

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

**“OF ALL THE SECTS THE NIGHT & ERRORS OWN
AND WITH FALSE LIGHTS POSSESS THE WORLD THERE’S NONE
MORE STRONGLY BLIND OR WHO MORE MADLY PLACE
THE LIGHT OF NATURE FOR THE LIGHT OF GRACE.”¹**



The strong, self-complacent [Martin Luther](#) declares with an emphasis, not to be mistaken, that “God himself cannot do without wise men.” [Jacob Behmen](#) [Jakob Böhme] and [George Fox](#) betray their egotism in the pertinacity of their controversial tracts, and [James Nayler](#) once suffered himself to be worshipped as the Christ. Each prophet comes presently to identify himself with his thought, and to esteem his hat and shoes sacred. However this may discredit such persons with the judicious, it helps them with the people, as it gives heat, pungency, and publicity to their words.

— Waldo Emerson

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**

1. For instance, James Nayler was a deadbeat dad. To become a traveling Quaker luminary for the final eight years of his life, he simply walked out on his wife and three children, walked out without so much as saying goodbye when he felt himself “commanded to go into the west” — and never visited them again.

The above portrait of James Nayler is imaginary. In 1661 an engraving supposedly of Nayler appeared in an updated 6th edition of Ephraim Pagitt’s HERESIOGRAPHY, and what is reproduced here is a sketch in pen with which an earlier reader replaced an original that someone had cut out from his copy of the book. The sketch, in the Houghton Library of Harvard University, assigns to Nayler a tranquil Christlike mildness of expression that quite matches the tone of his last pronouncement. The verses this person copied beneath the picture were transcribed from the original in Pagitt, and read exactly as in the above title line.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1618

[James Nayler](#) or Naylor was born.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1652

Friend [George Fox](#) continued his ministry:

Being again at liberty, I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord, passing through the country into Leicestershire, having meetings as I went; and the Lord's Spirit and power accompanied me.

As I was walking with several Friends, I lifted up my head and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was. They said, "Lichfield." Immediately the Word of the Lord came to me that I must go thither. Being come to the house we were going to, I wished the Friends to walk into the house, saying nothing to them of whither I was to go. As soon as they were gone I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield, where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping their sheep.

*Then was I commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the Word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled, and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I was got within the city, the Word of the Lord came to me again, saying, "Cry, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!'" * So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" And no one laid hands on me.*

As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood.

When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace, and, returning to the shepherds, I gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes again, and was at a stand whether I should or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do; then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again.

After this a deep consideration came upon me, for what reason I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it the bloody city! For, though the Parliament had had the minster one while, and the King another, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to understand, that in the Emperor Diocletian's time a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Passing on, I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverley steeple-house, which was then a place of high profession; and being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn. As soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house came to the door, and said, "What, is it you? come in," as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed; and in the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had had in the inn, I went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and to turn them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong, that it struck a mighty dread amongst the people. The mayor came and spoke a few words to me; but none of them had any power to meddle with me.

So I passed away out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple-house about two miles off. When the priest had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people very largely, showing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said he was but a child, and could not dispute with me. I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the Word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one Seed, to which the promise of God was given, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them; but I directed them to their teacher, Christ Jesus, and so passed away.

The next day I went to Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to Justice Hotham's. This Justice Hotham was a tender man, one that had had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet, where, sitting with me, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now publish it abroad to the people. After a while there came a priest to visit him, with whom also I had some discourse concerning the Truth. But his mouth was quickly stopped, for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

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

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high-priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, "Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the Scriptures to them. Mayest thou not blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah, and Christ do so, who spoke the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to His ministers, whom He sent to preach, 'Freely ye have received, freely give'?"

The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from the darkness to the Light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

Having cleared myself amongst the people, I returned to Justice Hotham's house that night. When I came in he took me in his arms, and said his house was my house; for he was exceedingly glad of the work of the Lord, and that His power was revealed.

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

GEORGE FOX

CHRISTMAS



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The next day I came into York, where were several very tender people. Upon the First-day following, I was commanded of the Lord to go and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went. When the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. "Then say on quickly," said a professor, for there was frost and snow, and it was very cold weather. Then I told them that this was the Word of the Lord God unto them, — that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them.

As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps. But I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging, and several were convinced there. For that which arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, strike them, and make them confess that the groans which broke forth through me did reach them, for my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and their words without fruit.

[After being thus violently tumbled down the steps of the great minster, George Fox found his next few days crowded with hot discussion. Papists and Ranters and Scotch "priests" made him stand forth for the hope that was in him. The Ranters, he says, "had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of, were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings, but they took tobacco and drank ale in their meetings and were grown light and loose." After the narrative of an attempt to push him over the cliffs the account continues.]

Another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and Friends went with me to the house where he was; but when he understood we were come, he slipped out of the house, and hid himself under an hedge. The people went and found him, but could not get him to come to us.

Then I went to a steeple-house hard by, where the priest and people were in a great rage. This priest had threatened Friends what he would do; but when I came he fled; for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and reached to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit in which they held their profession of religion and worship; so that it was a dreadful thing to them when it was told them, "The man in leathern breeches is come." At the hearing thereof the priests in many places got out of the way, they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear surprised the hypocrites.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

At Pickering, Fox stood in the yard of the “steeple-house” to inform its congregation of his mission:

I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ; and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tithes and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess when they say that they never heard God's nor Christ's voice. I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, directing them to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the Light of Jesus in their own hearts; that they might come to know Christ, their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them.

Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord.

I passed to another town, where was another great meeting, the old priest being with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. I sat on a haystack, and spoke nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words. The professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak? He bade them wait; and told them that the people waited upon Christ a long while before He spoke.

At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power. The Word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

Now I came towards Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's and Justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad that the Lord's power had so appeared; that truth was spread, and so many had received it. Justice Hotham said that if God had not raised up this principle of Light and life which I preached, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; "Because," said he, "they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth," said he, "overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof"; and therefore he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

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

When I had cleared myself I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. I desired a little meat or milk, and said I would pay for it; but they refused. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed, and asked me, "What news?" I bade them repent, and fear the Lord.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

After I was gone a pretty way, I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat, drink, and lodging for my money; but they denied me. I went to another house, and desired the same; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; but I discerned a ditch, and got a little water, and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch; and, being weary with travelling, I sat down amongst the furze bushes till it was day.

About break of day I got up, and passed on over the fields. A man came after me with a great pikestaff and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; and exhorted them to repent. But they seized me, and had me back to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, staves, and halberds.

When I was come to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and constables were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the Word of life amongst them, and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice.

When I was come near his house, a man came riding after us, and asked me whether I was the man that was apprehended. I asked him wherefore he asked. He said, "For no hurt." I told him I was: so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said it would be well if the justice were not drunk before we got to him; for he used to get drunk early.

When I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat, and because I said Thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me whether I was not mazed or fond [foolish]. The man told him, No; it was my principle.

I warned him to repent, and come to the Light with which Christ had enlightened him; that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and turn to Christ Jesus whilst he had time; and that whilst he had time he should prize it. "Ay, ay," said he, "the Light that is spoken of in the third of John." I desired he would mind it, and obey it.

As I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and showed him I had no letters. He said, "He is not a vagrant, by his linen"; then he set me at liberty.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I went back to Patrington with the man that had rode before me to the justice: for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me have a meeting at the Cross; but I said it was no matter; his house would serve. He desired me to go to bed, or lie down upon a bed; which he did, that they might say they had seen me in a bed, or upon a bed; for a report had been raised that I would not lie on any bed, because at that time I lay many times out of doors. Now when the First-day of the week was come, I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Presently after I had a great meeting at the man's house where I lay, and many were convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses of it to this day. They were exceedingly grieved that they had not received me, nor given me lodging, when I was there before.

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

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

Then I returned to Patrington again, and visited those Friends that were convinced there; by whom I understood that a tailor, and some wild blades in that town, had occasioned my being carried before the justice. The tailor came to ask my forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives.

Now that which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the steeple-house at Oram, not long before, there came a professor, who gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bade me get out of the church. "Alas, poor man!" said I, "dost thou call the steeple-house the Church? The Church is the people, whom God hath purchased with His blood, and not the house." It happened that Justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse, sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the sessions; so affected was he with the Truth and so zealous to keep the peace. And indeed this Justice Hotham had asked me before whether any people had meddled with me, or abused me; but I was not at liberty to tell him anything of that kind, but was to forgive all.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The next First-day I went to Tickhill, whither the Friends of that side gathered together, and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house. When I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel.

I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; the clerk up with his Bible, as I was speaking, and struck me on the face with it, so that my face gushed out with blood; and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. The people cried, "Let us have him out of the church." When they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, threw me down, and turned me over a hedge. They afterwards dragged me through a house into the street, stoning and beating me as they dragged me along; so that I was all over besmeared with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never had again. Yet when I was got upon my legs, I declared the Word of life, showed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonored Christianity.

After awhile I got into the meeting again amongst Friends, and the priest and people coming by the house, I went with Friends into the yard, and there spoke to the priest and people. The priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the Word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a-trembling himself; and one of the people said, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes; he is turned a Quaker also." When the meeting was over, Friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby, about seven or eight miles. Friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people: insomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came and sat at the town to examine the business. He that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off for striking me in the church, as they called it; but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.

Thence I went to Wakefield; and on the First-day after, I went to a steeple-house where James Nayler had been a member of an Independent church; but upon his receiving truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in, and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the Word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me suddenly, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried, "Let us have him to the stocks." But the Lord's power restrained them, that they were not suffered to put me in.

*So I passed away to the meeting, where were a great many professors and friendly people gathered, and a great convincement there was that day; for the people were mightily satisfied that they were directed to the Lord's teaching **in themselves**. Here we got some lodging; for four of us had lain under a hedge the night before, there being then few Friends in that place.*

GEORGE FOX

JAMES NAYLER

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The priest of that church, of which James Nayler had been a member, whose name was Marshall, raised many wicked slanders about me, as that I carried bottles with me, and made people drink of them, which made them follow me; and that I rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon it in one hour, and at the same hour in another country threescore miles off; and that I would give a fellow money to follow me, when I was on my black horse. With these lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I was then travelling on foot, and had no horse at that time; which the people generally knew.

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market-town, where a lecture was held that day. I went into the steeple-house, where many priests, professors and people were. The priest that preached took for his text those words of Jeremiah 5:31, "My people love to have it so": leaving out the foregoing words, viz.: "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." I showed the people his deceit; and directed them to Christ, the true teacher within; declaring that God was come to teach His people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings; that they might come to receive freely from Him. Then, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh, I passed thence without much opposition.

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

The Lord had said unto me that if but one man or woman were raised by His power to stand and live in the same Spirit that the prophets and apostles were in who gave forth the Scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession [that is, shake all the people throughout the country who are mere nominal Christians] for ten miles round. For people had the Scripture, but were not in the same Light, power, and Spirit which those were in who gave forth the Scripture; so they neither knew God, Christ, nor the Scriptures aright; nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and Spirit of God. Therefore we warned all, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

GEORGE FOX
JAMES NAYLER



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

June 13, Sunday: Quakerism became a movement when [George Fox](#) converted a large group called the Seekers to his leadership by preaching a long sermon on Pendle Hill in Lancashire. The Seekers were for the most part agricultural workers, yeomen or husbandmen of one form or another who had in the 1640s been in conflict with their landlords over rents and manorial services which they regarded as excessive, or who had been refusing to pay tithes. A tablet on Firbank Fell now reads:

Let Your Lives Speak

Here or near this rock
George Fox
preached to about one thousand seekers
for three hours on Sunday June 13, 1652.
Great power inspired his message
and the meeting proved of first importance
in gathering the Society of Friends known as Quakers.
Many men and women convinced of the truth on this fell
and in other parts of the Northern counties
(of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire)
went forth through the land and over the seas
with the living word of the Lord
enduring great hardships
and
winning multitudes to Christ.

The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would spread rapidly southwards, and by 1655 would have its main centres in Bristol and London, though Quakerism would remain predominantly a rural movement, with local congregations scattered throughout the nation linked only by itinerant “ministers” and by occasional General Meetings. Many of the early [Quakers](#) would soldier in the New Model Army, either as officers or in the ranks, as this new movement would not develop a uniform Peace Testimony until 1661.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or bracken to put under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached a town, where Richard Farnsworth parted from me; and then I travelled alone again. I came up Wensleydale, and at the market-town in that Dale, there was a lecture on the market-day. I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people, warning them to turn from darkness to the Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive His teaching, who teacheth freely. Largely and freely did I declare the Word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there.

Afterwards I passed up the Dales, warning people to fear God, and preaching the everlasting gospel to them. In my way I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was mad, and had run away from my relations; and that they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay; but I was not to stay there.

Then having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the Light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto Him and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they struck me with their clubs; but I reprovved them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I walked out of the house upon the common in the night.

After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but I perceived he had a knife; and therefore I kept off him, and bade him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by His power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



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The next morning I went on through other Dales, warning and exhorting people everywhere as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord: and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, the man of the house (whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's) would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

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

In the same week there was a great fair, at which servants used to be hired; and I declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me, and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the Word of life for several hours, showing that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ, the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, showing that they were like them that were of old condemned by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God.

Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared: but at last a captain said, "Why will you not go into the church? this is not a fit place to preach in." I told him I denied their church. Then stood up Francis Howgill, who was preacher to a congregation. He had not seen me before; yet he undertook to answer that captain; and he soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill of me, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."

After this, I opened to the people that that ground and house were no holier than another place; and that the house is not the Church, but the people, of whom Christ is the head. After awhile the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad; so they turned away. But many were convinced there that day, who were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was Captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

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The next First-day I came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis said he thought I looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprise him: but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner; but abundance stayed till they came again. John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish-teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them; but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings.

While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people; to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and Word of life freely and largely for about the space of three hours. I directed all to the Spirit of God in themselves; that they might be turned from darkness to Light, and believe in it; that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of Satan unto God, and by the Spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. In the openings of heavenly life I explained unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ, the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hid.

** Now there were many old people who went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in their church, as they called it; whereupon I was moved to open to the people that the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and that all should now hearken unto Him; for He said, "Learn of me"; and God said of Him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him."*

I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and Word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had been instituted since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced; and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlasting truth.



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At Kendal a meeting was held in the Town-hall. Several were convinced and many were loving. One whose name was Cock met me in the street and would have given me a roll of tobacco, for people were then much given to smoking. I accepted his love, but did not receive his tobacco. Thence I went to Underbarrow, and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest and many professors came to the house; and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them; but told them that if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for, and some against it.

** In the morning, after I had spoken to them again concerning the meeting, as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money.*

Meanwhile some that were in the house, coming out, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant, if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me that many of them were against having a meeting with me.

I told them that I had run after those poor people to give them some money; being grieved at the hardheartedness of those who gave them nothing.

Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, who, being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came.

A great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after awhile the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Underbarrow were convinced that day, received the Word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus.

After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel yard. Whereupon I took a Bible and opened the Scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the Light of Christ and Spirit of God knew when I spake Scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form, to them.

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

GEORGE FOX



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Thence I went to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore to Judge Fell's; whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who was a high notionist. With him I had much reasoning; for he talked of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have owned me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that he was under death, and knew not Moses, for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses nor the prophets nor John; for that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruption; and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord.

He confessed he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do anything. I told him that now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him; but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same Spirit that they were in.

Margaret Fell had been absent in the day-time; and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed, which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had much reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had much discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family.

Soon after a day was to be observed for a humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, for she was not wholly come off from them. I replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the Word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them."

When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly, whose praise is not of man, but of God."

As the Lord opened further, I showed them that God was come to teach His people by His Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships, and ways were but talking with other men's words; but they were out of the life and Spirit which they were in who gave them forth.

Then cried out one, called Justice Sawrey, "Take him away"; but Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, "Let him alone; why may not he speak as well as any other?" Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, "Let him speak." So at length, when I had declared some time, Justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spoke to the people in the graveyard.

GEORGE FOX



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



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

Then I went to Baycliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said they could not dispute; and would fain have put some other to hold talk with me; but I bade them fear the Lord, and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice.

I directed them to the Divine Light of Christ, and His Spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which Light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins. This I told them was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the Light that showed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world; and by the same Light they might see Christ that died for them to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.

Soon after, Judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell, his wife, sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, I went back to Swarthmore. I found the priests and professors, and that envious Justice Sawrey, had much incensed Judge Fell and Captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him I answered all his objections, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me if I was that George Fox of whom Justice Robinson spoke so much in commendation amongst many of the Parliament men? I told him I had been with Justice Robinson, and with Justice Hotham in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me; and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God that the principle to which I bore testimony was the truth; and they saw over and beyond the priests of the nation, so that they, and many others, were now come to be wiser than their teachers.

After we had discoursed some time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died: for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of His people, and their Saviour. He sometimes wished that I were a while with Judge Bradshaw to discourse with him.



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



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

On the market-day I went to Lancaster, and spoke through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out against all their deceitful merchandise. I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk and live in, directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto.

After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, whither several people came; and many were convinced who have since stood faithful to the truth.

The First-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, amongst the soldiers and people, to whom I declared the Word of life, and the everlasting truth. I opened unto them that all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the Scriptures, were good for nothing while they lived out of the life and power which those were in who gave forth the Scriptures. I directed them to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Christ, receive Him for their teacher, and know His kingdom set up in them.

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

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

GEORGE FOX
JAMES NAYLER



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

When I had cleared my conscience towards them, I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came four or five of the priests. Coming to discourse, I asked them whether any one of them could say he had ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people. None of them durst say he had; but one of them burst out into a passion and said that he could speak his experiences as well as I.

I told him experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a Word from the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had had and done, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, "Can any of you say you have ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time?" but none of them could say so.

Then I told them that the false prophets, the false apostles, and the antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, the true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew or heard the voice of God or Christ; and that such as they might obtain the good words and experiences of others. This puzzled them much, and laid them open.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

At another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, – whether any of them had ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare His word or message unto them. Any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the Scriptures. Thereupon Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people; but that he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed Judge Fell in the persuasion he had that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, that they were sent from God.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could to stir up persecution. James Nayler and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby jail, at the instigation of the malicious priests, some of whom prophesied that within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing. But, blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, His work went on and prospered; for about this time John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein, travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord.

On a lecture-day I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching. After the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey, the justice, came to me and said that if I would speak according to the Scriptures, I should speak. I admired him for speaking so to me, and told him I would speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself, for he had said just before that I should speak if I would speak according to the Scriptures. The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, till this Justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer-up of cruel persecution in the north) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. But now on a sudden the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, knocked me down, kicked me, and trampled upon me. So great was the uproar, that some tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, some by my arms and shoulders; and they shook and dragged me along.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Many friendly people being come to the market, and some to the steeple-house to hear me, diverse of these they knocked down also, and broke their heads so that the blood ran down from several; and Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, "Knock the teeth out of his head." When they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and thrust me among the rude multitude, who, having furnished themselves with staves, hedge-stakes, holm or holly bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had deprived me of sense; so that I fell down upon the wet common. When I recovered again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings revived me; so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the eternal God, and stretching out my arms toward them, I said, with a loud voice, "Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks." There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow, who with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand, as it was stretched out; with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it to me again. Some of the people cried, "He hath spoiled his hand for ever having the use of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to all that persecuted me), and after awhile the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all. Then they began to fall out among themselves. Some of them came to me, and said that if I would give them money they would secure me from the rest. But I was moved of the Lord to declare the Word of life, and showed them their false Christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry, telling them that they were more like heathens and Jews than true Christians. Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go into Ulverstone market. As I went, there met me a soldier, with his sword by his side. "Sir," said he to me, "I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused"; and he offered to assist me in what he could. I told him that the Lord's power was over all; and I walked through the people in the market, none of whom had power to touch me then. But some of the market people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned about, and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier; whereupon I ran, and, catching hold of the hand his rapier was in, bid him put up his sword again if he would go along with me.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

About two weeks after this I went into Walney island, and James Nayler went with me. We stayed one night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced.

After a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out to him he snapped his pistol at me, but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing mischief. But I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by the power of the Lord that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himself. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's. As soon as I came to land there rushed out about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, who fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavouring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would knock me down in it, I went up into the midst of them; but they laid at me again, and knocked me down, and stunned me.

** When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband, James Lancaster, was lying over me, to keep the blows and the stones off me. For the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband, and had promised her that if she would let them know when I came thither they would be my death. And having got knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take away my life.*

At length I got up on my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into it, and set me over the water from them; but while we were on the water within their reach they struck at us with long poles, and threw stones after us. By the time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Nayler; for whilst they had been beating me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart; and carry him away to the churchyard." So after they had abused me, they drove me some distance out of the town, and there left me.

Then James Lancaster went back to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had besmeared my face, hands, and clothes with miry dirt), I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced.

When I came in I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Nayler. So they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but I was so sore with bruises, I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

When I was come to Swarthmore, Justice Sawrey, and one Justice Thompson, of Lancaster, granted a warrant against me; but Judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me; for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home he sent forth warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country.

James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evils she had done me; and so did others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made light of it, and that I spoke of it as a man that had not been concerned; for, indeed, the Lord's power healed me again.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with Judge Fell, who on the way told me he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus, the governor, and king Agrippa, beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those false accusations, so he might do with me.

Being come to Lancaster, Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions, where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshall, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest, and two priests' sons, to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy

When the justices were sat, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me, their orator Marshall sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them. But the witnesses were so confounded that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "Have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it."

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



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

This was taken notice of by Colonel West, who, being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord and said that He had healed him that day; adding that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. Then, turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, "George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it."

I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshall, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare was this: that the holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must come to the Spirit of God in themselves in order to know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt: and that by the same Spirit all men might know the holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit must be in all them that come to understand the Scriptures. By this Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, with the Son, with the Scriptures, and with one another: and without this Spirit they can know neither God, Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have a right fellowship one with another.

I had no sooner spoken these words than about half a dozen priests, that stood behind me, burst into a passion. One of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the Truth, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, "Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures."

This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures. Upon this the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me.

After Judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and showing them the errors thereof, he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of it. Thus I was cleared in open sessions of those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge: and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. Justice Benson, of Westmoreland, was convinced; and Major Ripan, mayor of the town of Lancaster, also.

It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people: for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, the free Teacher, was exalted and set up; His everlasting gospel was preached, and the Word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such lucrative preachers. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak His Word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reprov'd them in their inns, and in the streets, so that they fell, like an old rotten house: and the cry was among the people that the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1653

During the first part of this year New Amsterdam, because Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell had declared war upon the Dutch Republic, busied itself in the erection of a defensive wall across Manhattan to the north of the white settlement, guarding themselves against any English militias, or native American war parties, that might approach from that direction.

It is clear that [John Smith](#) was not only able “to beare arms,” but also willing to do so despite his marriage to a [Quaker](#) woman — because in this year he served as an officer aboard a “barque” which the militia of [Plymouth](#) sent to fight the Dutch at “Manhatoes.” (It is not clear that there was any actual contact.)

Under the Act of Settlement, Parliament’s opponents in [Ireland](#) were stripped of their estates.

