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The Evidence and Practice of Spiritual Gifts Among Early Friends

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THE EVIDENCE AND PRACTICE

OF

SPIRITUAL GIFTS

AMONG EARLY FRIENDS

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

For three hundred years the Friends Church has carried a concern for the work of the Holy Spirit to manifest Himself in the mainstream of Friends theology. The work or doctrine of Christian Perfection has been the topic for many discussions and graduate papers. However, the topic of the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts has not been considered in the light of past history nor has the relation the present has with the past been studied in regard to the possession and exercise of spiritual gifts.

I. THE PROBLEM

The problem of this study was to examine the spiritual gifts and their exercise among selected leaders in the Early Friends Movement with respect to (1) the number of gifts possessed, (2) the manner of their expression, and (3) their combined effect upon The Early Friends Movement.

II. JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDY

This study was justified because of three underlying propositions; one, that the gifts of the Spirit are represented in the Biblical record as having a legitimate position in the church of Jesus

Christ; second, that the Early Friends Movement was the recipient and steward of various gifts and gave high honor and praise to the Holy Spirit; and, third, that the current trend in contemporary church life demanded a study of Friends history in the light of the evidence and practice of spiritual gifts. A brief discussion of each of these propositions follows.

(1) The pages of New Testament history abound with the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts and lives of the first century Christians. There are accounts of healing, control of demons, miracles, preaching, teaching, prophecy, governments, helps and tongues. The Apostle Paul was undoubtedly the outstanding spokesman relating to the subject of spiritual gifts. His letters to the Corinthians contain direction relative to the reception and practice of the gifts.

(2) The Society of Friends (Quakers) historically has placed a great premium upon the personal ministry of the Holy Spirit. The pages of its history reveal the possessions and exercise of certain gifts. The exercise of these gifts added to the rapid growth of the Friends Movement in England, Jamaica, Barbados, and the New World.

(3) The Charismatic Movement has been catapulted into the thought of current church life by its wide-spread manifestations. National publications, representing a broad theological orientation, reflect the activity of this "New Discovery".

Christianity Today has carried such articles and the publication of September 13, 1963 was representative of the current interest. The author, Frank Farrell, in an article entitled, "Outburst of Tongues:

The New Penetration", analyzed the renewed emphasis as it was related to the wide spectrum of ecclesiastical affiliation. He stated:

Nearly all the major denominations have been affected by what is called the Charismatic revival, Episcopalians and Lutherans preeminently so. Greatest strength of the new penetration is in Southern California, but in the past months reports of developments have come in from across the nation:¹

The present generation has witnessed the growth of the Charismatic Movement until it has reached into all the major Protestant denominations. The range of its scope includes the formal or liturgical worship patterns of the Anglican faith and the non-liturgical groups comprising the Pentecostal fringe.

Therefore, because of these three basic statements, it was determined both necessary and valuable to conduct a study concerning the possession and practice of spiritual gifts in the Early Friends Movement.

III. DELIMITATIONS

The study was limited in three areas. First, Biblically; the Biblical record was studied to provide background information and a frame of reference which made possible a definition of spiritual gifts. The record was studied in the original language with the aid of Greek dictionaries and recognized scholars as additional aids. Second, his-

¹Frank Farrell, "Outburst of Tongues: The New Penetration," Christianity Today, VII (September 13, 1963), p. 6.

torically; the historical setting was confined primarily to the seventeenth century and especially to the life-time of George Fox (1624-1691). This basic time span was adjusted to allow interpretation of the combined contribution of selected leaders upon the Friends Movement. The term "Early Friends Movement" referred to the period of 1624 to 1691. The study included a brief survey of political movements contemporary to that time and their relation to the Society of Friends. Third, personalities; the study was governed by the examination of three personalities rather than a survey of the entire movement. The three men chosen for this study were George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, Edward Burrough, a young, energetic and powerful preacher of the same general era, and James Nayler, an outstanding but radical leader of Friends in London. Edward Burrough was chosen as a contrast between Fox and Nayler. His was a levelling influence in the formative growth period of the Early Friends.

IV. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The method of procedure was first to limit the scope of the study. This resulted in isolating the period of 1624 to 1691 as the historical setting. This particular time was chosen as it represented the life span of George Fox, founder of the Friends Church. The men selected for this study were contemporaries of George Fox.

Chapter II of the study included a Biblical analysis of Paul's definitions of Spiritual Gifts as given in I Corinthians 12. These

gifts were studied in the light of the original language with the aid of recognized Biblical scholars.

Chapter III was a study to determine the contemporary political and spiritual setting in England. A brief survey of England's break with Rome under Henry VIII was included to establish the Protestant principles. This discussion was followed by a review of selected religious movements which were motivated by political ideals. The Levellers, the Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men were selected because of their desire to be led by the Holy Spirit.

Chapters IV, V and VII dealt with the life and spiritual ministries of George Fox, Edward Burrough, and James Nayler respectively. Each leader was studied in the same manner i.e., early life and conversion, manifestations of Spiritual Gifts, an account of his death, and a summation of the cited material.

Chapter VII led to the final summary with observations, conclusions and suggestions for further study.

V. SOURCES OF DATA

The study included the use of primary source materials. These materials were chosen by recommendation of Dr. Arthur O. Roberts, professor of Philosophy and Religion at George Fox College, Newberg, Oregon, Dr. Milo C. Ross, President of George Fox College, and Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research. Mr. Cadbury was consulted by letter and personal telephone conversation. He

suggested primary source materials employed in this study.

The researcher utilized the aid of common historical facts as they related to England's national struggle for political and spiritual freedom. Secondary material was used to aid in noting varied opinions of the selected leaders and their personality characteristics in relation to their personal contributions.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND SPIRITUAL GIFTS

The subject of spiritual gifts was considered in the light of Biblical records. The study included a brief review of Old Testament expression of spiritual gifts. This was followed by a detailed consideration of the matter as presented by the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians 12.

The Old Testament witnessed remarkable demonstrations prior to the Holy Spirit's advent on the Day of Pentecost. Thus the concept of spiritual gifts was not new in New Testament preaching. Wisdom was granted Solomon in accordance with his prayer (II Chronicles 1:10). God responded to Elijah's prayer of faith on Mount Carmel (I Kings 18:37-38). Elisha's causing the axe to float was considered miraculous (II Kings 6:6). The gift of prophecy was an outstanding message of the Old Testament. Jeremiah declared to Hananiah: "This year thou shalt die" (Jeremiah 28:16).

Thus the study was turned from the Old Testament account to view the New Testament record concerning the Apostolic and general Church possession and exercise of spiritual gifts.

The matter of spiritual gifts is formally introduced by the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians 12:1 by the following words: "Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant." He continued from verses 2 through 31 to name, define and suggest a

utilization for the imparted gifts. The Holy Spirit was regarded as the source of these gifts and Paul reported in 14:32: "and the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Thus the Apostle established by implication that the gifts of the Holy Spirit were to be controlled and manifest by the recipient.

The words, spiritual gifts, comes from the Greek word, πνευματικα. G. Campbell Morgan in his book, The Corinthian Letters of Paul, states:

Literally translated, the Greek word simply means spirituals. We do not employ that plural in English, and probably that is why this word gift or gifts has been supplied, in order to explain the word. But we do use another, which is its exact equivalent, spiritualities, which I should use here. Paul says, 'Now concerning the spiritualities.' The word indicates that which is ethereal rather than gross, that which is of the spirit rather than that of the physical; that is spiritualities. Here the word is preceded in the Greek by the definite article, το. So it is not 'concerning spiritualities,' but 'now concerning the Spiritualities.¹

The church of Corinth was plagued with internal problems resulting in the analytical pronouncement of Paul, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ." (I Corinthians 3:1). Chapters one through eleven deal with the problems resulting from fleshly stimuli and responses. Chapter twelve calls their attention away from the flesh and draws them to consider the spiritualities.

The Apostle provided a suggested list of "spiritualities" in the

¹G. Campbell Morgan, The Corinthian Letters of Paul (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1946), pp. 145-46.

twelfth Chapter. Apostolic direction for the church is noted: "But covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way." (I Corinthians 12:31) In Chapter thirteen Love is commanded as the fruit of the Spirit. Whereas Chapter fourteen relates to the application of spiritual gifts, Chapters twelve and thirteen relate to the possession and practice of the spiritualities.

Through common use and church tradition the term "spiritual gifts" has become a common and acceptable term. Therefore, in this thesis the term "spiritual gifts" was employed and the reader is asked to refer to the term "spiritualities" as its equivalent.

The explanatory outline of spiritual gifts is that found in I Corinthians 12. The Apostle Paul had written to correct certain faults within the Corinthian assembly and gave a sample of the "spiritualities". This outline contained thirteen specific gifts and each one was utilized by the infant church, under special direction of the Holy Spirit. However, the Church was not to limit the work of the Holy Spirit, nor consider this list of gifts exhaustive. It was noted in Schaff, Herzog,

Religious Encyclopedia:

Their number is as various as the needs of the Church; and neither the enumeration of I Cor. XII., nor of Eph. IV., nor Rom. XII. can be regarded as exhaustive.²

The gifts were outlined as follows:

Word of Wisdom, λόγος σοφίας (I Corinthians 12:8)

²Schaff, Herzog, A Religious Encyclopedia, Vol. II, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), p. 873.

Two recognized scholars, A. T. Robertson and G. Campbell Morgan agreed as to the meaning of this gift.

The word of wisdom (logos sophios) old words. Logos is reason, then speech. Wisdom is intelligence, the practical action in accord with it. Were it is speech full of God's wisdom---under the impulse of the Spirit of God.³

Morgan notes, "That is a gift, and that means direct insight into truth, a gift bestowed."⁴

Word of Knowledge, λόγος γνῶσεως (I Corinthians 12:8)

This referred to divine insight or special illumination to understand things pertaining to the spiritual world. Morgan suggested that this gift directs or guides the mind in the process of investigation and analysis of problems. Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown in their Commentary, concluded that this gift was: "Ready utterance supernaturally imparted of truths already revealed. . . Knowledge relates to things that are to be done."⁵

Gift of Faith, πίστις (I Corinthians 12:9)

This gift was similar to saving faith in that both were founded in reliance upon God as the causative power. It differed in that the objectives were different. This wonder working faith like that in 13:2,

³Archibald Thomas Robertson, Word Pictures In The New Testament (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1931), Vol. IV, p. 169.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 152.

⁵Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, Commentary (Hartford: S.S. Scranton Co., n.d.), p. 287.

was faith to remove mountains, if it lay in the scope of Divine will and providence. Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown noted: "Not of doctrine, but of miracles; confidence in God, by the impulse of His Spirit, that He would enable them to perform any required miracle."⁶

Gift of Healing, *ἡ ἀριστία σωμάτων* (I Corinthians 12:9)

The Pulpit Commentary was noted as follows: "Not that is, by medical knowledge, but by supernatural power."⁷ This was a special, supernatural gift by which sick and afflicted persons were made whole. That this healing power is not evidenced in the life of a person at all times was witnessed by Paul's inability to cure his own body. (II Corinthians 12:7-9)

Working of Miracles, *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεως* (I Corinthians 12:10)

This gift of the Spirit provided the ability and the power to perform supernatural acts. Paul's experience of smiting Elymas with blindness in Acts 13:11, and the viper bite on Melita in Acts 28:1-6, served as examples to verify the gift of miracle-working ability. Schaff, Herzog recorded the following notation concerning miracles: "Miracles are such events in external nature or in history as cannot be wrought by natural forces or human means, but only by the immediate exercise of higher, divine powers."⁸

⁶Ibid. p. 287.

⁷The Pulpit Commentary, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d.), p. 398.

⁸Schaff, Herzog, op. cit. p. 1525.

Gifts of Prophecy, προφητεία (I Corinthians 12:1)

This gift led into two distinct areas of Christian service and ministry. One, it revealed the ability to predict coming events or to foretell. Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown declared:

As prophecy is part of the whole scheme of redemption, an insight into the obscurer parts of the existing Scriptures, was the necessary preparation for the miraculous foresight of the future.⁹

The second was the divine enablement to tell-forth a message of divine origination. Morgan states: "that is, ability to make the will of God directly known."¹⁰

Discerning of Spirits, διακρίσεις πνευμάτων (I Corinthians 12:10)

This gift was needed to properly distinguish between a true and a false ministry and a true or false confession. Robertson notes:

A most needed gift to tell whether the gifts were really of the Holy Spirit and supernatural . . . or merely strange natural or even diabolical.¹¹

Kinds of Tongues, γένη γλωσσῶν (I Corinthians 12:10)

This gift has been the point of great controversy in the past as well as the present century. The definition has been as varied as the scholar consulted. However, it is agreed that Paul's usage of γλωσσῶν in I Corinthians twelve is to be regarded as an ecstatic usage of non-

⁹Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, op. cit. p. 287.

¹⁰Morgan, op. cit., p. 153.

¹¹Robertson, op. cit., pp. 169-70.

lingual syllables employed in praise to God. It was to be used in praise and not for preaching nor evangelization. Schaff, Herzog noted:

It had nothing to do directly with the spread of the gospel. It was an act of self-devotion, emotional rather than intellectual, excited rather than calm. If one was not in a similar condition, the glossolalia was like the incoherent talk of a drunken man.¹²

Interpretation of Tongues, ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν (I Corinthians 12:10)

A divine or supernatural ability to translate or reveal the meaning of various tongues to any who would not understand their message. The Pulpit Commentary reported: " . . . St. Paul ordains that another should convey in ordinary language the impressions left by the inspired rhapsody."¹³

Apostleship, οὗς μετ' ἀποστόλους (I Corinthians 12:28)

Morgan notes: "The work of the apostle was supremely that of setting out the truth."¹⁴ The word ἀποστόλους not only means one sent with a message but it first of all means one who is set apart for a particular function. Therefore, apostleship was a distinct New Testament gift which was regulated by the Holy Spirit and not possessed by all converts to Christianity.

Teachers, διδασκάλους (I Corinthians 12:28)

¹²Schaff, Herzog, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 2369.

¹³The Pulpit Commentary, op. cit., p. 398.

¹⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 159.

The context indicated the work of the teacher was directed to the church. Thus the ministry of teaching should not be separated from the work of the apostle whose task it was to set forth truth.

Helps, ἀντιλήμψεις (I Corinthians 12:28)

The word is a derivative of ἀντιλήμψεις, meaning to aid, assist or to help. This particular word was common in papyri but found only here in the New Testament. Morgan stated: "That is a lovely word here in the list of gifts, that power which God bestows on some. The word 'help' means that, helpers, those who give relief in any direction."¹⁵ Robertson observed that it: "Probably refers to the work of the deacons, help rendered to the poor and the sick."¹⁶ Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown noted the following: " . . . also those who helped with their time and means, in the Lord's cause."¹⁷

Governments, κυβερνήσεις (I Corinthians 12:28)

The Spirit of God has set the gift of governments, that is the ability to guide, steer, and organize the body of the Church into a workable organism. The Pulpit Commentary observed that it was: "Powers of leading and organization."¹⁸ This gift provided the ability to formulate the direction of the body and realize the fulfillment of her

¹⁵Ibid. p. 160.

¹⁶Robertson, op. cit., p. 174.

¹⁷Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, loc. cit.

¹⁸The Pulpit Commentary, op. cit., p. 400.

plans.

SUMMARY

The concluding definition of the spiritual gifts was considered adequate and valuable at this point.

. . . Charismata are capacities and aptitudes necessary for the edification of the Church and produced by the Holy Spirit, in consequence of which individuals are enabled to use their natural endowments in the service of the Church, and are furnished with new powers to effect this end.¹⁹

In summary, this study found thirteen separate gifts to have been functional in Apostolic ministries and the first century Church. These gifts were Wisdom, Knowledge, Faith, Healing, Miracles, Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Kinds of Tongues, Interpretation of Tongues, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps and Governments.

It was noted that the Church possessed these gifts and not the apostles alone. The gifts were imparted by the Spirit and controlled by the believer.

Therefore, the Early Friends Movement was projected against this Biblical foundation to ascertain the number of spiritual gifts and the manner or pattern of their expression. To that projection we now turn.

¹⁹Schaff, Herzog, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 873.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENTS AND EARLY FRIENDS

The political and spiritual life of England was closely related. It was considered necessary to give attention to the historical involvements of Henry the Eighth's break with Rome and the establishment of the Church of England. This was followed by a review of selected contemporary religious groups within the chosen historical setting. The Levelers, the Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men were considered in the light of their relationship to the Friends Movement.

Seventeenth century England was a mixture of church and state struggle for the ascendancy. There was a constant attempt to grasp and retain the dominance of power. Also, within the Church there were vying groups. For example, the competition between Romanism and Puritan authority was beginning to reveal a basic cleavage in the internal affairs of state.

