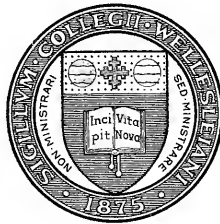


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VOL. IV.

CONTAINING

MEMOIR OF GILES BARNARDISTON;	LIFE OF HENRY HULL;
MEMOIR OF ELIZABETH ASHBRIDGE;	LIFE OF JOHN WOOLMAN;
MEMOIRS OF RUTH FOLLOWS;	LIFE OF JANE PEARSON;
LIFE OF JOHN RICHARDSON;	NARRATIVE OF JOHN PHILLY AND
LIFE OF CHARLES MARSHALL;	WILLIAM MOORE;
LIFE OF SARAH STEPHENSON;	MEMOIR OF GHARRET VAN HASSEN.
LIFE OF BENJAMIN BANGS;	

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## MEMOIR

OF

# GILES BARNARDISTON.

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GILES BARNARDISTON, of Clare, in the county of Suffolk, born about the year 1624, was an eminent instance of the power of the grace of God in subduing the heart, and humbling the man to the teachable condition of a little child. His parents, who were persons of repute in the world, gave him an education consistent with their rank. After passing through the common schools he was placed at the university, where he pursued his studies six years, with the object of taking the office of a minister in the church.

In childhood he was convicted by the reproofs of the Holy Spirit for doing wrong, however secret his actions; and was made sensible that it was the will of his heavenly Father he should forsake evil and live in conformity to his requisitions. But it was his unhappiness not to know at that time what it was that thus reproved him for vice and attracted him to the paths of virtue; many of the preachers of that day deriding the doctrine of the immediate communications of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man. After finishing his studies, and according to the judgment of his friends, become qualified to fill the office of a minister, an offer of a living was made to him, but he felt reluctant to assume such a charge. Not having submitted to the heart-changing power of Divine grace, he was conscious of wanting that purity and those spiritual gifts and qualifications, which he conceived the Scriptures point out as essential to the office of a Gospel minister; and regarding the functions as too solemn and weighty to be entered on in his present state, he rejected the solicitations of his friends to accept the berth provided for him, and thus incurred their displeasure, being persuaded that no lucrative motive should influence in such a decision.

Notwithstanding the correctness of his conclusion respecting the priests' office, he had not attained the stability to resist the allurements of pleasure, and accordingly indulged in sensual gratifications and the pastimes and

recreations of the day. But he was not suffered to pass without condemnation from the swift witness against sin in his own breast, which brought him under remorse and anguish for his evil courses. At the breaking out of the civil war between Charles I. and the parliament, he obtained a colonel's commission in the army. Though he acquired the reputation of being skilful in military tactics, he became disgusted with violence and bloodshed, and the torrent of wickedness which threatened to overwhelm the nation. He threw up his commission and retired to Wormingford Lodge, in Essex; where, in privacy and solitude, he applied himself to serious meditation, relinquishing all his former amusements and living a stricter life. He often remarked to his friends after his reformation, that he had no real enjoyment in the midst of his mirth and jollity, but bitterness and a sting were the fruit of all his sports; he had no rest or peace going out or coming in, lying down or rising up.

In his present seclusion desires were raised in his soul after the Lord, and that he would show him the path of life and lead him in the way everlasting. He was now fully sensible that the way in which he had walked led to the chambers of death, and his steps took hold on hell; and he resolved that if he could but find out the path of everlasting life, and the people who were seeking the Lord with their whole heart, he would unite and diligently seek with them; for he saw through all mere outside profession. He had known in time past his merriment turned into sadness, and sometimes mourning and tears, and his mind awakened to a consideration of an eternal state, and the account he must one day give of the deeds of this life; and now he was aroused, under the renewed visitation of the light and grace of Christ, by which his deeds of darkness were manifested and reproved, to enter into a fervent search after those things which make for peace and salvation.

In this state of mind he felt an inclination to inquire into the principles of Friends, and accordingly invited some of them to his house. George Fox, junior, then at Colchester, took George Wetherly and paid him a visit, and they were kindly received. They entered into conversation upon the doctrines of the Gospel; whereupon George Fox, as related by John Furly, testified, "That Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, who tasted death for every man, did also in his universal love to all mankind, enlighten them, to the end that none should perish and abide in darkness, but through believing in and following him, they might have the light of life, and so come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved—that for men to despise this inshining light of Christ Jesus in their hearts and consciences, was to reject their own mercy, choose their own delusions and neglect their own salvation; nay, to reject Christ Jesus himself, who according to his gracious words at his departure, promised that 'he is with you and shall be in you;' and who in tender mercy and good will to the sons and daughters of men, was come near to visit them, to preserve their feet from falling, and their souls from death; by which tender the Lord is clear from all men's blood, and their destruction is of themselves. This being the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; and the light of Christ Jesus, judging, reproofing, detecting, convincing and arraigning them for sin and evil, by resisting it they become enemies thereto, as the apostle testified, through wicked works."

