had a man that could write to take down both what he said and what I said as may be larger seen in my book of letters.

But when he had spoken a while and could not prove it for I kept him to the scripture for chapter and verse for it, and keeping him to prove that one thing he asserted. In going to prove that one error, he run in to twenty, and the people gnashed their teeth and said he would have me anon. But when he could not prove it: then he said he would prove it a god. Thus the Baptist priest tore himself till he sweat and boiled himself and his company - all being full of wrath. I hept<sup>181</sup> his assertions on the head of him and them all, so that, at last, they went away confounded and could prove nothing they asserted. For I told them what the Scriptures said about themselves - they were the words of God, but Christ was the word. The Lord's power came over all and confounded their mischief which they intended against me and Friends were established in Christ....."

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<sup>180</sup>British Baptists, while their attitudes to believer's baptism were similar to continental Anabaptists, they had a different attitude to the scriptures. British Baptists looked to the Bible as the Word of God. The Dordrecht Mennonite confession of Faith (approved in 1632) saw Jesus Christ as the word of God, and looked to the teaching of Christ as their authority. The Mennonites refused to fight and formed one of the historic peace churches. The British Baptists were not pacifists.

<sup>181</sup> heaped

In the 1653 booklet, "To All Who Would Know the Way to the Kingdom," George Fox makes it bluntly clear that he considered it very disrespectful to Jesus Christ - the Word of God, to call any letter or book the 'Word of God'.

In "A Portraiture of Quakerism" published in 1806, Thomas Clarkson wrote<sup>182</sup> "The scriptures are usually denominated by Christians, "the Word of God." Though the Quakers believe them to have been given by divine inspiration, yet they reject this term. They apprehend that Christ is the Word of God. They cannot now therefore consistently give to the scriptures, however they reverence them, the name which St. John the Evangelist gives exclusively to the Son of God.

PEOPLE called QUAKERS. 53

*This Man speaks with Authority, and not as the Scribes.* After this G. Fox opened to the People, "That that Ground and House was not more holy than another Place; and that the House was not the Church, but the People, whom Christ was the Head of." Then the Priests coming to him, he warned them to repent; upon which one of them said, *He was mad*: But notwithstanding his saying so, many were convinced there that Day; and amongst these, one Captain Ward. The next First-Day G. Fox came to Firbank-Chappel in Westmorland, where the foresaid Francis Howgil, and one John Audland had been preaching in the Morning. The Chappel at that Time was so full of People, that many could not get in: And Howgil said afterwards, *He thought G. Fox look'd into the Chappel, and his Spirit was ready to fail.* But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgil had been so reach'd when he heard him preach in the Steeple-house Yard at Sedburgh, that he was, as it were, check'd, and so quickly made an End of his Sermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that Day, as indeed he did: For having refreshed himself at Noon with a little Water out of a Brook, he went and sat down on the Top of a Rock hard by the Chappel, intending to have a Meeting there. At this People wondered, because they look'd upon the Church (so called) as an holy Place, requisite for Worship. But G. Fox told them afterwards, *That the Ground whereon he stood, was as good as that of the Steeple-house*; besides, we find, that Christ himself did preach on a Mountain, and also at the Sea-side. Now in the Afternoon the People gathered about him, with several of their Preachers, and amongst these, F. Howgil, and J. Audland. To this Auditory, which was judged to consist of more than a thousand People, G. Fox began to preach, and spoke about the Space of three Hours, directing all "To the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from Darknes to Light, and from the Power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become Children of the Light, and, by the Spirit of Truth, be led into all Truth, and so sensibly understand the Words of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles; and 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; that so their Bodies might be prepared, sanctify'd, and made

1652

Capt. Ward:  
Firbank-  
Chappel in  
Westmor-  
land.  
J. Audland.

SEWEL'S  
HISTORY

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<sup>182</sup> Page 314 of Clarkson



## Appendix 5 - Contemporary expressions

John Whiting wrote “Persecutions Exposed in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting and Many Others of the People Called Quakers” - Second Edition M DCC XCI

Whiting writes about Thomas Markham who dies in 1694 <sup>183</sup>

He says he was born in 1634 and in his childhood he was sensible to the goodness of God to him, in convicting him of evil words and actions; in which state he was for many years, but knew not what it was that did thus work in him till he was brought down into contrition and self-denial; and then he knew it was the spirit of Christ Jesus in the inward parts which reproves the world of sin.

Whiting writes about John Burnyeat who died in 1690<sup>184</sup> He wrote: Born in the parish of Lowswater in Cumberland, about the year 1631; and was well educated, and religiously inclined in his youth; seeking the Lord, but knew not where to find him, nor how to become acquainted with him, though he was not far from him and every one; and was high in profession of Christ and his righteousness, and what he had done for him as a Saviour, though in their sins. But when the truth came, and was made manifest, and the Day-spring from on high visited him and many more, he saw there was need of a work, and a Saviour nigh, to save him from sin. All their high building and depending on the imputed righteousness of Christ, while in their sins, was not sufficient; and great distress and sorrow came upon him. He was convinced of the blessed truth by his elder brother in Christ, George Fox, when he first came into Cumberland in 1653, who directed him concerning the way of the Lord, and turned his mind to the light of Christ Jesus in his own heart. He went through great exercise and inward travail in the work of regeneration and redemption, from the bondage of corruption, till his warfare was accomplished, and then the Lord raised him up to bear a testimony for his name, and sent him forth to declare to others what God had done for his soul, about the year 1657.