While on a trip from his home in [Ireland](#) to England, [William Edmundson](#) was convinced by Friend [James Nayler](#) to become a [Quaker](#).



James Naylor was having a meeting about three miles from where I was. I went to it with my eldest brother Thomas and another kinsman, having an earnest desire to converse with some of that people, retaining a love for and believing well of them from the first hearing the report of them. And I was glad of this opportunity. We were all three convinced of the Lord’s blessed truth, for God’s witness in our hearts answered to the truth of what was spoken, and the Lord’s former dealings with me came fresh into my remembrance. Then I knew it was the Lord’s hand that had been striving with me for a long time. This was in the year 1653.

Then my understanding began to be opened and many Scriptures were brought to my remembrance, which I had often read and yet understood not. But now being turned to a measure of the Lord’s Spirit manifested in my heart which often had reprovved me for evil in my ignorance, I knew that it was he which led into all truth, agreeably to the holy Scriptures of the law and prophets



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

and Christ and his apostles. And I thought that all that heard it declared must own it, it was so plain to me. A few days after I was thus far convinced of the blessed truth, the Lord's power seized upon me through his Spirit, whereby I was brought under great exercises of mind. Yea, all my parts came under this exercise, for the Lord's hand was mighty upon me in judgments mixed with mercies, so that my former ways were hedged up. But I loved the Lord's judgments, for I knew I had sinned against him and must be purged through judgment. And though under this exercise of conscience towards God, yet I did my business in England and shipped my goods to be landed at Carrickfergus or Belfast.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1655

No respecter of personages or of the rich and famous, Friend [George Fox](#) entitled a message to the Pope et al “A Warning from the Lord to the Pope and to all his Train of Idolatries”:

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

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

This paper to the Lord Protector from a leader of the [Quakers](#) would in the following year be published “at the Black-Spread Eagle.”

Friend George was writing quite a lot, for instance one of his letters was “to all professors of Christianity” and contained within it many pronouncements of the following sort:

Let us be glad, and rejoice for ever! Singleness of heart is come; pureness of heart is come; joy and gladness is come. The glorious God is exalting Himself; Truth hath been talked of, but now it is possessed. Christ hath been talked of; but now He is come and possessed. The glory hath been talked of; but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of God hath been talked of; but now He is come, and hath given us an understanding. Unity hath been talked of; but now it is come. Virgins have been talked of; but now they are come with oil in their lamps.

Friend [George Fox](#)’s epistle entitled “That With The Light, They May See Their Salvation”:



Friends, - All to the light, which Jesus Christ hath enlightened you withal, take heed, that with the light of Christ, the saviour of your souls, ye may all come to see and enjoy rest; and the new covenant ye may all witness, where ye need no man to teach you, saying, know the Lord. And this light shows you sin, and the evil of the world, and the lust of it, and the vain fashions of it, that pass away, and the unrighteousness, the ungodliness of it; for they are not in covenant with God, but are contrary to the light, and to be condemned with the light. Therefore to the light I direct you, that it with ye may see yourselves. Then in it stand, that with it ye may see Jesus, from whence it comes. And join not with your vain thoughts, nor that which doth consult, and set and frame ways; there is the idol maker, and the image maker, and the founder of the images, whom ye will see with the light, if ye take heed to it. And so, the founder of the image will be destroyed, and with that ye will come to hear



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

the voice of the son of God; and who hears his voice shall live. And Stephen, who was stoned to death, witnessed the substance, and Moses' words fulfilled, who said, "Like unto me will God raise up a prophet, him shall ye hear." He heard this prophet, and denied the first temple and priests; and so, to deny that which God had commanded was more than to deny these which God never commanded. Therefore consider in your life time, how much time ye have spent in hearing them, and what assurance ye have of the eternal inheritance that never fades away!
G.F.

His epistle entitled "For Plymouth, Keep Your Meetings" dates to this year (this would be, of course, Plymouth in England):



Friends, - Keep your meetings, that in the truth ye may reign, and in the power spread it abroad. And keep in the truth, that ye may see and feel the Lord's presence amongst you; and for it be valiant upon the earth, and know one another in the power of it. So the Lord God Almighty preserve you in his power to his glory! Amen.
G.F.

Friend [George Fox](#)'s epistle entitled "A Warning to Friends" also dates to this year:



Friends, - I warn and exhort you all in the presence of the Lord God, to meet together in the measure of life, that with it ye may be guided up to God, and in unity kept together to him, the Father of light and life; and God Almighty be with you! And that the dread and terror of the Lord may be among you, and deceit confounded; and that with the measure of life all your minds may be guided up to God, that so ye all may be kept in peace and love. And let this be sent among Friends, to be read in all their meetings. G.F.

His epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



All Friends everywhere, keep you meetings waiting in the light which comes from the Lord Jesus Christ; so will ye receive power from him, and have the refreshing springs of life opened to your souls, and be kept sensible of the tender mercies of the Lord. And know one another in the life, (ye that be turned to the



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

light,) and in the power, which comes from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is you light, who is your life; that ye may all in the life see Christ to reign among you, who is the truth, from whence ye have light. Here the old serpent is chained, and put into the bottomless pit, and Christ is known to reign, and ye to reign with him; heirs with him, joint heirs, and heirs of God. Here is the dominion received and witnessed of the word that is without end, and the promise of life from the Father of life to you, who are turned to the Son, who to the Father is the way, who is the mediator between the Father and you. All wait to receive the everlasting priest, the everlasting covenant of God, of light, or life, and peace; into which covenant no sin, no darkness, nor death comes, but the blessing of the only wise God, the Father of life, here is known, where no earthly man can approach. But he that is of God knows God's truth; and he that is of the devil, doth his lusts, who was a murderer from the beginning, in whom is no truth, who in it abide not. So he it is that speaks a lie, and speaks of himself, and not God's word; for he is out of the truth. But ye that are turned to the light walk in the light, walk in the truth, with which light, that never changeth, ye may come to see that which was in the beginning, before the world was, where there is no shadow or darkness. In which light as ye wait, ye will come to receive into your hearts the word of faith, which reconciles to God, and is as a hammer, to beat down all that is contrary; and as a sword, to divide the precious from the vile; and as a fire, to burn up that which is contrary to the precious: which word is pure, and endureth forever; which was in the beginning, and is now again witnessed and made manifest. Therefore wait in the light, that ye may all receive it, the same word that ever was, which the scriptures were given forth from. So, friends, keep your meetings; and as ye are moved of the Lord, be obedient to him, and keep your habitations. And be not troubled; but look at that which giveth you to see over the world. So the Lord God Almighty preserve you in all his glory! Amen.

G.F.

George Fox



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Friend [George Fox](#)'s visit to the Southern Counties of this year and the next would end him in Launceston Jail.

FOX'S JOURNAL:

** I travelled till I came to Reading, where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. I stayed till the First-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it proved; great convincement there was, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of Judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain.*

After the meeting many Baptists and Ranters came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The Ranters pleaded that God made the devil. I denied it, and told them I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was, and bruised his head; and he became a devil by going out of truth; and so became a murderer and a destroyer. I showed them that God did not make him a devil; for God is a God of truth, and made all things good, and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad, and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself, and not from God.

So the Truth stopped and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord I was manifest, and sought to be made manifest to the Spirit of God in all, that by it they might be turned to God; as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit, and were come to sit under His teaching.

After this I passed to London, where I stayed awhile, and had large meetings; then went into Essex, and came to Cogshall, where was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was judged, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was. The Word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their Teacher and Saviour, the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

On the Sixth-day I had a large meeting near Colchester, to which many professors and the Independent teachers came. After I had done speaking, and was stepped down from the place on which I stood, one of the Independent teachers began to make a jangling; which Amor Stoddart perceiving, said, "Stand up again, George"; for I was going away, and did not at first hear them. But when I heard the Independent, I stood up again, and after awhile the Lord's power came over him and his company; they were confounded and the Lord's Truth went over all. A great flock of sheep hath the Lord in that country, that feed in His pastures of life.

On the First-day following we had a very large meeting not far from Colchester, wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and the people were very well satisfied; for, being turned to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching, they received it gladly. Many of these people were of the stock of the martyrs.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit James Parnell in prison; but the jailer would hardly let us come in or stay with him. Very cruel they were to him. The jailer's wife threatened to have his blood; and in that jail they did destroy him, as the reader may see in a book printed soon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and also in an epistle printed with his collected books and writings. We came to Yarmouth, where there was a Friend, Thomas Bond, in prison for the Truth of Christ, and there stayed a while. There we had some service; and some were turned to the Lord in that town.

Thence we rode to another town, about twenty miles off, where were many tender people; and I was moved of the Lord to speak to them, as I sat on my horse, in several places as I passed along. We went to another town about five miles beyond, and put up our horses at an inn, Richard Hubberthorn and I having travelled five and forty miles that day. There were some Friendly people in the town; and we had a tender, broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power.

We bade the hostler have our horses ready by three in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three and thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed at our inn, about eleven at night, the constable and officers came, with a great rabble of people, into the inn. They said they were come with a hue-and-cry from a justice of the peace that lived near the town, about five miles off, where I had spoken to the people in the streets, as I rode along. They had been told to search for two horsemen, that rode upon gray horses, and in gray clothes; a house having been broken into the Seventh-day before at night. We told them we were honest, innocent men, and abhorred such things; yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night, calling upon some of those Friendly people, with others, to watch us.

Next morning we were up betimes, and the constable, with his guard, carried us before a justice of the peace about five miles off. We took with us two or three of the sufficient men of the town, who had been with us at the great meeting at Captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both the Seventh-day night and the First-day night at Captain Lawrence's; and it was on the Seventh-day night that they said the house was broken into.

During the time that I was a prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-Cross, this Captain Lawrence brought several Independent justices to see me there, with whom I had much discourse, at which they took offence. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ teaching His people Himself, and making people as clear, whilst here upon the earth, as Adam and Eve were before they fell. These justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending that a house was broken into, that they might send their hue-and-cry after me. They were vexed, also, and troubled, to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's aforesaid; for a colonel was there convinced that day who lived and died in the Truth.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

But Providence so ordered that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an Independent, as the rest were. When we were brought before him he began to be angry because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him I had been before the Protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants? Then he read the hue-and-cry; and I told him that that night wherein the house was said to have been broken into, we were at Captain Lawrence's house and that we had several men present who could testify the truth thereof.

Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said he believed we were not the men that had broken into the house; but he was sorry, he said, that he had no more against us. We told him he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against us, but ought rather to be glad; for to rejoice when he got evil against people, as for housebreaking or the like, was not a good mind in him.

It was a good while, however, before he could resolve whether to let us go or send us to prison, and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him we had good horses and that if it pleased him he would carry us to Norwich jail. But we took hold of the justice's confession that he believed we were not the men that had broken into the house; and, after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, so that he let us go; so their snare was broken.

A great people was afterwards gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to speak to them in the street, and whence the hue-and-cry came.

Being set at liberty, we passed on to Cambridge. When I came into the town the scholars, hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn they were so rude in the courts and in the streets that the miners, colliers and carters could not be ruder. The people of the house asked us what we would have for supper. "Supper!" said I, "were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces and make a supper of us." They knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as greatly as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul.

At this place John Crook met us. When it was night the mayor of the town being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. They were in a rage, not only against me, but against the mayor also; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me for the tumult. We sent for the Friendly people, and had a fine meeting in the power of God; and I stayed there all night.

Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by the sixth hour, we passed peaceably out of town. The destroyers were disappointed: for they thought I would have stayed longer in the town, and intended to have done us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning frustrated their evil purposes against us.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

At Evesham I heard that the magistrates had cast several Friends into diverse prisons, and that, hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. I sent for Edward Pittaway, a Friend that lived near Evesham, and asked him the truth of the thing. He said it was so. I went that night with him to Evesham; and in the evening we had a large, precious meeting, wherein Friends and people were refreshed with the Word of life, the power of the Lord.

Next morning I rode to one of the prisons, and visited Friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other prison, where were several prisoners. Amongst them was Humphry Smith, who had been a priest, but was now become a free minister of Christ. When I had visited Friends at both prisons, and was turned to go out of the town, I espied the magistrates coming up the town, intending to seize me in prison. But the Lord frustrated their intent, the innocent escaped their snare, and God's blessed power came over them all. But exceeding rude and envious were the priests and professors about this time in these parts. I went from Evesham to Worcester, and had a quiet and a precious meeting there. From Worcester we went to Tewkesbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting, to which came the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people.

Leaving Tewkesbury, we passed to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting with many sober people at a widow-woman's house. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power; several were convinced and turned to the Lord. After the meeting a Baptist in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town, with his officers, came in and said, "What do these people here at this time of night?" So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts and me; but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forthcoming in the morning.

The next morning many rude people came into the inn, and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went to the bailiff to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town it lay upon me to ride to his house to let him know that, the Protector having given forth an instrument of government in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very strange that, contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peaceable people that feared God.

The Friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us with stones. One of them took hold of my horse's bridle and broke it; but the horse, drawing back, threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude; so that it was strange we were not slain or hurt in the streets; for the people threw stones and struck at us as we rode along the town.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

When we were quite out of the town I told Friends that it was upon me from the Lord that I must go back into the town again; and if any one of them felt anything upon him from the Lord he might follow me; the rest, that did not, might go on to Dun-Cow. So I passed through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the Word of life to them; and John Crook followed me. Some struck at me; but the Lord's power was over them, and gave me dominion over all. I showed them their unworthiness to claim the name of Christians, and the unworthiness of their teachers, that had not brought them into more sobriety; and what a shame they were to Christianity.

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

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

Thence we passed into Leicestershire, and after that to Baddesley in Warwickshire. Here William Edmundson, who lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come into England to see me, met with me; by whom I wrote a few lines to Friends then convinced in the north of Ireland.

Friends:

In that which convinced you, wait; that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear Friends, dwell in the life, and love, and power, and wisdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts that nothing may rule in you but the life which stands in the Lord God.

G.F.

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

From Baddesley we passed to Swannington and Higham, and so into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, having great meetings; and many were turned to the Lord by His power and Spirit.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked if there was nothing in that town, no profession; and it was answered me that there were some Baptists, and a Baptist woman who was sick. John Rush, of Bedfordshire, went with me to visit her.

When we came in there were many tender people about her. They told me she was not a woman for this world, but if I had anything that would comfort her concerning the world to come, I might speak to her. I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her; and the Lord raised her up again, to the astonishment of the town and country. This Baptist woman and her husband, whose name was Baldock, came to be convinced, and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convincements were in those parts afterwards; many received the Word of life, and sat down under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman we returned to our inn, where were two desperate fellows fighting so furiously that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved, in the Lord's power, to go to them; and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand and the other by the other, showed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other; and they were so loving and thankful to me that people marveled at it.

Now, after I had tarried some time in London, and had visited Friends in their meetings, I went out of town, leaving James Nayler in the city. As I passed from him I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck me concerning him; but I went away and rode down to Ryegate, in Surrey, where I had a little meeting. There the Friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of the peace, that lived not far from Ryegate, a Friendly, moderate man. I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in Truth.

Thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn, a Baptist's house. We sent into the town to the Baptists, to ask them to let us have their meeting-house to assemble in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting; but they denied it us. We sent to them again, to know why they would deny us their meeting-house, so the thing was noised about in the town. Then we sent them word that if they would not let us come to their house, they, or any people that feared God, might come to our inn, if they pleased; but they were in a great rage. Their teacher and many of them came up, and slapped their Bibles on the table.

I asked them why they were so angry, - "Were they angry with the Bible?" But they fell into a discourse about their water-baptism. I asked them whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was, and whether they had the same Spirit and power that the apostles had? They said they had not.

Then I asked them how many powers there are, - whether there are any more than the power of God and the power of the devil. They said there was not any other power than those two. Then said I, "If you have not the power of God that the apostles had, you act by the power of the devil." Many sober people were present, who said they have thrown themselves on their backs. Many substantial people were convinced that night; a precious service we had there for the Lord, and His power came over all.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

GEORGE FOX
JAMES NAYLER



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

** Next morning, as we were passing away, the Baptists, being in a rage, began to shake the dust off their feet after us. "What," said I, "in the power of darkness! We, who are in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against you."*

Leaving Dorchester, we came to Weymouth; where also we inquired after sober people; and about fourscore of them gathered together at a priest's house. Most of them received the Word of life and were turned to their teacher, Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with His divine Light, by which they might see their sins, and Him who saveth from sin. A blessed meeting we had with them, and they received the Truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart.

The meeting held several hours. The state of their teachers, and their apostasy was opened to them; and the state of the apostles, and of the Church in their days; and the state of the law and of the prophets before Christ, and how Christ came to fulfill them; that He was their teacher in the apostles' days; and that He was come now to teach His people Himself by His power and spirit. All was quiet, the meeting broke up peaceably, the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day. Many are added to them; and some who had been Ranters came to own the Truth, and to live very soberly.

There was a captain of horse in the town, who sent to me, and would fain have had me stay longer; but I was not to stay. He and his man rode out of town with me about seven miles; Edward Pyot also being with me. This captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfullest man, and the most given to laughter, that ever I met with: insomuch that I was several times moved to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; yet it was become so customary to him that he would presently laugh at anything he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety, and the fear of the Lord and sincerity.

We lay at an inn that night, and the next morning I was moved to speak to him again, when he parted from us. The next time I saw him he told me that when I spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him that before he got home he was serious enough, and discontinued his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a serious and good man, and died in the Truth.

After this we passed to Totness, a dark town. We lodged there at an inn; and that night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that the next day we got to Kingsbridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife; and we went to their house. They sent for the priest, with whom we had some discourse; but he, being confounded, quickly left us. Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced; and since that time there has been a good meeting of Friends in that country.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

In the evening we returned to our inn. There being many people drinking in the house, I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and to direct them to the Light with which Christ, the heavenly man, had enlightened them; by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds, and by the same Light might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour.

The innkeeper stood uneasy, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking; and as soon as the last words were out of my mouth he snatched up the candle, and said, "Come, here is a light for you to go into your chamber." Next morning, when he was cool, I represented to him what an uncivil thing it was for him so to do; then, warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

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

Thence we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menheriot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's, to which came Thomas Mounce and a priest, with many people. We brought the priest to confess that he was a minister made by the state, and maintained by the state; and he was confounded and went his way; but many of the people stayed.

I directed them to the Light of Christ, by which they might see their sins; and their Saviour Christ Jesus, the way to God, their Mediator, to make peace betwixt God and them; their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. I directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know the Scriptures, and be led into all Truth; and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity one with another. Many were convinced at that time, and came under Christ's teaching; and there are fine gatherings in the name of Jesus in those parts at this day.

When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse having cast a shoe, we stayed to have it set; and while he was getting his horse shod, I walked down to the seaside. When I returned I found the town in an uproar. They were haling Edward Pyot and the other Friend before Major Peter Ceely, a major in the army and a justice of the peace. I followed them into the justice's house, though they did not lay hands upon me.

When we came in, the house was full of rude people; whereupon I asked if there were not an officer among them to keep the people civil. Major Ceely said that he was a magistrate. I told him that he should then show forth gravity and sobriety, and use his authority to keep the people civil; for I never saw any people ruder; the Indians were more like Christians than they.

GEORGE FOX

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****FOX'S JOURNAL:**

After a while they brought forth a paper, and asked whether I would own it. I said, Yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us; whereupon I put my hand in my pocket and drew forth the answer to it which I had given to the Protector. After I had given him that, he examined us severally, one by one. He had with him a silly young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions; and amongst the rest he desired to cut my hair, which was then pretty long; but I was not to cut it, though many times many were offended at it. I told them I had no pride in it, and it was not of my own putting on. At length the justice put us under a guard of soldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself; nevertheless we warned the people of the day of the Lord, and declared the Truth to them. The next day he sent us, guarded by a party of horse with swords and pistols, to Redruth. On First-day the soldiers would have taken us away; but we told them it was their Sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day.

Several of the townspeople gathered about us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and afterwards he held the soldiers in discourse, whilst I spoke to the people. In the meantime the other Friend got out the back way, and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceedingly desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and they sorely abused him. The soldiers also, missing him, were in a great rage, ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord and the Word of eternal life to the people that gathered about us.

In the afternoon the soldiers were resolved to take us away, so we took horse. When we were come to the town's end I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house. The soldiers drew out their pistols, and swore I should not go back. I heeded them not, but rode back, and they rode after me. I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned with them, and reprov'd them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town then called Smethick, but since known as Falmouth. It being the evening of the First-day, there came to our inn the chief constable of the place, and many sober people, some of whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them we were prisoners for Truth's sake; and much discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober and loving to us. Some were convinced, and stood faithful ever after. When the constable and these people were gone, others came in, who were also very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone, we went to our chamber to go to bed; and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot said, "I will shut the door; it may be some may come to do us mischief." Afterwards we understood that Captain Keat, who commanded the party, had intended to do us some injury that night; but the door being bolted, he missed his design. Next morning Captain Keat brought a kinsman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room; himself standing without. This evil-minded man walked huffing up and down the room; I bade him fear the Lord. Thereupon he ran upon me, struck me with both his hands, and, clapping his leg behind me, would have thrown me down if he could; but he was not able, for I stood stiff and still, and let him strike.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

As I looked towards the door, I saw Captain Keat look on, and see his kinsman thus beat and abuse me. I said to him, "Keat, dost thou allow this?" He said he did. "Is this manly or civil," said I, "to have us under a guard, and then put a man to abuse and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or Christian?" I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came.

Then I desired the Captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us; which he did. His warrant was to conduct us safe to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle; and if the governor should not be at home, he was to convey us to Launceston jail. I told him he had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his prisoners, were to be safely conducted; but he had brought a man to beat and abuse us; so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers they might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I showed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house, pitifully blank and down.

The constables went to the castle, and told the officers what they had done. The officers showed great dislike of Captain Keat's base carriage towards us; and told the constables that Major-General Desborough was coming to Bodmin, and that we should meet him; and it was likely he would free us. Meanwhile our old guard of soldiers came by way of entreaty to us, and promised that they would be civil to us if we would go with them.

Thus the morning was spent till about the eleventh hour; and then, upon the soldiers' entreaty, and their promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again; and we went with them.

Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us. They kindly entertained us, and the Lord rewarded them with His truth; for many of them have since been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their Teacher and Saviour.

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

So he came from the head of his troop, and rode up to the coach, and spoke to the Major-General. We also gave him an account of how we were taken. He began to speak against the Light of Christ; against which I exhorted him. Then he told the soldiers that they might carry us to Launceston; for he could not stay to talk with us, lest his horses should take cold.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

GEORGE FOX

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**JAMES NAYLER****FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****FOX'S JOURNAL:**

To Bodmin we were taken that night; and when we came to our inn Captain Keat, who was in before us, put me into a room and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for Captain Keat, and said, "What now, Keat; what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? What is thy end in this?" "Oh," said he, "pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man, we cannot rule him, he is so devilish." "Then," said I, "dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier that thou sayest you cannot rule him? What an unworthy, base trick is this? and to put me single into this room, away from my friends that were fellow-prisoners with me?" Thus his plot was discovered and the mischief they intended was prevented.