The pattern of living was broken into a class system of lords, squires, small landowners and the estate workmen. The main enjoyments of life were simple and basic for those who comprised the large working class; whereas the demand and expectations of the sophisticated were costly and selfish. G. M. Trevelyan notes in his work, England Under the Stuarts:

Some landowners recognized no other function in life save the daily hunt, followed by the nightly carouse at the ale-house whither they repaired after dinner with the ladies of the family; a

scheme varied by little else than the statutory church service on Sunday. The hound of earthly amusements and besotted pleasures wasted the lives and fortunes of many gentlemen not really above the common people in their habits; who if they had but been classed as yeomen would have worked hard upon their estates.¹

The educational life of the middle or upper class family varied according to the plan and future purpose of the young men. Many who were groomed as apprentices had little formal training beyond the learning of letters, basic reading and writing. There were schools available in the larger cities and villages which prepared the young men for a more formal or professional life. The continental philosophy of educational opportunities was extended only to the very rich so it had not yet pervaded the thought life of England. Because of middle and upper class integration in the pursuit of education, these two levels of society became very understanding, assisting greatly in their abilities to work in local civic as well as national affairs.

The outstanding Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were making an impact upon the standards of education and social acceptance. The methods and matter taught were inferior to that of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nevertheless they filled the education vacuum and requirements of that era. They were considered to be national institutions and recognized for the class of men rather than a high degree of scholarship.

Social justice was a term unknown in England during the early

¹George Macaulay Trevelyan, England Under The Stuarts (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), p. 8.

part of the seventeenth century. The national government passed laws and handed down ultimatums on the basis of political expediency rather than actual need. The political maneuvering in fulfilling the law allowed the real criminal great latitude for escape and absolution of punishment but submitted the poor to the local dungeon. The goaler, or jailer, was normally a person of hatred and greed. He was able to exact great sums of money on the basis of threat and physical suffering. Those who were helpless to meet the monetary demands perished quickly in the most vile and filthy holes.

The nation was ruled by a monarchy, but there was a degree of self-determination and rule allowed in local civic government. Trevelyan noted:

But of all the conditions which formed the political character of the English merchant class, the most important was self-government. None of the monarchs of England before Charles II attempted to interfere with the management of the towns by freely elected Mayors, Aldermen and Bailiffs.²

Due to the conditions mentioned above it was extremely difficult, in fact almost impossible to provide national freedom of worship and religious exercise. The law could guarantee the freedom but it did not provide strength to fulfill its own demands.

The religious life of England was passing through a period of transition during the seventeenth century. The Church and State had been consolidated under Henry VIII in 1534. The succeeding events of that bold move proved to be highly significant in English theological

²Ibid. p. 50.

and ecclesiastical trends. The Church now being free from Rome (by the letter), was set to develop her own doctrine and theological statement of faith. The Church doctrines and worship patterns were formulated by Bishop Crammer and passed by Parliament under Edward VI in 1553. Edward VI followed in the steps of his father, Henry VIII, in liberating England from Rome.

However, the strength of Roman Popery remained in England, and, under Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine, the Church was carried back into the fold of Rome. Mary reigned from 1553 to 1558. During the five years she restored the monasteries, sought good priests and courted the assistance of the Universities to train and prepare scholars for the Roman Catholic faith. Also during the reign of Mary, many of the English Church leaders were beheaded for their failure to return to the foreign power. The most famous of those who died were Bishops Latimer, Ridley and Crammer who were burned at the stake at Oxford.

Following the death of Mary in 1558, one of England's most famous and colorful queens became the reigning monarch. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, restored the supremacy of the Crown over the Church and struck a mortal blow at the relationship between England and Rome. In an attempt to satisfy both her strong Catholic subjects and the Protestant elements, she devised a Church policy of amalgamating both factions. This was accomplished and a settlement was reached with the majority of Englishmen until the Church structure has remained basically unchanged to the present time.

In 1559 the Act of Supremacy was passed by an obedient Parliament. This Act disavowed any alignment with Rome and payments to Rome were forbidden. The Queen was established as the "Supreme Governor" of England in things spiritual as well as temporal. To more fully define the faith of the Anglican Church, the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were passed in 1571. This was a revision of the Forty-Two Articles which had been accepted under Edward VI.

Thus the seventeenth century arrived with the Church of England well engrained and established, but there was much dissatisfaction. There was still the Roman faction as well as those who felt the English Reformation should be carried much farther. There were also the Puritans and the Separatists, or Independents, who were poles apart in their concerns and demands. Kenneth Scott Latourette noted:

The Puritans wished to remain within the church of England and to have it, cleansed according to their pattern, as the religious wing of the nation's life to which all the queen's subjects would belong The Separatists or Independents . . . believed in gathered churches, not made up of all the inhabitants of a particular area, but only of those who were consciously Christian . . . They were Separatists in that they withdrew from the Church of England and were Independents in that they believed in the full autonomy of each local church.³

The Society of Friends had its historical conception within the latter group. They maintained a standard of separation and independence. The Friends Movement was subject to many trials and much suffering because they could not, according to conscience and scripture, be

³Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 815.

part of the larger Anglican or Puritan movements.

The religious atmosphere was one of unrest and constant change when the seventeenth century made its debut. Elizabeth died in 1603 and the long line of Henry VIII had no successor. Thus the throne passed to James I, a great-grandson of Henry VIII. This was the beginning of the Stuart dynasty. At first James I was inclined toward Roman Catholicism, but in 1604 he ordered more stringent rules and laws to be passed to control the threatening menace of Rome. However, his decision was based on political expediency rather than religious conviction.

James I ruled with might and authority. He was a firm believer in the Divine Right of Kings. He desired to improve his subjects' welfare only insofar that it did not allow the subject governing power. This philosophy led to a deeper cleavage between the Crown and the new and important Puritan and Separatists groups.

The Puritan influence succeeded in making way into the Parliament and applied considerable pressure against James I. The moral objectives of the Puritans were noble in character. They desired to cleanse the existing national Church of all impurities and restore holy living in the court as well as in the country. The actual fulfillment of these noble vows found the use of force as cruel and wicked as any the king or court used in executing the law. The witch-hunts, the cruel imprisonments and the exacting of exorbitant fines for failure to obey the law were only examples of the Puritan attempt to establish the Kingdom of God.

James I was succeeded by Charles I in 1625. He followed the same

authoritative pattern as established by his father, but ran afoul of the Long Parliament in 1640. This opened a wide breach of policy and eventually led to the Civil War in 1642 to 1646. The defeat of this Monarch upon the battlefield by the forces of Parliament was of singular importance in the long battle for supremacy of Church and State.

The Civil War and defeat and execution of Charles I in 1646 resulted in the emergence of Oliver Cromwell. He was a leader of Parliament troops in the Civil War.

Out of the long struggle between the Crown and Parliament there arose three groups which were characteristic of the political unrest and the theological ferment in England. They were the Levellers, the Diggers and the Fifth Monarch-men. These groups exerted an influence upon national life and the situation which brought about the birth of the Friends Movement under George Fox.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall in his work, The Holy Spirit In Puritan Faith and Experience, noted the following from T. B. Macaulay, Essays, 1836 ed.)

The civil war also 'gave centrifugal religious forces a long-sought opportunity,' so that 'by the year 1644 the constant appearance of new and fantastic sects became a scandalous but insurmountable fact.'⁴

Nuttall commented:

A feature natural to most of these sects is their claim to the liberty of the Spirit in faith and experience, and their claim so

⁴Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit In Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), p. 8.

forced consideration of the matter even upon those who found it abhorrent.⁵

England was not totally unprepared for the emphasis of Friends upon the direct leading of the Holy Spirit. The message of the aforementioned politically motivated groups carried strong emphasis upon the leadership of the Spirit. They held to certain teachings which were closely related to the Friends doctrine of the Inner Light. Because of this close association of doctrine, at this level, Friends were identified with these three groups in times of political uprising.

Thus a study of the following groups: the Levellers, the Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men, was considered relevant to the central theme of this thesis.

A. LEVELLERS

The struggle for liberation from the monarchy caused a wave of political back-wash in the Army of Cromwell and Parliament. A strong vocal influence in this group was John Lilburne, a political radical whose religious thinking was ahead of his time in history. The work of Lilburne was an attempt to carry the basic reason for the Civil War to completion. Cromwell and Parliament had raised their hands in defiance to Charles I and had accepted the ideals of individual worth and value as primary objectives of the struggle. However, after the

⁵Ibid., p. 8.

war had been won, the plight and position of the individual remained under subjection to his rulers and he was not allowed an adequate voice in the affairs of state. Latourette noted:

Lilburne had been won by the Baptists and was an ardent student of the Bible and of various works on law and political theory . . . He held that there is a natural law to which all laws of man and the structure of state and society should conform, that it is written in the hearts and consciences of men.⁶

The work of John Lilburne and the Levellers was an attempt to call national attention to the struggle for human dignity and value. The concept that the lowest Englishman had the inherent right to elect his rulers was the motivation behind the Levellers. Latourette called attention to that fact as he stated:

. . . that sovereignty resides in the nation at large, that Parliaments should be elected by universal manhood suffrage, that they should have only limited administrative and police powers, and that no one should sit in two successive Parliaments.⁷

Lilburne urged the dissolution of the Parliament in 1647 and asked for the establishment of a democratic form of government.

In the year 1649 the Levellers staged a revolt and an uprising resulted. Lilburne was arrested and tried but because of popular support, he was acquitted and released. He was again charged by Cromwell and imprisoned. The Collier's Encyclopedia reported:

Cromwell imprisoned him in the Tower of London, where after several years of confinement he was converted to Quakerism in 1655. He wrote of this as an 'inward resurrection' and expe i-

⁶Latourette, op. cit., p. 821.

⁷Ibid., pp. 821-822.

enced a heightened consciousness of communion with God.⁸

The most valuable contribution this group made to English reformation was a demand for the rights of all men. This suggested reform included political as well as religious liberties and these concepts were seen in the Friends Movement.

The Society of Friends was not a political movement, but it was involved in the political concerns of the day. As the Levellers gave expression to the great political questions, the Friends Movement spoke with force and dignity to the social and spiritual demands. The degree of democracy in government, the worth of the individual, and the inherent right of all men to know God experientially were all reflective of the spiritual quest as seen in the seventeenth century.

These principles were not to be isolated in seventeenth century England, for they were revealed in the sixteenth century under Martin Luther and the Continental Reformation. Therefore, these concepts were not new to George Fox but rather he took occasio, by the Spirit's direction, to become the principal religious leader of his era.

B. DIGGERS

The Diggers, as a large segment of the social Levellers called themselves, found their leader in Gerald Winstanley. This radical social concern group made its entrance into the thought life of England

⁸"Lilburne", Collier's Encyclopedia (1965 ed.), XIV, p. 643.

following the Civil War. They held extreme demands for social reform.

The Diggers urged great land reforms which would redistribute the acreage of large land holders, thus giving it to those who were poor and without the ability to purchase from the common market. The suggested reform would have carried England into Social Communism. Such demands were voiced through the mediums of writing and music. The following verse describes the social conditions and principles as set forth by the Diggers.

The gentry are all around, stand up now, stand up now,
 The gentry are all around, stand up now.
 The gentry are all around, on each side they are found,
 Their wisdom's so profound, to cheat as of ground.
 Stand up now, stand up now.

The clergy they come in, stand up now, stand up now,
 The clergy they come in, stand up now.
 The clergy they come in, and say it is a sin
 That we should now begin, our freedom for to win,
 Stand up now, Diggers all.

To conquer them by love, come in now, come in now,
 To conquer them by love, come in now.
 To conquer them by love, as it does you behove,
 For His is King above; no power is like to love.
 Glory here, Diggers all.⁹

The principles to which the Diggers adhered were seen to exist also in the Society of Friends. The Quakers were concerned with social problems but not primarily as related to land reform. Friends saw the problem but chose rather to admonish the people to yield to the direction of the Holy Spirit who alone could change human motivation. There was neither a political nor a social revolution, but a spiritual

⁹Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 283.

restoration.

Winstanley and the Diggers set forth the principle of peaceable resistance to social evil as the overcoming quality. The manifestation of love was viewed as the conquering force. Friends stated that the love of Christ enthroned upon the human heart removed the very occasion for war; the occasion for war being seated in an evil heart of hatred and greed.

Comparison of likeness between the Society of Friends and the Diggers was also revealed in their mutual emphasis and dependance upon the Holy Spirit. Because of this similarity, the Friends were accused in 1678, by the Dean of Durham, of being Winstanley's disciples. This accusation was false for the Friends were independent of any organized politically motivated group or groups. They did, however, speak with great urgency to the social and religious complexities of their time. They did not remain silent for fear of being accused or identified with groups which spoke with great force. They protected their own cause by open reply and answer to accusations linking them with such groups as the Diggers.

C. FIFTH MONARCH-MEN

The most radical and fanatical of the reactionary groups was known as the Fifth Monarch-men. The name was drawn from Daniel: "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed:" (Daniel 2:44) The leaders envisioned

themselves as God ordained instruments to establish the eternal Kingdom of God upon earth. The following notation reveals the object and purpose of this group.

For a time they supported O. Cromwell, in the belief that the Commonwealth was a preparation for the Fifth Monarch, But when they found their theocratic hopes unlikely to be realized they turned against him.¹⁰

The Friends Movement had produced a large imprint upon English society by this time (1660) and they were implicated by the government in every radical outburst. The Fifth Monarch-men planned and carried out an uprising late in 1660 which caused Friends much suffering and persecution. The civil strife caused by the Fifth Monarch-men carried into January of 1661. William Sewell, in his history of the Quakers, noted the following concerning the Fifth Monarch-men:

There was at that time a great number of this turbulent people in England; . . .

This insurrection of the Fifth Monarch-men, caused great disturbance in the nation: and though the Quakers did not at all meddle with those boisterous people, yet they fell under great suffering because of them.¹¹

Trevelyan noted the effect of this commotion upon Friends:

The panic created by this last venture of the men of war caused a furious persecution of the pacific Quakers, who were haled to prison by thousands.¹²

The founder of the Friends, George Fox, was called from bed and

¹⁰F. L. Cross (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, n.d.), pp. 503-504.

¹¹William Sewell, The History of the Christian People Called Quakers (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1856), pp. 329-331.

¹²Trevelyan, pp. cit., p. 336.

carried to jail for his associations with his movement. After a three hour imprisonment the judge declared he was to be released upon the payment of a fine. Fox declined upon the premise that he had not committed an act warranting imprisonment and therefore a fine would be unjust. His payment would also have been used as an admission of guilt which he disavowed. At last the judge caused him to be released without payment.

History was faithful to record the fanatical behavior of Fifth Monarch-men and the persecution of the Friends in connection with their radical uprising. It was also faithful to fully exonerate the Friends from any involvement with the outburst. Sewell observed:

When . . . some of the Fifth Monarch-men were put to death because of their insurrection, they did the Quakers, so called, that right, that they cleared them openly from having a hand in, or any knowledge of their plot. This and other evidences caused the king, being continually importuned thereunt, to issue forth a declaration that the Quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees.¹³

This era of persecution and discouragement resulted in great blessing. The open acquittal of Friends and their release from prison caused a new turning of England to the truth as held by Friends.

However, even this new acceptance was met with open and stern reprisal from the recognized Church structure. The Fifth Monarch-men were gone but the attempt of the Friends to promote the gospel of Christ was discouraged in the town pulpit and lawfully prohibited by Royal and Parliamentary decree.

¹³Sewell, op. cit., p. 331.

SUMMARY

In the light of the Friends birth and growth during this period of political, social and spiritual upheaval it was considered necessary and relevant to note the three preceding groups.

The Friends Movement was brought to the moment of birth through the travail of a spiritual quest. The Holy Spirit was acknowledged to be the source of its life and effective ministry. Likewise, the Levellers, the Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men professed a close kinship with the Holy Spirit.

As noted in the definition of Spiritual Gifts, the Holy Spirit took occasion, by certain sanctified natural abilities, to demonstrate His power and truth. The foregoing groups each claimed to be "sent ones" of the Holy Spirit with a particular political ambition. Each attempted to unify mysticism and democratic principles into a cohesive governmental entity.

Thus the following conclusion was made: throughout the history of the Early Friends Movement there was a conscious effort to avoid the errors of the Levellers, the Diggers and the Fifth Monarch-men while retaining the passion for the dignity of all men and yieldedness to the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF GEORGE FOX

The life of George Fox was included in this study because he was the recognized founder and leader of the Society of Friends. His life and work has been explored in search of theological doctrine and governmental objectives. However, his life was more than cold objective pronouncements. He was a man of emotion and personal conviction who sought scriptural relevance for his society. Because these convictions were apparent in his preaching and writing, the search for spiritual gifts utilized the following pattern; Early Life and Conversion, Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts, Death and Summary.

I. EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION

Every century has had its great leaders, its independent thinkers and its religious pioneers, and the seventeenth century was no exception. This century witnessed a religious awakening which had a profound influence upon the life of England and consequently over the Continent and the New World with its new and far-flung frontiers.

The leaders of past centuries have stood out as giants among men, such as the Reformation leader, Martin Luther, the Dutch theologian, Jacob Arminius and the Scottish evangel, John Knox. The seventeenth century also had a personality to distinguish its religious upheaval

in the person of George Fox.

George Fox was an unpretentious person who possessed a magnetic message through the discovery that the Holy Spirit could give personal and immediate illumination to the written Word of God and make Christianity both spiritual and reasonable.