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<sup>183</sup> (p501) of “Persecutions Exposed in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting

<sup>184</sup> (p416) of “Persecutions Exposed in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting

## John Whiting's Prayer<sup>185</sup>

O thou preserver of men, who would not fear before thee, and be faithful to thee! Thy love constrains obedience to thyself. O Lord, keep me in thy fear that I may never sin against thee, or cause thee to withdraw thy Holy Spirit from me, or withhold the light of thy countenance from shining upon me; but visit me more and more in thy everlasting loving-kindness, till everything that is contrary to thy pure mind and will be purged out and done away; that I may be made a fit habitation for thee to dwell and walk in; wholly redeemed and saved from sin, and every evil way, that I may serve thee in my generation; and in a sense of thy love, bless and praise thy holy, name, for thou art worthy for ever and ever.

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<sup>185</sup> (p398) of "Persecutions Exposed in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting

## Appendix 6 - Quotes and parts of quotes used that were not in Sewell's Text and Abbreviations

BYM Britain Yearly Meeting

LYM London Yearly Meeting

IYM Ireland Yearly Meeting

QFP Quaker Faith and Practice BYM

CFP Christian Faith and Practice LYM

CE Christian Experience IYM

QLP Quaker Life and Practice IYM

Remember - Colour magenta means that words were not in Sewel

Appendix 9 contains photographed pages from Elwood. Old page numbers are used in this section. Words and topics in common with Sewel are highlighted in Green.

6.1.1 George Fox 1647 Appendix 9 - Old p 8 BYM QFP 19.02; LYM CFP 5; IYM CE page2 - Section inserted into following text on Page 21 : "There is one even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy; and it was shewed him why there was none other upon earth that could speak to his condition, namely that he might give the Lord all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief as I had been, and that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence. Who enlightens and gives grace and 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 the Father of all life drew me to His Son by his spirit. And then the Lord did gently lead me along, and let me see his Love, which is endless and

eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books; and 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, and through the love of God which let me see myself”

Appendix 9 - Old p 8

6.1.2 Appendix 9 Old P13 Middle BYM QFP 19.03 leaves out the next 3 lines **about the natures Fox saw within.** Foot note 56 p24

6.1.3 Appendix 9 - Old P 13 IYM Quaker Life and Practice 1.5 .....**And this I saw in the infinite love of God** See foot note 59 p25 **And I had great openings.** See footnote 60 p25

6.1.4 Appendix 9 - Old P 16 George Fox 1648 BYM LYM CFP 134 QFP 26.02 **“and the elements and stars came over me as I sat still and said nothing”** then left out end of the section including the words **there was no God** See Foot note number 75 p30

6.1.5 George Fox 1648 IYM Quaker Life and Practice 1.76 ‘See foot note number 90 p33 **I saw that none could read John’s words aright, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with the same divine spirit by which John Spoke them** and by his burning, shining light which is sent from God’ Appendix 9 - Old p 21 top - See also 6.2.1

6.1.6-George Fox 1948-Appendix 9 - old page 22 and note number 84 page 33. Top.–LYM CFP 163 BYM QFP 26.42 and 19.04 IYM QLP 1.78 latter part only

LYM CFP 163 BYM QFP 26.42 and 19.04 **Now the Lord God opened to me by his invisible power how that ever man was enlightened by the devine light of Christ;and I saw it shine through all, and they that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the light of life and became 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.**

IYM 1.78 ‘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 in searching the scriptures I found it. For I saw that the Light

and Spirit that 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. See Footnote number 56 p 24 and 84 p33 .. See also 6.2.2 old p23

6.1.7A George Fox 1648 Appendix 9 - Old p 22 (bottom). Following from LYM CFP 10 as it is longer than BYM QFP 28.03 **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 they had been who gave them forth.

See Foot note number 87 p 33, 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, that there Words might be seasoned, and all might come to know salvation nigh.

LYM CFP 10 skips from Jesus Footnote number 87page 33 above to Appendix 9 old p 23 - middle of page including skipping 6.2.3

6.1.7B I was to bring people off from their own ways to Christ, the new and living way ... then skips again Appendix 9 old page 23 bottom paragraph ..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 and skips again....Footnote number 93 page 34

6.1.7C making melody in their hearts to the Lord who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, and caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all, and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust ( as his outward rain doth fall, and his sun doth shine on all), which is God's unspeakable love to the world. The above approximately 350 words of which only 27 were in Sewel taken from 3 paragraphs and 750 words Elwood put in year 1648

Other significant Elwood additions that are noted in discussions

6.2.1 “I saw plainly, that none could read Moses aright without Moses’s Spirit...”(From long added section in 1648) Appendix 9 old p 20 bottom

6.2.2 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 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 great esteem of the holy scriptures, they were very precious to me; for I was in the Spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened to 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. Appendix 9 - Old page 23 (top).

6.2.3 Appendix 9 old page 22 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. (See footnote number 89 p33).

6.2.4 Appendix 9 old page 23 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; that Devine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any. *Text contains a lot of accounts of struggle rather than feeling of infallibility.* (See footnote number 91 p34) for context see old page 23 appendix 9.

What is your conclusion regarding the impact of the Sections that were added?

## **Appendix 7 Origin of Friends refusal to fight**

In 1642 William Drewsbury was one of those who was attracted to “go to the help of the Lord against the mighty” and joined the Parliament Army intending to fight for the gospel.