Afterward we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the Truth to the people; but they were dark and hardened. The soldiers, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sat up drinking and roaring all night. Next day we were brought to Launceston, where Captain Keat delivered us to the jailer. Now was there no Friend, nor Friendly people, near us; and the people of the town were a dark, hardened people. The jailer required us to pay seven shillings a week for our horse-meat [fodder], and seven shillings a week apiece for our diet. After some time several sober persons came to see us, and some people of the town were convinced, and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced.

Then got up a great rage among the professors and priests against us. They said, "This people 'Thou' and 'Thee' all men without respect and will not put off their hats, nor bow the knee to any man; but we shall see, when the assize comes, whether they will dare to 'Thou' and 'Thee' the judge, and keep on their hats before him." They expected we should be hanged at the assize.

But all this was little to us; for we saw how God would stain the world's honour and glory; and were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but knew the honour that cometh from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the time of the assizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. Captain Bradden lay there with his troop of horse. His soldiers and the sheriff's men guarded us to the court through the multitude that filled the streets; and much ado they had to get us through. Besides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking upon us. When we were brought into the court, we stood a while with our hats on, and all was quiet. I was moved to say, "Peace be amongst you."

Judge Glynne, a Welshman, then Chief-Justice of England, said to the jailer, "What be these you have brought here into the court?" "Prisoners, my lord," said he.

"Why do you not put off your hats?" said the Judge to us. We said nothing. "Put off your hats," said the Judge again. Still we said nothing. Then said the Judge, "The Court commands you to put off your hats."

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Then I spoke, and said, "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before him in his court, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathen? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed."

Then the Judge grew very angry, and said, "I do not carry my law-books on my back." "But," said I, "tell me where it is printed in any statute-book, that I may read it."

*Then said the Judge, "Take him away, prevaricator! I'll **ferk** him." So they took us away, and put us among the thieves.*

Presently after he calls to the jailer, "Bring them up again." "Come," said he, "where had they hats, from Moses to Daniel; come, answer me: I have you fast now."

I replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on."

This plain instance stopped him: so that, not having anything else to say to the point, he cried again, "Take them away, jailer."

Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves, where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us (but we were almost spent) to get through the crowd of people, and guarded us to the prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the jail.

We had some good books to set forth our principles, and to inform people of the Truth. The Judge and justices hearing of this, they sent Captain Bradden for them. He came into the jail to us, and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away; so we never got them again.

[While in the jail Fox addressed a paper "against swearing" to the grand and petty juries.]

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the Judge; so that when we were called before the Judge, he bade the clerk give me that paper, and then asked me whether that seditious paper was mine. I said to him, "If they will read it out in open court, that I may hear it, if it is mine I will own it, and stand by it." He would have had me take it and look upon it in my own hand; but I again desired that it might be read, that all the country might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or not; for if there were, I was willing to suffer for it.

At last the clerk of the assize read it, with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it. When he had done I told them it was my paper; that I would own it, and so might they too, unless they would deny the Scripture: for was not this Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ, and the Apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey?

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Then they let fall that subject; and the Judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the jailer take them off; which he did, and gave them to us; and we put them on again. Then we asked the Judge and the justices, for what cause we had lain in prison these nine weeks, seeing they now objected to nothing but our hats. And as for putting off our hats, I told them that that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is a mark of unbelievers. For "How can ye believe," saith Christ, "who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" Christ saith, "I receive not honour from men"; and all true Christians should be of His mind.

Then the Judge began to make a pompous speech, how he represented the Lord Protector's person, who made him Lord Chief-Justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, etc. We desired him, then, that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully. But instead of that, they brought an indictment framed against us; so full of lies that I thought it had been against some of the thieves, - "that we came by force and arms, and in a hostile manner, into the court"; who were brought as aforesaid. I told them it was all false; and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by Major Ceely.

Then Peter Ceely said to the Judge, "May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, involve the nation in blood, and so bring in King Charles. I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. If it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it."

So he called upon his witness; but the Judge not being forward to examine the witness, I desired that he would be pleased to let my mittimus be read in the face of the court and the country, in which the crime was signified for which I was sent to prison. The Judge said it should not be read. I said, "It ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life." The Judge said again, "It shall not be read." I said, "It ought to be read; for if I have done anything worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it."

Then seeing they would not read it, I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners: "Thou hast a copy of it; read it up." "It shall not be read," said the Judge; "jailer, take him away. I'll see whether he or I shall be master."

So I was taken away, and awhile after called for again. I still called to have the mittimus read; for that signified the cause of my commitment. I again spoke to the Friend, my fellow-prisoner, to read it up; which he did. The Judge, justices, and the whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

It was as followeth:

Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of His Highness's jail at Launceston, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting:

I send you here withal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot, of Bristol, and George Fox, of Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, and William Salt, of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into those parts, being persons altogether unknown, having no pass for travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties for their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take oath of abjuration, etc. These are, therefore, in the name of his highness the Lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in His Highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.

P. Ceely.

When it was read I spoke thus to the Judge and justices:

Thou that sayest thou art Chief-Justice of England, and you justices, know that, if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased, and have carried on the design (if I had had one) with which Major Ceely hath charged me. And if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, judge ye whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Then, turning my speech to Major Ceely, I said:

When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them, at our examination; so that I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? It is not the place of accusers to sit with the judge. Thou oughtest to come down and stand by me, and look me in the face.

Besides, I would ask the Judge and justices whether Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done? Does he understand his place, either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design: that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, bring in King Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He saith, moreover, that he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares.

Now, do you not see plainly that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it by desiring me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.

So that business was let fall; for the Judge saw clearly enough that instead of ensnaring me, Major Ceely had ensnared himself.

** Major Ceely got up again, and said,*

If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life.

At this I smiled in my heart, and said,

Major Ceely, art thou a justice of the peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the Judge, in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner, struck thee and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely, where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by?

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

He said it was in the Castle-Green, and Captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. I desired the Judge to let him produce his witness for that; and called again upon Major Ceely to come down from the bench, telling him that it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. When I called again for his witness he said that Captain Bradden was his witness.

Then I said, "Speak, Captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him as he saith?" Captain Bradden made no answer; but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only bowed his head again. "Nay," said I, "speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all this charge."

But Captain Bradden never testified to it; and the Judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, "Take him away, jailer;" and then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks apiece for not putting off our hats; and sentenced us to be kept in prison till we paid it; so he sent us back to the jail.

At night Captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us they believed neither the Judge nor any in the court gave credit to the charges which Major Ceely had brought forward against me in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said that Major Ceely had an intent to take away my life if he could have got another witness.

"But," said I, "Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing Major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou saw me strike him? and when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou saw or knew, thou wouldst not speak."

"Why," said he, "when Major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Castle-Green, he put off his hat to you, and said, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, Sir.' Then you said to him, 'Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, and of a rotten heart: for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants cast their masters into prison?' This was the great blow he meant you gave him."

Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spoke so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the Judge in open court, and in the face of the country; and would have made them all believe that I struck him outwardly with my hand.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

There came also to see us one Colonel Rouse a justice of the peace, and a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk as ever I heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers; (this I said to stop him).

"At school!" said he, "Yes."

"At school!" said the soldiers; "doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar?"

"Then," said I, "if he be so, let him be still and receive answers to what he hath said."

Then I was moved to speak the Word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth. His face swelled, and was red like a turkey; his lips moved, and he mumbled something; but the people thought he would have fallen down. I stepped up to him, and he said he was never so in his life before: for the Lord's power stopped the evil power in him; so that he was almost choked.

The man was ever after very loving to Friends, and not so full of airy words to us; though he was full of pride; but the Lord's power came over him, and the rest that were with him.

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

** The assizes being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment that we were not likely to be soon released, we broke off from giving the jailer seven shillings a week apiece for our horses, and seven shillings a week for ourselves, and sent our horses into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and devilish, and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they used to put murderers after they were condemned.*

The place was so noisome that it was observed few that went in did ever come out again in health. There was no house of office in it; and the excrement of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the tops of the shoes in water and urine; and he would not let us cleanse it, nor suffer us to have beds or straw to lie on.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw; and we burned a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head jailer in a room by them, over our heads also. It seems the smoke went up into the room where the jailer lay; which put him into such a rage that he took the pots of excrement from the thieves and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale, till we were so bespattered that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us; so that what with stink, and what with smoke, we were almost choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, but now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place. Moreover, he railed at us most hideously, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and such strange names as we had never heard of. In this manner we were obliged to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrement.

A great while he kept us after this manner before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we got through the grate. One time a girl brought us a little meat; and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison. A great deal of trouble he put the young woman to; whereby others were so discouraged that we had much ado to get water, drink, or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, Ann Downer, from London, who could write and take things well in short-hand, to buy and dress our meat for us; which she was very willing to do, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

The head-jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder; his wife, too, had been burnt in the hand. The under-jailer had been burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder: his wife had been burnt in the hand also. Colonel Bennet, a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head-jailer there. The prisoners and some wild people would be talking of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it, thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ, our Priest, would sanctify the walls of the house to us, He who had bruised the head of the devil. The priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law, which had been ended by Christ, our Priest, who sanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the house, the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

By this time the general quarter-sessions drew nigh; and the jailer still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our suffering case, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin. On the reading thereof, the justices gave order that Doomsdale door should be opened, and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town. We also sent a copy of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we had been taken and committed by Major Ceely; and abused by Captain Keat as aforesaid, and the rest in order. The Protector sent down an order to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us, and striking me.

There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the Castle; and Captain Keat's kinsman, that struck me, was sent for before them, and much threatened. They told him that if I should change my principles, I might take the extremity of the law against him, and might recover sound damages of him. Captain Keat also was checked, for suffering the prisoners under his charge to be abused.

This was of great service in the country; for afterwards Friends might speak in any market or steeple-house thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there.

And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for His service in those parts; for after the assizes were over, and it was known that we were likely to continue prisoners, several Friends from most parts of the nation came in to the country to visit us. Those parts of the west were very dark countries at that time but the Lord's light and truth broke forth, shone over all, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the steeple-houses; and several were sent to prison to us; and a great convincement began in the country. For now we had liberty to come out, and to walk in the Castle-Green; and many came to us on First-days, to whom we declared the Word of life.

Great service we had among them, and many were turned to God, up and down the country; but great rage possessed the priests and professors against the Truth and us. One of the envious professors had collected many Scripture sentences to prove that we ought to put off our hats to the people; and he invited the town of Launceston to come into the castle-yard to hear him read them. Amongst other instances that he there brought, one was that Saul bowed to the witch of Endor. When he had done, we got a little liberty to speak; and we showed both him and the people that Saul was gone from God, and had disobeyed God when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles ever taught people to bow to a witch.

GEORGE FOX

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****FOX'S JOURNAL:**

Another time, about eleven at night, the jailer, being half drunk, came and told me that he had got a man now to dispute with me: (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town). As soon as he spoke these words I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plot to slumber, and felt something still about my body: I started up, and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and still it was about my body.

Then I rose and walked into the Castle-Green, and the under-keeper came and told me that there was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words, too, therefore I went not into the prison, but to the grate; and looking in, I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjurer, who had a naked knife in his hand. I spoke to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps; but, being within the jail he could not come at me. This was the jailer's great disputant.

I went soon after into the jailer's house, and found him at breakfast; he had then got his conjurer out with him. I told the jailer his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and cast his napkin away in a rage; and I left them, and went to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomsdale.

At the time the jailer had said the dispute should be, I went down and walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour; but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again; and after awhile heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairshead, where I saw the jailer's wife upon the stairs, and the conjurer at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage.

I asked him, "Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back? Pluck thy hand before thee," said I; "let's see thy hand, and what thou hast in it."

Then he angrily plucked forth his hand, with a naked knife in it. I showed the jailer's wife their wicked design against me; for this was the man they brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, and prevented their evil design; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened.

Then I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down; so that he never after durst appear before me, to speak to me. I saw it was the Lord alone that had preserved me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises to him.

In Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, Truth began mightily to spread. Many were turned to Christ Jesus and His free teaching: for many Friends that came to visit us were drawn to declare the Truth in those counties. This made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare Friends. They set up watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up suspicious persons, under which colour they stopped and took up Friends coming to visit us in prison; which was done that these Friends might not pass up and down in the Lord's service.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

But that by which they thought to have stopped the Truth was the means of spreading it so much the more; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable and to another officer, and to the justices before whom they were brought; which caused the Truth to spread the more in all their parishes. And when Friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable taken and carried them before the justices, and these had discharged them, but another would take them up and carry them before other justices: which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire took him up, and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket: and after being thus robbed he was cast into Exeter jail. They cast into prison in Devonshire, under pretence of his being a Jesuit, Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of the peace for almost forty years. Many Friends were cruelly beaten by them; nay, some clothiers that were but going to mill with their cloth, and others about their outward occasions, they took up and whipped; though men of about eighty or an hundred pounds by the year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Launceston took up all he could, and cast them into prison. He would search substantial, grave women, their petticoats and their head-cloths. A young man coming to see us, I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor, gave it him, and bade him seal it up, and go out again the back way; and then come into the town through the gates. He did so, and the watch took him up and carried him before the mayor; who presently searched his pockets and found the letter. Therein he saw all his actions characterized; which shamed him so that from that time he meddled little with the Lord's servants.

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and Fifth-monarchy men prophesied that this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward: when He was come inwardly in the hearts of His people, to reign and rule; where these professors would not receive Him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of Him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell and reign in the hearts of His people. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts He hath been knocking have opened to Him, and He is come in, and doth sup with them, and they with Him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man. So many of these Baptists and Monarchy-people turned the greatest enemies to the followers of Christ; but He reigns in the hearts of His saints over all their envy. At the assize diverse justices came to us, and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God soberly; expressing a pity to us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, came and looked me in the face, and said never a word; but went to his company and told them he never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said, "Stay, man; we will see who is the simpler man." But he went his way. A light, chaffy person.

GEORGE FOX



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

Thomas Lower also came to visit us, and offered us money, which we refused; accepting nevertheless of his love. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the Scriptures to be the Word of God; concerning the sacraments, and such like: to all which he received satisfaction. I spoke particularly to him; and he afterwards said my words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him. He said he had never met with such men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart; and were as the wise master-builders of the assemblies that fastened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a Friend to this day.

When he came home to his aunt Hambley's, where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us, she, with her sister Grace Billing, hearing the report of Truth, came to visit us in prison, and was convinced also. Great sufferings and spoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the Truth's sake.

After the assizes, the sheriff, with some soldiers, came to guard to execution a woman that was sentenced to die; and we had much discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, "Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth;" for which we rebuked him. Another time we asked the jailer what doings there were at the sessions; and he said, "Small matters; only about thirty for bastardy." We thought it very strange that they who professed themselves Christians should make small matters of such things.

But this jailer was very bad himself; I often admonished him to sobriety; but he abused people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him from Bristol by his wife; and the jailer took it from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said; and though they found no treason in the cheese, they kept it from us. This jailer might have been rich – if he had carried himself civilly; but he sought his own ruin, which soon after came upon him.

The next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness cast into the jail himself; and there begged of our Friends. And for some unruliness in his conduct he was, by the succeeding jailer, put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bidden to remember how he had abused those good men whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon; and told that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others, should be meted out to himself. He became very poor, and died in prison; and his wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison in Launceston, a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in Doomsdale in my stead; if he would take him, and let me have liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said to his great men and council, "Which of you would do as much for me if I were in the same condition?" And though he did not accept of the Friend's offer, but said he could not do it, for that it was contrary to law, yet the Truth thereby came mightily over him.

GEORGE FOX



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

A good while after this he sent down Major-General Desborough, pretending to set us at liberty. When he came, he offered us our liberty if we would say we would go home and preach no more; but we could not promise him. Then he urged that we should promise to go home, if the Lord permitted.

After this Major-General Desborough came to the Castle-Green, and played at bowls with the justices and others. Several Friends were moved to go and admonish them not to spend their time so vainly, desiring them to consider, that though they professed themselves to be Christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God meanwhile in prison; and telling them that the Lord would plead with them and visit them for such things. But notwithstanding what was written or said to him, he went away, and left us in prison.

We understood afterwards that he left the business to Colonel Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For some time after Bennet would have set us at liberty if we would have paid his jailer's fees. But we told him we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers; and how could they expect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully? After a while Colonel Bennet coming to town, sent for us to an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused. At last the power of the Lord came so over him, that he freely set us at liberty on the 13th day of the Seventh month, 1656. We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called the Lent-assize, which was in the spring of the year.

GEORGE FOX

October: John ap-John, a member of the congregation of Morgan Llywd (Lloyd) the mystical Independent minister of Wrexham, had become the leader of the first Welsh [Quaker](#) group. At this point he was prosecuted by Swansea magistrates and put in prison. Converts in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire included two Justices, Walter Jenkins of Pontypool and Peter Price of Presteign.

Friend [James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Friend [George Fox](#)'s, was arrested on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England. Thomas Carlyle has described the incident, in which Nayler allowed some adoring female supporters to give him a Triumphant Entry into Bristol as if he were the [Second Coming](#) of Christ in the flesh: "In the month of October, 1655, there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A procession of eight persons: one a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!' ... The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; of abstruse 'down look' and large, dangerous jaws, strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches,' a spectacle to the west of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no questions except in song. At the High Cross, they are laid hold of by the Authorities; turn out to be James Nayler and Company."

Although, as a Puritan entirely hostile toward Quakers and Quakerism, [Major-General William Goffe](#) would

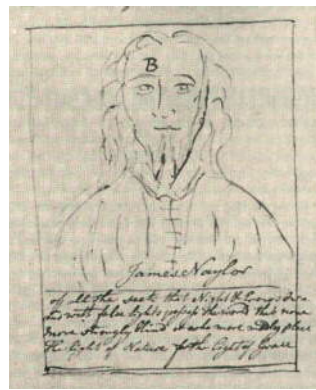
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

insist that Friend James be executed, his intransigent attitude would not prevail. On December 16, 1656, the Parliament would resist the ultimate penalty by a vote of 96 over 82 and, instead of being killed, Friend James would be pilloried for two hours, then whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange in the city, then after two days pilloried for another two hours, then have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and be branded in the forehead with the letter B, then in that condition be again flogged through the streets of Bristol, and then be placed in solitary confinement at hard labor during the pleasure of Parliament. Here is Nayler as an early English reader presumed he would have appeared subsequent to the branding:

[REGICIDE](#)

Death from his injuries and from exposure would come not long after Friend James's release in September 1659, and according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he would write the following immortal words: ***"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom***



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"

Friend [George Fox](#) described the situation in his [JOURNAL](#):

[W]e came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. From thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there. His blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

The night that we came to Exeter I spoke with James Nayler: for I saw he was out, and wrong, and so was his company. The next day, being First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them, could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, who was convinced, and remained a very good Friend.

The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.

When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the Truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1656

April: Two of Friend [George Fox](#)'s "Valiant Sixty," Thomas and Elizabeth Holme, together with Alice Birkett, succeeded in establishing ten or eleven centres of [Quaker](#) meetings around Cardiff and began to extend this



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

progress into Pembrokeshire around Tenby, Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

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

** Soon after we came to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him, who raised a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there. [Thomas Carlyle has described the incident, in which Friend James Nayler allowed some persons to give him a Triumphal Entry into Bristol as if he were Christ returning in the flesh, in the following manner: "In the month of October, 1655, there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A procession of eight persons: one a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!' ... The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; of abstruse 'down look' and large, dangerous jaws, strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches,' a spectacle to the west of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no questions except in song. At the High Cross, they are laid hold of by the Authorities; turn out to be James Nayler and Company." On December 16th, 1656, the Parliament missed assigning the death penalty by a vote of 96 over 82. He was sentenced instead to be pilloried for two hours, then to be whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange in the city, then after two days to be pilloried for another two hours, then to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and to be branded in the forehead with the letter B, then in that condition to be again flogged through the streets of Bristol, and then to be placed in solitary confinement at hard labor during the pleasure of Parliament.] From thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter; as were several others, one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there. His blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.*

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FOX'S JOURNAL:

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**JAMES NAYLER****FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

The next day I spoke to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness. The Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen amongst Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.

When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the Truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again; as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery may be more fully seen. [Death from his injuries and from exposure came not long after his release, and according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he wrote these immortal words: **"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"**]

On First-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol, which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard.

There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had before made great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who, it was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people he gathered after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going into the orchard, the people told me that Paul Gwin was going to the meeting. I bade them never heed, for it was nothing to me who went to it.

When I was come into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that Friends used to stand on when they spoke; and I was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to stand a while, and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at last, "Ye wise men of Bristol," said he, "I marvel at you, that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good."



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people whether they had ever heard me speak, or had ever seen me before; and I bade them take notice what kind of man this was amongst them that should so impudently say that I spoke and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they had ever heard me or seen me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spoke in him; and it was of the devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent: and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company.

Then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had, and the Word of life was divided amongst them; and they were turned from darkness to the Light, – to Jesus their Saviour. The Scriptures were largely opened to them; and the traditions, rudiments, ways, and doctrines of men were laid open before the people; and they were turned to the Light of Christ, that with it they might see these things, and see Him to lead them out of them.

I opened also to them the types, figures, and shadows of Christ in the time of the law; and showed them that Christ was come, and had ended the types, shadows, tithes, and oaths, and put down swearing; and had set up yea and nay instead of it, and a free ministry. For He was now come to teach the people Himself, and His heavenly day was springing from on high.

For many hours did I declare the Word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by Him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to Him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all Truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. The meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shone over all: a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise. After a while this Paul Gwin went beyond the seas; and many years after I met him in Barbadoes.

Soon after we rode to London. When we came near Hyde Park we saw a great concourse of people, and, looking towards them, espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coach side. Some of his life-guard would have put me away; but he forbade them. So I rode by his coach side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation, showing him how contrary this persecution was to the words of Christ and His apostles, and to Christianity.

When we were come to James's Park Gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came to me at my lodging, and told me that her master came to her, and said he would tell her some good news. When she asked him what it was, he told her, "George Fox is come to town." She replied "That is good news indeed" (for she had received Truth), but she said she could hardly believe him till he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall to see Oliver Cromwell; and when we came before him, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was with him. We were moved to speak to him concerning the sufferings of Friends, and laid them before him: and we directed him to the Light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. He said it was a natural light; but we showed him the contrary; and proved that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ the spiritual and heavenly man; and that that which was called the life in Christ the Word, was called the Light in us.

The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. Several times I spoke to him to the same effect. I was standing by the table, and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, saying he would be as high as I was. So he continued speaking against the Light of Christ Jesus; and went his way in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, "I never parted so from them before"; for he was judged in himself.

After this I travelled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting Friends; and then returning into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, among Friends, I had a meeting at Edge-Hill. There came to it Ranters, Baptists, and several sorts of rude people; for I had sent word about three weeks before to have a meeting there, so that hundreds of people were gathered thither, and many Friends came to it from afar. The Lord's everlasting Truth and Word of life reached over all; the rude and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, by His power and Spirit, and came to sit under His blessed, free teaching, and to be fed with His eternal, heavenly food. All was peaceable; the people passed quietly away, and some of them said it was a mighty, powerful meeting; for the presence of the Lord was felt, and His power and Spirit was amongst them.