Fox was a man of the scripture and excelled in debate and argumentation even though he possessed little formal training and preparation. He was as familiar with the scriptures as was the doctor with his tools. When challenged by priest, judge, soldier, or layman, he met each one in the same unanswerable manner with a quotation from God's Word. The Bible was his constant companion during the years of his spiritual unrest. Because of this relationship, Rachel Knight remarked in her work, The Founder of Quakerism: "His knowledge of it became so thorough that his contemporaries said that if every Bible in England were destroyed George Fox could reproduce it from cover to cover."¹

Fox was born in the month of July 1624, at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, England. George's father was Christopher Fox, a weaver, and honest man who held a responsible position within the recognized state church. His integrity and unquestionable honesty soon earned the name "Righteous Christer" from his neighbors and friends. George's mother was, according to the words of his Journal: "an upright

¹Rachel Knight, The Founder of Quakerism (New York: Doran Co., 1923), p. 18.

woman . . . of the family of Lago and of the stock of martyrs."²

Christopher and Mary Fox were conscientious in their attempt to rear their family under the influence of Godliness, both within the home and by faithful worship habits. William Penn notes the home influence of George Fox in the Preface to Fox's Journal:

He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavored to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the s e 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.³

The early life of Fox was a strange mixture of loneliness and social mingling. His childhood days were spent in serious search for answers to life's provoking questions. Concerning his childhood Fox noted:

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things and to act faithfully two ways, viz. inwardly to God and outwardly to men, and to keep to 'yea' and 'nay' in all things.⁴

Fox was desirous to know truth, and God led him to leave his family in 1635 at the age of eleven years. He was employed as a cobler's helper and also cared for cattle and sheep. Because of his honesty and diligence, his employer was blessed in material success. However, upon George's departure, "he broke, and came to nothing."⁵

²John L. Nickalls, (ed.), The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge: The University Press, 1952), p. 1.

³Ibid. xxxix.

⁴Ibid. pp. 1,2.

⁵Ibid. p. 2.

The period of years from 1635 to 1647 was filled with the despair of human counsel and worldly wisdom. Fox spent many hours in solitude attempting to unravel a confused and frustrated soul. He sought to discover peace of mind by the company of professors and the priests. (The word priests was a term Fox used to denote any professional i.e. paid minister and did not apply to any particular denomination.)

In the year 1646 he arrived in Mancetter in Warwickshire and sought the local priest and counselled with him concerning his spiritual despair and weight of temptation. The priest advised him to take tobacco and sing psalms, to which Fox replied: "Tobacco was a thing I did not love and psalms I was not in an estate to sing; I could not sing."⁶

Spiritual openings, as he referred to them, were given to Fox in 1646 which enabled him to see with a spirit of discernment that not all professed Christians were in reality believers. He was also made to understand that Cambridge and Oxford alone were not capable of producing a fit minister for Christ.

His family was deeply troubled by his reluctance to join them in worship. By 1647 he was persuaded that a true believer was one who was vastly different in belief and practice than the position held by the State Church, the Ranters, or the various politically motivated groups of the day. He was directed in 1647 to go into Derbyshire in the Peak country and some areas of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire where Fox

⁶Ibid. p. 6.

said, he . . .

met with a tender people, and a very tender woman whose name was Elizabeth Hooten: and with these I had some meetings and discourses. But my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptation,⁷

Having seen that Oxford and Cambridge could not produce fit ministers of Christ, he relinquished any fond notions of securing help or satisfaction from the priests and looked more and more to the dissenting groups which were springing up across England. Having lost all confidence and trust in human wisdom, Fox stated in his Journal:

And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, Oh then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory;⁸

The Lord Jesus Christ became the controlling factor in the life of Fox. He saw that repentance through faith produced spiritual kinship to Christ and he had become an heir to the Kingdom of God. His heart being open to spiritual light, he was led by the Spirit to see that Christ was meant to be more than a Saviour from the guilt of sin, but He was intended to be Lord and Sanctifier as well. Thus Fox did not hesitate to profess that in Jesus Christ he had become perfect in spirit. In defense of Christian Perfection, Fox stated in his Journal:

At last they asked me whether I was sanctified. I said, 'Sanctified? yes', for I was in the Paradise of God. They said, had I no

⁷Ibid. p. 9.

⁸Ibid. p. 11.

sin? 'Sin?' said I, 'Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin.'⁹

The pronouncement of this message led to the second of Fox's many imprisonments. Thus he gave witness to the truth of perfection in Derby in October of 1650 and was convicted as a blasphemer on October 30th of the same year.

The following excerpt from his Journal allows the reader some glimpse of this truth which had long been hidden from the eyes of natural man.

The law of the Spirit crosseth the fleshly mind, spirit and will, which lives in disobedience, and doth not keep within the law of the Spirit . . . The law of God takes hold upon the law of sin and death; but the law of faith, or the law of the Spirit of life, which is the love of God, and which comes by Jesus (who is the end of the law for righteousness' sake), this makes free from the law of sin and death . . . if ye join to the spirit and serve God in it, ye have liberty and victory over the flesh and its works.¹⁰

Satisfaction of the spiritual quest was not to become an end in the personal life of George Fox. There was a burning conviction within that his commission was to share this glorious gospel of liberty with those who remained under the bondage of sin, fear, and all superstitions. This overwhelming urge to share drove him to discover those who were seeking but had not found. A sample of this concern is seen in the following statement:

And I heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted two and twenty days, and I travelled to see her; . . . and when I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, . . . and passing on I

⁹Ibid. p. 51.

¹⁰Ibid. pp. 16,17,18.

went among the professors at Dukinfield and Manchester . . . some were convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the Truth.¹¹

The ministry of Fox was not limited to any specific strata of social life or religious group. He spoke and reasoned with priests, professors and drunkards, state church and dissenting groups. His ministry was broad and immediately began to produce converts as well as criticism.

Fox received special illumination in 1647 by which he was to understand the written Word of God through the immediate work of the Holy Spirit. In relating this initial opening which occurred at the place of Broughton in Leicestershire, he exclaimed:

For in that day the Lord's power began to spring, and I had great opening in the Scriptures. And several were convinced in those parts, and were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and his power they did receive and by it many were raised up to praise God.¹²

The unique ministry of Fox was not immediately made known to him as he wandered England ministering and giving messages of light through personal illumination of the Spirit of God. The Spirit began to unfold the work of Fox through a man named Brown. Fox stated:

There was one Brown, who had great prophecies and sight upon his death-bed of me. And he spoke openly of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth.¹³

The work of the Lord fell upon Fox and he declared:

¹¹Ibid. p. 18.

¹²Ibid. p. 19.

¹³Ibid. p. 20.

I was very much altered in countenance and person as if my body had been new moulded or changed. And while I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly that when many people talked of God and Christ, etc., the Serpent spoke in them; but this was hard to be borne.¹⁴

II. MANIFESTATION OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

The purpose of this thesis was to discover the number of spiritual gifts which were evident in Fox's life and ministry and to relate those ministrations to the growth and development of the Society of Friends in England, the continent, and the New World. Thus attention is turned now from the mere biographical data of his itinerant ministry to observe the specific number and operation of spiritual gifts in his life.

Henry Cadbury, editor of George Fox's Book of Miracles, observed that the "orthodox" groups of England's ecclesiastical life pressed demands upon George Fox to prove his ministry and message of praying and speaking in the Spirit by accompanying miracles. They contended that if miracles were not forthcoming, this would of itself disprove his claim of the Holy Spirit's possession and expose him as a pure and intentional deceiver. It was evident, then, that he was expected to justify the claims of direct illumination by the credentials of miracle working.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid. pp. 20-21.

¹⁵Henry J. Cadbury, (ed.), George Fox's Book of Miracles (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), pp. 24-27.

Word of Wisdom

This gift was found to abound in Fox and must be viewed as a contributing factor in the successful ministration of all subsequent gifts.

The following excerpt is a notation from his book of Miracles:

There are several aspects of Fox's attitude which prevent his belief in miracles from becoming extreme miracle-mongering or even gross egotism. The incidents verge on the one hand upon naturalistic medical cures, on the other upon purely spiritual services of sympathy and encouragement.¹⁶

The timely wisdom of Fox was noted in the fact that he did not repudiate legitimate medical endeavor in favor of miracle working. He was held fast in the confidence that God employed the natural or normal means of restoration. He spent time in search of cures and healing herbs. The employment of this gift was observed in the total ministry of Fox. As he manifested the various gifts, they were tempered by the governing quality of wisdom.

Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown in their work, A Commentary of the Old and New Testament, stated that this Word of Wisdom is: "the ready utterance of (for imparting to others) . . . new revelations of the Divine wisdom in redemption, as contrasted with human philosophy.¹⁷ When compared to that requirement, Fox was most diligent in the possession and exercise of this valuable gift.

Fox expressed care and oversight for those who had received the

¹⁶Ibid. p. 45.

¹⁷Jamieson, Fausset and Brown's Commentary (Hartford: S. S. Scranton Co., n.d.), p. 287.

Truth. Samuel Tuke, in his book, Selections From the Epistles of George Fox, recorded Fox's concern and wise council as early as 1652. Fox admonished:

Though you see little, and know little, and have little, and see your emptiness, and see your nakedness, and barrenness, and unfruitfulness, and see the hardness of your hearts, and your own unworthiness; it is the Light that discovers all this, and the love of God to you, and it is that which is immediate, but the dark understanding cannot comprehend it. So, wait upon God in that which is pure, in your measure, and stand still in it every one, to see your Saviour, to make you free from that which the Light doth discover to you to be evil . . . So meet together, all ye that fear the Lord God and think upon his Name.¹⁸

Trade meetings of doctors, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, vintners and schoolmasters were conducted for the purpose of discovering the special bearing of faith upon vocation. Fox was instrumental in the formation and continuation of such conventions.

Fox's ministry and wide personal appeal began to attract men from various vocational backgrounds. Here again is displayed as an indispensable quality, for he succeeded in blending wide cultural, social and educational backgrounds into a cohesive and workable unit, the Society of Friends.

Fox wrote concerning the work of the Lord in 1652:

And Judge Fell, for all their opposition, let the meeting be kept at his house, and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, to the tormenting of the priests and professors (which has remained above twenty years to this day), he being satisfied of the Truth.¹⁹

¹⁸Samuel Tuke, Selections From The Epistles of George Fox (Philadelphia: Association of Friends For The Diffusion Of Religious and Useful Knowledge, 1858), pp. 21-22.

¹⁹Nickalls, op. cit., p. 119.

The wisdom with which Fox divided the word of Truth resulted in the conversion of those who were employed in the ranks of the professional ministry. "About this time," said Fox, "1652, Christopher Taylor, another minister, Thomas Taylor's brother, was convinced also of Truth; and they both became ministers of the Gospel and great sufferers they were;"²⁰

The key to the rapid success of Fox, where the Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarch-men, Seekers, Ranters, and other dissenting groups failed, was found in his own words, as he stated:

The Lord did ntly lead me along, and did let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, and surpasseth all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books; . . . I had not fellowship with any people, priest, or professors, nor any sort of separated people, but with Christ, who hath the Key, and opened the door of light and life unto me.²¹

The display of God's wisdom was observed in a letter dated 1666, through which Fox expressed concern for the establishment of believers in grace. He exhorted:

All lips must be pure, and hands clean, that confess the Lord Jesus Christ; and all tongues and eyes single to God and one to another; and all mind the Lord's business in the Truth, and be given up to Him, and in it serving the Lord God in newness of life. . . . O! live in the pure hope, which purifies you as He is pure; which hope is Christ; . . . Christ, who is the same today as He was yesterday.²²

So in simple trust Fox believed that in Christ Jesus, "God is

²⁰Ibid. p. 124.

²¹Nickalls, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

²²Tuke, op. cit., pp. 52, 54.

made unto us wisdom." (I Corinthians 1:30) Fox was willing to rest his quest for understanding into the hands of God who had become a living reality.

Word of Knowledge

The personal, or direct illumination which came to George Fox may be likened to the restoration which seized the heart and soul of Martin Luther some one-hundred-thirty years previous on the Continent and so sparked the Protestant Reformation. Luther had not discovered a "new" Biblical truth, but had merely uncovered Scriptural truth buried under human tradition and political expediency. Fox neither invented nor discovered a new principle, but had been permitted to become God's chosen vessel to bear the hope that Jesus Christ alone could master the spiritual dilemma of man.

Spiritual illumination was not the product of the natural educative process but the result of the supernatural God working in a supernatural manner. This illuminative knowledge was discovered to exist only in the personal presence of the Holy Spirit. Fox stated in 1646:

The Lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ: and I stranged at it because it was the common belief of people.²³

Concerning his knowledge of truth and spiritual realities Fox wrote in 1648:

These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter, but I saw them in the light

²³Ibid. p. 7.

of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were so very precious to me, for I was in that spirit by which they were given forth, and what the Lord opened in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them.²⁴

Fox concluded his presentation of this gift of spiritual insight in the following declaration:

I could speak much of these things and many volumes might be written but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.²⁵

The evidence of this gift was actively demonstrated in 1651 while Fox was in Derby prison. The Lord directed a trooper to come and inquire of his lost condition from Fox. Fox responded:

. . . I spake to his condition and opened his understanding, and settled his mind in the light and spirit of God in himself; and I told him, that which showed him his sin and troubled him, for it would show him his salvation; for he that shows a man his sins is he that takes it away. So the Lord's power opened to him, so that he began to have great understanding of the Lord's truth and mercies, and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers and others concerning Truth.²⁶

Thus this special gift of the Holy Spirit, carried a great weight of responsibility in the entire ministry of Fox. He did not rely upon the instructions of men, but as he stated: "I regarded the priest less;"²⁷

²⁴Nickalls, op. cit., p. 34.

²⁵Ibid. p. 34.

²⁶Ibid. p. 64.

²⁷Ibid. p. 11.

Gift of Faith

The reader is reminded that this gift did not refer to the fact of saving faith but rather the faith which would remove mountains if that should fall into the providence of God.²⁸

The study did not reveal any unusual demonstrations of this gift. It was most assuredly evidenced that Fox was a man of great faith else else the task which he undertook would have failed. He spoke much of faith and its resultant effect in the life of the believer, but this was the faith which saves from sin as an act and quality; not the faith which would remove mountains.

Gift of Healing

The gift of healing was used extensively throughout the life of Fox's ministry. The manifestation of this gift was demonstrated on two levels, both of which Fox accepted as qualified expressions of that gift. One was noted as spiritual healing and the second was physical or bodily healing.

George Fox saw the deep need of the human heart and perceived this need was far more weighty than the physical handicaps of any one person. He also saw that much physical suffering and ailment was in direct ratio to the spiritual need of the same person. For those who were distraught, he counselled them to find peace of heart and mind in preference to treating only the outward manifestation of the spiritual

²⁸Supra, p. 8.

disalignment. This philosophy was discovered to have been employed and it revealed the close relationship of the physical to the spiritual. The following quotation is an extraction from a letter by Fox to Lady Elizabeth Claypole, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

And now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, . . . There thou wilt come to receive and feel the physician of value which clothes people in their right mind whereby they may serve God and do his will . . . The same light which lets you see sin and transgression will let you see the covenant of God which blots out sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it and brings into covenant with God. . . . So in the name and power of Lord Jesus strengthen thee.²⁹

The second manifestation of the gift of healing referred to that specific experience in which the sick and infirm were made whole by the word of faith spoken from one entrusted with the gift of healing.

The healing ministry of Fox was manifested early in his Christian service. As early as 1649, while a prisoner at Nottingham, a woman was brought to him who had been possessed by demons for thirty-three years. Her priest had prayed and fasted in vain for her deliverance. The Lord spoke to her and declared: "Arise, for I have a sanctified people. Haste, and go for thy redemption draweth night."³⁰

The following lengthy quotation from Cadbury's, George Fox's Book of Miracles, recalled how God dealt with that condition to the praise of His glory:

And when I came out of prison I bade Friends have her to Mansfield. And at that time our meetings were disturbed by wild people, and both them and the professors and priests said that we

²⁹Cadbury, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

³⁰Ibid. p. 121.

were false prophets and deceivers and that there was witchcraft amongst us. And the poor woman would make such a noise in roaring sometimes lying along upon her belly upon the ground and with her spirit and roaring and voice, and would set all Friends in a heat and sweat . . . And so she affrightened the world from our meetings. And then they said if that they were cast out of her while she was with us, and were made well, then they would say that we were of God. This said the world, and I said before that she would be set free . . . And there were many Friends almost overcome by her with the stink that came out of her, roaring and tumbling on the ground. And the same day she was worse than ever she was, and then another day we met about her, and about the first hour the life rose in Friends, and said it was done and she rose up and her countenance changed and became white and before it was wan and so earthy. And she sat down at my thigh as I was sitting and lift up her hands and said, 'Ten thousand praises to the Lord!' . . . and so she was well.³¹

God used this demonstration of His power to convince many and strengthen the work of Friends. Fox stated:

And then the world's professors, priests and teachers never could call us any more false prophets, deceivers, or witches after, but it did a great deal of good in the country among the people in relation to the Truth, and to the stopping of mouths of the world and slanderous aspersions.³²

Fox was faced in 1652 with a demon problem in Lancaster. Those he referred to as rude and baser people, brought to him one possessed with satanic powers. The crowd had intended for him to inflict physical punishment upon Fox but the Spirit of Christ rose up in Fox and he remonstrated with them. His Journal recorded:

But I was moved to speak to them in the Lord's mighty power which chained him and them, which brought him like a lamb . . . and I made him confess to the Truth and the light of Jesus Christ. So the Lord's power came over all, so as we parted in love and

³¹Ibid. pp. 121-122.