“Then”, says he, “The Lord discovered to me, that his love could not be attained to by anything I could do in any of these outward observations; and in all these turnings in my carnal wisdom, while seeking the kingdom of God, without, thither the flaming sword turned, to keep away the tree of life, fenced me to it, cut me down, rent all my coverings, and destroyed that mind which thus looked out to find the kingdom of heaven. Then my mind was turned within by the power of the Lord, to wait in his counsel, the light in my conscience, to hear what the Lord would say, And the word of the Lord came to me, and said, “Put up your sword into its scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world then would my children fight: know thou not if I needed, I could have 12 legions of angels from my Father? Which word enlightened my heart, and discovered the mystery of iniquity; it showed the kingdom of Christ to be within, and that its enemies being within and spiritual, my weapons against them should also be spiritual, -- the power of God.”

Favoured with these clear and scriptural intimations of the will of the Lord concerning him, William Drewsbury no longer hesitated as to the course that was right for him to pursue and feeling himself no longer at liberty to use the parody for the destruction of his fellow-creatures and that, too, under the mistaken notion of advancing the kingdom of Christ, he put up his weapon into its sheath, and left the army. Later in 1651 he met George Fox

**Appendix 8 An answer to the SPEECH or Declaration of the Great Turk** by George Fox 1688 from Gospel Truth Demonstrated. Written because he found a Paper (which is said to be thy Declaration) directed to Leopold, the German Emperor, dated the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1683 viz (only part included below)

Now here is Something in answer to the Words of Sultan Mahomet the Emperor of the Turks, saying, He is a great Persecutor of the Christians: But let him take heed, for the great God who made him, and Heaven and Earth, and Sea, and all things therein, who is Lord, Creator and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and beholds all his Words, Ways, Thoughts, and Actions, and all Men and Women on the Earth; neither is there any Creature that is not manifest in God's Sight, but all things are naked and open unto the Eyes of him, with whom we have to do, who are the true Christians, in scone called Quakers, who do fear, serve and worship the great God that made us, who is a consuming Fire to the Wicked; and wheresoever Men do turn themselves, there the face of God will meet them: his Divinity extends through the whole World; Therefore you are to fear his Divine Majesty, as you confess in your *Alcoran* ; for the great God, the Creator of all, doth know all in the Heavens and on Earth, both what is done in Secret, and Openly, and all is naked before him, who will reward every Man and Woman, according to their Words and Works, whether they be good or evil, for God is a consuming Fire to the Wicked, and who shall dwell with everlasting burning , but the Just and the Holy?

And, Mahomet saith in his Alcoran, <sup>186</sup>That Jesus said, "Who shall sustain the Law of God in my absence? And the Apostles answered him, we will sustain the law of God in thy absence,<sup>187</sup> and (2) that Jesus shall be a Witness in the day of Judgement<sup>188</sup> against such that obey not his Law, &c

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<sup>186</sup> Chap. 3 page 34 The Alcoran was the translation of the Qu'ran that was available to GF is not accessible the nearest equivalents that have been found are Qu'ran 3:52-53 & 4:159

<sup>187</sup> And the Alcoran continues "...Lord we believe in what thou has commanded .....write us in the number of them that profess thy law."

<sup>188</sup> Chapter 4 page 61 of Alcoran "Such as have the knowledge of Scripture, ought to believe in Jesus before his death, he shall be a witness against them of their actions at the day of Judgement:"



Now see how you Turks do obey the Law or Command of Jesus, for Jesus said, *Love your Enemies, Bless them that Curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you, that you may be Children of your Father which is in Heaven*

Now if the *Christians were the Turks Enemies*, according to the Command and law of Jesus, the Turks are to love and Bless them that curse them, and do good to those who hate them, and pray for them that despitefully use them and persecute them.

Now if the Christians were the Turks Enemies, according to the Command and Law of Jesus, the Turks are to Love and Bless them that Curse them, and do good to those who hate them, and pray for them that despitefully use them and persecute them, so then the Turks are not to be Persecutors, if they do the command of the Lord Jesus Christ<sup>189</sup>, and if they are Children of God the Father who is in Heaven.

But the Emperor of the Turks saith, he is the great persecutor of the Christians; and you say in your Alcoran, That Jesus shall be a Wittness in the day of Judgement against such that obey not his law? Are not your own Words in your Alcoran (and the Lord Jesus, and the Apostles of Jesus, who should sustain the Law of God in Jesus's absence) witness against you, who are Haters and Persecutors, instead of loving Enemies, according to the Command or Law of Jesus? And therefor as Mohamet saith, That Jesus shall be a Wittness in the day of Judgement against such that obey not his law: So according to your own Alcoran, You Turks, and all others that are Persecutors, who disobey the Law of Jesus, he will be a witness against you in the day of Judgement; yea I say, against you Turks, and all other Persecutors upon the Earth.

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<sup>189</sup> (3) Christ is the Greek translation for the Aramaic word Messiah, see John 1:41. Aramaic word for anointed one messiah. The Arabic word is also Messiah so many Translations of Qu'ran use Messiah, and only a few Christ whereas in English Bible the word Christ is used.

## Appendix 9 Some Pages from Elwood Edition

Here are a few of the pages from the 1694 Elwood Edition that are referred to in the text.

Out of the 31 pages before imprisonment in Derby in 1650, the following pages are included here:

Old pages 8-12 to show that after George Fox's pivotal experience realizing that there is one even Christ Jesus who could speak to his condition, a jumble of "additions" appear around a small amount of green highlighted text available in Sewel.

Old page 23 to show how the inserted Red Underline text changed the thrust of message to looking inward instead of looking to Christ Jesus.

Any text that is not highlighted in **Green** is text that editor did not find similar topic or word found in Sewel.

Any text highlighted in **Red** is text that is not in Sewel, that the editor knows occurs, at a different period of time in other George Fox writings. (See Old Pages 9 and 10). (There could be other occurrences of this that the editor is not aware of and would appreciate knowing about).