This testimony, confirmed by the Holy Scriptures and his own experience, was received and embraced by Giles Barnardiston. His understanding was afresh illuminated to see the corrupt state of his conversation in the world; and consulting no longer with flesh and blood, he thenceforth renounced the vanities and unprofitable associates and pleasures in which he had taken delight, and submitting to the yoke of Christ he became the companion of the self-denying Quakers, in following him who is meek and low of heart. Relinquishing the glory and the friendships of this world, of which he might have partaken largely from his rank in life, his talents and acquirements, he frequented the religious meetings of those who feared the Lord, though regarded as men of low degree, and in a little time he became a good example of humility and self-denial, and of constancy in supporting their meetings through a scene of almost unparalleled persecution.

In the town of Colchester Friends were undergoing much suffering at the time he com-

menced attending their meetings. The mayor exerted all his influence to distress and scatter them. After breaking up their meeting by force, and committing many to prison, a party of the country troops were employed to carry on the work of destruction more effectually. They broke up the seats and the windows of the meeting-house, beat some of those assembled there and carried others to prison. Being kept out of the house, Friends collected in the street, regularly on first and fourth-days, sometimes in cold and rain, and there held their meetings for the worship of Almighty God, not being easy in their consciences to decline this duty, although they were exposed to great injury, and even the loss of life. On the 6th of the tenth month, 1662, a troop of horse, armed with swords and pistols, rode furiously amongst them, beating with drawn swords old and young, male and female, by which many were much injured. They returned the following week, having provided themselves with clubs, in addition to their former weapons, and with these knocked down many, some of whom lay for a time as dead; and many were so disabled, that they could not take off their clothes, nor feed themselves for several days. These outrages were repeated for several weeks, in which time a number of aged persons were disabled. Solomon Fromantel was so beaten, that he lost much blood, and his wife fearing the troopers would kill him, threw herself upon him to defend him from their blows, many of which she received. Her father was knocked down and survived the blow but a few days. Among these valiant sufferers for the truth and the testimony of a good conscience, was Giles Barnardiston, who undauntedly hazarded his life in the hottest times of this persecution. He suffered affliction with the people of God, in preference to the enjoyment of the pleasures of sin; and esteeming the reproaches of Christ, greater riches than the treasures and friendships of the world—he never turned his back in the evil day, but by the meekness of his spirit and patient endurance of their rage, he overcame his persecutors, so that many of them afterwards loved him; verifying the Scripture testimony, that "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him."

Having now entered into connexion with the Society of Friends, and participated in their afflictions, he was established in their principles and took part in the discipline of the church. As he grew in grace, he was furnished with wisdom and discernment, and became zealous for the cause of Truth, that the government thereof might be established in the churches which were gathered into the

name of the Lord Jesus. It was his joy to see men and women serve the Lord in their generation, and that there might be a care in them to watch over the heritage of God for good everywhere. He encouraged such daily, and his estate and time were given up to serve the Lord and his people; he was very little employed in temporal business; but his heart and hands were open to do good wherever he saw need. The care of the churches came upon him, and that purity and righteousness might prevail, he laboured night and day. He would often say to those who were rightly concerned for the testimonies of Truth, "Go on in the name and fear of the Lord; heed not the opposition of such as would be at liberty to do things which tend not to the glory of God; but mind God's fear, and keep in that spirit which judges down all ungodliness, and every appearance of evil, so shall you prosper, and be as instruments in the hand of the Lord, to beat down all ungodliness." And the last time I saw his face, says one of his friends, his eyes were filled with tears, and he was in a deep travail and exercise, for one who had gone aside from the truth.

When he met with any who were prejudiced against the good order of the Society, and would destroy all government, under the pretext of leaving all to their liberty and freedom, while they were in bondage to a slothful, unfaithful spirit, he would in great love and tenderness speak to such, and labour with them for their recovery out of the snare which the enemy had laid for them, to hinder them from being serviceable in their day.