³²Ibid. p. 122.

peace.³³

The work of Friends was not dependent upon the performance of the afore-mentioned miracles, but as Fox was led by the Spirit to exercise the healing gift, much appreciation came for the message and work.

In 1653, after having been imprisoned at Carlisle in Cumberland, a woman was brought to him whose mind had failed, and was healed. In another instance, a woman in Cumberland who had attempted to kill her family, being very insane, was brought to Fox; he prayed for her, "And the Lord's power wrought through her and she went home well."³⁴

The public acceptance and growth of the Society of Friends was demonstrated at Hawkshead in the year 1653. Fox related in his Journal:

And there was a boy lying in the cradle which they rocked, about eleven years old. He was grown almost double . . . I bid the lass wash his face and his hands and get him up and bring him unto me . . . then I was moved of the Lord God to lay my hands upon him and speak to him, . . . And sometime after, I called at the house, and met his mother but did not light. 'Oh stay', say she, 'and have a meeting at our house for all the country is convinced by the great miracle that was done by thee upon my son, . . . all the country would come to hear if I would come back again and have a meeting there.' And the boy was grown to be a straight, full youth then.³⁵

The wonders and miracles which were performed served as a witness to the Truth³⁶ as preached by Fox. He stated in 1655: "and many were turned from the darkness to the light . . . and great miracles by the

³³Nickalls, op. cit., p. 139.

³⁴Ibid. p. 171.

³⁵Ibid. pp. 171-172.

³⁶Truth is capitalized here because Fox did this in his writings.

power of the Lord were done in many places by several."³⁷

Working of Miracles

This gift was seen to be closely associated with healing and did not appear as an important element in the ministry of George Fox. The miracle aspect was present in Fox's ministry, but appeared under the heading of healings or prophecies.

Gifts of Prophecy

This gift, it should be recalled, dealt with two phases or aspects of public ministry. First, the ability to foretell in relation to future events, and second, to deliver the message of God in an authoritative, straight forward manner. Enduement of power which rang with the tone of "thus saith the Lord" became the symbol of the prophet.³⁸

The foretelling ministry of Fox was important, though not an outstanding portion of his labor. When the occasion arose or the situation demanded such action, he appeared to possess this gift and was faithful in its exercise. Three widely separate accounts were noted in defense of his possession and practice of this gift.

The ministry had carried Fox in 1652 from Balby, to Nottinghamshire, to Kent and into Gainsborough where this gift was first publicly demonstrated. His ministry in the market place resulted in debate with professors and disputers. "Disputers" was a term Fox used to describe

³⁷Ibid. p. 223.

³⁸Supra, p. 9.

the contemporary theological vagabonds. One who spoke from that group claimed:

That I said I was Christ and had brought a-many witnesses to prove it And so I called him Judas, So I told him again that he was Judas and that it was the word of the Lord and of Christ to him, and Judas's end should be his but this Judas went away and hanged himself shortly after.³⁹

A second notable use of the gift of prophecy occurred in connection with the affairs of state. Fox declared that civil rebellion would come upon the state if the leadership did not become obedient unto God as the source of power and authority. This message was refused audience with Lord Protectorate Oliver Cromwell whereupon in 1660 he was moved to write:

Divers times, both by word and writing, had I forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after; . . . by rejecting counsel, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them.⁴⁰

The third outstanding prophecy occurred in 1671 during his visit to New England by way of Barbados. While sailing, their ship was under imminent attack by a Salle-man-of-war. The captain sought advice from Fox who was respected, not as a seaman, but as a man of God and prayer. Fox sought the Lord and replied: "And I told them then it was matter of faith; the Lord's power and spirit was placed betwixt us and him."⁴¹ The ship was spared from attack and sometime later the report came to

³⁹Ibid. p. 96.

⁴⁰Ibid. p. 361.

⁴¹Ibid. p. 593.

Fox from the attackers that they "had a ketch three days in pursuit, the biggest in the world, and once upon her; and there was a spi it in that ship that he could not take her with all that he could do,"⁴²

The outstanding aspect of the gift of prophecy was found in the authority which rang from the message of Fox. He was not as sounding brass nor tinkling symbol but rather a trumpet of God which produced a call of clarity and holy sureness. He was an instrument of God's own choosing, an individualist of the first degree. However, he did not use that uniqueness to promote his own person, but rather the Spirit took occasion to speak through that quality and establish Godliness.

Reflecting the true spirit of God's prophet, Fox ministered to the working class, to those who occupied the chair of business and professional enterprise, notable judges, the Parliament, and to those who ruled England. His personal forcefulness and ability to do the work of a prophet was witnessed in the various circumstances such as in the year 1655 when he wrote to Cromwell:

And this is the word of the Lord God to thee. Live in the wisdom of the life of God, that with it thou mayest be ordered to his glory and order his creatures to his glory. And be still and silent from thy own wisdom, wit, craft, subtilty, or policy that would arise in thee, but stand single to the Lord, without any end to thyself. Then God will bless thee and prosper thee in his ways; thou wilt feel his blessing in thy generation.⁴³

The prophetic call led Fox into Wales in 1657 where he exercised his gift of setting forth Truth. In the city of Radnorshire, he was

⁴²Ibid. p. 594.

⁴³Ibid. p. 194.

moved by the Spirit to speak to a large assembly. His Journal stated:

And at last I felt the power of the Lord went over them all and the Lord's everlasting life and truth shined over all. . . And many were turned that day to the Lord Jesus Christ and his free teaching, all were bowed down under the power of God. . . ⁴⁴

In 1657 Fox was drawn by the Spirit to enter Scotland and preach in the Name of the Lord Jesus. While engaged in fulfilling this calling, he discussed the proposition of election and reprobation in Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire with professors and priests. After considerable discussion, Fox stated:

So I was made to open to the people the folly of their priest doctrine And the people were opened to see, and a spring of life riz up amongst them. ⁴⁵

The outstanding principle voiced by Fox was the simple Biblical truth in which he declared the Light of Christ was come into the world. Men by their natural mind and reason had not the Light, but it came by the Spirit. This light revealed the state of the heart and provided the remedy through personal allegiance to the Spirit and receiving the Christ as sovereign Lord.

The prophetic pronouncements of Fox carried him beyond the narrow confines of the Commonwealth. As the prophet Jeremiah was moved to deliver his message to the Nations; so was George Fox. Fox's ministry carried him to Holland, Germany, the West Indies, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and to settlers of the New England Colonies.

⁴⁴Ibid. p. 294.

⁴⁵Ibid. pp. 316-17.

He came to New England in 1672-73 and traveled the eastern sea-coast in a ministry of evangelism and encouragement. The value of this service was not to be understood entirely by his ministry to the English colonist. He was concerned with the work being carried on among the Indian tribes of New England. In 1673, while on the eastern shore of Maryland, he ministered to a collected audience of Indian emperors (as he referred to their chiefs). The meeting was long and Fox declared of the Indians:

They were very attentive and sober and loving and sat all the meeting, grave and soberly beyond many. . . and it was a great service and we had a very good meeting with them, blessed be the Lord forever, Amen.⁴⁶

The gift of prophecy was used greatly in the ministry of George Fox. His life was lived for the purpose of extending Christ's Kingdom. He sought opportunity to express the gift of prophecy within the bounds of the Spirit's control. There appeared a quality of holy fearlessness resident within Fox when he was moved to deliver Truth.

One outstanding characteristic of this gift was that it was not isolated to a given period of his life but it appeared throughout his earthly ministry. The subject matter of his prophetic proclamations was as varied as the occasion. The greatest single segment of the Truth Fox delivered was not predictive but a declaration of God's free grace abundantly available through Jesus Christ.

Discerning of Spirits

⁴⁶Ibid. pp. 653-654.

The evidence of this gift was not taken lightly by those who knew George Fox. Those who opposed Fox and early Friends admitted the fact of miracle power, but suggested these acts were wrought through the power of satan. Fox's Book of Miracles, as told by Cadbury, reported:

The charges against Fox included his use of enchanted bracelets and pillows, while others were accused of more destructive forms of magic. That Fox believed he could discern in others an evil spirit or even witchcraft is sufficiently attested.⁴⁷

Fox referred to this gift and its bestowment upon him in these words:

I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly that when many people talked of God and of Christ, etc., the Serpent spoke in them; but this was hard to be borne.⁴⁸

Though Fox spoke with sureness and the conviction that God had placed the cloak of holy calling upon his shoulders, he felt inadequate to be the steward of such a gift. The contrast between Fox and Jeremiah was again noticed at this point. Jeremiah said, "I am a child," (Jeremiah 1:6), while Fox declared, "but thi was hard to be borne."⁴⁹ Although this gift was heavily charged with responsibility, Fox accepted it with divine commission.

As noted previously, Fox felt inadequate to carry the gift of discernment, but he prayed he might be strengthened in the faithful discharge of its ministry. With all his seriousness, the humor of Fox was

⁴⁷Cadbury, op. cit., p. 95.

⁴⁸Nickalls, op. cit. pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹Ibid. p. 21.

also evident as was shown by the following account from his Journal:

And I asked her if she had any cream, . . . but she denied it also. And there stood a churn in her house; and a little boy put his hand into the churn . . . and plucked it down before my face, . . . and so it manifested the woman to be a liar. The woman was amazed and took the child and whipped it sorely, and blessed herself; but I reprov'd her for her lying and deceit.⁵⁰

Prior to his 1653 imprisonment at Carlisle on a false charge of blasphemy, Fox preached at Cockermouth steeplehouse after which a wicked woman, unknown to him, caught his attention. He reprov'd her in the following manner:

I cast my eye upon an unclean woman and told her she was a witch. And I was moved in the Lord's power to speak sharply to her and so she went out of the room; and people told me that I had discovered a great thing, for all the country looked upon her to be a witch.⁵¹

Similiar experiences were traced to Swarthmore Hall in 1653, where God opened the inner qualities of the heart to Fox and he saw through the external facade of persons not known to him. God enabled Fox to blend admonition with love and it resulted in the Kingdom of Christ being erected. After having rebuked one woman for her manner of life, she repented and was converted to God. Of her it was reported, "Afterwards this woman came to be convinced of God's Truth, and remained a Friend."⁵²

Kinds of Tongues

The contemporary outburst of "strange tongues" has led some to

⁵⁰Ibid. p. 77.

⁵¹Ibid. p. 155.

⁵²Ibid. p. 156.

believe that the early Friends Movement was also the recipient of such a gift. This study did not discover any recorded evidence which would clearly substantiate such oral tradition. There was no evidence in the Letters, Journal nor Autobiography of Fox to indicate he ever practiced such a gift. There was one recorded case in the life of Edward Burrough as set forth in this thesis under his name and ministry.⁵³

Interpretation of Tongues

There did not appear to be a need for such a gift in the absence of the gift of Tongues.

Apostleship

This was unquestionably one of the outstanding gifts which was present within the life and ministry of George Fox. His Journal relates the constant work of the Society in general, and Fox in particular, relative to the publishing of Truth. Those who proclaimed the message of Christ, as held by Friends, were called "Publishers of Truth." The direction for ministry and evangelism was assumed by Fox.

The effectiveness of Truth was noted in 1651 while Fox visited Nottinghamshire, Mansfield, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Doncaster. The Truth was proclaimed in the power of the Holy Spirit, resulting in the conversion of several outstanding Friends leaders such as James Nayler and William Dewsbury. His Journal reported the following concerning this preaching tour:

⁵³Infra, p. 78.

So I passed through the countries to several places, preaching repentance and the word of life to them, and went into the country about Wakefield where James Nayler lived, where he and Thomas Goodaire and William Dewsbury and many more were convinced.⁵⁴

That Fox possessed the gift of an apostle is seen in his dependence upon immediate illumination of the Scripture by the Holy Spirit. He was never content with merely a reasonable and philosophical approach to Truth. Truth to Fox was a fire which gripped his heart and soul like Jeremiah who said, "And if I say, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name, then there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones," (Jeremiah 20:9) Those who heard the man in "leather britches" preach while in America in 1672 remarked concerning his use of the Scriptures: "He hath them at his fingers' ends, and as a man should read them in a book and hold it open before him."⁵⁵

Thus with George Fox and the rise of the movement there came an increased respect for and use of the Scripture. Fox was a student of the Scriptures and permitted his soul to be saturated by them. He allowed God to use not only His written Word but also to speak through a common man to the common needs of the day.

Teachers

This gift was found to be important and outstanding in the personal life of Fox, as his preaching ministry gave heavy emphasis to

⁵⁴Nickalls, op. cit., p. 73.

⁵⁵Ibid. p. 636.

teaching. As the founder of the Society of Friends, he assumed the natural position of a leader and the direction of the primitive organization. The simple and yet profound discovery of Truth demanded the same type of communication to transmit the message. His teaching ministry covered the wide spectrum of Christian activity. He spoke concerning government, Christ, slavery, and the great doctrines relating to the Godhead.

Concerning those who had slaves, Fox spoke in 1657 and his message was related by Tuke as follows:

I am moved to write these things to you in all the plantations. God that made the world, and all things therein, and giveth life and breath to all, is the God of the spirits of all flesh, and is no respecter of persons; but whosoever feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him. . . . And so, ye are to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as your Heavenly Father is merciful.⁵⁶

George Fox said in 1679:

All Friends everywhere that have Indians or Blacks, you are to preach the Gospel to them and other servants, if you be true Christians; for the Gospel of salvation was to be preached to every creature under heaven; . . . And also, you must teach and instruct Blacks and Indians, and others how that God doth pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh in these days of the new Covenant, and new Testament;⁵⁷

The concern of Fox for the American Indian was seen in his visit to North America in 1672. He preached to them and respected them as men. His treatment of the Indians was noted in the following account:

And after the meeting we passed Middletown harbour about five

⁵⁶Tuke, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

⁵⁷Ibid. pp. 67-68.

miles, on the 9th day of the 7th month (Sept.), to take our long journey through the woods towards Maryland. So we hired Indians, for it was upon me to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay, . . . When we had passed about forty miles among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them,⁵⁸

Concerning Christ and the centrality of the Cross, Fox taught in 1653:

The cross being minded, it makes a separation from all other lovers, and brings to God; and the ground of evil thoughts comes to be opened; which cross overturns the world in the heart, and must be taken up by all who follow Jesus Christ, out of the world which hath an end, into the world which is without end.⁵⁹

Upon returning to England from an extended visit to the American Colonies, Fox was moved to declare in Bristol in 1673:

. . . God was the first teacher, . . . The serpent was the second, . . . Christ was the third teacher; of whom God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, . . . hear ye him'; . . . So the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and the Redeemer; and hath laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his blood. . . . We resolve to hear the Son, as both he and the Father command, and in hearing the Son we hear the Father also, as the Scripture testifies.⁶⁰

George Fox was directed to dispense with all outward observance of ordinances. He was accused at Lancaster in 1652 of blasphemy. Included with the charge was an accusation stating he had declared the Lord's Supper and Baptism to be unlawful. His answer became a statement of doctrine or teaching.

As for the word unlawful, it was not spoken by me, but the sprinkling of infants I deny, and there is no Scripture that so

⁵⁸Nickalls, op. cit., p. 632.

⁵⁹Tuke, op. cit., p. 27.

⁶⁰Nickalls, op. cit., pp. 665-666.

speakeeth of a sacrament; but the baptism that is in Christ with one spirit into one body, that I confess; and the bread that the saints break is the body of Christ and the cup that they drink is the blood of Jesus Christ, this I witness.⁶¹

The statement of his faith was a confirmation of the direction which had come to him on the occasion of his conversion. Fox said:

'That which people do trample upon must be thy food.' . . . and he opened it to me how that people and professors did trample upon the life, ev n the life of Christ was trampled upon; . . . and so trampled underfoot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life.⁶²

The teaching of Fox was not limited to formal statements of doctrine but much teaching was accomplished through preaching. Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, James Parnell, and John Audland were convinced by the Truth which Fox preached and they began to publish the same message which they had heard and received.

The doctrines of Friends were formalized by Robert Barclay but these were reflections of the Truth as taught by George Fox. The "Valiant Sixty" became the "Publishers of Truth." Throughout England the effectiveness of the Truth was seen and by 1655 fifty-thousand persons had come to be convinced of that Truth. William Penn spoke as follows concerning Fox in his preface to the Journal:

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures. He could go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness and to great comfort and edification.⁶³

⁶¹Ibid. p. 134.

⁶²Ibid. p. 19.

⁶³Ibid. pp. XIIII-XIIIV.