Underlined Sections are sections quoted in books of Life Faith Practice and Experience of Britain and Ireland Yearly Meetings, These sections are in also in Appendix 6

Sections highlighted in **Blue** are sections where Elwood records George Fox as being afraid - a thought that is not in Sewel.

Note: The old text uses f instead of s for s except at the end of words.

P (page) numbers at the side of the text refer to page numbers in this booklet.

**A (Appendix) numbers at the side of the text e.g. A 6.1, 6.2 etc.**

1647. Now after I had received that *Opening* from the Lord, that *To be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not sufficient to fit a Man to be a Minister of Christ*, I regarded the *Priests* less, and looked more after the *Dissenting People*. And among them I saw, there was some *Tendernecks*: And many of them came afterwards to be *Convinced*; for they had some *Openings*. But as I had forsaken all 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 was 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*:" And when I heard it, my Heart did leap for Joy. Then the Lord did 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-heminence*; who enlightens, and gives *Grace*, and *Faith* and *Power*. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? And this I knew experimentally. My *Desires* after the Lord grew stronger, and *Zeal* in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any *Man, Book or Writing*. For though I read the *Scriptures*, that 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. And then the Lord did gently lead me along, and did let me see his *Love*, which was Endless and Eternal, and surpasseth all the *Knowledge*, that Men have in the natural State, or can get by *History*, or *Books*. And that *Love* did let me see my self, 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 my self. And 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. And 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*. And when I my self 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 thought many times, I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me, how he was tempted by the same *Devil*, and had *Overcome* him, and bruised his *Head*; and that through him and his *Power, Light, Grace and Spirit*, I should *Overcome* also; I had Confidence in him. So he it was, that opened to me, when I was shut up, and had not hope, nor Faith. Christ it was (who had enlightened me) that gave me his *Light* to believe in, and gave me *Hope*, which is himself, *Revealed* himself in me, and gave me his *Spirit*, and gave me his *Grace*, which I found sufficient in the *Deeps* and in *Weakness*. Thus in the deepest *Miseries*, and in the greatest *Sorrows* and *Temptations*, that many times beset me, the Lord in his *Mercy* did keep me. And I found, that there were *Two Thirsts* in me; the one after the *Creatures*, to have gotten *Help and Strength*

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. And 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. And Blessed are all they indeed, that do indeed hunger and thirst after Righteousness; they shall be satisfied with it: I have found it so, praised be the Lord, who 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 do run in the Earthly, after the Creatures, and changeable Things, and changeable Ways and Religions, and changeable, uncertain Teachers, their Minds are in Bondage, and they are brittle and changeable, and tossed up and down with windy Doctrines and Thoughts, and Notions and Things; their Minds being from the unchangeable Truth in the inward Parts, the Light of Jesus Christ, which would keep their Minds to the Unchangeable, who is the Way to the Father; who in all my Troubles did preserve me by his Spirit and Power, praised be his Holy Name for ever!

Again I heard a Voice, which did say, "Thou Serpent! Thou dost seek to destroy the Life; but canst not: For the Sword, which keepeth the Tree of Life, shall destroy thee. So Christ, the Word of God, that bruised the Head of the Serpent, the Destroyer, preserved me; my inward Mind being joined to his good Seed, that bruised the Head of this Serpent, the Destroyer. And this inward Life did spring up in me, to answer all the Opposing Professors and Priests, and did bring in Scriptures to my Memory to refute them with.

At another time I saw the great Love of God; and I was filled with admiration at the Infiniteness of it. And then I saw, what was Cast out from God; and what Entred into God's Kingdom: And how by Jesus, the Opener of the Door by his Heavenly Key, the Entrance was given. And I saw Death, how it had passed upon all Men, and oppressed the Seed of God in Man, and in me: And how I in the Seed came forth; and what the Promise was to. Yet it was so with me, that there seemed to be Two Pleading in me; 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. And I was in great Perplexity and Trouble for many Days; Yet I gave up my self to the Lord still. And 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

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1647. 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 a top of him; And that all these Troubles were good for me, and Temptations for the Trial of my Faith, which Christ had given me. And 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. And 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 oh! then did I see my Troubles, Trials and Temptations more than ever I had done. As the Light appeared, all appeared, that is out of the Light, Darknefs, Death, Temptations, the Unrighteous, the Ungodly; all was manifest and seen in the Light: Then, after this, there did a pure Fire appear in me: Then I saw, how he sate as a Refiner's Fire, and as the Fuller's Sope. And then the Spiritual Discerning came into me, by which I did discern my own Thoughts, Groans and Sighs; and what it was, that did veil me, and what it was, that did open me. And 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 veiled me; and that could not be patient in all Trials, Troubles, and Anguishes and Perplexities, and 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. And I discern'd the Groans of the Spirit, which did open 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. And by this true Spirit, in which the true Sighing is, I saw over the false Sighings and Groanings. And by this Invisible Spirit I discerned all the false Hearing, and the false Seeing, and the false Smelling, which was a top, above the Spirit, quenching and grieving it; and that all they, that were there, were in Confusion and Deceit, where the false Asking and Praying is, in Deceit and a top, in that Nature and Tongue, that takes Gods holy Name in vain, and wallows in the Egyptian Sea, and asketh, but hath not; for they hate his Light, and resist the Holy Ghost, and turn the Grace into Wantonness, and rebel against the Spirit, and are erred from the Faith they should ask in, and from the Spirit they should pray by: He that knoweth these things in the true Spirit, can witness them. The divine Light of Christ manifesteth all things, and the spiritual Fire tryeth all things, 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. And 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