Thence I passed to Warwick and to Bagley, having precious meetings; and then into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. Great meetings we had as we travelled up and down.

Thus having travelled over most of the nation, I returned to London again, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Launceston jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over the nation, the Truth being now spread in most places, that I might answer, and remove out of the minds of the people, some objections which the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us.

In this year the Lord's Truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for Truth's testimony; some for tithes, some for going to the steeple-houses, some for contempts (as they called them), some for not swearing, and others for not putting off their hats.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

We lay one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting. The people were exceeding rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. After meeting we went to our inn, and gave notice that any who feared God might come to our inn to us. There came abundance of rude people, the magistrates of the town, and some professors. I declared the Truth to them; and those people that behaved themselves rudely, the magistrates put out of the room.

When they were gone, another rude company of professors came up, and some of the chief of the town. They called for faggots and drink, though we forbade them, and were as rude a people as ever I met. The Lord's power chained them, that they had not power to do us any mischief; but when they went away they left all the faggots and beer, for which they had called, in the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We showed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was; but he told us we must pay it; and pay it we did.

Before we left the town I wrote to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priest, showing them how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers that sought their good.

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town; where they had formerly very much abused Friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet; for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat and to pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report that I put off my hat to them and bade them good night, which was never in my heart.

After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I sent for the innkeeper, as I was used to do; and he came into the room to us, and showed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober, and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bade him go out of the chamber, and told him he should not drink there; for we called him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good.

He was exceeding mad, rude, and drunk. When he continued his rudeness and would not be gone, I told him that the chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it; and called for the key. Then he went away in a rage. In the morning he would not be seen; but I told his wife of his unchristian carriage towards us.

FOX'S JOURNAL:



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

We then travelled to Exeter; and at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire; to which came Humphrey Lower, Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's End; Henry Pollexfen, and Friends from Plymouth; Elizabeth Trelawny, and diverse other Friends. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about as with a wall and bulwark, and His seed reached from sea to sea. Friends were established in the everlasting Seed of life, Christ Jesus, their Life, Rock, Teacher, and Shepherd.

Next morning Major Blackmore sent soldiers to apprehend me; but I was gone before they came. As I was riding up the street I saw the officers going down; so the Lord crossed them in their design, and Friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some Friends after I was gone, asking them what they did there; but when they told them that they were in their inn, and had business in the city, they went away without meddling any further with them.

We passed through the countries [the counties of Wales], having meetings, and gathering people in the name of Christ, their heavenly teacher, till we came to Brecknock, where we put up our horses at an inn. There went with me Thomas Holmes and John ap-John, who was moved of the Lord to speak in the streets. I walked out but a little into the fields; and when I returned the town was in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn, it was full of people, and they were speaking in Welsh. I desired them to speak in English, which they did; and much discourse we had. After a while they went away.

Towards night the magistrates gathered in the streets with a multitude of people, and they bade them shout, and gathered up the town; so that, for about two hours together, there was a noise the like of which we had not heard; and the magistrates set them on to shout again when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar amongst Diana's craftsmen. This tumult continued till night, and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they would likely have pulled down the house, and torn us to pieces.

At night the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room; but we, discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under the pretence of discoursing with us. We told her, "No person shall come into our room this night, neither will we go to them." Then she said we should sup in another room; but we told her we would have no supper if we had it not in our own room. At length, when she saw she could not get us out, she brought up our supper.

So she and they were crossed in their design; for they had an intent to do us mischief, but the Lord prevented them. Next morning I wrote a paper to the town concerning their unchristian carriage, showing the fruits of their priests and magistrates; and as I passed out of town I spoke to the people, and told them they were a shame to Christianity and religion.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

After this we returned to England, and came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting, and visited Friends all over the countries [counties] in their meetings, till we came to William Gandy's, in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of between two and three thousand people, as it was thought; and the everlasting Word of life was held forth, and received that day. A blessed meeting it was, for Friends were settled by the power of God upon Christ Jesus, the Rock and Foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended, there fell so great a rain that Friends said they thought we could not travel, the waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had not extended as far as they had come that day to the meeting. Next day, in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the roads were dusty, and no rain had fallen there.

When Oliver Cromwell sent forth a proclamation for a fast throughout the nation, for rain, when there was a very great drought, it was observed that as far as Truth had spread in the north, there were pleasant showers and rain enough, while in the south, in many places, the fields were almost spoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the Protector's proclamation, wherein I told him that if he had come to own God's Truth, he should have had rain; and that the drought was a sign unto them of their barrenness, and their want of the water of life.

We passed through Montgomeryshire into Wales, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer [like a besieging army], for multitudes. I walked a little aside whilst the people were gathering: and there came to me John ap-John, a Welshman, whom I asked to go to the people; and if he had anything upon him from the Lord to them, he might speak in Welsh, and thereby gather more together. Then came Morgan Watkins to me, who was become loving to Friends, and said, "The people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country are come in." I bade him go up also, and leave me; for I had a great travail upon me for the salvation of the people.

When they were well gathered, I went into the meeting, and stood upon a chair about three hours. I stood a pretty while before I began to speak. After some time I felt the power of the Lord over the whole assembly: and His everlasting life and Truth shone over all. The Scriptures were opened to them, and the objections they had in their minds answered. They were directed to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator; and come to feed upon Him, the bread of life from heaven.

Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to His free teaching that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; so that though the multitude was so great that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition. A priest sat with his wife on horseback, heard attentively, and made no objection.

FOX'S JOURNAL



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The people parted peaceably, with great satisfaction; many of them saying they had never heard such a sermon before, nor the Scriptures so opened. For the new covenant was opened, and the old, and the nature and terms of each; and the parables were explained. The state of the Church in the apostles' days was set forth, and the apostasy since was laid open; the free teaching of Christ and the apostles was set atop of all the hireling teachers; and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to Him that day.

I went thence to Leominster, where was a great meeting in a close, many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six congregational preachers and priests amongst the people; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, but was now become a minister of Christ Jesus, was with me. I stood up and declared about three hours; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition; the Lord's power and Truth so reached and bound them.

At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me, drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his. After awhile Thomas Taylor was moved to go and speak to him, upon which he gave over: and he, with the people he had drawn off, came to us again; and the Lord's power went over all.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby, where, as I rode up the street, a justice of the peace came out to me, asked me to alight, and desired that I would stay at his house, which I did. On First-day the mayor, with his wife, and several others of the chief people of the town, came in about the tenth hour, and stayed all the time of the meeting. A glorious meeting it was.

John ap-John being then with me, left the meeting, and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On Second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. The mayor and the justice went to the governor before me; and awhile after I went with the officer. When I came in I said, "Peace be unto this house," and before the governor could examine me I asked him why he cast my friend into prison. He said, "For standing with his hat on in the church."

I said, "Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have but one: and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather."

"These are frivolous things," said the governor.

"Why, then," said I, "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?"

He asked me whether I owned election and reprobation. "Yes," said I, "and thou art in the reprobation."

At that he was in a rage and said he would send me to prison till I proved it. I told him I would prove that quickly if he would confess Truth. I asked him whether wrath, fury, rage and persecution were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and His disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

He fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste and passion in him. I told him that Esau was up in him, the first birth; not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached the man and came over him that he confessed to Truth; and the other justice came and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away I was moved to speak to the governor again; and he invited me to dinner with him, and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and diverse other Friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So, after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free Teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power; and He had the glory.

We travelled to Pembrokeshire, and in Pembroke had some service for the Lord. Thence we passed to Haverford West, where we had a great meeting, and all was quiet. The Lord's power came over all, and many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon Him, their Rock and Foundation; and they stand a precious meeting to this day. Next day, being their fair-day, we passed through it, and sounded the day of the Lord, and His everlasting Truth, amongst them.

After this we passed into another county, and at noon came into a great market-town, and went into several inns before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to one where we got some. Then John ap-John being with me, went and spoke through the town, declaring the Truth to the people; and when he came to me again, he said he thought all the town were as people asleep. After awhile he was moved to go and declare Truth in the streets again; then the town was all in an uproar, and they cast him into prison.

Presently after several of the chief people of the town came, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, "They have cast your man into prison."

"For what?" said I.

"He preached in our streets," said they.

Then I asked them, "What did he say? Had he reproved some of the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?" I asked them who cast him into prison. They said, the high-sheriff and justices, and the mayor. I asked their names, and whether they understood themselves; and whether that was their conduct to travellers that passed through their town, and strangers that admonished and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and reproved sin in their gates.

These went back, and told the officers what I had said; and after awhile they brought down John ap-John, guarded with halberets, in order to put him out of the town. Being at the inn door, I bade the officers take their hands off him. They said that the mayor and justices had commanded them to put him out of town. I told them I would talk with their mayor and justices concerning their uncivil and unchristian carriage towards him.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

So I spoke to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready, and charged the officers not to touch him. After I had declared the Truth to them, and showed them the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian carriage, they left us. They were a kind of Independents; a very wicked town, and false. We bade the innkeeper give our horses a peck of oats; and no sooner had we turned our backs than the oats were stolen from our horses.

After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and were ready, we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, sheriff, and justices were. I called to speak with them, and asked them why they had imprisoned John ap-John, and kept him in prison two or three hours. But they would not answer me a word; they only looked out at the windows upon me. So I showed them how unchristian was their carriage to strangers and travellers, and how it manifested the fruits of their teachers; and I declared the truth unto them, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all evil-doers; and the Lord's power came over them, that they looked ashamed; but not a word could I get from them in answer.

So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we passed away. At night we came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision and that for our two horses cost but eight pence; but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the Truth to the people of the place, and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries [counties].

Passing thence we came to a great town, and went to an inn. Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the Truth amongst the people; and they followed him to the inn, and filled the yard, and were exceedingly rude. Yet good service we had for the Lord amongst them; for the life of Christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced; and the Lord's power came over all. The magistrates were bound; they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we came to another great town on a market-day; and John ap-John declared the everlasting Truth through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord amongst them. In the evening many people gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us come into the street again. But seeing their design, I told them that if there were any that feared God and desired to hear the Truth, they might come into our inn; or else we might have a meeting with them next morning.

Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night and in the morning; and though the people were slow to receive the Truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to Himself.

In that inn, also, I but turned my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse, and, looking round again, I observed he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor, dumb creature of his food. I would rather they had robbed me.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Thence we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John ap-John had formerly been a preacher. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went and spoke through the street; and there being a garrison in the town, they took him and put him into prison. The innkeeper's wife came and told me that the governor and magistrates were sending for me, to commit me to prison also. I told her that they had done more than they could answer already; and had acted contrary to Christianity in imprisoning him for reproving sin in their streets and gates, and for declaring the Truth. Soon after came other friendly people, and told me that if I went into the street, the governor and magistrates would imprison me also; therefore they desired me to keep within the inn.

Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down in the streets. And I told the people what an uncivil, unchristian thing they had done in casting my friend into prison. And they being high professors, I asked them if this was the entertainment they had for strangers; if they would willingly be so served themselves; and whether they, who looked upon the Scriptures to be their rule, had any example in the Scriptures from Christ or His apostles for what they had done. So after awhile they set John ap-John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross a great water [from Anglesey across Beaumaris Bay to the mainland]; and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us. Amongst these we had good service for the Lord, declaring the Word of Life and everlasting Truth unto them, proclaiming amongst them the day of the Lord, which was coming upon all wickedness; and directing them to the Light of Christ, with which He, the heavenly man, had enlightened them, by which they might see all their sins, and all their false ways, religions, worships and teachers; and by the same Light might see Christ Jesus, who was come to save them, and lead them to God

After the Truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free teacher set over all the hireling teachers, I made John ap-John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild "gentlemen," as they were called, gotten into it (whom we found very rude, and far from gentleness), they, with others kept his horse out of the boat. I rode to the boat's side, and spoke to them, showing them what an unmanly and unchristian carriage it was; and told them that they showed an unworthy spirit, below Christianity or humanity.

As I spoke, I leaped my horse into the boat amongst them, thinking John's horse would follow when he had seen mine go in before him. But the water being pretty deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Therefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water, and stayed with John on that side till the boat returned.

There we tarried, from the eleventh hour of the forenoon to the second in the afternoon, before the boat came to fetch us; and then had forty-two miles to ride that evening; and by the time we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat left between us in money.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-house, where we thought to have stayed and baited. But, finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled all night; and about the fifth hour in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham, where that day we met with many Friends, and had a glorious meeting. The Lord's everlasting power and Truth was over all; and a meeting is continued there to this day. Next day we passed thence into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild, and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had; yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me if she should cut my hair; but I was moved to reprove her, and bade her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the Spirit of God. So after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away; and afterwards, in her frothy mind, she made her boast that she came behind me and cut off the curl of my hair; but she spoke falsely.

From Wrexham we came to Chester; and it being the fair time, we stayed a while, and visited Friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales I wrote to the magistrates of Beaumaris concerning the imprisoning of John ap-John; letting them see their conditions, and the fruits of their Christianity, and of their teachers. Afterwards I met with some of them near London; but, oh, how ashamed they were of their action! Soon we came to Manchester, and the sessions being there that day many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, stones, and water; yet the Lord's power bore me up over them that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones, and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the sessions, who thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them.

The officers came in while I was declaring the Word of life to the people, plucked me down, and haled me into their court. When I came there all the court was in a disorder and a noise. I asked, "Where are the magistrates that they do not keep the people civil?" Some of the justices said that they were magistrates. I asked them why, then, they did not appease the people, and keep them sober, for one cried, "I'll swear," and another cried, "I'll swear."

I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, clods, dirt, and water; and how I was haled out of the meeting and brought thither, contrary to the instrument of government, which said that none should be molested in their meetings that professed God, and owned the Lord Jesus Christ; which I did. The Truth so came over them that when one of the rude followers cried, "I'll swear," one of the justices checked him, saying "What will you swear? hold your tongue."



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FOX'S JOURNAL:

At last they bade the constable take me to my lodging, and there secure me till they sent for me again to-morrow morning. So the constable took me to my lodging.

As we went the people were exceedingly rude; but I let them see the fruits of their teachers, how they shamed Christianity, and dishonored the name of Jesus which they professed.

At night we went to see a justice in the town who was pretty moderate, and I had a great deal of discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had anything more to say to us. He sent us word that he had nothing to say to us; we might go whither we would.

The Lord hath since raised up a people to stand for His name and Truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester, having many precious meetings in several places, till we came to Preston. Between Preston and Lancaster I had a general meeting, from which I went to Lancaster. There at our inn I met with Colonel West, who was very glad to see me, and meeting with Judge Fell he told him that I was mightily grown in the Truth; when, indeed, he was come nearer to the Truth, and so could better discern it.

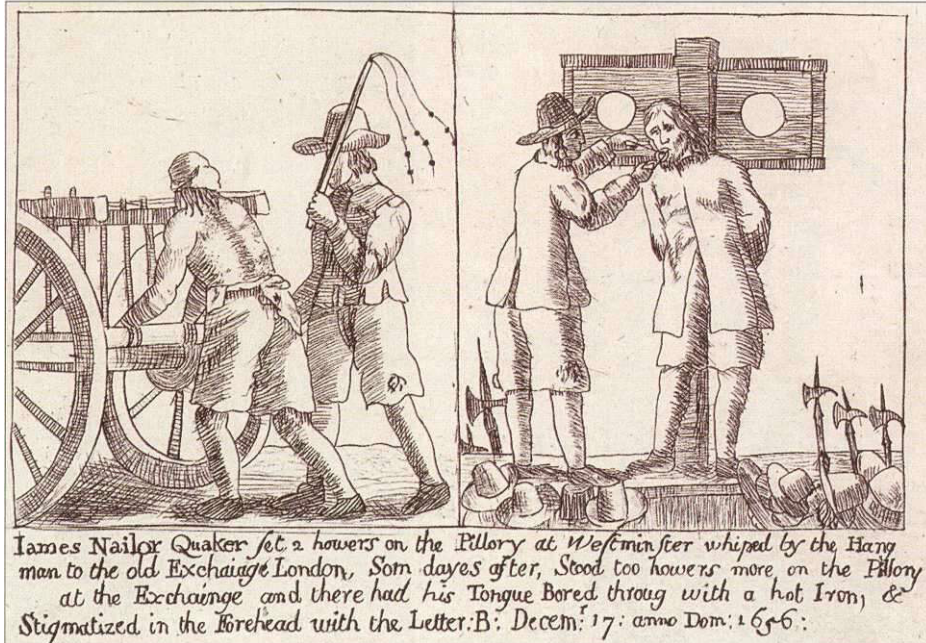
We came from Lancaster to Robert Widders's. On the First-day after I had a general meeting of Friends of Westmoreland and Lancashire near Sandside, when the Lord's everlasting power was over all. In this meeting the Word of eternal life was declared, and Friends were settled upon the foundation Christ Jesus, under His free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where Friends were glad to see me. I stayed there two First-days, visiting Friends in their meetings thereabouts. They rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by His eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in His service; to Him be the praise for ever!

FOX'S JOURNAL:

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

December 17, Wednesday (Old Style): [Friend James Nayler](#) received his punishment for blasphemy.



CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



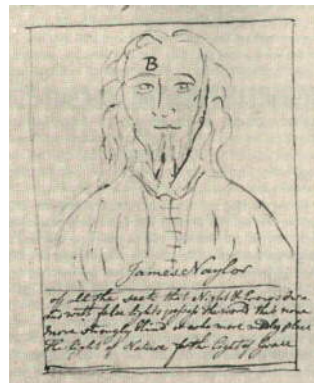
JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1657

June/July: [Friend George Fox](#)'s aim, during this period, in addition to spreading the Truth, was to deal personally with the damage to the infant movement in South Wales caused by the controversies which had been started by [Friend James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Fox's who had been arrested on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England in October 1655 after having accepted the adoration of female supporters as the [Second Coming](#) of Jesus Christ.



(He had been tried by Parliament,² narrowly escaping the death penalty that had been recommended for him by [Major-General William Goffe](#), and tortured, and would be imprisoned until September 1659.)



REGICIDE

2. The proceedings of the House of Commons against [James Nayler](#) for blasphemy have been reported in HOWELL'S STATE TRIALS, Volume V, pages 801 ff (Howell, Thomas Bayley, ed. COBBETT'S COMPLETE COLLECTION OF STATE TRIALS AND PROCEEDINGS FOR HIGH TREASON AND OTHER CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME. London 1809-1826, in 53 volumes).



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1658

[Friend James Nayler](#)'s tract "A MESSAGE FROM THE Spirit of Truth, unto the Holy Seed."

**A MESSAGE
FROM THE
SPIRIT OF TRUTH, UNTO THE HOLY SEED.**

**The night is far spent, the day is at hand:
let us therefore cast off the works of
darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.
Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness,
not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.
But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,
to fulfil the lusts thereof. (Romans 13:12-14)**

Dear Friends, Brethren and Sisters, of the Seed of Abraham, partakers with him in the holy call, and who in his faith wait for that glory and inheritance immortal, which every one of you shall receive at the appearance of the great God, and His Son Jesus Christ, to you all be peace, truth, and love increased, wherein you may be established to the end of your calling.

That which is set before me in the Spirit of truth, and for which my soul travails and breaths after in the whole creation (but especially in you who are already called thereunto) I am moved to impart to you, thereby to stir you up earnestly to press on towards the appearance of that to which you are called in one, which is no other than what has been held forth from the beginning, even the only begotten of the Father, filled with grace and truth; for the obtaining whereof, you that are faithful have denied the delights of this present world, and do daily undergo the enmity thereof. Of whose appearance many of you have received a certain hope which cannot be shaken, and a measure of Him some are come to in the same Spirit, who have seen, felt, and handled of His appearance, and have received of His fullness, wherein alone you excel, and are able to hold forth that life in the power of obedience, meekness, and fear, which no form nor knowledge without is able to bear or bring forth, which is that alone wherein I rejoice in you; and not only so, but find cause in heart to magnify that goodness and glorious power of God, already manifested in you, and through you to the world, whose praises will daily increase, as His virtues appear in you; which that you, and all the number of called ones, may increase in, and grow to that stature, and full appearance of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, is the full desire of my soul, and that which will give us an assured joy and perfect peace in one, when knowledge will vanish, and that which is in part shall be done away.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Wherefore you that have received the Spirit of prophecy, and that light out of darkness, which lets you see what manner of one the Son of God must be at His appearing in spirit and power, holiness and great glory. I beseech you that none of you sit down at rest in this fight, nor be you puffed up therewith, as though you had already attained, lest thereby the enemy prevail to exalt you above what is meet, and so others, less in wisdom, who are more lowly, in spirit step in before you, and obtain that crown and glory to which you were called; and so while you feed on the knowledge you lose the life; but that everyone wait in the light to feel the power and life of the Son of God manifest in your bodies, giving you victory over your own spirits, and raising you up out of death into the life of the prophecies, that you all may know the true worship in spirit, and what you bow to, that henceforth you may be servants of righteousness, begotten and not made, which only has food able to satisfy your thirsting souls, that you may all feel the only begotten of God in virtue and power, working mightily in the work of the Father, and destroying the work of the devil in every particular, for hereunto were you first called, that you should inherit eternal life and power, the true riches of grace in righteousness, and to receive a kingdom that cannot be moved, but that is able to keep you against all assaults of the enemy, which riches is God's only begotten, in whom is received of the perfect fullness of God, which is only able to satisfy all fears, and supply all wants, in all who attain to His appearance.

And further, I beseech you that you satisfy not yourselves only with a feeling of this working in you, but that you diligently attend an entrance thereinto, that you may put Him on whom the Father begets and forms in you, that your souls may be bathed and anointed therein. And not only so, but that you bring Him forth before all men, even Him the only begotten Son of God in meekness, long-suffering, in patience, in righteousness, in godly holiness, and all His virtues; the living image of Him by whom He is begotten; that it may appear to all men whose you are, and who possesses the vessel, and what He is that appears therein; that it may be seen and confessed that God is in you of a truth, revealed in His only begotten; for this is He, to whom at His appearance every tongue shall confess, and every heart be struck with fear; though the form of His beauty, and visage of His glory has (among false births and feigned profession) been more marred than any man's; who instead of bringing forth into the world the only begotten of God, to convince and condemn the world of all ungodliness, and save them from it, have brought forth the conceivings of their own brains, and the child born to them is no savior, but their birth has left them in the world, and one with it, who are now turning the words of Christ against His works, and their power to withstand His appearance in others, who is the same which was, and is, and is to come to all generations.