The methods which Fox employed in his preachment were varied and highly unusual when compared with contemporary practices. Such methods were observed in 1649 at Nottingham. Fox interrupted the priest in the midst of his message and gave an exhortation which was directed by the Holy Spirit. From such methods he attracted the attention of the world and was permitted to speak the Truth. This practice was more commonly accepted in 1649 than they would be today.

His message was likened to Paul in that he stated in his Journal:

Now I was sent to turn people from darkness to light that they might receive Christ Jesus, for to as many as should receive him in his light, I saw that he would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ.⁶⁴

Thus his teaching was simply profound and not a confusion of vain philosophies and high notions. He spoke the Scripture plainly, declaring the Lord Jesus to be the Living Word of God capable of changing the inner qualities of man's depraved nature. Coming to conviction of Truth was the objective for which Fox preached. He did not seek, nor did he attain, a place of popular acceptance, but he did remain faithful to the divine commission in spite of false accusations, imprisonments and much physical suffering.

Helps

A small gift when considered humanly, Fox sensed a spiritual desire to exercise this gift from time to time. His means of support was, at least for a time, that of a shoe-cobbler. However, after his

⁶⁴Ibid. p. 34.

active ministry began, his means of support was not known except that interested and convinced Friends liberated him for an itinerant ministry.

Upon one occasion in his early life the following quotation was noted to reveal the possession of the gift of helps. Fox recorded in his Journal:

I would have gone and looked out for poor widows . . . and have given them money. And when I was invited to marriages, . . . I would go and visit them, and if they were poor, I gave them some money; for I had wherewith both to keep myself . . . and administer something to the necessities of others.⁶⁵

The prison ministry of Fox was not only vocal and personal but he also assisted in relieving the necessities of those who had been imprisoned because of Truth. He carried their cause before the rulers, not only to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, but also to Charles II. Though not often mentioned, it was concluded that Fox possessed this gift because he bore a responsible concern for others throughout his life. The subsequent ministry of the Society in Anti-Slavery expressions, prison reforms, and upgrading of morality was in direct relation to the expressions of Fox.

Government

The organizational structure of the Friends Movement did not come into being by accident nor by the process of trial and error. Fox received the direction for the establishment of the Monthly and Quarterly

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 7

Meetings through the leadership of the Holy Spirit. Geoffrey Nuttall remarked in the introduction to Fox's Journal:

For not his least remarkable faculty was his ability to draw men to himself and to claim their entire and life-long devotion. . . . He possessed a robust common sense and had considerable organizational powers. If the Society of Friends has had a continuing existence, . . . it owes this in no small measure to the system of monthly and quarterly meeting for business which Fox established.⁶⁶

Internal differences caused Fox to lay a firm hand of control upon the exercise of individual Friends. He did not accomplish this by the extension of personal influence and authority but by charging the Monthly Meeting with the responsibility to govern. In 1656 he wrote a general epistle to all the established places of worship with direction that the letter should be read before all. It was noted as stating: "Keep your meeting in the power of the Lord, which power is over all that which is in the fall and must have an end. Therefore be wise in the wisdom of God."⁶⁷ As previously noted, Fox possessed the gift of wisdom, but he also encouraged the fellowship of worshippers to seek that wisdom which does not deviate.

Foundational to Friends doctrine was the Priest-hood of believers, coupled with the concept that an individual possessing Truth and Light was capable of making spiritual decisions. Fox was willing to trust the governmental structure into this same philosophy. The membership possessed the Christian responsibility to govern.

⁶⁶Ibid. p. xxv.

⁶⁷Ibid. p. 281.

Fox was led to establish a democratic form of ecclesiastical control. The governing of the local meeting was the responsibility of all who were convinced of Truth. Again it should be noted that Fox attempted to preserve the right of individual expression while at the same time limiting that expression to the control of the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings. Fox was led to see the value of the Spirit's leadership over the corporate body of the Church.

The responsibility of the local congregation became more apparent following Nayler's defection in 1656 and John Perrot's rebellion against Truth in 1661. The rebellion of Perrot centered around the "Hat Controversy." His followers said they were moved of the Spirit to refrain from removing their hats during public prayer. The meeting was not in agreement and Fox stated:

Several that had run out with John Perrot and others, came in, . . . and said it was of the Devil, . . . And thus the Lord's power came over all.⁶⁸

This substantiated the fact that God's Spirit gave group leading and a spirit to discern the Truth, even though it was contrary to the "supposed" leadership of the single individual. Fox did not claim this to be his form of government or establishment of meeting for he remarked in his Journal:

And the Lord opened to me and let me see what I must do, and how I must order and establish the Men's and Women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in all the nation, and write to o her nations, where I came not, to do the same.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid. p. 511.

⁶⁹Ibid. p. 511.

The spiritual blessing attendant upon early Friends ministry resulted in the need of developing a structure to provide spiritual guidelines. The Monthly Meetings were established to care for the spiritual growth and development of those in its locality. The Monthly Meetings, in given geographical areas, were grouped into Quarterly Meetings and assisted in relieving the needs of Friends in prison and in the publishing and distribution of literature. Representatives were appointed from the Quarterly Meetings to share in the disposition of business on the Yearly (national and annual) Meeting level. By 1667 there were Friends throughout England, the Continent and the many English Colonies. The Yearly Meeting sent council and aid to those separated by distance and gave encouragement in evangelism and missionary endeavors.

The genius of Fox was nowhere more evident than in the system of government he was led to formalize. The type of organization encouraged the free expression of personal concern but maintained the corporate guidance of the Spirit over the congregation. One direct function of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings was stated to be: "to admonish and exhort, (such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to Truth), and to take care of God's glory."⁷⁰

The general purpose of the organizational structure was twofold: one, the growth and evangelical outreach of the movement and secondly, the conservation of those already convinced of the Truth.

Fox traveled throughout England in 1667 and 1668 with the intent

⁷⁰Ibid. p. 511.

of establishing the meetings and giving organizational instruction for the direction of the Church.

He demonstrated the workability of this organizational plan by submitting himself to the direction of others. In 1668 he felt moved to enter London and continue his personal ministry in that city. He felt somewhat reluctant, for what reason he did not say, and because of this uncertainty, he spoke to Alexander Parker and several others seeking their judgment and the Spirit's direction through them. They replied: "and they said it was upon them the same. And so we gave up to return to London, for which way the Lord moved us and led us we went in his power."⁷¹

The return to London was timely, for new persecution and sufferings were being experienced in that city. He discovered certain Friends were not following directions which had been sent in 1653 concerning marriage and the practice of Friends. Unbelievers had been permitted to marry within the household of faith and this was a violation of the standards of the Society and of the Written Word. Fox again directed that couples should be cleared before the Men's and Women's Meetings prior to the consummation of the marriage in the worship service of the local meeting.

The system of checks and balances of legislative powers and control prevented the Society from becoming dependent upon Fox and his direction. This form drove each group to seek the direction and lead-

⁷¹Ibid. p. 517.

ership of the Spirit in business and in worship. Transaction of church business was not considered to be a-spiritual, but was seen as the means by which the spiritual concerns and ministry of the church could be implemented to reach fulfillment. The functional aspect of this government was noted in that Fox's death did not result in upheaval or rebellion within the Society. He had trained men to lead the church and, above all, proved by open demonstration that the leadership of the Spirit could not lead into error.

III. DEATH

The last public ministry of Fox was completed on January 13, 1691. He ministered at the Gracechurch Street Meeting and had retired to a private home adjacent to the Meeting house. There he complained of a cold and went to bed. He grew worse and at approximately 9:30 p.m. the preacher in "leather britches" was called to rest from his long and fruitful ministry. His last words were: "I am clear, I am fully clear."⁷² Thus ended the ministry of a unique man with a message from God.

IV. SUMMARY

The ministry of George Fox was found to evidence the possession of nine spiritual gifts. The list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Healing,

⁷²Ibid. p. 752.

Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps, and Government.

The comparison of George Fox with early church writers, and especially the Apostle Paul, as seen in Chapter One, was striking. Although it was not the intent of this thesis to compare these two men, their significance is strikingly similar. Paul was the Apostolic messenger to Macedonia, and he abounded in the possession of spiritual gifts. Fox, being the leader of a new movement of the Spirit, was likewise blessed with an abundance of gifts which were utilized for the establishment of Christ's Kingdom in the hearts of men everywhere.

The gifts least evidenced in the ministry of Fox were: Healing, Teachers, and Helps. This was so because he employed healing on some limited occasions, however, this gift was not considered to be his most important contribution. Teaching was closely associated with his exercise of the gift of Apostleship. Helps, though employed and useful, were considered secondary to the greater ministry of declaring the message of divine regeneration.

The gifts most evidenced in the life of Fox were: Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Apostleship and Government. Foundational to these gifts was the gift of Wisdom. Of these, Apostleship, i.e. preaching or declaring Truth, was the outstanding gift. Fox used prophecy and discerning of spirits to prepare hearts for the ministry of the spoken Word. A man of many and several abilities, Fox evidenced the value of human yieldedness to personal possession and direction of the Holy Spirit.

A summary of Fox's life and ministry led to the following statements:

A. The public ministry of Fox was found to employ nine specific spiritual gifts. They were: Wisdom, Knowledge, Healing, Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps and Government.

B. The material cited revealed the surrender of Fox to whatever direction the Spirit led. His life was not lived by selfish motivation, but by the principle of faithfulness to the Light of Christ.

C. This study brought into clear focus the importance of God's man being endowed by the gift of Wisdom. This gift, though not externally, i.e. emotionally demonstrated, was the foundation upon which all other gifts were to rest.

D. The faithful disposition of these gifts provided fertile soil in which to plant the Seed of God which Fox accomplished through his powerful preaching.

E. The gift of Government was considered to be outstanding in that it provided for a united expression in extending God's Kingdom through the Society of Friends.

F. Though suffering imprisonment and humiliation, Fox was not detoured from the conviction that he was led by the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER V

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF EDWARD BURROUGH

The life and work of Edward Burrough was chosen for this study because he was considered representative of the young men who responded to Christ through the ministry of George Fox. Burrough possessed a keen mind and an abundance of youthful enthusiasm dedicated to and controlled by the Holy Spirit. His life and ministry was studied according to the following pattern: Early Life and Conversion, Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts, Death and Summary.

I. EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION

The work begun in England under the leadership of George Fox was not long in gaining adherents who were to yield great influence as well as exerting great effort for the Society of Friends.

The Protestant Reformation began under the leadership of Luther but he was not alone in his concern and preachment. The German Princes and the able exponent and theologian, Philip Melanchthon, assisted in the establishment of Luthern doctrine on the Continent. Similarly, George Fox, as was noted in the discussion of his life and ministry, gathered a group of spiritually sensitive men whom he commissioned to preach the Truth. Included in this band of preachers was Edward Burrough.

Burrough was born in 163⁴ in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland. His parents were members of the State Church and faithfully discharged their spiritual and denominational responsibilities.

The personal life of Burrough's parents was regarded as being highly honorable. They were recognized as upright and honest citizens in their community. The concern borne for their son was social, educational, and spiritual. Young Edward did not lack for material security as a child, and he was given the best educational opportunities afforded by the community.

There was a striking similarity between Burrough and Fox in relation to their quest for Truth and the Light of Christ. Fox had been reared in a devout home and had practiced the religious observances but not to the satisfaction of his spiritual need. Burrough was subject to the same drive. He seemed to ask, "How can I satisfy my insatiable spiritual hunger on the merit of the State Church?" The Church had the scriptures, but largely failed to possess the Word of God, i.e. Jesus the Christ.

Fox left the company of his age group and sought those whome he believed could provide the satisfaction he needed. Burrough sought relief which would be spiritual in quality and permanent in nature. William and Thomas Evans noted in their work, Edward Burrough A Memoir, as follows:

He displayed much manliness of character at an early age, abstaining in great measure from the ordinary amusements of youth, and evincing a relish for the company and conversation of pious

persons of enlarged and mature minds.¹

Whereas Fox sought assistance by discussion and prayer with the priests and spiritual leaders, Burrough's struggle was a mixture of church attendance and empty, meaningless form, for he remarked:

. . . going one day in seven to hear a man preach, to read and sing, and rubble over a prayer; whilst I was wanton and light, and lived in pleasuer without the fear of God; not knowing God but by hearsay and tradition.²

The conversion of Edward Burrough came in 1652 at the age of eighteen years. His convincement came when Fox visited Westmoreland on a preaching tour. Fox entered Kendal, and then passed to Underbarrow where he mini tered in the home of Miles Bateman. Burrough had followed the ministry of Fox from Kendal to Underbarrow with a driving quest for Truth. Fox noted in his Journal: "and as I came on the way several people came along with me, and great disputing I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough,"³

Burrough was searching for Truth and was not satisfied by easy, flippant answers. After much discussion and Spirit-born conviction, Edward yielded to the convincing Truth of the Light of Christ. When spiritual enlightenment came to this man, it resulted in personal involvement in declaring the Truth. Burrough's habit as a boy, of study-

¹William and Thomas Evans, Edward Burrough A Memoir of a Faithful Servant of Christ and Minister of the Gospel, (London: Charles Gilpin, 1851), p. 1.

²Ibid. p. 2.

³John L. Nickalls, (ed.), The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge: The University Press, 1952), p. iii.

ing the Scriptures, became a renewed pattern. He was well-versed in the Bible and God used this in spontaneous ministry. A concentrated and devoted study of the Word of God resulted in spiritual revival both personal and national.

Edward Burrough was instrumental of the Lord in the establishment of the Truth in the city of London. A study of his life revealed his greatest efforts were spent in that city. London abounded with much wickedness and immorality, but these outward hindrances served only as spiritual stimuli for one who was fired with the Truth that Christ was the Light and men need not walk in darkness. Francis Howgill was a great encouragement to young Edward and they traveled much together in the service of Christ. Their greatest work was accomplished in London.

Again the purpose of this thesis is recalled. It was to trace the use of Spiritual gifts in the early Friends Movement and not necessarily to develop a chronological order of ministry for her leaders. Hence the procedure here was to turn from mere biographical data to observe and enumerate the gifts and determine the manner of their expression within the Society of Friends.

II. MANIFESTATION OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

Word of Wisdom

The gift of wisdom was evident within the total ministry of Edward Burrough. He appeared to possess an abundance of "common sense" mingled with spiritual illumination. Burrough was young of age but had spent

much time in the presence of older company as a youngster, thus developing a sense of oughtness. He developed a keen ability of analyzing the strategic problem as Taylor noted in his work, Edward Burrough:

Burrough had a special gift in dealing with disputers, seeing the fundamental point in question and answer g it. Young himself, he could understand youthful difficulties and aspirations.⁴

His ability to see through to the central issue must not have been regarded as mere native ability nor scholastic achievement. As observed in the life of Fox, wisdom was also an important ingredient in Burrough's total service. Burrough was steadied by God's special gift of wisdom in the hours of worldly acclaim and the foul stench of prison experiences. This gift was observed to exist in unusual quantity and quality in regard to his written ministry and teaching.

Word of Knowledge

This gift was closely associated with wisdom in Burrough's life. Knowledge carried into active and actual fulfillment the directives received through the gift of Wisdom.

March 10, 1661 marked the date for the Coronation of Charles II of England. He demonstrated good will for his subjects by issuing a decree that all who had been imprisoned under the act of refusing the oath of allegiance, or for not meeting in the State Church for worship, should be set free. This proclamation was not received with favor by many, and Friends remained in jails across England.

⁴E. E. Taylor, Edward Burrough (London: Friends Book Center, n.d.), p. 30.

On March 26, 1661 a bill was introduced into the House of Commons which would have made it illegal for a group to meet and grow unless it was under the direction of the established religious system of the government. Edward Burrough was moved to gain audience with the appropriate committee and speak in direct opposition to the bill which would have, if passed, had serious implications for the Friends Movement. The employment of the gift of knowledge was observed in action as he stated before the committee:

If they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God and void, or ought to be void. . . . The Lord opened our mouths, and we showed divers sound reasons unto the House against the aforesaid bill, and why it ought not to pass into an act; first because of the falsity and unsoundness of it in it's ground; secondly, because of unreasonableness and injustice of it in itself; and thirdly, because of the evil effects of it which must needs follow it, it be passed. Divers other things were spoken in the name and authority of the God in heaven, as concerning our peaceableness, and of the absolute proper right that belonged to us, both from God and men, to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in the exercise of our religion.⁵

Thus the usefulness of Burrough to the Society of Friends was not only his deep spiritual experience, but this gift of knowledge enabled him to articulate adequately the needed message.

Gift of Faith

The gift of faith, it should be recalled, did not deal with saving faith but that faith to perform the miraculous. This gift did not appear as an important instrument in the work to which God had called Edward Burrough.

⁵Evans, op. cit. pp. 382-383.

Gift of Healing

Working of Miracles

These two gifts had a prominent place in Fox's ministry, but they did not possess a prominent or significant role in the work of Burrough.

Gifts of Prophecy

The prophetic quality of Burrough's ministry was evident throughout his lifetime. The usefulness of this gift was demonstrated to exist in his forthright manner of preaching and his ability to predict the end of certain movements and or persons. The ability to tell forth his message was noted under the gift heading of Apostleship. The predictive aspect was noted as set forth in the following paragraph.