Law and Prophets until John from Luke 16:16 is prominent in the Last chapter of Gospel Truth Demonstrated written in 1688

*John*. The pure and perfect Law of God is over the *Flesh*, to keep it, and its *Works*, which are not perfect, under, by the perfect Law: And the Law of God, that is perfect, answers the perfect Principle of God in every one: And this Law the *Jews*, and the *Prophets*, and *John* were to perform and do. None knows the *Letter* of this Law, but by the *Spirit of God*; neither can any truly read it, or hear its Voice, but by the *Spirit of God*: He that can receive it, let him. *John*, who was the greatest Prophet, that was born of a Woman, did bear Witness to the *Light*, which *Christ*, the Great heavenly Prophet, hath *Enlightened every Man, that cometh into the World*, withal, that they might believe in it, and become the Children of *Light*, and so have the *Light of Life*; and not come into *Condemnation*. For the true *Belief* stands in the *Light*, that condemns all *Evil*, and the *Devil*, who is the Prince of *Darkness*, who would draw out of the *Light* into *Condemnation*. And 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*.

And I saw the *Mountains* burning up, and the *Rubbish*; and the rough and crooked Ways and Places made smooth and plain, that the *Lord* might come into his *Tabernacle*. These things are to be found in Man's Heart: But to speak of these things being *within*, seemed strange to the rough and crooked, and mountainous Ones. Yet the *Lord* saith, O *Earth*, hear the Word of the *Lord*! The Law of the *Spirit* crosseth the fleshly Mind, Spirit and Will, which lives in *Disobedience*, and doth not keep within the Law of the *Spirit*. And 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 tho' the *Lord* in that day opened these things unto me in secret, they have since been published, by his *Eternal Spirit*, as on the House top.) And as you are brought into the Law, and through the Law to be dead to it, and witness the *Righteousness* of the Law fulfilled in you; ye will afterwards come to know, what it is, to be brought into the *Faith*, and through *Faith* from under the Law. And abiding in the *Faith*, which *Christ* is the Author of, ye will have Peace and Access to God. But if ye look out from the *Faith*, and from that which would keep you in the *Victory*, and look after fleshly Things or Words, ye will be brought into *Bondage* to 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. The Law of God takes hold upon the Law of *Sin* and *Death*: But the Law of *Faith*, or the Law of the *Spirit of Life*, which is the *Love of God*, and which comes by *Jesus* (who is the end of the Law for *Righteousness-sake*) this makes free from the Law of *Sin* and *Death*. This Law of *Life* fleshly-  
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1697. 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*, and which stands in the Will of *Man*, bringeth into Bondage, and under the shadow of Death and Darknels. And therefore none can be a *Minister* 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 burdensome Stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly Will, which reigns in its own Knowledge and Understanding, that must perish, and in its *Wisdom*, that is *Devilish*. And the *Spirit* of God is grieved, and vexed; and quenched with that which brings into the fleshly Bondage; and that which wars against the *Spirit* of God, must be mortified by it: For the *Flesh* lusteth against the *Spirit*, and the *Spirit* against the *Flesh*; and these are contrary the one to the other. The *Flesh* would have its Liberty; and the *Spirit* would have its Liberty: But the *Spirit* is to have its Liberty; and not the *Flesh*. If therefore ye quench the *Spirit*, and join to the *Flesh*, and be Servants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the *Spirit*: But if ye join to the *Spirit*, and serve God in it, ye have Liberty, and Victory over the *Flesh*, and its Works. Therefore keep in the daily *Cross*, the *Power* of God, by which ye may witness all that to be Crucified, which is contrary to the *Will* of God, and which shall not come into his Kingdom. These things are here mentioned and opened for Information, Exhortation and Comfort to others, as the Lord Opened them unto me in that day. And in that day I wondred, that the *Children* of *Israel* should murmur for *Water* and *Viſuals*; for I could have fasted long without murmuring, or minding *Viſuals*. But I was judged sometimes, 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*.

P L 2  
Lancashire.

Ducken-  
field.  
Manche-  
ster.

And I heard of a *Woman* in *Lancashire*, that had *Fasted* *Two* and *twenty* *Days*: And I traveled to see her; but when I came to her, I saw, that she was under a *Temptation*. And when I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her; her Father being one high in *Profession*. And passing on, I went among the *Professors* at *Duckenfield* and *Manchester*, where I stay'd a while, and declared *Truth* among them; And there were some *Convinced*; who received the *Lord's Teaching*, by which they were confirmed, and stood in the *Truth*. But the *Professors* were in a *Rage*, all pleading for *Sin* and *Imperfection*; and could not endure to hear talk of *Perfection*, and of an *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.