So that instead of holding forth that spiritual power of perfect redemption from above, to save His people from their sins, and set them at liberty from the bondage of corruption, to serve God in the new man, the Son of righteousness, of peace, and holiness, God's image, there appears, the son of wickedness, in every form, at liberty, and pleaded for, the image and power of all unrighteousness and ungodliness, preached and set up; so that the very faith and hope of God's appearance in their generation is destroyed. So these not waiting in faith, single in the begettings of God from above, to see in patience that formed, born and brought forth, but mixing with their reasonings and wisdom from below, have not attained His appearance, but have turned the truth of God into a lie, His glory into shame; wherefore God has given them up to believe their own conceivings: And you has He called in that glorious hope and powerful faith, wherein you now stand; and them He has left to be heirs of the corruptions of this world, which they have minded more than Himself; where now many of them are the great opposers of His appearance, who were once called to bear a measure of His testimony in spiritual life and power.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

And now, dear Friends, the called of God you are, unto the day of His coming, whose light has shined out of darkness, giving you a knowledge in this great mystery and hope, and a power you have received from above, whereby you are come nearer the day than those before you, and many have denied the world and their inheritance, that you might stand single in the hope thereof. Now the day is yours if you be watchful, and faithful thereto, that you mix not with the earthly seed, nor bring forth a false birth, but that your hearts be single, and open to receive Him from above, the heavenly Seed in the will of God, and not of yourselves; the Son of righteousness, the Father's glory, who has the living image and power of God, to make all Sons and Daughters of the Most High, conformable to Himself, and heirs with Him of the same kingdom, glory, and power; even as many of you as so receive Him, as to put Him on as He is, and so walk in Him as the begotten of God, children of the Most Holy, whom He has counted worthy of so high a calling, as to receive His name, power, and glory, and to bear testimony what He is before all men, and to hold forth the power that you have in His name and image, above all names and forms, in heaven or in earth; and this with all diligence, meekness, and fear, lest satan deceive you of that simplicity that is in Him, and so you come short of His glory, and others be called. Now quit yourselves as the beloved of God; cast off every weight which would hinder your attaining Him, that in the light is set before you; crucify every affection after the earthly, and put away all the cares and pleasures that would choke this Seed, and whatever would mix in your minds, or plead for a place in your hearts, let it be to you as an accursed thing, that the blessing of Abraham may come upon you, and through you to manifest to all the world, and that the Holy Name of Christ may be glorified in you, which has long been polluted through such who have professed it, in a contrary nature.

For this is He to whose appearance in the world every tongue shall be made to confess, and the angels of God shall worship Him, for He is the glory of God, and power of righteousness in heaven and in earth, God's love and good will among men, and in Him is the Father revealed, whom no eye has seen. You that have received Him, and hold Him forth, are the light of the world, let Him shine to the glory of your Father; it is you that hold forth the foundation of faith; He being lifted up will draw all men to Him; as you receive Him from above, and there is that in every conscience that will answer His appearance, for God has not left him without witness: So that he that believes not is condemned already in himself, because he believes not in that only begotten of God, whom the Father has sent into the world. If He does that work in you which no other can do, than how should any believe or confess that it is He? But at His appearance His works shall declare Him, and leave all without excuse.

His righteousness, His meekness, His patient sufferings, His lowly-mindedness, His faith and obedience to the Father, His love and tender compassion towards all men, being richly furnished with all manner of godliness, shall declare Him whose image He bears, and whose Son He is, and from whence He comes, for the earth has not those fruits, power and glory: Thus shall He be glorified in His Saints, and admired in all them that believe, and receive His testimony: And in this birth you shall not only save yourselves, but hold forth salvation to all that here thereof.

Wherefore as you profess that holy calling above others, so in the fear of God take heed what you bring forth, be sober and watch diligently in that which is from above, lest the enemy prevail to mix somewhat of your own to hold forth in his name, that has not the nature, power, nor purity of the Son of God, and that being above spoil you of His appearance, and mar the true image, which you will find the envious one seeks to devour upon all occasions, that alone having power over the head of the serpent; wherefore see that you be covered with Him alone, as He is from heaven.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

But above all things, I beseech you put Him on as He is the Son of God's love, and so hold Him forth towards all men, but especially towards the brethren; so much the more as this being that which the enemy has cast long upon the children of light (to wit) want of love, taking his advantage while the way has been preparing thereto, and the spirit of judgment and burning has passed on the old building, a time of sorrow, and pulling down, dressing the house where love should dwell; so that though the root of the matter was in it, yet could not in that time spring forth towards others, nor indeed be fully shed abroad in the heart, while that is there which God hates, which love many have now received, and it is full time to bring forth, Him so begotten in you, lest any selfishness appear in His stead, and so prevent you of that which is most excellent: But that you all may put Him on, as He is manifest from the Father's bosom, and that you be clothed therewith, from heaven, so plentifully, that you may have to cast over a brother's nakedness, a garment of the same love, who came from above to lay down His life for His enemies, and of the same power, who can forgive sins, and offences, above seven times a day, beholding each other with the good eye which waits for the soul and not for the sin, which covers, and overcomes the evil with the good, that with Him you may be perfect in love, judging, and receiving one another in the increase of God, and not in that which is for destruction, giving more abundant honor to him that lacks, that in the Body be no schism, nor defile one another, nor keep alive a brother's iniquity, nor blot out the Name, and appearing of the Holy Seed in the least, but keep the Lord in your eye, and the evils shall die and vanish away from among you, and the appearance shall be the Lord's, and to Him shall the gathering of the nations be; hungry souls shall see, and be satisfied with His likeness, and all that behold His beauty shall confess unto Him, and in Him shall the upright heart delight, for at His coming shall He establish the throne of righteousness, and measure every appearance, and correct every false judgment, and that which ensnares the simple will be cast out, for by the power of His appearance shall everything be tried, and peace proclaimed in the name of righteousness alone, for that which is not like Him, will not be able to stand before His appearance. But we know that when He appears, we shall be like Him; he that has this hope purifies himself even as He is pure, that he may be seen in Him at His coming.

Now dear Friends, is your sound gone forth to the ends of the earth, and God has made you famous among your enemies, in that you have begun to confess His name, and nature, and that He is in you whom many are looking for here and there, and now the eyes of people and nations is upon you to see your end, and now your glory is in putting Him on, and covering you with Him, a Lamb without blemish, before God and man, that in Him you may obtain good report, unreprouable, and holy, so shall you stop the way of the destroyer, and put an end of all false conceptions, and revive the hope of Israel.

Let His innocency be your armor, and put your trust in His truth, for your salvation. The time is full come for you to declare what He is to you, with boldness, with a confession beyond words; for this appearance of Him in love is that which shall judge all likenesses, and try all spirits, actions, judgments, and appearances, and by this shall you all be measured, what spirits you are of, and all spirits in the world, for He shall bring every hidden formed feigned thing to light, at His coming; and whatever has not this love in it, is not His, nor begotten of God; but he that has this love is begotten of God, and has Him, the Father and the Son, the end of the law and the Prophets, the substance and life of all knowledge, faith and works, the root and ground of every good gift; for herein are we made perfect in love, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment, because we have put Him on, and dwell in Him, who is love; and as He is, so are we in this world. But he that loves not, is not made perfect in faith, in knowledge, in judgment, having not learned Christ herein, therefore by this he must be judged himself. So blessed is he that judges nothing before the time, who condemns not himself, wherein he judges another, all judgment being committed to Him that can lay down His life for His enemies. Therefore happy are you if you have Him on first, for when He appears His judgment is true, and shall stand, when all that has come before Him shall pass away, for Him alone has the Father sealed.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

So dearly beloved ones, my soul breaths towards you herein, that in all your several gifts and administrations, this Son of God be your eye and end, the beauty and glory of the Father, that the hope thereof to attain, may stay you in all trials and temptations, knowing that in Him alone is your lasting peace, and that which does now befall you in all your afflictions is to shake all other appearances, that way may be made for Him alone, whose image and life none can judge nor condemn. And the day is come, that happy is that man who has nothing else to glory in; and this know, that the appearance of God in His own begotten, is your glory; and if any man boast himself, and not herein, when he is weighed therewith he will be found wanting, the sound thereof will not save him.

**As the same Spirit from whence this comes,
moves in any one,
so let them send it abroad among the called of God,
to be read and known.**

Come forth you children of light, come forth, depart out of the world, touch not the unclean thing, that the Holy One may make His appearance among you; make haste to the day of your God. If He shine forth salvation is with you, but He cannot appear in that heart where the world is retained. If you be like the world it will own you; but that image which it receives not, is your everlasting glory and beauty. So mind what works in the vessel; for now must every child appear like his Father, and must bring to light of what spirit he is begotten; and only blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord, with power and great glory. That which the world is ashamed of is that with which the Son of God is glorified, and again must be glorified. He that bears the iniquities of men, and is filled with reproach, and yet appears without sin, is our Savior. And a Lamb without spot must take away the sin of the world; His manifestation destroys the work of the devil, in a body prepared He delights to perform the counsel of God, and to bring hidden things to light; that He may speak mysteries to the wise therein, and hold forth a way to the simple, leading out of the snares of subtlety.

Wherefore all that love His appearance, and seek the face of redemption, love that which prepares His way to His appearance in His temple; that which breaks down the will of man, and as a fire goes before Him; which is that baptism with which all that will receive Him must be baptized into death. So when sorrow, anguish, and tribulation comes upon you, rejoice, and flee not. This comes to destroy nothing but destruction, and to kill that which keeps you from eternal life, and to prepare a way for your peace, and a place for everlasting righteousness to dwell in you. For truly friends, in the threshing floor must the altar be set up, and where God answers by fire, there must His house be built: And as many as look to the end of this, may not despise correction, nor faint under the hand of reproof.

That is good which brings down into the death where the wonders of God are learned, for he that will labor in God's vineyard must know every seed and its root; what feeds it, and what famishes it, and the ground of every weed, the cause of every curse. This many may see, when it's come to a tree, branches, and brings forth fruit; but then it is strong and powerful, and not easily plucked up, seldom got down without fire, and much sorrow, therefore blessed is that eye that's lowly and diligent, which sees every several appearance, that he may slay the seed of wickedness e're it bud, and not suffer the enmity to take root; for he that suffers diverse seeds shall have sorrow therein; and he that sows among thorns and briers must reap trouble; and where this kind is suffered to grow, there is torment to themselves, and trouble to others, for how should the thistle change its nature.

So all that desire peace, prepare a place that the Seed thereof may grow alone, and the Sun thereof may arise and shine clearly, that nothing may grieve His Spirit, for Jacob must dwell alone, and not be numbered among the rest of the nations, neither has the Lamb fellowship with the beasts of the field.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Now as you have seen the image of the earthly, and felt his power and inclination to earthly things, captivating your minds downward, to things below; even so must you bear the image of the heavenly, if He reign that comes from above. Till then think not you are perfect, nor have attained to the resurrection of the dead. For this I know of Him, in whom your life is hid, that as He arises, He shall as strongly lead your minds into the heavenly, as ever you were captivated with the earthly. So he that can read the figure, rejoice in hope concerning Him that is to come, yet let none glory in the sight of this knowledge, but press into the life thereof, that God may be seen and glorified in you. For as he that has gone much out with his mind, and has drank in abundance of the earthly, is become the most subtle, selfish, and hard, and filled with all unrighteousness, till he become incurable, even so he that returns in, and drinks abundantly of the heavenly, does become simple, innocent and harmless, separate from all ungodliness, till he become incorruptible, and receive power to attain the Son of God, whose image declares the Father, from whence he is; for he that has seen the Son, has seen the Father, and he that has the Son has the Father also. So dear Friends, behold the end of your calling, and glory of your profession, your life in this world, and eternal inheritance; for the which to attain, we endure all things, for which sufferings and patience, we have a cloud of witnesses.

So we follow not fables and fancies (as some suppose) but every one as he is proved herein is able to set to his seal, even the day of the Lord, with them that are going before, whose spirits are herein perfected.

Wherefore dearly beloved of God, for His names sake I beseech you, be zealous for His appearance, and with meekness and fear instruct the ignorant, who oppose themselves; comfort the weak; in all things leading with a life that cannot be blamed, knowing how manifold your labor of love is doubled, in everlasting glory, as He comes to be made manifest to the world. And the Lord God of power strengthen all your hand by the appearance of His love; that by the shedding abroad of it in your hearts, you may be able to overcome the world, and willing to give your necks to the yoke of Christ, and to bear the burdens of the weak, till the Brotherhood arise, and the Body of Christ be perfected in one; that none of you suffer an evil eye or ear, which delights to behold the weakness of others, but that your whole delight be to wait for the appearance of God in all, and to behold His face in them, rather than their failings. And as this arises in every particular, it shall be a sure token to you for good, and that you are passed from the love of evil, to the love of God the Father, and the Son. And what you delight in shall be your inheritance. And as you grow herein, so shall He whom you love to see, delight to make His appearance among you, and to walk in you; and you shall not seek His face in vain, but with His likeness shall be satisfied, and shall praise the beauty of His appearance.

Thus in honor preferring one another, you shall know, that the power of love is a ministration of life, to that which is to be beloved.

Who will be on the Lord's part? Now in this day of darkness, when iniquity is growing to the full, and the Man Child is to be born above it? And who will give up the vessel to bear His name against the enmity that is now arising? And who will be glorified with the Lamb? Blessed and happy is he that is found worthy to follow Him out of the world, bearing His reproach. To as many as receive Him, He gives power to become sons of God.

But he that will bear His name, must receive His nature, and himself also so walk, even as He walked: His name is power over sin, and the world cannot bear it; he that bears His name, must bear it in His life, and power, lest he blaspheme. Of flesh and blood it is not born, nor by the will of man is it manifest, it's he that is born again who has His witness in himself, that must bear His name before the world for a witness against them, who has that life in him which testifies against the deeds thereof; but who bows thereto betrays Him, and proves false in his testimony.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Moses in his house, made all things in likeness of the pattern, so it became a tabernacle of witness to all nations (of the true God therein) and against all their false gods, and false worships; and herein was he faithful to Him that called him, and to all that beheld the pattern he preached God's presence, dwelling in the tabernacle made with hands. How much more must he that bears the name of Christ follow the pattern, and suit His example, holding forth a tabernacle of witness, and preaching the presence of the true God therein, and against all the world, their false births, false ways, and worships, herein proving faithful to Him that has called thereto; and to all that behold Him, holding forth that holiness is His habitation here on earth, as it is in heaven, bearing a lively testimony thereof, by the tabernacle of witness, conformable to the heavenly witness in all things. And to this end Christ descended, walked and suffered on earth, leaving an example to all that follow His steps, wherein, as in a lively oracle, God is found, in all that is builded after His image; and seek in His name and nature, for the immortality that dwells therein. Now God was not to be found in the tabernacle of Molech (though sought never so earnestly) but in the tabernacle of witness, built according to the pattern; neither is He now to be found in the image of the world; or is His name born in that nature, though professed never so zealously. Therefore let every one that names the Name of the Lord depart from iniquity; the seed of evil-doers bears not the testimony of Christ, and are out of the vine, in a contrary nature.

Did they blaspheme, who said they were Jews and were not? How much more do they who profess the name of Christ, and are out of the vine, in a contrary nature?

Wherefore all who aim to hold forth in love to His appearance, and to attain His coming in purity and glory, must be diligent in the heavenly light, ever minding the way and moving of the Holy Spirit, Him that is from above, that His form you may see, who has the heavenly image, and the holy power; that so beholding Him with open face as in a glass, you may be changed into the same image, and formed thereafter, from glory to glory, by the powerful working of the same Spirit; until the tabernacle be built conformable to the heavenly example, the holy pattern, in body and spirit, that as He is, so may you be in the world, that God may appear in His temple; that as the image of the earthly appears in the world, so the image of the heavenly you may bear, a witness against them. And by drinking in the communion of that Holy Spirit, and power from above, you may become as able, zealous, and willing to hold forth the heavenly in holiness, meekness, purity, patience, love, long-suffering, faith, and obedience to God, and all the fruits of the Spirit, as the sons of the world are to hold forth the earthly, in lusts and pleasures, strife, and envy, cruelty, and oppression, and all manner of the works of the flesh; that you as truly and really give up your bodies, minds, and strength to suffer with Christ, that He may be manifest and magnified therein, in your mortal bodies, as others who are without God in the world, do give themselves to act according to the principles and power of the god of this world, his unrighteous ways, worships, and fashions, and all his cursed courses, and the whole body of sin, and mystery of iniquity born in them.

And where the tabernacle is thus edified, and the temple thus cleansed, there is a vessel of honor, fit for the Master's use; that being filled with the Holy Ghost, God may dwell on the earth, and take up His rest therein, His tabernacle being with men, the appearance of the blessed day, so many souls hunger for, and Abraham's Seed longs to see, which the god of this world strongly opposes, in all whose minds he has blinded, and whose spirit he possesses in disobedience to the heavenly light, for which the wrath of God remains on that generation, till this day, and forever.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Wherefore all you who wait for the kingdom of God, and love His appearance, whose coming again is without sin, abide within, and wait in the temple where the Witness arises against the world, that in faith and patience you may be counted worthy to receive that witness, that it may arise and cover you, and that in bearing it you may come out of the world, being conformable to Him, who suffered without the gates; bearing His reproach, and you bear His Name. Touch not the unclean thing, and He will receive you for Himself, in you to appear and be glorified. Rise up against the powers of darkness. You that have received the earnest of this Spirit: Has He not said, I will dwell in you and walk in you? Wherefore come out from among them, and be you separate. This is the joy that is set before you, to wit, His appearance, and that glory, for the attaining whereof, we endure the present sufferings, and reproach; not to be compared therewith, for glory, immortality, eternal life.

Oh! Friends, who shall be found worthy at His coming, and in whom may He appear, and not consume them? For our God is a consuming fire; even in His holy temple is He known, and with clean hands will He take up His rest, and in the pure heart shall He be seen; else who may dwell with everlasting burnings? And who may abide that baptism wherein every one shall be seasoned with the fire at His coming.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

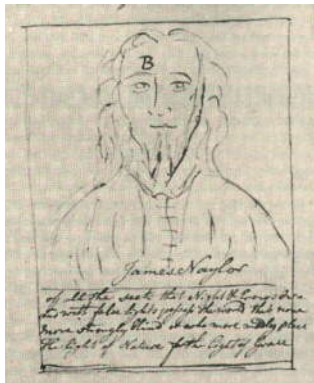
JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1659

September: [Friend James Nayler](#), a close colleague of Friend [George Fox](#)'s who had been arrested several years before on a charge of extreme blasphemy at Bristol, England, having been pilloried and having been flogged and having had his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron and having been branded in the forehead with the letter B, and having done three years at hard labor in solitary confinement in Bridewell prison, was at this point released as part of a general amnesty. In the next year death would come quickly, from injuries and exposure, but according to JAMES NAYLER'S ANSWER TO THE FANATICK HISTORY AS FAR AS IT RELATES TO HIM, just before giving up the ghost he penned the following immortal words: *"There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal, holy life!"*

JOURNAL





JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL³

'Take heed of forward minds, and of running out before your guide, for that leads out into looseness; and such plead for liberty, and run out in their wills and bring dishonour to the Lord.'...

'And take heed if under a pretence of Liberty you do not ... set up that both in yourselves and on others that will be hard to get down again.'—G. FOX.

'The Truth in this city spreads and flourisheth; many large meetings we have, and great ones of the world come to them, and are much tendered. James is fitted for this great place, and a great love is begotten towards him'—A. Parker to M. Fell, 1655 (from London, before Nayler's fall).

'His forebearing in due time to testify against the folly of those his followers (who magnified him) was his great weakness and loss of judgment, and brought the greatest suffering upon him, Poor Man! Though when he was delivered out of the snare, he did condemn all their wild and mad actions towards him and judged himself also. Howbeit our adversaries and persecutors unjustly took occasion thereupon, to triumph and insult, and to reproach and roar against Quakers, though as a People (they were) wholly unconcerned and clear from those offences.'—G. Whitehead.

'And so His will is my peace.'—JAMES NAYLER.

3. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.

QUAKER SAINTS



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL

BUT IT HAS A HAPPY END

Children—come close. Let us hold hands and gather round the fire. This story must be told in the twilight, while the room is all dark except for the dim glow of the coals. Then, if a few tears do run down our cheeks—no one will see them. And presently the lamp will come in, the darkness will vanish, and the story will end happily—as most stories do if we could only carry them on far enough. What makes the sadness to us, often, is that we only see such a little bit of the way.

This is the story of a man who made terrible mistakes, and suffered a terrible punishment. But, through his sufferings, and perhaps even through the great mistakes he made, he learned some lessons that he might never have learned in any other way. His name was James Nayler. He was born in 1616, and was the son of a well-to-do farmer in Yorkshire. He was 'educated in good English,' and learned to write and speak well. His early life seems to have been uneventful. At the age of 22 he married, and settled near Wakefield with his young wife, Anne. After a few years of happy married life, the long dispute between King Charles and his Parliament finally broke out into Civil War. The old peaceful life of the countryside was at an end. Everywhere men were called upon to take sides and to arm. James Nayler was one of the first to answer that call. He enlisted in the Parliamentary Army under Lord Fairfax, and spent the next nine or ten years as a soldier. Under General Lambert he rose to be quartermaster, and the prospect of attaining still higher military rank was before him when his health broke down and he was obliged to return home.

A little later he made a friend. One eventful Sunday in 1652 'the Man in Leather Breeches' visited Wakefield, and came to the 'Steeple-house' where Nayler had been accustomed to worship with his family. Directly the sermon was finished, all the people in the church pointed at the Stranger, and called him to come up to the priest. Fox rose, as his custom was, and began to 'declare the word of life.' He went on to say that he thought the priest who had been preaching had been deceiving his hearers in some parts of his sermon. Naturally the priest who had spoken did not like this, and although some of the congregation agreed with Fox, and felt that 'they could have listened to him for ever,' most of the people hated the Stranger for his words. They rushed at Fox, punching and beating him; then, crying, 'Let us have him in the stocks!' they thrust him out of the door of the church. Once in the cool fresh air, however, the crowd became less violent. Their mood changed. Instead of hustling their unresisting visitor through the town and clapping him into the



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

stocks, they loosed their hold of him and suffered him to go quietly away.

As he departed, George Fox came upon another group of people assembled at a little distance. These were the men and women who had listened to him gladly in church, who now wished to hear more of the new truths he had been declaring. Among them was James Nayler, a man older than Fox, who had been convinced by him a year earlier. This second visit, however, clinched Nayler's allegiance to his new friend. Possibly, having been a soldier himself, he began by admiring Fox's courage. Here was a man who refused to strike a single blow in self-defence. He was apparently quite ready to let the angry mob do what they would, and yet in the end he managed to quell their rage by the force of his own spiritual power. The Journal simply says that a great many people were convinced that day of the truth of the Quaker preaching, and that 'they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves.'

Hereupon the priest of the church became very angry. He spread abroad many untrue stories about Fox, saying that he 'carried bottles with him, and made people drink of them and so made them follow him and become Quakers.'

At Wakefield, also, in those days, as well as farther North, 'enchantment' was the first and simplest explanation of anything unusual. This same priest also said that Fox rode upon a great black horse, and was seen riding upon it in one county at a certain time, and was also seen on the same horse and at the very same time in another county sixty miles away.

'With these lies,' says Fox, 'he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by those lies he preached many of his hearers away from him, for I was travelling on foot and had no horse; which the people generally knew.'