In the year 1669, he removed his residence to Clare, in Suffolk, the place of his nativity, and with his brethren there, was subjected to another course of persecution. Upon the publication of the Conventicle act, the parish officer and an informer came to the meeting of Haverill, where Giles Barnardiston attended, and taking the names of the Friends, reported them to a justice of the peace, who issued his warrants for distress so often, that all the estates of the members there, were thought too little to satisfy them. The warrants were executed with the utmost rigour—the parish officer urging the informer and others, saying, "Come, sirs, let us do what we do quickly, for this trade will not last long." After taking all the goods out of one Friend's house, and the wood from his yard, a neighbour desired them to leave a few old hoop-poles to boil milk for the children, but they refused. From another they took the team of horses from his plough; and when they had made a spoil of a weaver's goods, they broke his loom in pieces with the work in it, which was his only means to get

bread for himself, a sick wife and young child. From twelve persons, of whom Giles Barnardiston was one, they distrained goods valued at two hundred and sixty-one pounds sterling. Friends were not only compelled to endure great loss of property, but in some cases were even reduced to want; yet they bore it with the meekness and constancy of Christians. They could not forsake the assembling of themselves together, but manifested their love and allegiance to their Lord and Master, by publicly offering that worship, which is due to Him, of whom and by whom are all things, and to whom we owe the dedication of our time and talents, and the right occupancy of those spiritual gifts, which he dispenses for the edification of the church and the work of our own souls salvation.

After all this spoiling of goods, the Friends were kept out of their meeting-house six months together, in winter, when they met in the open street, as constantly as before, and underwent much abuse. Two watchmen with halberts, pushed them up and down the streets, frequently striking and threatening to kill them, asserting that the justices told them the law could not punish them if they did kill the Friends. One of the watchmen falling sick, was relieved by some of those whom he had been engaged in abusing. Their charity and Christian kindness in rendering good for evil, so wrought upon his comrade, that he refused to continue his outrageous treatment any longer; and one day meeting a Friend whom he had abused, he said, "I desire you to forgive me—the blessing of God is among you." Although they employed another to pursue the same course, the patience and mildness of Friends overpowered him, and he finally took his seat on the threshold of the meeting-house during the time of their worship.

John Cornwell, who removed to Clare with Giles Barnardiston, bears testimony to the exercise of mind which he was brought under, that the Lord would raise up a people in that town who should become servants of the living God; and when through the power of the Holy Spirit they triumphed over their enemies, for which this devoted servant of Christ often praised and magnified the name of the Lord in commemoration thereof, it pleased his Divine Master to confer upon him a gift in the ministry of the Gospel of life and salvation. He was made an instrument in his hand to turn many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God, that they might receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified; and he lived to see many of his children in the faith of Christ, some of whose mouths the Lord also

opened to declare his everlasting Gospel, to his great rejoicing whilst he remained among them. Giles Barnardiston was an able minister, not of the letter but of the Spirit, endued with a boldness and utterance which carried conviction to the hearts of many; he could speak a word in season to them that were weary, and from his own experience could show them where true rest and peace to the soul was to be obtained; in the dread and authority of the Lord he threshed the mount of Esau, the habitations of wickedness; and at other times spoke comfortably to the wrestling seed, binding up that which was bruised, strengthening and confirming the weak and feeble, and comforting the dejected with the same comfort wherewith, in the day of his deep conflicts, he had been comforted of God. His doctrine was sound, delivered in the simplicity of the Truth, without reliance on his literary acquirements; and conveying divine life and refreshment to those he ministered unto.—He preached the free Gospel of Jesus Christ, “seeking nothing for himself, but that in all things he might have a conscience void of offence in the sight of God; and that the heavenly work which the Lord had begun in that age might be carried on and prospered in the earth, until it should be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters fill the sea.” He was a man of a meek, humble, peaceable and tender spirit; and sought the glory of God, and the good of souls in all he did. Self was baptized into death, and made of no reputation to him; he greatly loved and honoured his elder brethren in the Lord, and was willing to serve the meanest and poorest among the flock of Christ. He greatly sought for love, peace and unity amongst brethren; and that spirit which would divide and sow discord, and lead into a separation, he stood firmly against.