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About

About this time there was a great Meeting of the Baptists, at Broughton in Leiceſter-ſhire, with ſome that had ſeparated from them; and People of other Notions went thither: And I went thither alſo. Not many of the Baptiſt 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. For in that day the Lord's Power began to ſpring, and I had great Openings in the Scriptures, and ſeveral were Convinced in thoſe Parts, and were turned from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God; and his Power they did receive, and by it many were raiſed up to praife God. And 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 Conſcience to, but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried Night and Day. And I went back into Nottingham-ſhire, and there the Lord ſhewed me, that the Natures of thoſe things, which were barful without, were within in the Hearts and Minds of Wicked Men. The Natures of Dogs, Swine, Vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Iſmael, Eſau, &c. the Natures of theſe I ſaw within, though People had been looking without. And I cried to the Lord, ſaying, Why ſhould I be thus, ſeeing I was never addicted to commit thoſe Evils? And the Lord answered, That it was needful, I ſhould have a ſenſe of all Conditions; how eſſe ſhould I ſpeak to all Conditions? And in this I ſaw the Infinite Love of God. I ſaw alſo, that there was an Ocean of Darkneſs and Death; but an infinite Ocean of Light and Love, which flowed over the Ocean of Darkneſs: And in that alſo I ſaw the Infinite Love of God; and I had great Openings. And as I was walking by the Steeple-houſe ſide, in the Town of Manfield, the Lord ſaid unto me, That which People do trample upon, muſt be thy Food. And as the Lord ſpoke, he opened it to me, how that People and Profeſſors did trample upon the Life, even the Life of Chriſt was trampled upon; and they fed upon Words, and fed one another with Words; but trampled upon the Life: And 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: And I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to ſpeak, and open things to them. There was one Brown, who had great Prophecies and Sight upon his Death-bed of me. And 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, that then were ſomething in ſhew. And 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 time; for I was very much altered in Countenance and Perſon, as if my Body had been New-moulded or changed. And while I was in that Condition, I had

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Broughton  
in Leice-  
ſter-ſhire.  
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Notting-  
ham-ſhire.

6.1.3

Manfield.

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Lewes.  
P 27  
be amongst them. And I heard their Discourse and Reasoning  
some being in Pews, and the *Priest in the Pulpit*; abundance of the  
ple being gathered together. At last one Woman ask'd a Question  
out of Peter, *What that Church was, viz. A being with again of the  
visible Word, to the Word of God, that breath and abideth in  
Church*; though he had before given liberty for any to speak.  
And the Priest said to her, *I permit not a Woman to speak in  
Church*; though he had before given liberty for any to speak.  
Whereupon I was wrapt up, as in a Rapture, in the Lord's Power;  
and I stepped up in a Place, and ask'd the Priest; *Doth he call  
this (the Sceptic-house) a Church? Or doth thou call this man  
a Church?* For the Woman asking a Question, he ought to  
have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. *But he  
not answer me neither; but asked me, What a Church was  
him, The Church was the Pillar and Ground of Truth, mine of  
Living Stones, living Members, a spiritual Household, which comprises  
the Head of;* But he was not the Head of a mixt Multitude, or of an  
old House made up of Lime, Stones and Wood: This set them all on  
Fire. The Priest came down out of his Pulpit, and others out of  
their Pews, and the Dispute there was marr'd. But I went to a  
great Inn, and there disputed the thing with the Priests and Professors  
of all sorts; and they were all on a Fire. But I maintained the  
true Church, and the true Head thereof, over the Heads of them  
all, till they all gave out, and fled away. And there was one Man,  
that seem'd loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but  
he soon turn'd against me, and joined with a Priest, in pleading for  
*Infant's Baptism*; tho' he himself had been a Baptist before: And  
so left me alone. Howbeit there were several Convinc'd that day;  
and the Woman, that ask'd the Question aforesaid, was Convinc'd,  
and her Family: And the Lord's Power and Glory shined over  
all.

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Nating-  
ham-shire.  
Vale of  
Beavor.

6-1-4

After this I returned into Nottingham-shire again, and went into  
the Vale of Beavor. And as I went, I preached Repentance to the  
People: And there were many Convinc'd in the Vale of Beavor, in  
many Towns; for I staid some Weeks amongst them. And one  
Morning, as I was sitting by the Fire, a great Cloud came over me,  
and a Temptation beset me: And I fate still. And it was said; *All  
things come by Nature*; And the Elements and Stars came over me;  
so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it: But inasmuch as I  
fate still, and said nothing, the People of the House perceived no-  
thing. And as I fate still under it, and let it alone, a living Hope  
arose in me, and a true Voice arose in me, which said; *There is a  
living God, who made all things.* And immediately the Cloud and  
Temptation vanished away, and Life rose over it all, and my heart  
was glad, and I praised the living God. And after some time I met  
with some People, that had such a Notion, *That there was no God,  
but that all things came by Nature.* And I had great Dispute with  
them, and overturned them; and made some of them Confess,  
*that there was a Living God.* Then I saw, that it was good, that  
I had gone through that Exercise. And we had great Meetings in  
those Parts; for the Power of the Lord broke through in that side of  
the Country. And returning into Nottingham-shire, I found there  
a Com-

Nating-  
ham-shire.

And I saw the State of those both *Priests* and *People*, who in *reading the Scriptures* cry out much against *Cain*, *Esau*, and *Judas*, and other wicked Men of former Times, mentioned in the *Holy Scriptures*; but do not see the *Nature* of *Cain*, of *Esaus*, of *Judas*, and think *Others* in themselves. And 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 my self*, that have been the *Ismael*, and the *Esau*, &c. For then they came to see the *Nature* of wild *Ismael* in themselves; the *Nature* of *Cain*, of *Esaus*, of *Corch*, of *Balaam*, and of the *Son of Perdition* in themselves, sitting above all that is called *God* in them. So I saw, it was the *fallen Man*, that was got up into the *Scriptures*, and was finding *Fault* with those before-mentioned; and with the back-sliding *Jews*, calling them the *sturdy Oaks*, and *tall Cedars*, and *fat Bulls* of *Bushan*, wild *Elefers*, *Vipers*, *Serpents*, &c. And charging them, that it was *They*, that closed their *Eyes*, and stopped their *Ears*, and hardened their *Hearts*, and were dull of *Hearing*: And that it was *They*, that hated the *Light*, and rebelled against it, and that quenched the *Spirit*, and vexed and grieved it, and walked despightfully against the *Spirit of Grace*, and turned the *Grace of God* into *Wantonness*: And that it was *They*, that resisted the *Holy Ghost*; and *They*, that got the *Form of Godliness*, and turned against the *Power*: And that *They* were the inwardly *Ravening Wolves*, that had got the *Sheep's Cloathing*: And that *They* were the *Wells without Water*, and *Clouds without Rain*, and *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: and then the *Cry* could not be, *It is He*, or *They*, as before; but *I*, and *We* are found in these *Conclusions*.