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protectorate of England, died in the year 1658. Following his death, Burrough was moved to write a stern note of prophetic judgment to Richard Cromwell, the succeeding Lord Protectorate. His warning was as follows:

The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter, yet our King of Righteousness will break you to pieces if you harden your heart and repent not. . . . And you will be scattered and distracted to pieces.⁶

Again in 1659 he was directed by the Spirit to exercise the office of a prophet. God revealed to him the end of the Commonwealth and in humble obedience he carried out the promptings of the Spirit by addressing a second letter to Richard.

⁶Ibid. p. 213.

And I saw a great misery and desolation nigh at hand, even the sword of the Lord; and that it should slay them; . . . and in the sense of these things, a sadness fell upon my spirit, considering the desolation and the judgment that is at hand, to be executed upon the oppressors.⁷

These prophetic insights were amply fulfilled when under Charles II the persecutors became the persecuted. The judges of Charles I were put to death and the leaders of the Commonwealth were forced into hiding or self-imposed exile.

Discerning of Spirits

One of the outstanding characteristics of the early Friends group was the unquestionable leading of the Spirit to reveal the inner qualities of life. This gift was noted as having been useful to Fox's ministry and likewise Burrough received the same quality of discernment. This gift was not always limited to the detecting of demonic possession but was active to test the genuineness of personal conviction.

The conversion of Thomas Ellwood was noted as a case in point. Burrough had gone to the home of Isaac Pennington, in Buckinghamshire, for a time of discussion and visitation. The father of Thomas was present and desired to discuss the theology of Calvin. He exhausted his arguments to sustain his position. The following morning the Ellwood family was ready to depart and Burrough went into the yard to give a last minute word of encouragement. Upon returning to the house, Burrough was asked for an appraisal of their experiences and he replied:

⁷Ibid. p. 297.

"As for the old man, he is settled on his lees; and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it."⁸ Time proved to be the vindicating factor, for Thomas Ellwood stood firm and became a useful vessel unto the Lord's service.

Burrough saw through the counsel given to Oliver Cromwell in 1657 concerning Oliver's acceptance of the title of King. Edward wrote the following exhortation based upon the Spirit's direction:

Beware lest hardness of heart possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so thou be shut up in darkness and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the counsels of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better cast thee down, and destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity a people miserable.⁹

In the above statement Burrough possessed the needed insight to discern the intent of the counsel. Though the words they offered were sweet and intoxicating, the intent was bitterness, destruction, and death.

Burrough was instrumental through the Lord, in particular, to assist in the establishment of individuals convinced by Truth and the Society in general. In the latter part of 1658 he directed the following to be read in all the meetings. "And as concerning disorderly spirits, who are not subject to the wisdom of God, or to the law of Christ, such have no part with us, but are judged with the life of God and cast out."¹⁰

⁸Ibid. p. 341.

⁹Ibid. p. 179.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 294.

Kinds of Tongues

The issue of Tongues, as noted in the initial chapter of this work, pointed out the fact that the Charismatic Movement has made an impact upon the total Christian society.

The work of Friends in the seventeenth century was not mere emotionalism although one could not divorce emotion from the rapid spread and growth of the Society. Admitting that within the contemporary Charismatic Movement there is an element of emotion is not to relegate it to the scrap heap of illegitimate spiritual expression. The early Friends Movement witnessed the demonstrations of the Spirit's conviction for sin and dramatic convincement of Truth.

There has been considerable questioning centered in this particular area. Did Friends speak with unknown tongues, comparable to the present demonstration? This study discovered one incident which could be interpreted in various ways. The Memoirs did not include a date for the experience, but it occurred prior to 1654 during Burrough's ministry in London. The debatable account follows:

Whilst waiting upon the Lord in silence, as we often did for many hours together, with our hearts towards him, being stayed in the light of Christ from all fleshly motions and desires, we often received the pouring down of Spirit upon us, and our hearts were made glad, and we spake with new tongues, as the Lord gave us utterance, and his Spirit led us, which was poured upon sons and daughters. Thereby things unutterable were made manifest, and the glory of the Father was revealed. Then we began to sing praises to the Lord God Almighty, and to the Lamb, who redeemed us to God, and brought us out of the bondage of the world, and put an end to sin and death.¹¹

¹¹Ibid. p. 12.

The foregoing experience was noted in following material to result in the salvation and convincement of many who were seeking the Truth of Christ. Thus it was concluded, whatever Burrough meant by "new tongues", this experience was evangelistic in nature and not for the edification of the saints alone.

Interpretation of Tongues

The "new tongues" noted in the preceding was not followed by any description of the gift of interpretation. Throughout the life and active ministry of Burrough, this gift was not discovered to be present or at least active.

Apostleship

The gift of Apostleship was related to the work of publishing the gospel of Christ. Edward Burrough was the recipient of a double portion of God's blessing in this area of his ministry. The blessing of God was apparent in the preachment of Burrough even though he was young in years and new in the life of Christ. In 1653 it was noted:

Edward Burrough at this time could scarcely have been older than in his nineteenth year, yet he was accounted an able minister of the Gospel, being zealous in his Master's cause, and wise in spiritual things, understanding the way of life and salvation; and was withal earnest in his manner, and fluent in the delivery of those important doctrines which he was commissioned to preach.¹²

He devoted much of his ministry to the instruction of weak or new converts into the way of Christ and holy living. Frances Anne

¹²Ibid. p. 18.

Budge, in her work, Annals of the Early Friends, had this to say about him:

So greatly was his ministry blessed that many hundreds were effectually brought to the knowledge of the Lord. . . . Thomas Ellwood describes him as 'bold in his Masters quarrels, yet open and free to every thirsty lamb;' . . . His eloquence and his powerful voice, like all else were, consecrated to the Saviour's cause;¹³

The personal or vocal ministry of Burrough gained much attention in London and throughout all of England. The faithful stewardship of this gift led Burrough into many types of service. In 1654 he was noted to exercise this gift in a private home; the following excerpt revealed his skill and the Spirit's control.

A man who . . . is spoken of as the governor of the house, first spake to the people assembled. Then Ranter addressed the company. Whilst he was still speaking, Edward Burrough, whose heart was full of deep religious concern on behalf of those present, rose on his feet. At the sound of his voice the Ranter ceased speaking. Edward, though quite a young man, was clothed with a Divine authority which reached the hearts, touched the consciences, and convinced the judgment of many who heard him.¹⁴

The effectiveness of Burrough's ministry was a testimony of the direction and blessing of God. The articulation of the gospel message that redemptive grace was available to all men was Edward's outstanding work.

Burrough was skillful in the communication of Truth. This was carried out, not only through pulpit ministry, but by debate. He was

¹³Frances Anne Budge, Annals of the Early Friends, (Philadelphia: Henry Longestretch, 1900), p. 58.

¹⁴Evans, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

moved of the Lord in 1659 to go into the Continent and preach and converse in the area of Dunkirk. The city of Dunkirk was largely Roman Catholic and the Mayor asked them to leave the city before a riot ensued. Burrough was insistent that God had directed his affairs and the permission was granted to continue preaching. He addressed a paper to the Jesuit priests and Dominican Frairs to consider the issues of faith and the miracle of regeneration, along with other major doctrines. The debate was not accepted but Burrough was used of the Lord to direct others to the Light of Christ; convincement was noted in the hearts of many other people.

Burrough did not allow himself to become trapped into a stereotyped preacher concept. He remained pliable in the Spirit's power to do or become whatever he was directed. London was a city of great wickedness and its spiritual conscience had almost died. For many, sports and amusements had replaced the desire of spiritual realities and experiential Christianity. Burrough was noted in London in 1654 as employing a wrestling match as the opportunity for spiritual ministry. It was recorded as follows:

One evening, as Edward Burrough was passing by, his attention was drawn to a company of people assembled round an athletic man, who had already thrown several competitors, and was waiting for another. As no one offered to enter the ring with him, he seemed flushed with pride at his success, and full of vain glory, because of that strength and activity of body which was given him by his Creator for nobler purposes. As the wrestler thus stood, in the pride of his strength, with the crowd of admiring spectators around him, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring. The successful champion looked with surprise at this new opponent, . . . Clothed with authority from his Divine Master, . . . he addressed the by-standers in a powerful and awakening manner, to which they listened with attention and wondering admiration . . . Many of his hearers were deeply affected by his discourse, for he was aptly called, 'A brea-

ker of stoney hearts, and son of thunder, as well as a consoler of the contrite in spirit.¹⁵

Added to the task of Burrough's successful pulpit and open-air ministry was the written service which he performed. This was a valuable and productive ministry. England by this time, 1656, had ascertained that Friends were not to be destroyed by persecutions and political harassment. The literary notables used their pens to bring false charges of heretical doctrine against the Society. John Bunyan, a well noted and prolific writer, sought to turn public opinion against the Quakers by his open letters and public papers. Edward Burrough, at the age of twenty-two years, satisfied the public by his capable replies. William and Thomas Evans noted in their work:

The success attending the ministry of Friends, and the rapid increase of their converts, created at this time great alarm among many of the ministers of other societies. They were stirred up to oppose and vilify the principles and practices of those who seemed to be taking away their congregations. Many pamphlets were put forth.¹⁶

The design of these writings was to make Friends and their doctrines seem ridiculous and unreliable. Edward Burrough received special direction to answer these accusations and presented a positive case for the Friends Movement and for the Lord Jesus Christ.

Burrough performed a lasting work for the Society by superintending the publications of many articles written by George Fox. His words of written encouragement enabled London Friends to be held fast

¹⁵Ibid. pp. 44-45.

¹⁶Ibid. pp. 64-65.

to the Truth in face of public ridicule, persecution, and death which came due to the Nayler defection. He wrote:

Follow not your own wills, nor the voice of the stranger and false prophet, which draws out into visibles here and there; but have salt and discerning in yourselves, that you may try every motion and every spirit, and may, by that which is infallible and errs not, comprehend and judge that which is fallible and erring, which flourisheth for a time, but comes to an end and is withered.¹⁷

Perhaps the most lasting tribute to Burrough's stewardship of the gift of Apostleship was reported in Fox's Journal:

And about this time there was one Chandler, a great Ranter that had been a priest, and one who had run into so much wickedness that he lay as a spectacle to all people; . . . I was moved to bid Edward Burrough to go to him and turn him to the light of Christ and settle his mind upon Christ; and so he did, for he went forthwith and his message was effectual; and he became a very fine Friend and gave forth many books for the Truth and died in Truth.¹⁸

It was concluded that Burrough did indeed possess the gift of Apostleship and fulfilled his ministry through the faithful exercise and disposition as the Spirit led him.

Teachers

Burrough was recognized as an adequate leader in the early Friends Movement. As a leader, the position of a teacher was assumed. This qualification was not due to an inflated ego, but Burrough understood and could effectively transmit Truth. Burrough and Howgill shared the responsibility for the well-ordered meetings in London and for the work of evangelism within that great city.

¹⁷Ibid. p. 119.

¹⁸Nickalls, op. cit. pp. 196-197.

Burrough's ability in debate caused him to be logical and concise in his statements of Truth. In 1657 and 1658 he carried on a running literary debate with Richard Goodgroom in Drayton-Middlesex. The topic was, "Does God justify sinners, That is while they are remaining in sin?" Burrough declared the following concerning Christian Perfection:

Sanctification is a witness of justification, and no man can further know himself to be justified than he is sanctified; nor justified, than he is restored.¹⁹

His doctrine of Christian Perfection was more fully stated in a pamphlet entitled, "A Declaration to all the World of our Faith and what We believe, who are called Quakers. Concerning God, Christ, and the Spirit: Thus We Believe." He stated:

And we believe, Every saint that is called of God, ought to press after perfection, and to overcome the devil and all his temptations upon earth. We believe they that faithfully wait for it shall obtain it and shall be presented without sin, in the image of the Father. . . for they cease to commit sin, being born of the seed of God.²⁰

Robert Barclay traditionally has been considered the foremost Friends Theologian. He wrote a formal presentation of Friends Doctrine in 1667. This work has been considered standard as the official document presenting the theological position of the Society.

However, this research found Edward Burrough contributed a valuable document in 1657 in which he systematized doctrinal statements of

¹⁹Ibid. p. 265.

²⁰Ibid. p. 265.

Friends. This work predated Barclay's work by ten years. Burrough's theological presentation, though brief, was adequate to translate the basic positions of Friends when they lacked any formal statements of their doctrinal truths.

Burrough desired to employ every known media by which to communicate Truth. He held the conviction that men everywhere needed the message of light and liberty and by divine enablement strove for the universal Kingdom of Christ.

Helps

This gift was also possessed by Burrough as he so faithfully discharged its service within the framework of Christian love and devotion. His help consisted of letters written to encourage London Friends while he was imprisoned in Ireland. He carried on correspondence with Oliver Cromwell, seeking the Lord Protectorate's assistance to ease the heavy wave of persecution which caused much suffering to Friends. When the occasion arose, he was faithful to assist and alleviate the physical needs of those who suffered the wants of daily necessities. He seemed to live by the scriptural injunction of our Lord when He said: "Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." (Matthew 25:40)

Government

The years 1655 through 1657 were years of political involvement for Burrough. He had studied the character of Oliver Cromwell and the vows of office this man had taken to become the Lord Protectorate.

Cromwell refused to aggravate the clergy by protecting the Quakers. Burrough was concerned with the social problem, being himself involved in suffering, but he also expressed Christian ethics and moral values were to be interpreted through social and governmental justice and equality. From a paper entitled, "A Declaration to all the World of our Faith and what we believe, who are called Quakers," we note the following expression:

That rulers, governors, ought to be men that fear God and hate every evil way. Men who will judge from Godly hearts and not personal gain and favor. That the law should be known to all men before they are accused . . . We believe that every transgression ought to be punished according to it's nature; and that the punishment exceed not the greatness of the transgression; nei her ought any transgressor to escape punishment . . . (concerning officials) They ought to be chosen every year, or otherwise, by he consent of the people; . . . That all governors, and rulers ought to be accountable to the people, and to the next succeeding rulers, for all their actions, . . . and that the Chiefest of the rulers be subject under the law, and punishable by it, if they be transgressors, as well as the poorest of the people.²¹

Basic to Burrough's concern, and that of Quakerism, was the desire for a lawful and just government based upon the unified action of those who comprised the nation. Thus democratic governmental procedure may be traced, in a measure, to the influence of the Friends Movement. Becoming involved in the affairs of state revealed the true and sincere wishes of the movement for the welfare of the national life. The Society profited by such political interests of its leadership and revealed that though the Society had refused the Oath of Allegiance, they were none the less most loyal, for they followed the King of Kings.

²¹Ibid. p. 267.

III. DEATH

The evidence cited within this study rang with harmonious agreement that Burrough fulfilled the stewardship of his spiritual gifts to the best of his physical ability. He did not live a long life. He died in Newgate prison in 1662 at the age of twenty-eight years. The last hours of his life were lived in the Newgate prison and this experience above all else revealed the spiritual direction and vision of this young Publisher of Truth. His life had been lived in the rush of establishing Truth and turning on the Light of Christ in his sin darkened nation of England. He had pleased God by following obediently the direction of the Holy Spirit. His Memoirs reported:

As his sickness increased he abounded in patience and composure, and the spirit of supplication rested richly upon him. By night and by day he poured out his prayer to God, for himself and for his people. His heart being replenished with grace, he uttered many expressions, indicating the heavenly frame of his soul, greatly to the comfort of his surviving friends. . . . Sensible that his death was near, he said, just before it occurred, "Though this body of clay must return to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation; and that spirit, which has acted and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands."²²

On December 14, 1662 with heart and soul sustained by the knowledge that his part of the earthly quest for Truth had finished, he closed his life, a martyr, for the great cause of righteousness and holiness.

IV. SUMMARY

²²Ibid. pp. 391-92-93.

The ministry of Edward Burrough evidenced the presence of nine spiritual gifts. The most important aspect of his life was not the number of gifts possessed, but the fact that he endeavored to faithfully discharge his stewardship. His contributions were many but the most important possessed gift was Wisdom. Again, as for Fox, Wisdom was the foundation of all other gifts. Burrough could see through to the essence of things and provided ready answers for his critics. Of those outwardly manifested gifts, Apostleship was outstanding. He possessed the ability to disseminate Truth in a convincing and convicting manner as honored by the Spirit.

Burrough's use of Tongues was not considered to be of extreme value, as he mentioned it only once; that the experience produced converts was not to be denied.

A summary of Chapter V resulted in the following statements:

A. The ministry of Burrough evidenced the demonstration of nine spiritual gifts. The list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Tongues, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps and Government.

B. Fox and Burrough possessed the same number of gifts while not possessing the same gifts.

C. Burrough witnessed once to the practice of the gift of Tongues.

D. Again, the gift of Wisdom was noted as contributing largely to his successful service.

E. The ability to articulate the gospel message of redemptive grace to all men was Burrough's outstanding work.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF JAMES NAYLER

The life and ministry of James Nayler was studied in this research as he represented a more emotional aspect of the early Friends Movement than did Fox or Burrough. In his zeal for individual Spirit leadership, he sacrificed the corporate guidance of the Spirit. His work was studied in relation to his Early Life and Conversion, Manifestation of Spiritual Gifts, Death and Summary.

I. EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION

Life began for James Nayler in 1618 at West Ardsley in a quiet agrarian town two miles from Wakefield. The type of home life, the religious concern of his parents, and his early training remained an untold story.

Nayler was reared on a farm and he followed the occupation of his father in later years. He possessed a questing spirit that failed to find satisfaction from the ordinary inspiration of life and the traditional religious exercises.

His religious background is difficult to discern. He seldom mentioned his parents. He was, nonetheless, a member of the State Church and was faithful in worship and the development of spiritual concern as a child. The quest for spiritual truth, as noted in the

lives of Fox and Burrough, was also present in Nayler. He was truly idealistic in his outlook and evaluation of life and its problems. This characteristic eventually led to his disgraceful fall and his bringing reproach to the Friends Movement.

Nayler was a man of naked emotions. He was led oftentimes by the call of emotion rather than sanctified judgment. His life was a story, on one hand, of severe tension and distress and, on the other hand, of complete devotion and dedication to the cause which captivated his soul.

The church register in his native community revealed that Nayler married in 1639 at the age of twenty-one. He owned a farm and there provided for the needs of his family; a wife and three daughters. In 1642, following the demands of emotion, he joined the Parliamentary Army and renounced all worldly possessions and ambitions to assist in the liberation of his country from the rule of Charles I. Nayler was a soldier well respected and rose in the ranks of Cromwell's Army to the title of Quartermaster. He was assigned to Lamberts Regiment of Horses. It was this regiment that carried the weight of battle against Charles II, as he marched into England from Scotland while he was yet a prince. Charles and his forces were defeated at Worcester, on September 3, 1651, thus insuring the reign of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protectorate. Soon Charles escaped England, dressed as a servant, and lived on the Continent until the death of Oliver Cromwell and the rise of Richard, his son, as Lord Protectorate. Richard lacked the character and experience of his father and in 1660 Charles returned from exile and restored the Stuart Monarchy to the throne of England.

Following the initial defeat of Charles II at Worcester, Nayler retired from the army and returned to his family and small farm. It was through the army experience that Nayler gained much respect for Gerald Winstanley and the Leveller movement. He shared their idealistic concern for government in England. Nayler was physically exhausted and mentally disillusioned upon his retirement. The principles of personal, religious, and governmental liberties for which he had given his life seemed to be unobtainable.

The internal affairs of State were considered important as they related to Nayler. He had been closely allied with the Leveller movement which was a politically motivated religious fringe group. The movement accepted the doctrine of spiritual insight and "immediate revelation". Rules governing the group were loose and ill-defined, thus allowing each member the right of personal spiritual leading. The Ranters carried this philosophy to an utter extreme and refused correction on the premise that it would violate leadership and grieve the Holy Spirit who had directed the action.

Thus bound from within by past State Church instruction and tormented from without by the religious milieu, Nayler was reluctant to surrender his will to the leadership of the Spirit. His external spiritual life was also disappointing and hopeless. He found the tools for developing a righteous life in the State Church, but no instruction in their administration and use. The satisfaction of a peaceable mind evaded him throughout his army career and he remained, as did Fox, in a state of spiritual frustration.

Emilia Fogelklou in her book, James Nayler The Rebel Saint, described the parallel between Fox and Nayler in the following statement:

He had lived in the centre of politics for many years. He had been a spiritual leader and afterwards, when all he had hoped for had come to naught, he wandered in the wilderness of ill-health, disillusionment, and doubt. While Fox had concentrated his search inwardly and had bored deeply, Nayler had lived and worked and suffered in external events, . . . Just at the time when he was near the breaking point . . . Fox came within the range of his vision.¹

The time of Nayler's spiritual liberation came in the spring of 1651. Fox was preaching the Light of Christ as Truth in the country about Wakefield and Fox's Journal records: "So I passed through the countries . . . and went into the country about Wakefield where James Nayler lived, where he and Thomas Goodaire and William Dewsbury and many more were convinced."²

A fellow soldier, Lieutenant Roper, lived in the same neighborhood with Nayler. Roper had become a follower of George Fox and the message he preached. Another soldier friend, William Dewsbury, had come to the Light and had been convinced of Truth. These men extended an invitation for Fox to visit Balby and at this time Nayler was made sensitive to the Light of Christ and professed the Truth of the gospel.

The conversion experience characterized the person of Nayler. Convincement did not transpire easily. He desired to be convinced from a position of logic as well as spiritual conviction. Fox arrived

¹Emilia Fogelklou, Iajla Yapp, Trans., James Nayler The Rebel (London: Ernest Nenn, 1931), p. 99.

²John L. Nickalls, ed., The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), p. 73.

at the right time, for his Journal noted: "James Nayler came to see him and was convinced after some discussion."³

Emilia Fogelklou noted the following from The Works of Nayler:

This is not a notion of what was done in another Generation, past or to come, Hundreds or Thousands of Years distance, but that which leads to . . . a New Birth spiritually begotte, and born and brought to Light, without which none can see the Kingdom of God, not enter therein . . . his Mighty Working in me, in which the Soul is raised out of the Grave.⁴

By the operation of faith through grace James Nayler came to see Christ, not as a far distant person but one relevant to his personal need and inner longings. The quest for reality found its conclusion in the person of the Christ of history.

Nayler had just returned from his years of service as a soldier and his family provided great personal satisfaction and security. The decision to yield to demands of Truth brought the earnest conviction that he had been commissioned to bear the Truth. The call of God to become a messenger of reconciliation and again leave his family resulted in spiritual frustration and discouragement for a season. During this period he continued his farming while depression settled upon him until he was unable to speak or eat and at times he was given up as dead. Fogelklou quoted from the works of Nayler, "His Works", in her book James Nayler the Rebel Saint: "Not being obedient in going forth the wrath of God was upon me, so that I was made a wonder to all,

³Ibid. p. 73.

⁴Fogelklou, op. cit., p. 75.

and none thought I would have lived."⁵ However, he soon realized that he should be as willing to leave his family for the sake of the Gospel and the Prince of Peace as he had for the cause of Parliamentary forces.

Nayler was a tender man and the tension between God's will and his own desires led to deep inner searching and struggle to know the Spirit's mind who had called him from darkness to the Light of Christ. Relating to the same period of spiritual dedication, Brailsford noted in her work, A Quaker From Cromwell's Army: James Nayler:

He put off his going from day to day, till the sense of the wrath of God upon his disobedience had become intolerable. So great was his distress that he became unable to speak or even to eat, and his very life was despaired of. . . Three times at least in the dark hours of his life the same symptoms returned upon Nayler, and his health was recovered only when he had ceased to struggle against the Will of God as it had been revealed to him.⁶

Christopher Marshall, local State Church priest, excommunicated Nayler for his failure to attend the steeplehouse and follow the socially accepted and ecclesiastically approved order of worship. The fact of excommunication was not made known to Nayler for many months.

The trial of Nayler's faith began immediately, for his wife did not share the same heart experience and refused to attend the meetings conducted at Roper's home. Nonetheless, she was willing for him to enter into the labour of gospel ministry. This sacrifice spoke of her character, for her consent meant months of separation with responsi-

⁵Ibid. p. 74.

⁶Mabel Richmond Brailsford, A Quaker From Cromwell's Army: James Nayler, (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927), p. 42.

lities for rearing the children falling upon her. Convinced of Truth and directed into the preaching ministry, Nayler became a useful and fruitful Publisher of Truth.

The second meeting between Nayler and Fox occurred in 1652 at Swarthmore Hall, home of Judge and Margaret Fell. The Judge had been absent from his home but the Hall was opened to Friends. This hospitality resulted in the conviction of Margaret Fell and she walked in the Light of Christ. Upon returning home, the Judge was told by a priest and soldiers that his wife had been bewitched and led into dire darkness. Nayler spoke to Judge Fell in a diplomatic manner and asked him to reconsider the expulsion of the Society from his home until he had been advised of the entire account. This the Judge did and following a discussion with George Fox, his home became the haven of the infant Society and Mrs. Fell became the spiritual mother.

The quality of Nayler's ability to disseminate and proclaim the Truth in a convincing manner was a commodity noted to reside in many of Fox's initial converts. This ability to communicate was respected by Fox, but as in all cases, Fox exercised a watchful eye over Nayler and his early work. Fox was six years younger than Nayler and this was noted as having an influence in their later relationships when correction was necessary.

II. MANIFESTATION OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

As noted previously, Nayler was an idealist in his approach to life and the multiplicities of its complex decisions. This caused him problems, for in that he was an idealist, he faltered when idealism should have been viewed with the eye of realistic analysis.

Except for the one tragic blot on his life, that for which he was well remembered, Nayler revealed a high quality of Wisdom. The employment or utilization of this gift was the frustration of Nayler, for on the one hand, his preaching exhibited the demonstration of good balance and scriptural harmony, while on the other, his personal life seemed to be a contradiction of that balance and harmony.

Nayler's preaching met with great and unusual success throughout England and especially in London. His ability to disseminate the Gospel of Light and Truth was attributed to the Spirit's gift of Wisdom. He demonstrated the keen duality of an adequate Biblical scholar while permitting the Spirit free control.

James Nayler was a master in the art of argumentation and he adequately answered questions. He was well versed in the force and power of the Written Word and excelled in its presentation. He did not defend the Word but proclaimed it to be inspired and capable of directing one to Christ the Lord. Speaking concerning the Light, he declared in 1653:

And this Light checks you for Sin, and would have you to Do to all Men, as you would be done to. And this Light is not a Chapter without you, in a Book, but it is that Light that revealed the Scriptures to the Saints, . . . which fpoke forth, and which thou readeft in the Chapter. And this Light being mined, will lead you

to the perfect Day which declares all things as they are.⁷

(The reader was asked to note the certain letter "s" is changed to "f" within the above quote and the succeeding quote. This is not a typographical error but the usage of Old English style.)

The effect of the gift of Wisdom in Nayler's life and preachment was noted in an introduction by George Whitehead in Nayler's collected books, A Collection of Sundry Books:

By a good Measure of Divine Illumination and Inward Experience, he knew the Miniftration of Judgment and Mercy, Law and Gofpel, preferring the Miniftration of the Spirit above that of the Letter; and accordingly preached to turn Peoples Minds to the Light, the Life, the Spirit and Power of Chrif in thee, out of all empty Forms carnal Obfervations, dead literal Preachings and Profeffions, where the Power of Godlinefs was or is denied. In Thefe Matters the faid J.N. was in Meafure Gifted, with Demonftration of the Spirit of Chrif while the Light fhined upon his Tabernacle, before he was clouded and hurt.⁸

Thus it was concluded that the gift of Wisdom was resident in the life and ministry of James Na ler. That he walked contrary to that wisdom is admitted, and will be elaborated upon under the heading of discernment, but he was seen to have effectively employed this gift.

Word of Knowledge

Though causing much disturbance in the Society, Nayler gave many helpful concepts to the movement and allowed it to see more perfectly the union established in man by the grace of God.

⁷James Nayler, A Collection of Sundry Books (London: J. Sowle, 1716), p. 37.

⁸Ibid. p. VII.

The doctrine of imminence had resulted in close identification of relationship between God and man. God so indwelt man that it appeared most improbable, if not impossible, for judgmental errors to occur. Through the dark hours of public humiliation, Nayler gained new insight which enabled him to walk the long road from condemnation as a heretic to become again a respected member of the Society. The application of the gift of knowledge allowed Nayler to see and acknowledge the possibility of pursuing spiritual objectives by the means and employment of unholy implements. This was to be corrected by the changing of the means and not the objectives.

The evidence of this gift was nowhere more conclusively shown than in the type of ministry Nayler performed. One of his earliest preaching tours carried him into Westmorland. He chose audiences with selective care, ministering to former soldiers and men with similar backgrounds to his own.

Brailsford noted the following in her work, A Quaker From Cromwell's Army: James Nayler:

It was in this year of 1653 that William Edmundson, himself one of Cromwell's old Ironsides, was on a visit to his friends in Westmorland, and traveled three miles to hear James Nayler preach. 'God's witness in our hearts,' he writes, 'answered to the Truth of what was spoken;' and the young Englishman returned home to become the first Quaker missionary in Ireland.⁹

Thus it was concluded that throughout his ministry Nayler attempted to remain true to the Spiritual gift of Knowledge. The great

⁹Brailsford, op. cit., p. 71.

tragedy of his life was seen in that he failed at one point to determine truth from error and that decision left an indelible blot upon his history.

Gift of Faith

This gift was noted as relating to the performance of miracles and not to saving faith. There was no evidence to substantiate that Nayler was the possessor of such manifestations.

Gift of Healing

Working of Miracles

The early Friends were shocked at a claim, attributed to Nayler, of having raised a lady from the dead. This claim was renounced by Nayler in 1659. He stated:

Alfo that Report, as though I had raifed Dorcas Erbury from Death: This I deny alfo, and condemn that Teftemony to be out of the Truth, though that Power that quickens the Dead I deny not, which is the Word of Eternal Life.¹⁰

Thus it was concluded that Nayler did not possess either one of these gifts but admitted to the ability of God to perform the miraculous.

Gifts of Prophecy

The role of the prophet was discovered in the life of Fox and Burrough; Nayler also carried the title of prophet with dignity and boldness. The demonstration of this gift was noted on two levels; one, national messages, and two, messages directed to judicial officers and

¹⁰Nayler, op. cit., p. IIV.

Oliver Cromwell.

In the year 1653 Nayler delivered a message of national concern.

He stated:

O England! How is thy Expectation failed, now after all thy Travels? The people to whom oppreffion and unrighteousness hath been a Burden, have long wailed for Deliverance, from one Year to another, but none comes, from one Sort of Men to another . . . fo that which should be for the Deliverance of the Simple from the Hand of the Oppressor, is turned into a Snare to entrap the Righteous,¹¹

The message of Nayler was similar to Jeremiah in that he encouraged Judah not to trust in the alliance of Nations and men, but to turn to Jehovah. Nayler did not foresee the end of National strife resulting from conferences and the restoration of a Monarchy, but only through personal alliance and allegiance to Jesus Christ would the social complexities of his society be solved.

Nayler spoke with clarity to those who ruled England. He resounded to local judges and the Lord Protectorate in the same quality, "Thus Saith the Lord." In November of 1653 he spoke:

Wee is me for you Rulers! How are you fallen from what you have professed, when you yourselves were sufferers under such Bondage? And now is it nothing to you, that your Brethren, that have been one with you against Oppression, now perish under the Hands of fame. Men, from whom you are set free?¹²

In 1655 he was charged with the responsibilities of conveying a message to Cromwell. He defended the Friends position in the following points, (1) that the maintenance of the Gospel of Christ is charged to

¹¹Nayler, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

¹²Ibid. p. 101.

the Church, (2) that the State would defend her demands of forcing citizens to pay tithes, and (3) that the State could not substantiate her practice of demanding pledges of loyalty, and the persecution of those who refused. This was in obvious violation of the Scripture and the commands of Christ. He concluded with a personal appeal for Cromwell to yield himself to the control of Christ. Nayler stated:

Thus in Faithfulness to God, and in Love to you, with whom I have Served for the good of these Nations, . . . And now my prayer to God for you is, that you may lay down all your Crowns at his Feet, who hath given you the Victory; that fo the Lord being fet up as King in every Conscience, all may be subject for Conscience sake: and live fo God may be honoured by you,¹³

Thus James Nayler was commissioned to represent God through the office of a Prophet. The "old soldier" discharged his orders with all faithfulness and clarity.

Discerning of Spirits

The gift which led Fox to see the inner qualities of a heart was also present in Nayler. However, Nayler was a man whose sympathies were won before his judgment had been permitted to examine the facts. Nayler possessed a certain modesty which made him easy prey for unscrupulous persons.

The conversion of Nayler had led him from darkness into the Light of Christ. His eyes were opened to observe marvelous things out of God's Law. The Spirit had taken residence within his heart and he was given a spirit of understanding. He witnessed to the possession

¹³

Ibid. p. 187.

of this gift in 1658. He stated: "having formerly had Power over that Spirit in Judgment and Discerning where-ever it was."¹⁴ This great change in Nayler was to have its sequel in his refusal to obey the direction and control of the Spirit. The light of his soul was turned to darkness.

Rapid growth and development took place within the Society of Friends in 1656. Nayler had, in four years, risen to be recognized as a leader in London. This was due to his preaching ability and the Wisdom he displayed in debate with professors and priests. This praise and worldly acclaim captured the mind of James Nayler and he became resentful of direction or human counsel. He was directed by Fox to leave London and go into the North for the purpose of establishing and correcting certain meetings. Nayler felt this was in violation of the Spirit's direction but accepted the order. The relationship between Fox and Nayler was strained and was never cleared until after Nayler's repentance.