James Nayler at any rate decided to become one of Fox's followers, and let the priest do his worst. It may have been at his house that George Fox lodged that night, thankful for its shelter, having slept under a hedge the night before. When Fox left, Nayler did not go with him, but remained quietly at home. Having been a farmer's son before he became a soldier, he quietly returned to his farming when he left the army. One day in early spring, a few months after Fox's visit, as James Nayler was driving the plough and thinking of the things of God, he heard a Voice calling to him through the silence, telling him to leave his home and his relations, for God would be with him. At first James Nayler rejoiced exceedingly because he had heard the Voice of God, but when he considered how much he would have to give up if he left home, he tried to put the command aside. Nothing that he undertook prospered with him after this; he fell ill and nearly died, till at last he was made willing to surrender his own will utterly and go out, ready to do God's will, day by day and hour by hour, as it should be revealed to him. 'And so he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; and the promise of God that He would be with him, he found made good

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND JAMES NAYLER****JAMES NAYLER****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

to him every day.' These are his own words. His inward guidance led him into the west of England, and there he found George Fox. After this Nayler and Fox were often together. Sometimes Nayler would take a long journey to see Fox when he was staying with his dear friends at Swarthmoor. Sometimes they wrote beautiful letters to each other. Here is one from Nayler to Fox that might have been written to us to-day:

'Dear hearts, you make your own troubles by being unwilling and disobedient to that which would lead you safe. There is no way but to go hand in hand with Him in all things, running after Him without fear or considering, leaving the whole work only to Him. If He seem to smile, follow Him in fear and love, and if He seem to frown, follow Him and fall into His will, and you shall see He is yours still,—for He will prove His own.'



'THE VOICE OF THE SILENCE'

Nayler's adventurous journey with Fox to Walney Island must have drawn their friendship closer than ever. In spite of hardships these were happy days as they went about the country together on God's errands. But these days came to an end.

You see, Nayler had not found his faith after a long struggle as George Fox had done. Perhaps he had accepted it a little too easily, and too confidently, in his own strength. He was a splendid, brilliant preacher, and he loved arguing for his new belief in public. Once, in Derbyshire, in an argument with some ministers, he got so much the best of it that the crowd was



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

delighted and cried out, 'A Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted them all.'

Another time, when he was attending a meeting at a Friend's house, he says that 'hundreds of vain people continued all the while throwing great stones in at the window, but we were kept in great peace within.' It would be rather difficult to sit quite still and 'think meeting thoughts' with large stones flying through the windows, would it not?

Once, when I was at a service on board ship, a few years ago, a tremendous wave broke through the port-hole and splashed the kneeling men and women on that side of the saloon. They were so startled that nearly all of them jumped, and one called out quite loudly, 'Oh, what's that?' But the clergyman went on quietly reading the service, and very soon everything became still and quiet again.

James Nayler also continued to give his message of stillness and calm, and the gathered people, listening to him intently, forgot to think about the stones. He must have had a great deal of that strange quality that we call magnetism. Just as a magnet attracts bits of iron to it, so some people have the power of attracting others to listen to them and love them. Fox was the most powerful magnet of all the Quaker preachers. He attracted people in thousands all over the country. But Nayler seems to have had a great deal of magnetism too, though it was of a different kind. For one thing he was handsomer to look at than Fox. He is described as 'of ruddy complexion and medium height, with long, low hanging brown hair, oval face, and nose that rose a little in the middle: he wore a small band close to his collar, but no band strings, and a hat that hung over his brows.'

But it would have been happier for him if he had not been so good-looking, as you will see presently. He must have had much charm of manner, too. A court lady, Abigail, Lady Darcy, invited him to her house to preach, and there, beside all the people who had assembled to hear him, many other much grander listeners were also present although unseen, 'lords, ladies, officers, and ministers.'

These great people, not wishing it to be known that they came to listen to the Quaker preacher, were hidden away behind a ceiling. Nayler himself must have known of their presence, since he mentions it in a letter, though he does not explain how a ceiling could be a hiding-place. He spoke to them afterwards of the Voice that had called him as he was ploughing in the fields at home. These fine lords and ladies could not understand what he meant. 'A Voice, a Voice?' they asked him, 'but did you really hear it?' 'Aye, verily, I did hear it,' he replied in such solemn tones that they wondered more than ever what he meant; and perhaps they began to listen too for the Inner Voice.

The discovery that he, a humble Quaker preacher, could attract all this attention did James Nayler harm. Instead of remembering only the thankfulness and joy of being entrusted with his Master's message, he allowed small, lower feelings to creep into his heart: 'What a good messenger I am! Don't I preach well? Far



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

grander people throng to hear me than to any other Quaker minister's sermons!'

Another temptation came to him through his good looks. He was evidently getting to think altogether too much about himself. It was James Nayler this and James Nayler that, far too much about James Nayler. Also, some of his friends were foolish, and did not help him. The interesting thing about James Nayler is that his chief temptations always came to him through his good qualities. If he had been a little duller, or a little uglier, or a little stupider, if he had even made fewer friends, he might have walked safely all his life. As it was, instead of listening only to the Voice of God, he allowed himself to listen to one of the most dangerous suggestions of the Tempter. Nayler began to think that he might imitate Jesus Christ not only in inner ways, not only by trying to be meek and loving and gentle and self-sacrificing, as He was to all the people around Him. That is the way we may all try to be like Him. Nayler also tried to imitate Him in outer ways. He found a portrait of the Saviour and noticed how He was supposed to have worn His hair and beard; and then he arranged his own hair and beard in the same way. He even attempted to work miracles like those in the Gospel story. He tried to fast as Christ had done, 'He ate no bread but one little bit for a whole month, and there was about a fortnight ... he took no manner of food, but some days a pint of white wine, and some days a gill mingled with water.' This was when he was imprisoned in Exeter Gaol with many other Quakers. One woman among them fainted and became unconscious, and she believed she had been brought back to life by Nayler's laying his hand on her head and saying, 'Dorcas, arise.'

Some of his friends and the other women in the prison were foolish and silly. Instead of helping Nayler to serve God in lowliness and humility, they flattered his vanity, and encouraged him to become yet more vain and presumptuous. They even knelt before him in the prison, bowing and singing, 'Holy, holy, holy.' Some one wrote him a wicked letter saying, 'Thy name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus'!

Nayler confessed afterwards that 'a fear struck him' when he received that letter. He put it in his pocket, meaning that no one should see it. But though Nayler did not himself encourage his friends in their wicked folly, still he did not check them as he should have done. He thought that he was meant to be a 'sign of Christ' for the world. He was weak in health at the time, and had suffered much from imprisonment and long fasting; so it can be said in excuse that his mind may have been clouded, and that perhaps he did not altogether understand what was being done.

The real sadness of this story is that we cannot excuse him altogether. Some of the blame for the silly and foolish and wicked things that were done around him does, and must, belong to him too. He ought to have known and to have forbidden it all from the beginning. George Fox and the other steady Friends of course did not approve of these wild doings of James Nayler and



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

his friends. George Fox came to see James Nayler in prison at Exeter, and reproved him for his errors. James Nayler was proud and would not listen to rebukes, though he offered to kiss George Fox at parting. But Fox, who was 'stiff as a tree and pure as a bell,' would not kiss any man, however much he loved him, who persisted in such wrong notions. The two friends parted very sorrowfully, and with a sad heart Fox returned to the inn on Exeter Bridge. Not all the 'Seven Stars' on its signboard could shine through this cloud.

After this, things grew worse. Nayler persisted in his idea that he was meant, in his own life, and in his own body, to imitate Jesus Christ outwardly, and the women persisted in their wild acting round him. When Nayler and his admirers came to Bristol, in October 1656, they arranged a sort of play scene, to make it like the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. One man, bareheaded, led Nayler's horse, and the women spread scarves and handkerchiefs in the way before him, as they had no palms. They even shouted 'Hosanna!' and other songs and hymns that they had no business to sing except in the worship of God.

They meant it to be all very brilliant and triumphant. But it was really a miserable sort of affair, for the rain came down heavily, and the roads were muddy and dirty, which made the whole company wet and draggled. Still it was not the rain that mattered,—what mattered most was that none of them can have had the sunshine of peace in their hearts, for they must have known that they were doing wrong.

Anyhow the magistrates of the city of Bristol had no manner of doubt about that. As soon as the foolish, dishevelled, excited company reached the city they were all clapped into gaol, which was perhaps the best place to sober their excited spirits. The officers of the law were thoroughly well pleased. They had said from the first that George Fox was a most dangerous man, and that the Quakers were a misguided people to follow him. Now the folly and wickedness of Nayler and his company gave them just the excuse they were wanting to prove that they had been right all along.

James Nayler was taken to London, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to savage punishments. He was examined at length by a Committee of Parliament. Just before his sentence was pronounced he said that he 'did not know his offence,' which looks as if his mind really had been clouded over when some of the things he was accused of were done. But this was not allowed to be any excuse. 'You shall know your offence by your punishment' was the only answer he received. The members of Oliver Cromwell's second Parliament who dealt with Nayler's case were not likely to be lenient to any man, who, like Nayler, had done wrong and allowed himself to be led astray. His Commonwealth judges showed him no mercy indeed. When Nayler heard his terrible sentence, he listened calmly, and said, 'God has given me a body: God will, I hope, give me a spirit to endure it. I pray God He may not lay it to your charge.' This shows that he had learned really to share his Master's Spirit, which is the only true way of



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

imitating Him.

The punishments were cruel and vindictive. They lasted through many weeks. Half way through, many 'persons of note' signed a petition to ask that he might be allowed to miss the rest of the penalties, owing to his enfeebled condition. In spite of this, the whole barbarous sentence was carried out. James Nayler bore it unflinchingly. I am only going to tell you one or two of the cruel things that were done to him—and those not the worst. He was sentenced to have the letter 'B' burned on his forehead with a hot iron. 'B' stands for 'Blasphemer,' and it was to show everybody who saw him, wherever he came, that he had been found guilty of saying wicked things about God. The worst part of this punishment must have been knowing in his heart that the accusation was, more or less, true.

There he stood before the Old Exchange in London, on a bitter December day, in the presence of thousands of spectators. He bore not only the branding with a red-hot iron on the forehead until smoke arose from the burning flesh, but also other worse tortures with 'a wonderful patience.' The crowd, who always assembled on such occasions, were touched by his demeanour. Instead of jeering and mocking, as they were accustomed to do to criminals, all these thousands of people lifted their hats in token of respect, and remained standing bareheaded as they watched him in his agony. It is said that 'he shrank a little when the iron came upon his forehead,' yet on being unbound he embraced his executioner. One faithful friend, Robert Rich, who had done his utmost to save Nayler from this terrible punishment, stood with him on the pillory and held his hand all through the burning, and afterwards licked the wounds with his tongue to allay the pain. 'I am the dog that licked Lazarus' sores,' Robert Rich used to say, alluding to that terrible day. Long years after, when he was an old man with a long white beard, he used to walk up and down in Meeting in a long velvet gown, still repeating the story of his friend's sufferings and of his patience.

After this punishment Nayler was sent down to Bristol to undergo the rest of his sentence there. He was made to enter the city again in deepest humiliation, no longer with excited followers shouting 'Hosanna!' before him, but seated on a horse facing to the tail, with the big 'B' burned on his forehead for all men to see—and then he was publicly whipped.

Yet in spite of all the pain and shame he must have been happier in one way during that sorrowful return to Bristol than at his former entrance to the city, for he must have had more true peace in his heart.

Now, at last, comes the happy end of this sad story. There is no need to sit over the fire in the darkness any longer. We can dry our eyes and light the lamps—for it is not sorrowful really. James Nayler's mistakes and sufferings had not been wasted. They had made him more really like his Master, and his worst troubles were now over.

He still lay in prison for two years more, but he was allowed



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

ink and paper, and he wrote many beautiful letters acknowledging that he had done wrong, confessing his sin, and praising God even for the sufferings which had shown him his error. He says in one place, 'the provocation of that time of temptation was exceeding great against the pure love of God; yet He left me not; for after I had given myself under that power, and darkness was above, my adversary so prevailed, that all things were turned and so perverted against my right seeing, hearing, or understanding; only a secret hope and faith I had in my God whom I had served, that He would bring me through it, and to the end of it, and that I should again see the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my soul in my greatest tribulation.'

And again, 'Dear brethren—My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's truth and people....

'And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have suffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath suffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation; the Almighty God of love, Who hath numbered every sigh, and put every tear in His bottle, reward it a thousandfold into your bosoms, in the day of your need, when you shall come to be tried and tempted; and in the meantime fulfil your joy with His love, which you seek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cause you to mourn, whose suffering is my greatest sorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein.' After this, at last he was set free. The first thing he did was to try to return home to his wife and children. It is said that 'he was a man of great self-denial, and very jealous of himself ever after his fall and recovery. At last, departing from the city of London, about the latter end of October 1660, towards the north, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkshire, he was seen by a Friend of Hertford (sitting by the wayside in a very awful, weighty frame of mind), who invited him to his house, but he refused, signifying his mind to pass forward, and so went on foot as far as Huntingdon, and was observed by a Friend as he passed through the town, in such an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a stranger on it, seeking a better country and inheritance. But going some miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill (being as 'tis said) robbed by the way, and left bound: whether he received any personal injury is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, was had, or went to a Friend's house at Holm, not far from King's Ripton, where Thomas Parnell, a doctor of physic, dwelt, who came to visit him; and being asked, if any Friends at London should be sent for to come and see him; he said, "Nay," expressing his care and love to them. Being shifted, he said, "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls"; and not long after departed this life in peace with the Lord, about the ninth month, 1660, and the forty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnell's burying-ground at King's Ripton aforesaid.'

'I don't call that a happy ending. I call it a very sad ending



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

indeed! What could be worse? To sit all alone by the roadside, and then perhaps to be robbed and bound, or if not that, at any rate to be taken ill and carried to a stranger's house to die. That is only a sorrowful ending to a most sorrowful life.'

Is this what anyone is thinking?

Ah, but listen! That is not the real end. It is said that 'about two hours before his death he spoke in the presence of several witnesses' these words:

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

That is why this story has a happy ending. A made-up story might have left James Nayler at home with his wife and children. But, after all he had suffered, he may have been too tired to bear much joy on earth. Besides, how could he have borne for those dear ones to see the condemning 'B' burned on his forehead? and the other scars and signs of his terrible punishments, how could they have borne to see them?

Was it not better that the end came as it did by the roadside near Huntingdon?

Only remember always, that what we call the end is itself only the beginning.

Think how thankful James Nayler must have been to lay down the tired, scarred body in which he had sinned and suffered, while his spirit, strengthened, purified, and cleansed by all he had endured, was set free to serve in the larger, fuller life beyond. James Nayler's difficult school-days were over at last on this little earth, where we are set to learn our lessons. Like the other prodigal son he had gone to receive his own welcome from the Father's heart in the Father's Home.

Why have I told you this story- 'the saddest story of all'? A parable will explain it best. Imagine that ever since the beginning of Time there has been a great big looking-glass with the sun shining down upon it. Then imagine that that looking-glass has been broken up into innumerable fragments, and that one bit is given to each human soul, when it is born on earth,



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

to keep and to hold at the right angle, so that it can still reflect the sun's beams. That is something like the truth that George Fox discovered for himself and preached all over England. He called it the doctrine of 'The Inner Light.' To all the hungering, thirsting, sinful, ignorant men and women in England he gave the same message: 'There is that of God within you, that can reflect Him. You can hear His Voice speaking in your hearts'; or, to continue the parable, 'If you hold your own little bit of looking-glass in the sunlight it will, it must, reflect the Sun.'

James Nayler listened to this message, accepted it, and rejoiced in it. He did truly turn to the Light. But he forgot one thing that must never be forgotten. He looked too much at his own tiny bit of looking-glass and too little at the Sun. In this way the mirror of his soul grew soiled and stained and dim. It could no longer reflect the Light faithfully. Then, it had to be cleansed by suffering. But all this time, and always, the Sun of God's unchanging love was steadily shining, waiting for him to turn to it again. Let us too look up towards that Sun of Love. Let us open our hearts wide to receive its light. Then we shall find that we have not only a mirror in our hearts but also something alive and growing; what George Fox would call the 'Seed.' Sometimes he calls it the 'Seed,' and sometimes the 'Light,' because it is too wonderful for any picture or parable to express it wholly. But we each have 'that of God within' that can reflect and respond to Him, if we will only let it. Let us try then to open our hearts wide, wide, to receive, and not to think of ourselves. If we do this, sooner or later we shall learn to live and grow in the sunshine of God's love, as easily and naturally as the daisies do, when they spread their white and golden hearts wide open in the earthly sunshine on a summer's day.

James Nayler did learn that lesson at last, and therefore even this, 'the saddest story of all,' really and truly has a happy end.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

‘THE SADDEST STORY OF ALL.’

Historical. See Sewel’s *HISTORY*, i. 80, 255-293, 382-397, 408, 438. Also ‘*BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM*,’ Chapter xi. ‘Nayler’s Fall.’ Also James Nayler’s collected *BOOKS AND PAPERS*, published in 1716.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1661

First publication of [Friend James Nayler](#)'s tract "Milk for Babes, and Meat for strong Men, Treated of. A Feast of Fat Things, and Wine well refined on the Lees, They may come to be made Partakers of."

**MILK FOR BABES,
AND
MEAT FOR STRONG MEN,
TREATED OF.
A FEAST OF FAT THINGS,
AND
WINE WELL REFINED ON THE LEES,
THEY MAY COME TO BE MADE PARTAKERS OF.**

O come young men and maidens, old men and babes, and drink abundantly of the streams that run from the Fountain, that you may feel a well-spring of living water in yourselves, springing up to eternal life; that as He lives (even Jesus Christ) from whence all the springs do come, so you may live also, and partake of His glory that is ascended at the right hand of the Father, far above principalities and powers.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

To you tender hearted ones, who have felt the call of the Father's love, who now see more desirableness and beauty in the innocency and meekness, than in the mountains of prey, or self-conceited exaltations arising from the airy knowledge: My soul is with you herein; and in that which has given you a sight of this excellency, wait low, and diligently hearken thereto, until the thing itself spring up, which naturally hath this riches in it, which comes from above, and yet is felt far below all fleshly affections, high thoughts, and hasty desires, and by these is veiled and hid from you; so that you cannot come to the life and spring of it, but as you deny these, and put them off, by sinking down through them, all these earthly foundations and ends, to rise up: For under all these your Beloved suffers, while these are above in your minds, and through the fall of all these must He arise, and over all these take the Kingdom, e're you come to have a quiet dwelling place in Him, and He in you. So under all these must you pass, and into the likeness of His death you must come, and be planted therein, that the fellowship of His sufferings you may feel, and partake of His meekness and patience therein, who bears all things; and your faithfulness with Him therein must be thoroughly proved: In which faith and patience you shall learn Him whom you love, His reproach without, His temptations within, even such trials as cannot be declared to another, shall you learn in Him, with His love, obedience, patience, meekness and long-suffering under all: and how through all these He riseth, in which resurrection He chaineth His enemies, and takes them captive whose captives you were: and thus shall you have fellowship in His resurrection, wherein you shall attain to the resurrection of the dead, and the inheritance of eternal life.

But dear children, who seek this to attain, think it not strange, when for the attaining hereof you come to be rejected of all, denied, condemned, contradicted, and tempted with all manner of spirits and evils; assaults within and without, with fears and dread, in weakness, watchings and fastings, with tears of sorrow night and day; to be led into the wilderness, and there tempted, tried in the night with great temptations, and see no way out; led on a way you know not, a way of wrath and terror, and passing by the gates of hell, and none to pity you, nor take your part; chastened alone, that you may be proved to the uttermost: And when this you come into, then faint not, nor look back, but lift up your head through all, and know, that now He deals with you as sons and daughters of His love: Take heed you murmur not, nor measure Him with yourselves, nor repine at the rod; cast not your evil eye upon the instruments, who, or what they may be; for that will beget wrath in your minds, and then you will lose the life you aim at, and suffer in vain; but in the greatest floods keep your eye to your Beloved, retain patience and meekness in long-suffering, with faith: Let these be ever in your heart as the end of all; and still believe, that all that befalls you is but to waste that which would hinder you from being joined unto Him you so highly prize. So in all things keep with Him, let His joy be strength unto you in all, and the appearance of His beauty will refresh you in the new, as the old doth waste; and with Him make war against the enmity, and let His love quench all wrath that would arise, let Him be your shield of faith; and whatever you are led into while you retain Him single in your minds, it shall be profitable to the end expected; but without Him you can do nothing: So if you pray to the Father, let it be by Him: in all your wrestlings, His meekness, patience and long-suffering, with faith, prevails much with God. If you resist the tempter, let it be in Him, its His good that only hath power to overcome the evil; and here is your strength in all, if you hold Him steadfast in your minds; in the fire and in the floods He will be with you, and be your power and peace, and make your way through all.

Though at some times the clouds may be so thick, and the powers of darkness so strong in your eye that you see Him not, yet love Him, and believe, and you have Him present; you shall feel His patience calling you down out of the storm, and His meekness leading you to follow Him who hath gone the same way before in all His Saints. This is your Beloved, who now goes before you, hear Him alone; then are you faithful, when you look for no other to be with you in all, not to redeem you out of all but Him who you love: So that though the tempter should tender your relief some other way (for herewith he will prove you, if he see he cannot drive you from the meek and patient One by sufferings and threatening, then will he flatter and promise, to draw you from Him) yet this is your faithfulness, that you abide till meekness and patience bring you out.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

For whatever you own for your Redeemer out of trouble, that must be your lord and master, and you're its servant: Wherefore take heed you own none for a helper, but Him whom you look to inherit; so that he that makes flesh his arm, inherits the curse; and the earth comes over him, and he must serve it: But stay you in the meekness of Christ, His peace and patience, and receive the earnest of your inheritance in the day of your trouble; and when you come out, none shall be able to take it from you, nor any contrary nature shall be lord in you, and He shall become your Life and Leader forever.

And being faithful in this trial, you shall learn Christ, and find out the wiles of satan, and perfectly feel what he has of his own in you, to work upon, even by their present working in your minds; For that which thinks sufferings hard, and time long; that is not to be trusted; for it will work in the reasonings a distrust, and tempt to look out for freedom and ease by some visible help; or if it cannot prevail to hunt for freedom, yet if any carnal way be opened, it will form a fair pretence as though it were of God; and this seeks to betray you from the Just and Faithful One, and would part you from your chaste waiting upon Him whom you love, taking his advantage by your haste, weariness and weakness in the journey. But that which only minds to be obedient to God in suffering and acting with faith and diligence, hearkening with all long-suffering, meekness and patience, what He saith, thinking it a greater thing to obtain Counsel from Him, than ease from another, believing that no other can give an expected end but Him, to wit, an inheritance in that you wait for; and therefore count nothing dear that you may win Him, thinking no time long, nor any thing hard to endure, for the joy and beauty that is set before you: This will never deceive you of the redemption of truth; your Beloved and Redeemer, and Lord, is One, and you shall not be put to your slight shifts as they that go out from the Spirit are; for you shall feel and see your Redeemer in the midst of you, and with His body shall you rise and live, and you shall not be ransomed with silver or gold from the hand of the oppressor, but by the precious blood of Christ, as a Lamb without spot; not with any corruptible thing, but His long-suffering, faith and patience, His love and meek Spirit shall set you out of darkness, and above all fears; and your freedom will be perfect, and inheritance large, when all that would not stay upon Him alone, are consumed in the fiery trials, which haste, ease and distrust, will never bring to an end; till which you are not fit to be joined to Him you love, in everlasting obedience and everlasting praises, the portion of all who have waited on Him, and have found Him faithful to the end.