P 30 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*; and 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* without them (and the Things were true of *others* without them: ) but they did not turn in to find the *Truth* of these things in themselves. But as these things came to be opened in me, I saw, *Death* reigned over them from *Adam* to *Moses*, from the *Entrance into Transgression*, till they came to the *Ministration of Condemnation*, which restrains *People* from *Sin*, that brings *Death*. Then when the *Ministration of Moses* is passed through, the *Ministry of the Prophets* comes to be read and understood, which reaches through the *Figures*, *Types* and *Shadows* unto *John*, the greatest *Prophet* born of a *Woman*; whose *Ministration* prepares the *Way* of the *Lord*, by bringing down the exalted *Mountains*, and making *strait Paths*. And as this *Ministration* is passed through, an *Entrance* comes to be known into the *Everlasting Kingdom*. So I saw plainly, that none could read *Moses* aright, without *Moses's Spirit*, by which *Moses*

*Moses* law, how *Man* was in the *Image* of *God* in *Paradise*, and how he fell, and how *Death* came over him, and how all *Men* have been under this *Death*. And 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*. And both *Moses* and the *Prophets* saw through the *Types* and *Figures*, and beyond them, and saw *Christ* the great *Prophet*, that was to come to fulfil them. And I saw, that none could read *John's* Words aright, and with a true Understanding of them, but in and with the same *Divine Spirit*, by which *John* spake them; and by his burning, shining *Light*, which is sent from *God*. For by that Spirit their *Crooked Natures* might be made straight, and their *Rough Natures* smooth, and the *Exacter* and *violent Doer* in them might be thrown out; And they that had been *Hypocrites*, might come to bring forth *Fruits* meet for *Repentance*, and their *Mountain of Sin* and *Earthliness* might be laid low in them, and their *Valley* exalted in them; that there might be a *Way* prepared for the *Lord* in them: And then the least in the *Kingdom* is greater than *John*. But all must first know the *Voice* crying in their *Wilderness*, in their *Hearts*, which through *Transgression* were become as a *Wilderness*. Thus I saw, it was an easie matter to say, *Death* reigned from *Adam* to *Moses*; and, *That the Law and the Prophets were until John*; and, *That the least in the Kingdom is greater than John*: But none could know, how *Death* reigned from *Adam* to *Moses*, &c. but by the same *Holy Spirit*, which *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and *John* were in. They could not know the *Spiritual Meaning* of *Moses*, the *Prophets* and *John's* Words, nor see their *Path* and *Travels*, much less see through them, and to the end of them into the *Kingdom*; unless they had the *Spirit* and *Light* of *Jesus*: Nor could they know the *Words* of *Christ*, and of his *Apostles*, without his *Spirit*. But as *Man* comes through, by the *Spirit* and *Power* of *God*, to *Christ* (who fulfills the *Types*, *Figures*, *Shadows*, *Promises* and *Prophecies*, that were of him) and is led by the *Holy Ghost* into the *Truth* and *Substance* of the *Scriptures*, sitting down in him, who is the *Author* and *End* of them; then are they read, and understood, with profit and great *Delight*.

Moreover, the *Lord God* let me see (when I was brought up into his *Image*, in *Righteousness* and *Holiness*, and into the *Paradise* of *God*) the *State*, How *Adam* was made a *Living Soul*: And also the *Stature* of *Christ*, the *Mystery*, that had been hid from *Ages* and *Generations*: Which things are hard to be uttered; and cannot be born by many. For of all the *Sects* in *Christendom* (so called) that I discoursed withal, I found none, that could bear to be told, that any should come to *Adam's Perfection*, into that *Image* of *God*, and *Righteousness*, and *Holiness*, that *Adam* was in, before he fell; to be so clear and pure without *Sin*, as he was. Therefore, how should they be able to bear, being told, that any should grow up to the *Measure* of the *Stature* of the *Fulness* of *Christ*, when they cannot bear to hear, that any shall come, whilst upon *Earth*, into the same *Power* and *Spirit*, that the *Prophets* and *Apostles* were in? Though

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1648. it be a certain Truth, that none can understand their *Writings* aright, without the same *Spirit*, by which they were written.

Now the Lord God hath opened to me by his invisible Power how that Every Man was enlightened by the Divine Light of Christ, and I saw it shine through all: And that they, that believed in it, came out of *Condemnation*, and came 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 *Scripture* was 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 for my self to sleep, my Mind went over all to the Beginning, in that which is from Everlasting to Everlasting. And 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.

And 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 spake it, I believed, and saw it in the *New Birth*. Then sometime after the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the *World*, which was like a *barren, thorny Wilderness*. And when I came in the Lord's mighty Power, with the *Word of Life* into the *World*, the *World* swelled, and made a Noise, like the great raging *Waves of the Sea*. *Priests and Professors, Magistrates and People* were all like a *Sea*, when I came to proclaim the *Day of the Lord* amongst them, and to preach *Repentance* to them.