Where once he was led by the voice of the Spirit, he was now directed by two misguided women in the city of London. Martha Simmonds and Hannah Stranger had heaped praise upon him and declared him to be the Messiah. They visited Nayler in the Exeter Prison and led him to believe that he should be the leader of the Friends Movement and Fox should relinquish control. Nayler was suffering from dire imprisonment and was too exhausted to determine truth, so he was deluded to believe

¹⁴Ibid. p. liii.

them.

George Fox refused to recognize Nayler as a leader or a man of influence following the above episode. Fox described his rejection of Nayler while James was in Exeter Prison in these words from his Journal:

And the next day I spoke to James Nayler again, but he slighted it and was dark and much out; nevertheless he would have come and kissed me, but I said, seeing he had turned against the power of God, 'It is my foot' and so the Lord moved me to slight him and to set the power of God over him.¹⁵

However, Nayler yielded to the influence of the ladies and in the spring of 1656 allowed them to lead him into the city of Bristol declaring him to be the Messiah. He was subsequently arrested and tried of blasphemy.

Nayler's trial was a farce as far as fair and reasonable trials were considered. Those who led him were not tried nor publicly re-proved. The punishment heaped upon him would have destroyed many a man. He was twice whipped, a "B" burned upon his forehead, and his tongue bored through with a hot iron. Nayler was reported to have so spoken the following as he was led from the trial: "He that hath prepared the body, will enable me to suffer; and I pray that he may not lay it to your charge."¹⁶

Nayler's personal sorrow and regret was nowhere more evident than in his prison letters written in 1658 and 1659. He had spoken

¹⁵Nickalls, op. cit., pp. 268-269.

¹⁶Joseph Gurney Beven, A Refutation of Some of the Modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers; With A Life of James Nayler, (London: William Phillips, 1800), p. 81.

of being led into vanity and these words were noted:

And this Envious One hath don, in the Night of my Tryal, and Hour of Darkness, and Temptation, taking advantage of my Suffering, in that day when my Judgment was taken away, and I was led Captive under the powers of Darknefs, which all along hath fought my life.¹⁷

His restoration by grace was noted in the following letter as written from Bridewell in 1659:

This Offence I confesse, which both hath been Sorrow of Heart, that the Enemy of Man's peace in Christ should get advantage in the Night of my Tryal, to stir up Wrath and Offences in the Creation of God, a Thing the Simplicity of my Heart did not intend, the Lord, who knows, who in his endlefs Love hath given me Power over it to condemn it: And also that Letter sent to Exeter, by John Stranger, when I was in Prison, with these Words, Thy Name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus. This I judge to be written from the Imaginations, and a Fear struck me when I first saw it; and so I put it in my Pocket (close) not intending any should see it: which they finding on me, spread it abroad, which the Simplicity of my Heart never owned.¹⁸

The fact that reflection and embarrassment came upon the Society was seen to have been secondary to the greater harm this experience had caused to James Nayler himself. A man whom God had blessed with ability and personal magnetism allowed an error of spiritual judgment to destroy the best of his ministry. He was later restored into full fellowship with the Society but his national and international effective ministry was ruined. He continued to lend encouragement to the Friends Movement by the example of his fall and proved his repentance was genuine.

Kinds of Tongues

¹⁷Nayler, op. cit., p. xxxll.

¹⁸Nayler, op. cit., pp. lii-llll.

Interpretation of Tongues

Neither of these gifts appeared in research material related to Nayler's life and ministry.

Apostleship

George Fox testified to Nayler's ability in setting forth Truth. He spoke with praise and deep appreciation for the work of Nayler prior to Nayler's fall in 1656. In 1655 Fox reported in his Journal:

And there James Nayler met me in Derbyshire where seven or eight priests had challenged him to a dispute. And I had a travail in my spirit for him and the Lord answered me. And I was moved to bid him to go on, and that God Almighty would go with him and give him the victory in his power. And so the Lord did, that all the people saw the priests were nothing and failed, and cried, 'A Nayler, a Nayler hath confuted them all' So after, he came to me again, praising the Lord.¹⁹

Concerning the ability of Nayler to declare Truth effectively, Fogelklo remarked: "Richard Baxter, the most formible theological adversary to the Quakers, described Nayler as 'their chief leader,'"²⁰

Nayler did not rely entirely upon his pulpit ministry to convey the gospel message. He was a prolific writer and produced many works of lasting value. He wrote of a concern for the establishment of the Society and encouraged those convinced by Truth to become settled. In 1653 he addressed a letter to the Society entitled: "A Discovery of the Wifdom from Beneath, and the Wifdom from Above." He stated:

Dear Friends, be faithful in what you know, take heed of making

¹⁹Nickalls, op. cit., p. 223.

²⁰Fogelklou, op. cit., p. 109.

* Profeffion of what you are not, and so you be found Diffemblers before the Lord but keep low in Meeknefs and Patience, ftanding in the Will of God in all things.²¹

This same gift was elaborated upon by George Whitehead in his introduction to Nayler's Sundry Works:

By a good Meafure of Divine Illumination and Inward Experience, he knew the Miniftration of Judgment and Mercy, Law and Gofpel, preferring the Miniftrations of the Spirit above that of the Letter; and accordingly preached to turn Peoples Minds to the Light, the Life, the Spirit and power of Christ in them, . . . The frail J.N. for fome time had a Service . . . by his Preaching and divers Books written by him, and was for fome time admired and much followed by many.²²

Teachers

Though endowed with an unusual teaching gift, Nayler's effectiveness at this point was destroyed by his fanatical episode. However, this value was noted to exist in his doctrinal statements and were herewith cited. In 1655 he published a message entitled, "A Salutation to the Seed of God." The case for Christian Perfection was the issue and he cited the Calvinistic doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints. He spoke of that doctrine allowing sin but not losing Faith. He remonstrated that position in these words: "So the Faith which you profefs is become a defence for Sin: But our Faith is that which overcomes Sin, and fo the good Work is not Reprobate."²³

He further stated in 1656 the cause for Christian Perfection in

²¹Nayler, op. cit., p. 68.

²²Ibid. pp. VII-VIII.

²³Ibid. pp. 214-215.

these words: "And fo all that ever bear the Teftament in Spirit, Preach and believe Perfection."²⁴ Nayler spoke with sureness and a holy boldness as he declared: "Thou who takeft delight in Sin, and pleadeft for it, art not in that Seed."²⁵

The art of relating Christian doctrine carried Nayler to communicate the Friends concept of Worship in that he stated:

So that before any can rightly worfhip God, they muft wait to know his Spirit, . . . but either muft your Worfhip be performed in one that never Sinned, or it cannot be accepted with the pure God. . . So all who defire Worfhip in Truth, you muft know the Truth, even the Spirit of Truth, to lead into all Truth; which Spirit of Truth takes of Chrift, and teftifies of his Life and Power, in the Creature Worfhipping.²⁶

The gift of Teaching was exercised during his prison experience in 1656. His prison letters allowed a glimpse into Nayler's deep concern for troubled and unstable Christians. The hope offered by Nayler, speaking from a path leading from despair to victory, was this: though man continued in his humanity, he had an adequate Saviour. He remarked in "Milk for Babes" printed in 1661:

Though at some time the Cloudes may be fo thick, and the powers of Darknefs fo strong in your eye that you fee him not, yet love him, and believe, and you have him prefent; you fhall feel his Patience calling you down out of the Storm.²⁷

Thus it was concluded that Nayler possessed the gift of Teaching

²⁴Ibid. p. 296.

²⁵Ibid. p. 333.

²⁶Ibid. pp. 273-274-275.

²⁷Ibid. p. 667.

and discharged it well when spiritually qualified.

Helps

Government

These two gifts did not appear to contribute any vital thrust to Nayler's ministry. Had he retained a position of submissiveness to the Spirit's leading, it would perhaps have been different.

III. DEATH

James Nayler, a man of changing moods and valuable ministry, passed away in 1660 at forty-four years of age. About two hours before he passed to meet his Master, Nayler gave the following 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: . . . I found it alone, being forsaken; I have Fellowship therein, with them who lived in Dens, and defolate Places in the Earth, who through Death obtained this Refurrection and Eternal Holy Life.²⁸

Thus in victory, James Nayler, a controversial Quaker, ended his quest for the Eternal Light.

IV. SUMMARY

The life and ministry of Nayler revealed the possession and the exercise of six spiritual gifts. They were as follows: Wisdom, Know-

²⁸Ibid. p. 696.

ledge, Prophecy, Discernment, Apostleship, and Teaching.

When measured against the lives of Fox and Burrough, Nayler did not contribute as significantly to the establishment of the Friends Movement. This was not due to his lack of ability or zeal, but to his refusal to accept correction and council. Nayler, as noted previously, was ruled by the emotional thrust of the present rather than spiritual objectivity and critical analysis.

The outstanding ministry which Nayler exercised was his gift of Apostleship. He possessed a keen ability, when directed by the Spirit, to disseminate Truth in a powerful and convincing manner. His effectiveness as a minister and accepted leader of London Friends was destroyed by his apostacy. Following his release from prison, he was unable to overcome the cloud of suspicion and doubt which had become so synonymous with his name.

The study led to the following summary statements:

A. The ministry of Nayler revealed the possession and exercise of six spiritual gifts. This list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Discernment, Apostleship and Teaching.

B. His effectiveness was apparent from those who followed him in London, the convincement of former soldiers, and the remarks of Richard Baxter.

C. Nayler was a man of unusual capabilities who allowed his head to be turned by man's praise, which caused a stigma to settle over his ministry which even time could not erase.

D. The greatest tragedy was not that embarrassment came upon the

Society of Friends but rather that a man of exceptional skill had been turned from fulfilling God's will in his life.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. SUMMARY

A summary of Chapter II led to the following statements:

1. That thirteen specific gifts were functional within the First Century Church.
2. It was noted that the Church possessed these gifts and not the apostles alone. The gifts of the Spirit were imparted by the Spirit Himself and were to be controlled by the believer.

A summary of Chapter III led to the following statements:

1. The Levellers, Diggers, and Fifth Monarch-men were spiritually-politically motivated entities within England which pressed kinship to the Holy Spirit. These groups sought a mystical union with God and demonstrated concern for the social needs of man.
2. Throughout the history of the Early Friends Movement there was a conscious effort to avoid the errors of the Levellers, Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men while retaining the passion for the dignity of all men and yieldedness to the Holy Spirit.

A summary of Chapter IV led to the following statements:

1. The public ministry of Fox was found to employ nine speci-

fic spiritual gifts. The list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Healing, Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Apostleship, Teacher, Helps, and Government.

2. The cited material revealed Fox's surrender to whatever direction the Spirit led. His life was not lived by selfish motivation, but by the principle of faithfulness to the Light of Christ.

3. This study brought into clear focus the importance of God's man being endowed by the gift of Wisdom. This gift, though not externally, i.e. emotionally demonstrated, was the foundation upon which all other gifts were to rest.

4. The faithful disposition of these gifts provided fertile soil in which to plant the Seed of God. Fox accomplished this through his powerful preaching.

5. The gift of government was considered to be outstanding in that it provided for united expression in extending God's Kingdom through the Society of Friends.

6. Though suffering imprisonments and humiliation, Fox was not detoured from the conviction that he was led by the Holy Spirit.

A summary of Chapter V resulted in the following statements:

1. The ministry of Burrough evidenced the demonstration of nine spiritual gifts. The list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Discerning of Spirits, Tongues, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps, and Government.

2. Fox and Burrough possessed the same number of gifts while

not possessing the same gifts.

3. Burrough witnessed once to the practice of the gift of Tongues.

4. The gift of Wisdom was noted as contributing largely to his successful service.

5. The ability to articulate the gospel message of redemptive grace to all men was Burrough's outstanding work.

6. Burrough's gift of communicating Truth led him to publish a book of systematized doctrinal statements for the Society in 1657.

A summary of Chapter VI resulted in these statements:

1. The ministry of Nayler revealed the possession and exercise of six spiritual gifts. This list included: Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Discernment, Apostleship and Teaching.

2. His effectiveness was apparent from those who followed him in London, the convincement of former soldiers, and the remarks of Richard Baxter.

3. Nayler was a man of unusual capabilities who allowed his head to be turned by man's praise, causing a stigma to settle over his ministry which even time could not erase.

4. The greatest tragedy was not that embarrassment came upon the Society of Friends but rather that a man of exceptional skill had been turned from fulfilling God's will in his life.

B. OBSERVATIONS

The study proved helpful in an understanding of the motivations and practices of selected early Friends leaders. The author presupposed the importance of the Holy Spirit, having been reared within the historical traditions of Friends emphasis. The purpose of this research was not to vindicate the work of the Holy Spirit but to discover how the Spirit employed certain men to bring about His purpose.

As noted earlier, the problem of this research was to examine the spiritual gifts and their exercise among selected leaders in the movement with respect to (1) the number of gifts possessed, (2) the manner of their expression, and (3) their combined effect upon the Early Friends Movement.

The study led to the following observations:

1. The list of spiritual gifts witnessed as operative within these Friends leaders numbered ten as compared to thirteen in I Corinthians 12. The gifts possessed by Friends leaders were: Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Healing, Discernment, Tongues, Apostleship, Teachers, Helps and Government.

2. The study brought into clear focus the importance of possessing Wisdom as a continuing or abiding gift. It was observed that upon the faithful disposition of this gift the Friends Movement either stood or fell. The exercise of this gift determined the ministries of Fox, Burrough, and Naylor. Fox was seen to have possessed an abundance of this gift, as he was enabled to visualize his objectives of communicating scriptural truth and to distinguish the proper course to realize it's fulfillment. Burrough and Naylor also were blessed by the presence

of God-imparted Wisdom. However, at times, Nayler substituted an ego-centric mode of leadership in place of Spirit controlled Wisdom.

3. As a Society endowed with outstanding leadership, the employment of Knowledge resulted in a successful ministry on the part of the Early Friends leaders. When measured by the ministry of those who were studied, Knowledge contributed largely to the rapid growth of the Society. From 1647 to 1655, a period of eight years, fifty-thousand souls had been convinced by Truth and Light. Wherein others, the Levellers, the Diggers, and the Fifth Monarch-men failed to reach the heart and conscience of England, Friends succeeded because of the Spirit-controlled gift. God spoke to men endowed by Wisdom and governed by Knowledge to arouse England. The capsule of Wisdom was inert until activated by the catalyst of Knowledge. The two in union resulted in the spontaneous delivery of God's Truth in comprehensive expression. Knowledge was "sanctified judgment" put to the task of delivering God's message of deliverance from the guilt of transgression and from the power of sin.

4. The outwardly-manifested gifts of Healing, Discerning of Spirits, and Tongues were employed by the Spirit in Early Friends leaders to gain the attention of a spiritually numb nation. The rise of the State Church, the clamor of the Puritans, and the various dissenting groups had generally failed to produce righteousness. The Society of Friends professed a relationship to God which was not dependent upon either the State nor the formalized systems of worship. God used the demonstrations of Healing and Discernment to open doors

of fruitful service. These gifts were used to substantiate the Society's claim of union with God.

5. The exercise of the gift of Teaching was demonstrated by the desire of Fox, Burrough and Naylor not only to speak of righteousness, but also to teach in such a manner that righteousness would be produced in the power of the Holy Spirit. The rapid growth of the Society attested to her dynamic teaching mission.

6. Fox's gift of Government was instrumental in the continuance of the Society. The use of this gift provided a tangible skeleton in which the infant organism might grow and develop. The organization of Monthly Meetings provided fellowship for localized converts. The birth of Quarterly and Yearly Meetings offered the opportunity for a united world-wide ministry of evangelism and missionary enterprise not obtainable on an individual or local level.

7. The faithful discharge of those spiritual gifts resulted in the conversion of thousands in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the American Colonies and also provided ample provisions for the conservation of those who were convinced.

C. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the preceding research, the following conclusions have been reached:

1. The personal possession and exercise of the enumerated gifts were in harmony with the Scriptural definitions as found within

I Corinthians 12.

2. Friends of the present period must first comply with the New Testament expression of spiritual gifts and secondly, encourage the open display of those gifts if they are to once again substantially challenge the tide of professional religious activity.

3. There must not be a wilful limitation of the spiritual gifts in order to conform to traditional Society expression.

D. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Inasmuch as this study has not attempted to cover every aspect of the meaning of spiritual gifts for Friends people, the following suggestions for study could be valuable:

1. "A Study of Spiritual Gifts in the Quietistic Period." Following the initial evangelistic thrust of Friends there developed a movement to conserve the historical message of the Society and protect it against "fleshly or creaturely activity". The Church became ingrown and her dynamic voice receded. Therefore a study of spiritual gifts within this period would appear to be a valuable contribution.

2. "A Study of Spiritual Gifts in Relation to Elias Hicks and Joseph John Gurney." Hicks and Gurney personalized two segments of Friends theology in the nineteenth century. A study of their lives and the Spirit's leadership over their ministries would contribute a great deal to a better understanding of that period and its resultant effects upon the Friends Movement.

3. "A Study of Spiritual Gifts and Their Relationship to The Contemporary Friends Movement." With renewed interest in the responsibility of the Church to evangelize, a study of this problem would be most helpful.

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