And having learned this mystery of godliness, and found the worth of it, you having found His way perfect and pure, and Him faithful to such as walk therein, you may be able to direct the simple and unlearned in the desirable way to rest, and your words have in them a manifestation of life, and quickening power is with you, and this shall be your everlasting strength, that you are redeemed with that you so dearly loved.

And this you shall feel in the way, that the more diligently you wait upon Him in all conditions you pass through, even so the more do you receive Him, by drinking in of the heavenly virtue that is in Him, who is the meek and patient One; and by supping continually with Him, and He with you, will you come to be filled with Him, that all haste, and impatience and distrust will be overcome by Him, till He become your whole life; and all your thoughts, words and actions have their rise and being therein; so that self be seen no more, nor that appear in which death and condemnation have any entrance or power. And this shall you find to be the house from above and heavenly city, in which the holy spirits live and walk, and have communion as they come to be perfected; of which the Lamb is the light and salvation, into which none enter, but through His meekness and long-suffering are ransomed, and by faith therein redeemed.

Who being thus builded, see no more sorrow nor fear of falling, the foundation being everlasting, elect and precious, and every stone therein tried in the fire, and in faithfulness chosen for that end.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

So with all diligence sink down to feel the election, not minding that which boasts in high words before it be tried, but when it comes into the fore will not stand patient in the trial, but through that being given up to death, seek for that which lies under the suffering, which calls you down from every high thought: To Him come down into the low valley, who bears all things without complaining, that with Him you may suffer, and with Him you may obey, and in all things He may be with you, and you with Him. This is the election, make Him sure to yourselves in life and death; so shall you be changed by Him: And though you go down into a low estate with Him, He shall raise you spiritual; though you are sown weak, yet shall you be raised in power; if you rise not but with Him, as He raises you; if you cast not off the yoke, nor flee the cross, nor heal your own wound; though your wound be mortal, yet the cure is immortal; though you go down in shame and reproach, yet raised in glory, and covered with immortal honor and eternal life, with power and strength to fulfill the will of God, and the answer of a good conscience; through this baptism and resurrection you shall attain, and so become one in spirit with Him that dwells in the light, in death, in suffering, in patience, in faith and in obedience, which otherwise no mortal man can approach to, there being that to be fulfilled which the light requires, which the first man has not in power, so by that law (his life he must lose) which hath power over the transgressor as long as he lives, and cannot be joined to Christ till to that law he be dead; So the first which is earthly the law kills because of sin and want of obedience; but he that is born again of the Spirit, lives because of righteousness and obedience. So the boaster is excluded, being clouded under sin, that the mercy may arise in the meek principle over all, to fulfill all.

The light saith, Love your neighbor as yourself: This the first birth cannot do, so the boaster is excluded, and the law lays hold on that life, which wants this love, and the creature must give up that to death that he may come to the meek Spirit, for the power of that life and obedience that has righteousness in it; and the creature drawing his mind and affections, and faith from the first, who has words without power, and giving these to the second, the first falls, withers, and dies in that vessel, and as the mind is diligent in the second, he rises in the faith, and Christ raises the power of obedience in that vessel, and so as he rises through the law, he brings forth fruits above the law, against which there is no law. So he in whom the covenant is, has the power of obedience to righteousness, puts an end to the law: So he being denied, dead and buried, whose life arose through disobedience, who is the transgressor, and because of whom the law was added, that law becomes dead also. He that fulfills the law is He that gave it forth, and is the end thereof, in whom by faith you live, and inherit this righteousness, as you put Him on through death who is this life. So being faithful to the light, shall you learn Him that kills and makes alive, that casts down and raises up, that condemns and justifies, and so shall know the way of death and the way of life; and who that is that is hardened by the law, and who fulfills it, and the life and end of both; and you will see the cause and end of all tribulations, earthquakes and thunders, and several voices, clouds, smoke and darkness, and great temptations, and the trial of your faith herein will be as that of gold, and will bring to inherit the knowledge of God and eternal life, and power to judge the prince of the air, and over the mystery of iniquity, and to deny the god of this world, with all his snares and traps, wherein the unlearned professors are caught, and held captive at his will, though some of them have a knowledge and form of the truth taught from what others have thus learned, all which you shall judge and have power over, and all ministration under the Son shall with this be comprehended, whether angels or spirits; even he that is faithful and diligent unto the end of this great tribulation, shall be made white, and have judgment committed to him, and the key of David's house, to bind and loose, and shall sit in the Lamb's throne of judgment and righteousness in heaven, and the grave nor hell shall have no more power, nor shall his old iniquities have any more power over him, the strength of sin being dead.

Wherefore, brethren, in the light be faithful when you come into this condition; take heed of unbelief, and haste not out of it, lest you tempt the Lord of your life, and grieve His meek Spirit, and provoke Him to leave chastening, so your spot remain, and you prove but bastards, and not free-born children of His kingdom, power and glory; and so in time your old iniquities overtake you again.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

For whatever of the old man comes out of the fire unconsumed, dead and buried in this baptism, will be a continual canker, seeking to eat, and an enemy, daily waiting his opportunity upon all occasions to get up, and overspread the pure Plant of innocency, and so spoil you of your Beloved, and so make void all your sufferings past, and bring in the old evils like a flood upon you, as it has befallen many at this day; but be faithful to the end of all iniquity, the root as well as the branch: So shall your righteousness arise clear and unspotted, and your old sins shall therewith be buried, and never rise again, neither to accuse nor reign. And this is your victory over death.

And this know (whatever others imagine, let none deceive you) that though the evil seed be sown when men sleep, and take root with pleasure, and spring up with ease and delight, yet the end thereof is bitterness and great tribulation, but the precious seed is sown with tears, conceived in sorrow, and brought to light with sighing, nights of watchings, days of mourning, and much labor of spirit; and travail of soul, must you come to see your desire; for though the world have come to conceive a faith in the air, and so brings forth naught but several sorts of winds striving upon the earth, without foundation, and so builds nothing to perfection; yet with you it must not be so, for to you the light is sprung up, which leads to the foundation of God; and you have received a faith that gives you a sight of the Stone which the builders see not; and to you it is given, not only to believe in Him, but to suffer for His sake in the behalf of Him, and so to run as to win Him; so to strive as to obtain Him, His name, His power, His nature; for this is that your souls groan for, to possess and inherit His power, His love, His meekness, His patience in all tribulations, His faith in all fears, and to have the power of His grace and virtue living in you, whereby you may be men of able spirits, rightly furnished to every good work, and against all evil, that in Him you may overcome when you are tried, and be more than conquerors. And your work is to war against whatever would keep you from coming to this Foundation and Cornerstone. And it is not beating the air that will fight your battle; for it is against all deceits you are to fight, and airy notions, and all spirits that would possess you with words and forms, without the power of righteousness, and whatever lies under the power of sin; the true light gives you to see the cursed deceit that lies in all this, and that these are the subtle paths of the destroyer; and nothing less than victory over sin and subtlety will satisfy your souls. So that it's only life and power that can give you peace; and therefore yours is work, and not vain words; and that which strikes at the root of sin is your best weapon. So it is not flesh that profits you, it's the Spirit that must quicken through hardship, that which ease has slain, e're you come to perfect peace.

For though the scriptures speak of a child that is heir of all things, and gives this inheritance to all in whom He is formed, whose name is wonderful in counsel and strength, yet is not this brought forth without hard labor and travail, and the pangs of death gone through; for when you come to the Lord for counsel, and feel that there is two manner of seeds in the womb, then will you see that great work is to be done e're you come to rest; There is the strong man to be bound, before the Babe can reign; and strongly is he armed with all manner of wiles to save himself; and it's not words and thoughts that will cast out the Mother and her son, which must not inherit: And this must be done, or all is in vain. He that is born of the flesh is in bondage to things here below; this cannot inherit immortality, for sin hath power in him; and die he must that the Son of righteousness may arise to life in you, and bring your life to light with Him, as He appears; and though the light be above the transgressor, yet the Son is lowly that gives it.

So being faithful in the light, which from the Son comes, which condemns all the lofty ways of the first born, you will be led thereby into ways lowly, to cross your life in the first birth, through watchings and fastings, and great tribulations (into which the Spirit will lead you) whereby the false birth must be famished; for there is nothing for the lust to live on, nor for that wisdom to walk in that loves itself, or seeks its ease and pleasure. Then be faithful to your Guide, however he storms that is to be destroyed.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

And with all diligence press into that which calls the wandering mind, and give heed with watching and wrestling to get abiding therein, which as you are faithful therein, it will be enlarged, till it become a habitation for your pure minds to dwell in, and take up its rest, which has been tossed to and fro as in a wilderness, and by killing in the watch all that would draw you out, and sinking down into this meekness and steadfast lowliness, you will come to feel the Plant of God that brings forth this meekness and holiness, and springs of living virtue; and there will you meet the Lord in His kingdom on earth, where He delights to walk, as in a garden; for in these things He delights, and in such as delight therein; and there wait to feel His fellowship, and to receive His counsel in purity and coolness, in which He will let you see whatever it be that would break His covenant with you, and whatever leadeth out from the eternal life; and will, with His Spirit lead you out to war against it, in which spiritual war being faithful, you shall not fail of victory, till every cumbrance in your minds be cast out, and so heavenliness become a quiet habitation, that in the meek Spirit you may feed upon the heavenly food, and not to have that ravenous earthly spirit to steal and devour it from the soul.

And as you get an entrance into this heavenly mansion, so diligently watch, and in the light stand armed against the thief, and keep out whatever of his would enter into your affections or desires, under what pretence soever; for if it enter into your affections, it will steal away your minds from this pure innocent Plant, and this is adultery, treachery and whoredom, which you must wrestle against in the power of His love. And with willingness of mind to put off all the old idols out of your affections, whatever has any place there; for by the entrance of that through lust, has the Son of righteousness suffered, and the innocent been slain; and until that be condemned and cast out, which has come over the Just in your affections, the Son of righteousness arises not into His kingdom, who must give you entrance into His holy habitation, and must fulfill all righteousness before the full enjoyment be: which work you stop, while you retain the unrighteous, having a seat in your heart uncondemned and cast out. And hence it is that many seek to enter, but are not able, the cursed thing not being cast out, which can have no place in God's kingdom, with which the Just has not communion, nor the temple of God with idols.

And this I say to you, which is a learned truth in this journey, that if you either retain your old lovers, or suffer any thing now to enter your affections, or draw out your mind from this pure plant of righteousness and truth, you shall in no wise in that state enter into the kingdom of heaven; for this is the Way, and you must make your entrance: Therefore fight against whatever would draw you from it, and with violence break through it, and take the kingdom; for only he that has been faithful in the baptism of John, in order to fulfill all righteousness, shall receive power to press into the kingdom. And when you come here, you will find violent powers to keep you out, which with the Lamb in war must be overcome violently; for the strong man having got a possession within, is not easily bound and cast out, for it is a spiritual wickedness, and in high places, with which you are to wrestle: Therefore a heavenly virtue contrary thereto, and of greater power must give you the victory.

So press into the heavenly Spirit with its power, to overcome the earthly spirit with its powers; strive earnestly in the meek spirit, to obtain a measure of faith and patience, larger than the temptation, and that will endure to the end of it, a meekness and love to cover all strife and wrath, a long-suffering to famish all haste, and that which seeks its own ease; and so in all things with desire, drinking in of the heavenly virtue from above, whereby you may become strengthened with all might to stand all assaults of the enemy, within or without; and so in the cross come to put on Christ Jesus, the great power of God unto salvation, and Well-spring of eternal life and glory; which is done by sinking down into the heavenly feeling, contrary to the will of the exalted life, whereby you will be overshadowed from above, from whence the Savior is looked for, to overcome things below.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

And as you come into the feeling of these virtues, hold them fast, till He come who is the fullness, and with that you have, wrestle against whatever would draw out your minds from it; for with that of Him must you make war against whatever is contrary thereto. And as you are faithful to abide therein, you will feel every high thing fall before you; for that which cleanses the vessel of all corrupt things, is your weapon, and that which springs up in a contrary nature to the corrupt, is your life; the beholding whereof, as it arises, and keeping your eye constant in the faith and hope of attaining His fullness, will make your work the work of love, your obedience delightful, and all your sufferings easy, and your loss of your former glory will, in that eye, appear great gain. And this is your acceptable service, and that faith which works by love, which avails much with God, and being followed, overcomes the world, and sets free from it in all things.

So with the light mind to be led down into that life that is not of this world; come to Him that seeks not Himself, who has not His rest in things on earth, who is rejected of men, denied of His own kindred, and forsaken of all; and as you come to Him, you will come to be proved, whether you can forgo all these for Him alone, and that He may make His appearance in you, and cover you with Himself, His contempt and reproach, and His patient power to bear all; for it's He that can bear all things, that shall never be moved; And he that thus overcomes, shall know the White Stone, and that Rock which breaks the nations, but builds the house of God.

But in all your journey take heed of the adulterous mind, for it secretly devours the precious life: wherefore take heed of that which looks out, give not way to that eye not for a moment; for if you consent to it upon any pretence whatsoever, you enter into a covenant therewith against the holy seed, to destroy the chaste mind; but whether it be rough or smooth, yet hold it as an enemy; and that which if it get in by consent, must be got out by suffering double to the delight it brings with it: But if as an enemy you withstand it, by constant and patient resistings, it will flee, and grow weaker upon every assault, and He that gives you victory will grow more in your esteem and delight.

Wherefore think it not strange (so long as any of the old leaven is within, unpurged out) that the nearer you draw to God in the lowly suffering meekness, the deeper you sink into tribulation, and your sufferings increase upon the fleshly part, for that is the Son's way to perfection; and the wondrous works of the Father are learned in the deep; for by the hand of God upon you (being faithful in suffering to the end) shall you see the old foundation of the world, the root and off-spring of all wickedness, how it came to be laid, and how the Lamb was slain, and what He is, and the Foundation of God shall you see and feel, upon which the Saints were raised up, and built in the Spirit; and how all the chaff, hay and stubble comes to be cleansed off, for His fan is in His hand, and the words of His mouth are a consuming fire to that nature, which refines the gold and quickens the soul, and divides the clean from the unclean. And the nearer you draw to God, the nearer will He draw to you in righteousness, and judgment, and truth, to make an end of sin, and bring in everlasting righteousness, and to establish you in His inheritance, who appear in His temple through the refiners fire and fullers soap, the end of all sufferings, and entrance into everlasting joy, purity and peace, and weight of eternal glory, to which there is no other way but through affliction.

But as you come down to the Foundation of God, watch with all fear and diligence, that nothing exalt you, or lift you up in mind, conceit or comprehension, above the foundation you are builded upon; for many temptations of haste, will present themselves with fears and distrust, to get you from off the Foundation of life: But if you keep lowly, steadfast and faithful thereto, by it you shall be raised out of the pit, and set above the earth. And for that end it is laid within you, that in Spirit you may be built thereon in order like the Cornerstone, a new man, not the same that goes down; and none know the way of His rising, but as he keeps to the Foundation, and minds the Head of the corner, which as you diligently mind, you shall know the sure foundations of the holy city, even from the word of the beginning of Christ, as you grow to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance, and of faith towards God, the doctrines of baptisms, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

And as with the foundation of life and power you come to be edified, you will be led out of the dominions of death, where you shall learn wherein it has its power; and so come to see what binds and what looses, kills and makes alive; the life of the law, the life of the Prophets, and the life of the Apostles, as they passed before you, will you come to know, there inheritance therein to possess, and with them in spirit have fellowship, as they passed the time of their pilgrimage here, that to the life of Christ you may come, for the fulfilling of the word of God, which endures from generation to generation; This being the end of all the travels of the souls of righteous men and women here below, which that they might attain the fulfilling thereof, and so return in peace to Him that made them, clothed on with their heavenly house, for which prize they counted all things loss here below, casting off earthly pleasures, and killing every affection thereto, estranged therefrom in all their walking while they are here, knowing that the love to earthly things is the enemy of their spiritual ascending, and that the earthly adulterous spirit daily hunts to devour the precious life, and to keep the soul in things below, presenting daily its carnal delights, and opening the paths of the destroyer, with pleasures to the carnal eye, which whosoever joins to, cannot ascend into the heavenly inheritance, but with the dark world daily go downward, who are degenerated from the life of God, and estranged from it even from the womb: So that they in that state are never able to attain the knowledge of God, nor in truth and righteousness to call Him Father, nor to say they came out from Him, nor even to Him can return; this they being willingly ignorant of, that as no man has ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, so no more shall any man so ascend, but he who is born not of the corruptible seed, nor begotten by the word of God, which lives and abides forever.

But with you it is not so, who feel the heavenly motion, drawing your minds out of all earthly delights, the taste of the heavenly life overcoming the earthly in your affections; so that to the world you die daily; you feel something quickened in you, that cannot feed on earthly pleasures, but hungers after righteousness, and sees a beauty in holiness, and thirsts daily after the heavenly virtue. So to that sink down into its likeness, which is yet in suffering, and suffer and hunger with it, and join to it in all its counsel; so that in it you may be raised; for that is it which is on the Foundation of God, and coming to Him as a Living Stone, you will be built on the same Foundation, the Same Spirit being your Head, by whose arising all veils will be done away, the vail of death, the vail of the law and prophets, and the whole mystery of godliness will be unsealed, and the way to heaven opened by Him, even the slain Lamb, who has His power from the midst of the throne of God, even for you, if you join with Him in His sufferings and ascendings, who makes the way between heaven and earth, and keeps it open in all them who mind Him, therewith to possess the vessel in holiness and fear towards God; so that nothing shall hinder your prayers from coming to the throne of God, nor the dew and blessing of heaven from falling upon the seed. And here is heaven opened, and the way of grace and salvation, for the wayfaring man here on earth to walk in; in which if you wholly exercise your minds, you shall not err, nor shall anything be able to hinder you from receiving gifts from the Father, so long as nothing of a contrary nature stops His Own from arising to Him in praises, and you with it.

So let nothing cut off your communion with God in that measure you already have received, but let the breathings of your souls and your hearts be continually opened towards Him, and therein you shall not only receive, but become faithful improvers of what you have, by the blessing that is in the covenant, that is with all that love Him that dwell in the light: For where the conversation is in heaven, there the earth becomes fruitful.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Wherefore give all diligence, that nothing entangle your affections here below, or stop your heavenly mind from its constant ascending; for that which would is the spirit of bondage which has got power, by letting some carnal thing in upon you, to press you down: Which spirit waits upon you continually, to oppose the heavenly life, and get above it in your minds, and so as a weight beset you in your way, lest that which comes from heaven should have free passage through a clear vessel to heavenly Seed, free from cares, cumbrances and earthly pleasures, and from earth to the heavens; for it is He that comes from above, which declares to man his way and his wants, presents his prayers, and receives the answer; and by Him alone does God work all His works in you, and for you, in heaven and in earth. Now if you join to another, and give your strength of heart and mind to His enemy, then the work of God ceases, the way being stopped; for the adulterer, the covetous, the idolater, the wanton, the slothful, or whatever of that nature you join to, your consent gives him strength to stop the way of life: And this is your condemnation, witnessed with the light; and herein had death its power at the first, which can be no head, but where he is hearkened to, let in or obeyed (but being resisted, flees) but being let in, he seats himself in the heavenly place, with much policy and power, and is not easily got out, nor seen to be what he is. So when you feel your way darkened, or affections grow cold towards heaven, then take heed with all diligence in the pure light to search, for your enemy has got some entrance, which by faithful and patient waiting in the light you will come to see, and through the power of the cross to kill that life, and cast out that in which it was conceived, for that must not abide in the house with Him, that is Heir of the heavenly inheritance, but is an enemy to His coming; for it is he that lets, till he be taken out off the way, which while he is in the way, dulls the affections, and clogs the heavenly mind, that it cannot ascend. Wherefore that which you have received of the Holy One, His Unction, hold fast till He come, and with it stand armed against whatever would enter, to lead out to any outward observations; but with all diligence observe that which you have of His in spirit, which the adversary seeks so much to draw you forth from, lest you should increase your Lord's money, and herein you maintain your daily watch, and war with that you have of life and power, and not with that you have not: So are you faithful stewards, and are accepted in what you have, and not in what you have not; for the world is in darkness, and so wait for they know not what, and have no ground for their faith, nor power to prepare His way to His coming, further than words of others, or their own conceivings, but are not in Him that is true; but you are in Him that is true, who have His light received, and are in it to observe His appearance in all things; and the messenger of His covenant you know, who goes before His face to prepare His way, turning your heart from every evil way, and out of the paths of the destroyer, that you may be fruitful upon earth, that so He may receive you into Himself, when He comes to smite the earth with a curse, which that which brings forth briars and thorns is nigh unto, whose seed is not of himself, his root and off-spring, but is begot in the adulterous mind.

For the mind feeding from without upon any knowledge, form, or observation (but what the Life leads to in spirit and power) is the ground of the mystery of iniquity, and the woman of witchcraft, which hunts for the precious life of the holy Child, seeking to draw your strength of affections from Him after the harlot, that so He may fall and die daily in your hearts and affections, while the lust goes out to another, covered with some fair pretence, whereby the worldly spirit gathers strength daily, as you shall feel who are watchful and diligent in the spiritual war, so shall that truth appear to you; that as your love waxes cold, so will iniquity abound, with an irresistible power, whatever you think to the contrary, which is not in the Life; Or whatever you believe without that faith which works by love to the life of truth: So let your wrestling be into the power and life of God, and thereon feed, and your life shall endure forever, and your strength and virtue shall be daily renewed. But you read of some who had the form of knowledge, and of the truth, but being out of the life of this truth, held the truth in unrighteousness; and such when they knew God did not glorify Him as God in their life: So He gave them up, who became vain in their imaginations, who retained not the life in the knowledge, turned the truth of God into a lie: So that knowledge could not keep them from being filled with unrighteousness, which stood not in the life and power of righteousness, and who received not that truth in that faith which loves to live the life of it.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Wherefore let your food be in the life of what you know, and in the power of obedience rejoice, and not in what you know, but cannot live, for the life is the bread for your souls, which crucifies the flesh, and confounds that which runs before the cross. So let your labor and diligence be in that which presses into the heavenly Being, and seeks a conformity to Christ in obedience of what you believe, and hearken in love to that, not in that mind which would save your own lives, nor feed you where you are; but in love to that which separates you from self-life, and changes you into His life whom you wait for from above; so in receiving His commands in that which loves to be like Him in life, your faith works by love: That faith works obedience, quickness and willingness, it works out the old, and works into the new; and so through the hope of that which you love, and obedience of faith, the entrance is made with the life, into the holy kingdom, and the immortal glory is put on, which in the light is seen, and in the life is obtained, as with the word of faith the separation is made, and the first birth put off, whose life is without the veil, and is for death, with that life which makes the entrance through His blood, and through His flesh, a living way, a way of life, a new way to all who are seeking the door in old ordinances and traditions, and outward observations, feeding their minds with thinking or talking of what others did long since, or what may be done in times to come, and so are in times, but out of that life which endures forever, and only has the promise of the Father, and power to make the entrance to Him, from whom all the world are driven, who are in the lust, and in that nature which loves itself, and works iniquity; yet wearying themselves to find the door, without the light of that life which is not of this world.