Now I was sent to turn People from *Darkness to the Light*, that they might receive *Christ Jesus*: For to as many as should receive him in his *Light*, I saw, that he would give Power to become the *Sons of God*: Which I had obtained by receiving *Christ*. And I was to direct People to the *Spirit*, that gave forth the *Scriptures*, by which they might be led into all *Truth*, and so up to *Christ and God*, as they had been, who gave them forth. And I was to turn them to the *Grace of God*, and to the *Truth in the Heart*, which came by *Jesus*; that by this *Grace* they might be taught, which would bring them *Salvation*, that their Hearts might be established by it, and their Words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their *Salvation* nigh. For I saw, that *Christ had died for all Men*, and was a *Propitiation for all*; and had enlightened all *Men and Women* with his divine and saving *Light*: And that none could be a true *Believer*, but who believed in it. I saw, that the

Grace of God, which 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 (tho' they are written in the Letter;) but I saw them in the Light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and Power, as did the Holy Men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had (no slight) esteem of the Holy Scriptures; but they were very precious to me: For I was in that Spirit, by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many Volumes might be written; but all would prove too short to set forth the Infinite Love, Wisdom and Power of God, in preparing, fitting and furnishing me for the Service he had appointed me to; letting me see the Depths of Satan on the one Hand, and opening to me, on the other Hand, the divine Mysteries of his own Everlasting Kingdom.

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Now when the Lord God, and his Son Jesus Christ did send me forth into the World, to preach his Everlasting Gospel and Kingdom, I was glad, that I was Comanded 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.

6.2.4

But with and by this divine Power and Spirit of God, and the Light of Jesus, I was to bring People off from all their own ways, to Christ the new and living Way; and from their Churches (which Men had made and gathered) to the Church in God, the general Assembly written in Heaven, which Christ is the Head of; And off from the World's Teachers, made by Men, to learn of Christ, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, of whom the Father said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him; and off from all the Worlds Worshippings, to know the Spirit of Truth in the inward Parts, and to be led thereby; that in it they might Worship the Father of Spirits, who seeks such to Worship him: Which Spirit they that Worshipped not in, knew not, what they Worshipped. And I was to bring People off from all the World's Religions, which are vain; that they might know the pure Religion, and might visit the Fatherless, the Widows and the Strangers, and keep themselves from the Spots of the World: And then there would not be so many Beggars; the sight of whom often grieved my Heart, to see so much Hard-heartedness amongst them, that professed the Name of Christ. And I was to bring them off from all the World's Fellowships, and Prayings and Singings, which stood in Forms without Power; that their Fellowships might be in the Holy Ghost, and in the Eternal Spirit of God; that they might Pray in the Holy Ghost, and Sing in the Spirit, and with the Grace, that comes by Jesus; making Melody in their Hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour; and caused his heavenly Sun to shine upon all the World, and through them all, and his heavenly Rain to fall upon the Just and the Unjust (as his outward Rain doth fall, and his outward Sun doth shine on all) which is God's unspeakable Love to the World.

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And

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Ground; and the *Priest* (like a great *Lump of Earth*) stood in his *Pulpit* above: And he took for his *Text* these Words of *Peter*, [*We have also a more sure Word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well, that ye take heed, as unto a Light, that shineth in a dark Place, until the day dawn, and the Day-star arise in your Hearts.*] And he told the People, that this was the *Scriptures*, by which they were to *Try* all *Doctrines, Religions* and *Opinions*. Now the *Lord's Power* was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out, and say; *Oh no, It is not the Scriptures.* But I told them what it was, namely the *Holy Spirit*; by which the Holy Men of God, gave forth the *Scriptures*, whereby *Opinions, Religions* and *Judgments*, were to be *tried*: For it led into all Truth, and so gave the knowledge of all *Truth*. For the *Jews* had the *Scriptures*, and yet resisted the *Holy Ghost*, and rejected *Christ*, the bright *Morning-Star*; and persecuted *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and took upon them to *Try* their *Doctrines* by the *Scriptures*; but erred in *Judgment*, and did not *try* them a-right; because they *tried* without the *Holy Ghost*. Now as I spake thus amongst them, the *Officers* came, and took me away, and put me into a *nasty, stinking Prison*; the smell whereof got so into my *Nose* and *Throat*, that it very much annoyed me.

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- Words in **magenta** are words and passages that were in Elwood but not in Sewel. –
- Information that is in Sewel's text and not in Elwood's text is in **blue**.
- Words in the text that are in Elwood and Sewel but not in Penney are in **red**.

### Appendix 9

- Words common to Elwood and Sewel **highlighted in green**.
- Text **highlighted in Red** is text about thoughts that are not in Sewel - thoughts that the editor knows occurs, at a different period of time in other George Fox writings.
- Sections **highlighted in Blue** are sections where Elwood records George Fox as being afraid - a thought that is not in Sewel.
- Underlined Sections are sections that in books of Life Faith Practice and Experience of Britain and Ireland Yearly Meetings.

## **GEORGE FOX'S FORMATIVE YEARS 1624-1651**

This booklet provides an opportunity to read a version, which is likely to be, without most of Elwood's addition, 7000 word addition.

When the available Manuscript Copy of George Fox's Journal was published in 1911, the first 16 pages were found to be missing. The then editor, Norman Penney calculated they should have contained 10,000 words. Elwood's 1694 edition had 17,500 words. This version has 9,964 words for the same period plus William Sewel's historical notes. Most of this Biography, for the years 1624-1650, was based on document written down on George Fox's ordering, and, formed the first chapter of "The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers" by William Sewel. (1653-1720). The Rest was rest edited from Norman Penney's 1911 edition of manuscript.

The Booklet also contains analysis of distinguishing aspects of Elwood's additions and how this altered the thrust of the Biography.

This Edition contains more Analysis than previous Editions

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