And as you mind only to feed on the Plant of life, you will come to know the work of the Father in His vineyard, and who the faithful laborer is, and what must be his work; and the slothful servant, and what his work brings forth; and the cause why the field of the sluggard is over-grown with evil fruits, and why his vineyard brings not fruit to perfection. For you will find many plants besides the tree of life, all which seek to be fed and strengthened in the mind and affections, and many grown trees tall and strong, who have got fast rooting, spread and bring forth abundantly after their several kinds; and all these present themselves to the eye of the mind, to be fed from thence, which is as the feet fetching food from far, without which they cannot live long, but must pine away and fall, as they die in the affections, and as the mind is withdrawn from such objects as they are fed withal. So the work of him that is faithful is to number these to the ax, and to the fire, and not to suffer these any place in the mind, how strongly soever they tempt, and try every way to spread root to keep life; that so through the death of these, the vine may grow alone in the clean affections, and holy mind, and honest chaste heart, which is the good ground, and where the pure Plant will bring forth of itself in all, where it is not cumbered with that which is contrary to it; which contrary fruits all that mind the light may see: But the sluggard not being diligent to dig up the root, as well as to condemn the fruit, therefore they are daily growing, and the good ground is cumbered with them; and such know what they should do, but are not able to abide therein, their life being lost in the midst of this wilderness, and over-grown with wild plants.

But you being diligent in your watch, you will see that the cause of all your troubles and confusion (when you come to the true labor indeed) is nor for nothing; for you will find many plants of several kinds (for the world is in the heart of man, and the heart in the earth, as he is driven out from God.) And every kind has its several life, which lives have their several feedings, all which you may feel in the light, by their temptings to lead out your minds; and though they are of several motions, and live upon several objects, yet the least of them being fed by consent in your mind, will overrun the vine, and in time bury it, by growing up in your affections: Wherefore all must come down, that truth alone may arise in your affections, and the word of life have place in your hearts, who is purer then to dwell in the adulterous mind, and whose eye cannot behold iniquity, who hath no communion with darkness, nor fellowship where any idol stands in the temple.

So this is your faith in your labor, even that which overcomes the world, and suffers nothing thereof to take place in your minds, but with the Spirit of life to watch, and wrestle against every lust, and kill every affection that would go out for food; for whatever goes out, betrays the innocent; and every pleasure of the flesh, as a canker, does eat out the life of the Holy and Just One; but by faith the Just lives; and in faithfulness does He judge, and make war against all His enemies, in every one who are exercised therewith.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

And in this work mind what you follow; follow nothing rashly, but prove all things with fire; and that which will not endure the temptation, and bear the cross, is the adulteress who will look out every way for ease; and the serpent will present many likely ways to her under fair pretences, which she that would live at ease, will hastily hearken to; and if you hearken to her, you will betray the work of life, which is bringing forth in hard travail and labor, which is slain in the birth, where ease and sloth is consented to; and with living at ease and pleasure, has the life been slain from the beginning of the world, and has been kept under by her sorceries, who fares deliciously upon earth; and by consenting to her pleasures has the election been lost, and covered with the seed of wickedness, which God hates, which wars after the flesh, and lusts after the flesh, to strengthen itself above the holy spiritual Seed; but minding to make that sure to you which calls in your mind, and being obedient thereto, it will lead down by the power of the cross, through that which is above, to the feeling of the election; and a separation being made between that which God chooses in His working-power, and what He condemns, you will come thereby to know to what to join, and from what to withdraw, that you may be workers together with Him, and not against Him, which the subtle one will lead you to do, till with the light the separation be made; and so joining to it in faith and obedience, the election will arise, and by diligence thereto it will be made sure.

And once feeling the innocent to move under the Oppressor, give yourselves no rest until the strong man bow; for with great plagues upon that nature, and with a strong hand against that will, must the Seed of promise be redeemed from under his power, which like Pharaoh, if he get but rest, will not let Israel go from under his power; and if you keep with the Spirit, and hearken low, it will let you see what must be the plagues you must pour upon him, till he be brought down, that a little Child may lead him, and reign over him; and he that was oppressed by the beast, may ride upon him: And as that nature got head and strength by having its lusts fulfilled, so it must be subdued by having its lusts famished, which if you be not faithful to the Seed of God herein, you sell your birth-right, and betray your own redemption, and are found deceitful workers against God and your own souls.

Wherefore run not with that which is in haste, but lie down in that which is meek, lowly and patient, that which is willing to wait the Father's time, and seeks to obtain by the obedience of faith, and not in the will that would have its own hand: For a nature there is which runs for help, and ravens abroad to be satisfied, which God will famish; and this will seek to lead the mind, if it be followed, and will hunt about and murmur if it be not satisfied: This goeth about the city, but enters not; and this must suffer hunger, and feel the Lamb's wrath, and plagues upon the head thereof, what way soever it turns, till it bow and come under, which it will not till it be pined with famine, and wearied upon the mountains of prey; then shall the lion lie down with the lamb, and a little Child lead to rest, and no ravenous beast shall take his feeding from him. But in this work take heed that you be not betrayed with that spirit, for it is very subtle, to run to the one hand or the other, either into eagerness and haste, which is its first way after convincement; Or else, when it gets not its ends there, then into sloth and idle carelessness, and both these keep it alive in strength above the Seed; but a straight way there is between these, in which the Seed arises; which is a diligent, watchful, patient, meekness, feeling the godly principle moving and following it in faith and obedience in all things without haste or ends, further than what is opened in the life of obedience, constantly diligent lest anything slip out of the mind, which is freely given for practice or teaching; for only the diligent mind holds the true living treasure; but the slothful and disobedient are leaking vessels.

So as wise in the light, prove your freedom, from that nature which is high, and fierce, and hasty, or any way above the meekness, for therein stands your perfect redemption, to know that you are not servants to that nature; for it's the same that hastens into the greediness after worldly things, and fears, and distrusts, if it has not in its sight and possession what it lusts after; which being convinced of an inheritance in heaven, would have that also in all haste by sight; but not through faith, patience and obedience; which if it may not obtain into its own sight, and in its own way and time, it will be ready to faint and distrust, and this will never strip himself of all, in hopes of an inheritance it has not seen; so this is in bondage, and not to be heir: But the just live by faith, whose birth is free from this world, and your redemption for the other into the leadings of this, which will bring to the inheritance of the purchased possession.



JAMES NAYLER

FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Wherefore prove your freedom in all things, that you may not glory in vain, but in the liberty of Sons: Do not say, All things are lawful, all things are pure, &c. And so sit down and say, You are redeemed, and have right to all; but first pass through all things, one after another, as the light leads you; and with a true measure see, if you be from under the power of any; when you have proved this throughout all things, and found your freedom, then may you say, All things are lawful, and know what is expedient, and what edifies yourselves and others, and the rest to reign over, without bondage thereto: And this is the liberty of the Sons of the new creation, born again, not in bondage; whose liberty is glorious above all visible things; and these are the pure, to whom all things are pure, and hold fast only that which is good, and the rest are free from.

And this ever mind, that whatever freedom you obtain through the suffering and patience of Christ in spirit, you part not with it to please the flesh, but hold it as your everlasting possession purchased for you, not with corruptible things; so that which is dearly purchased, let not lightly go, but remember Israel, who was redeemed out of Egypt with much hardships, and many signs and sufferings, but soon in haste got up that which said, Let us return back again; and this grieved God above all: And this you will find ready to rise upon every further hardship and want, as it was with them. Wherefore stand fast in that which you have proved to be liberty indeed, and by no means look back nor hanker to that which is behind, to let it overtake you again: Remember Lot's wife; and the wrath of God will ever be upon that mind which looks back into old things, which are judged in the light, and led out of with the life: Wherefore stand single in your minds to follow nothing new or old, but what the Holy Spirit leads into; for the work is a work you know not, nor the way do you know, but as it is learned in the obedience by which the soul is purified and cleared by purging out the old earthly leaven, which has darkened the temple of God, and God's work is not seen in that nature.

Wherefore give all diligence to the Spirit's motion and leadings, what it moves against, and what it leads to; for now will God make all things new: A new creation, new heavens, and new earth, and new heart and mind, and a new law, a new man to walk therein with his Maker with cheerfulness, and the old bonds are broken by the Spirit's leading, and to serve in newness of spirit. And as you mind the pure leadings of the Spirit, and willingly follow and obey, you will come to know your Creator in the days of your youth, and how He made the worlds by His holiness; and how He is your Father, and in what: and how He begets you again into the heavenly delights, who was gone out from Him, and drove into the earth with your hearts and affections, and so those will lead out still further from God, if you look into them, but can never come into God again, but must die, and be changed by the Spirit; and the New Creature is accepted of God, the new heart and mind, and spirit, which is renewed after God, by following of His Spirit who creates Him.

And this work will be darkened to your understand, if your minds come not clear out of the old, into the new: For wrath will arise, and confusion will be to that mind which is double, where the eye is not single, kept forward in the belief of the Spirit only, but looks back into the loss, and to that which is dying and condemned; there is the smoke, and darkness, and torment, and temptations, being enticed back into the old: But if the eye be single, the whole body is full of light, and the faith arises to endure to the end of the world, and to look to the beginning and finishing of the new work of regeneration. And standing single to God herein, though the world pass away with thundering, earthquakes, and a mighty noise, yet shall ye not fear nor faint, abiding in the meek, patient, and suffering Spirit, and the leadings of that which endure all things to win Christ: And coming out of Babel, you shall not fall with her, nor be darkened with the smoke of her torments, as all that abide in her must, and of her plagues must partake: but the pure mind rejoices over her in the midst of all.

**“Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel,
and afterward receive me to glory.”**

(Psalm 73:24)



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1691

January 13, Tuesday-14, Wednesday (Old Style) night: On this night [George Fox](#) died during his sleep. His funeral would be well-attended, and the body would be interred near Bunhill Fields.



QUAKERS



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Here is Friend [William Penn](#)'s retrospective:



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The Testimony of William Penn concerning that Faithful Servant George Fox.

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

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

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

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

At this time he taught and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring people from self-performances, testifying and turning to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the Light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. "For in the Word was life, and that life was the light of men." Life in the Word, light in men, and life too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's ministry which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and opening of the gospel-dispensation. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shewn him: and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the conviction of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with diverse yet living of the first and great conviction, who after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words), felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the publick assemblies, to reprove, inform and exhort them, sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see and examine and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts, yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

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

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



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

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

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

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

He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all;

whereof the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfeigned love.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

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

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that and nobody else; not considering that the principle is one in all, and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same, and being so they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people guided by the same principle are naturally led into: so that what is evil to one is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, and (which the disaffected profess to be) the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually minded, and of one heart and one soul.

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

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

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

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



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

To Friend Penn's retrospective as reprinted above, and to the general history published by Friend Sewal, we should add the observation that those who are the most closely associated with us in a movement may not be the best situated to observe our warts and blemishes, out of political affiliation. In that light, here is H. Larry Ingle, the most recent biographer of Friend George Fox, in regard to Gerard Croese's *The General History of the Quakers*, published in Latin in 1695 and in English in 1696:

“Croese had access to documents and people long since lost and did an extensive amount of research. The result, while erroneous in some places, is still better than Sewel's because he was not writing as an insider with a goal of defending the establishment. Sewel claimed that Croese got much of his information from him, but if he did, he certainly gave it a different twist. The Meeting for Sufferings was not please with Croese's book and tried to stop its publication, but they were unsuccessful. Both histories are useful, and neither should be overlooked, for both contain valuable information. My experience has been that, usually, those who write history from the inside tend to reflect the values and ‘take’ of those about whom they write. There's nothing wrong with this — in fact, that they write that way is understandably and often useful. But what they write must be balanced with the views of others. Croese did write as someone who did not accept the ‘truth’ of Quakerism. That fact made him neither right nor wrong, but it did give him a perspective that those who want to get at the total picture need to look at and consider. Let me cite one passage about Fox that I found quite perceptive, from Book II, p. 116:

‘[Fox] was moreover couragious. tenacious of his Opinion, and morose, so much confiding in his Person, Pain and Advice, that the thought nothing could be done rightly, or perfected without him, being desious every where to be present, and preside; and what happened to be done well, he laid claim to the glory of it, pretending Title to the Reward of the Praise of it all; and yet all this under colour of Simplicity and Humility. Pleasant and Bountiful to those that lov'd him, but bitter against others that were not of his Society, not only hurting ‘em verbally, but really as fer as he could, and that sometimes not imprudently, but even immodestly and impudently too.’

Can anyone imagine Sewel writing candidly, and, I might add, so insightfully? Indeed, such balanced assessments were few and far between until more recent days. The point is that one should use both Sewel and Croese if one wants to get as close to the actual early Quakerism — the former for the view of those who wanted to defend the movement, the latter for those who wanted an outsider's comments. Sewel writes erroneously as well — indeed, given the state of histories of the day, one can reasonably expect that errors will appear in practically every writer, even the most careful. That does not mean that we should assume that one among so few writers is completely correct.”



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1716

An aged former colleague of [Friend James Nayler](#), Friend George Whitehead, disregarded the wishes of Friend George Fox in order to publish A COLLECTION OF SUNDRY BOOKS, EPISTLES AND PAPERS, WRITTEN BY JAMES NAYLER, SOME OF WHICH WERE NEVER BEFORE PRINTED, WITH AN IMPARTIAL RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO HIS LIFE. (Although Friend George's selection is commonly misdescribed as WORKS by current historians, in actuality much of Friend James's [Quaker](#) pamphleteering had been omitted in deference to the sensitivities of the 18th-Century reader.)

GEORGE WHITEHEAD



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

HARVARD'S LIBRARIES AND THE QUAKER JESUS

Leo Damrosch

...When I looked into the Houghton catalog, I was astonished to find how complete its holdings are: Harvard has virtually all of Nayler's fifty-odd books and pamphlets, together with a comprehensive collection of the anti-Quaker diatribes that generally called them forth. Many of his writings were included in a volume published in 1716 by an aged former colleague named George Whitehead, with the title *A COLLECTION OF SUNDRY BOOKS, EPISTLES AND PAPERS, WRITTEN BY JAMES NAYLER, SOME OF WHICH WERE NEVER BEFORE PRINTED, WITH AN IMPARTIAL RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO HIS LIFE*. But many other pamphlets and tracts were omitted from Whitehead's selection (commonly misdescribed as *WORKS* by historians) because they were too radical in tendency for eighteenth-century readers. And although scholars have winnowed with great care the magnificent collection of manuscript letters in the Friend's House Library in London, Nayler's published writings have been quite seriously neglected. The reason is that they seemed redundant and unrewarding so long as certain kinds of questions were being asked; but if one asks different questions, they grow eloquent once more. It is worth adding that working with the original publications is very different from using the microfilm collections of early texts that Widener, like other large academic libraries, naturally has available. Some pamphlets that are essential for my purposes have never been microfilmed; many that have been microfilmed are too blurry to read with confidence; and, above all, one has no opportunity to put two versions of a text side by side to see what comparison may reveal. A few historians have wondered whether the 1716 *SUNDRY BOOKS* accurately reproduces the original texts, but no one seems ever to have actually compared them, and I believe I am the first to have done so. In fact the 1716 volume makes many alterations, usually for stylistic reasons, but sometimes for doctrinal ones from which much can be learned. When I began this project I knew very little about the Quakers and have drawn gratefully on the achievements of modern scholars: historians of sectarianism like Hugh Barbour and Phyllis Mack; social and political historians like David Underdown, John Morrill, and Blair Worden; and others like the sociolinguist Richard Bauman whose *LET YOUR WORDS BE FEW*, neglected by historians, is a masterly study of the motivation and style of Quaker oppositional behavior. Material in a library does not, so to speak, get used up; instead, it gets reused when different questions are asked, and the Harvard libraries have a symbiotic relationship in which the current scholarship in Widener helps to make the old materials in Houghton speak anew. As I began reading my way into the subject, two areas of my own expertise turned out to be helpful. I had written a book on the role of Puritan ideas and experience in the rise of the novel and was therefore familiar with the intellectual context of Nayler's time and with the beliefs of his Calvinist enemies. And I had also written a book on William Blake, born a century after the Bristol episode, whose profoundly symbolic thinking throws a flood of light on the assumptions that guided Nayler and his companions. A careful reading of Nayler's lucid responses under interrogation and his writings afterward shows clearly that he was never crazy. What was diagnosed as madness was at a deep level an imaginative understanding of principles that all antinomians, and many orthodox believers too, claimed to accept. I use the term "antinomian" in the sense in which Nayler himself understood it, as the replacement of an external moral law by an internal spiritual one. In its extreme form, which the Quakers firmly repudiated, this might be taken to mean that the Ten Commandments had become irrelevant and that a saved person was liberated from moral obligations of any kind. The Quaker position was that the law was still binding, but that participation in Christ made it possible to live up to its demands instead of endlessly failing to do so. In the opinion of the Quakers, the Calvinist Puritans, refusing to understand this consequence of the Incarnation, remained trapped in the punitive legalism of the Old Covenant and had yet to understand the real message of Christ. "*My covenant is the new one, and the law in the heart,*" Nayler declared in 1655, "*and here Christ is the rule of life to me for ever, and my law is spiritual and not moral.*" This theology lies at the heart of early Quaker thinking, but in making literal what was normally figurative Nayler



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

put it to the test: he articulated the practical implications of antinomian thought with great clarity and consistency. During an earlier imprisonment in 1653 he had written: *“The Cross is daily to be taken up, for the Cross is to the carnal, wild, heady, brutish nature in you, which lies above the Seed of God in you, and oppresses the pure. Now giving this up to be crucified, makes way for that which is pure to arise.”* What Nayler did in Bristol was to permit his followers to stage the passion of Christ, with himself as protagonist like an actor in a mystery play, enacting in a deliberately challenging form the daily taking up of the cross which was commonly invoked as a mere metaphor, but which needed to be internalized and lived as a potent sign. The tragic absurdity of the actual performance, the handful of bedraggled singers trudging knee-deep in mud, was actually essential to the enactment. To be despised and rejected, to be mocked by the world, was precisely to imitate Christ, as Nayler had said in the same work: a person who is born again in Christ *“is willing to be a fool to the world and Serpent’s wisdom, content to suffer wrongs, buffetings, persecutions, slanders, reviling, mocking, without seeking revenge, but bears all the venom the Serpent can cast upon him with patience and is made perfect through suffering, and counts it joy, and rejoiceth in the Cross.”* But as Nayler elsewhere demanded of the Puritans, in words that are highly applicable to his own fate, *“Are you like Christ, because you profess him, when you crucify every appearance of him to your selves afresh?”* The great Puritan preacher Richard Baxter, who hated the Quakers, wrote long afterward, *“Their chief leader James Nayler acted the part of Christ at Bristol, according to much of the history of the Gospel.”* Nayler did not claim to be Christ, but he acted the part of Christ, reproducing the details of the entrance into Jerusalem as reported in the Bible.

The more I read, the more interested I became, and it was exhilarating to hope that I might revive long-muted voices and help them to speak again. The result of this research is a book entitled *THE SORROWS OF THE QUAKER JESUS: JAMES NAYLER AND THE PURITAN CRACKDOWN ON THE FREE SPIRIT*, which will be published later this year by the Harvard University Press. The great majority of the quotations from Nayler in the book, and more than a few of those from his contemporaries, have never appeared in print since their original publication. And I believe that my training as a literary scholar has helped me to reanimate them in fresh ways: I look closely at particular passages in order to understand how they make sense or evade it, and I try to listen attentively to notes of uneasiness and ambiguity rather than interpreting all texts as declarative statements. In addition, I have found it invariably fruitful to seek in a concordance—helpfully on hand in the Houghton reading room—any phrase that sounded scriptural; it is remarkable how seldom scholars look up such references even when they are explicitly invoked. But to read Puritan and Quaker tracts without pondering the Biblical texts they refer to (often only allusively) is to hear only one-half of dialogue and, very often, to miss its point. My own beliefs, however, are entirely secular, and my aim has been to understand what Nayler thought he was doing, not to preach his message as such. And in the end it turns out that (much to my surprise) I have turned myself, however temporarily and imperfectly, into a historian. Still, as I have sat reading the faded records of those long-ago passions in the well-appointed comfort of Houghton Library, I have had to reflect on the immense gulf that separates Nayler and his contemporaries from any modern interpreter. Harvard’s copy of the 1716 *COLLECTION OF SUNDRY BOOKS* has a history that deserves reflection. On the flyleaf an early purchaser inscribed his name and date in the Quaker style: *“Jn. Pemberton, London 6th mo., 20th. 1750”* (he paid the considerable price of five shillings and sixpence for what must by then have been a used book). Pemberton was twenty-two years old at the time. The ninth of ten children of a Philadelphia merchant, he had sailed to Europe in search of improved health, had come under the influence of a Quaker minister with the allegorical name of John Churchman, and was now beginning what would turn into a three years preaching tour in Churchman’s company. Pemberton died in 1795 after a lifetime of proselytizing, interrupted only by a distressing period of imprisonment in 1777-1778 when his principles prevented him from cooperating with armed colonial resistance against England. This was a reader who would have wanted to know what Nayler had to say about Truth, and for whom most of the questions modern interpreters ask would have seemed impertinent if not incomprehensible.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Inside the front cover a printed label is pasted, from to the Friends Library of Philadelphia, with the annotation “The Gift of John Pemberton.” There the book must have remained for many years, but also pasted in the cover is the bookplate of the Earlham College Library, with a picture of a man and woman in Quaker dress gazing at a forest above which an institutional building rises upon a cloud-capped hill. In 1929 this copy of Nayler’s SUNDRY BOOKS had fallen at last into the hands of professional academics, albeit ones who were sympathetic to the movement; Hugh Barbour, one of the most distinguished of Quaker historians, taught at Earlham (and now lives in retirement in Cambridge, where I have had the benefit of valuable conversations with him). A few years later the book came to Houghton as part of an exchange of duplicate materials. Professor Thomas D. Hamm of Earlham has kindly informed me that when the Friends Library in Philadelphia was broken up in 1929 its contents were distributed among several Quaker colleges; Earlham already had a copy of the Nayler volume, and gave this one to Harvard in 1935. Now, another sixty years later (and two and a half centuries after its purchase by young John Pemberton) it is being asked to yield up answers its author and first readers never thought of. But it has also, I hope, helped to illuminate what they did think and believe, and thereby to contribute to the understanding of a *cause célèbre* that can still reveal much about the experience of the seventeenth century.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1927

Mabel R. Brailsford's A QUAKER FROM CROMWELL'S ARMY: [JAMES NAYLER](#) (NY: Macmillan).

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1972

Friend [James Nayler](#) was romanticized by the Marxist historian Christopher Hill in *THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN: RADICAL IDEAS DURING THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION*, a widely influential study of 17th-century radicalism. Hill averted his eyes from the messianic entry into Bristol, the details of which, he declared, “are well known,” and minimized Nayler’s religiosity by translating it into the politics and economics that supposedly was the real import of his life.

“NARRATIVE HISTORY” IS FABULATION, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: January 16, 2014



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



FRIEND JAMES NAYLER

JAMES NAYLER

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.