Very little record of his labours has been preserved, but from the accounts of his friends he was diligently employed during the short period of his life after joining the Society, either in suffering for and maintaining the testimonies of Truth within his own meetings, or in travelling abroad in the ministry. He visited many parts of his own nation and was also on the continent; and in all places where he went he left a good report and savour. John Wilsford speaking of his service, says, “We have had sweet fellowship together in our travel in the service of Truth, several times. In a late journey of about six weeks in Norfolk, Suffolk, some parts of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely, we had a precious time together; of which my heart is glad in the Lord. I desire not to forget the sweet unity and the comfortable and fruitful

seasons we had in that journey, in which our souls were refreshed in the Lord and with his children. In almost every meeting we had in this journey, that faithful servant and minister of the Gospel, testified that the Lord looked for fruits from his people; to whom he had so largely manifested himself in making known his precious truth. He also powerfully exhorted parents to be good examples to their children, and not to countenance them in the least appearance of evil, nor in the world’s vain fashions or customs, manners or language; but to bring them up in the fear of God, and to teach them such manners as became Truth, which are good words and civil behaviour towards all people, and to keep in their places in the authority of God; and that children should obey their parents in the Lord, and not to answer again when they are reprov’d. To the heads of families and their servants, he gave the admonition, that they should all know their places, and keep in them one towards another; being good examples in their respective stations, that the Truth be not blamed, but adorned by all that profess it; mentioning the declaration concerning Abraham, when the Lord said, “Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do, seeing that he shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him? for I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.” And he gave it as a charge to Friends to keep justice and judgment upon the head of the transgressor, both individually and in general; for, said he, these are the people whom the Lord will make great, and they shall be a blessing in his hand to the nations.

It appears he also travelled with that eminent minister of Christ, Benjamin Bangs, who says of him, “His ministry was very effectual for the gathering of many from darkness to light; who are at this day as living epistles of his apostleship, to the praise and honour of God. He was greatly endued with the power of the Lord and a heavenly understanding, with whose testimony my soul has been greatly benefitted and consoled. I can do no less than magnify the Lord in the sense thereof, which flowed through him as a pleasant stream from the fountain of divine life; which the Lord opened to him, whereby he would greatly encourage all to persevere towards the habitation of true peace, warning them not to sit down short of that rest which God had prepared. Having been with him in his travels, I cannot forget how he would often



remind such who were convinced of God's blessed truth, not to forget the day of their visitation; their first love and tenderness towards the Lord, and where they were when he first made himself known unto them, and whither he had now brought them by his blessed power."

To such who had made some progress in the way of Truth, and for want of faithfulness to the Lord, had let something of darkness come over them again, he would say, "Friends, do but remember the days that are past, when you were first convinced of God's blessed truth; what tenderness of heart, and brokenness of spirit was there then towards the Lord, and what a love was begotten and raised towards one another! Whither would we not have gone, a little to have been together, to have spoken something of our experience of the goodness of the Lord to us? Oh! how glad were we but to see the face of one whom the Lord sent forth to publish the Gospel of glad tidings in our ears! Come, do but remember! How came you to forget these days? Make now a narrow search, and see what is the matter that ye are not so living to God as you were formerly. Take heed lest the cumbers, or the delights of a fading, perishing world, steal your affections away from more durable riches." Thus, with much fervency of spirit and great tenderness, he exhorted all to press after holiness, without which no man can see the Lord.

"This worthy servant of the Lord, continues Benjamin Bangs, did not only in preaching the Gospel, adorn the truth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which he professed, but also in his solid behaviour, both in words and actions. His countenance was grave and weighty, his carriage comely, and he was ever ready to hold forth a helping hand to the weak, delighting to behold the prosperity of the Truth, and brethren walking in the unity."

Though his health and strength were much impaired by frequent attacks of disease, he travelled diligently when able to be abroad; and Samuel Cater remarks, that when they were on any hard journey, accompanied with unusual exercise, Giles Barnardiston would encourage his friends with the observation, "this is but for a short time, and we shall have done in this world. I desire I may be faithful to the end, that I may enjoy that at the hand of the Lord, for which I received the Truth; for if it had not been to obtain peace of conscience, whilst I am in this world, and hopes of everlasting rest with God in the world to come, I would never have left the glory and pleasures of this world, which I

had and might have had a share of, with them who are in it; neither would I now leave my house and home, where I have a loving wife, with all that a man fearing God need to desire, if it was not to obey the Lord, and make known his blessed truth unto others, that they may come to be saved. For this cause do I forsake father and mother, wife and estate; and whoever thinks otherwise of me, with my faithful brethren, whom God hath called into his work, to declare his name and truth among the sons of men, they are all mistaken of us, and I would they knew us better."

He had a great esteem and respect for all experienced Friends, who abode faithful; and in particular for ancient and elder brethren, who were in Christ before him, and had been serviceable to him upon his conviction, and a strength to him in time of weakness; and he often expressed his grief to see how ungrateful some were, to undervalue the testimonies and service of such, who had been fathers in Christ, to bring them to the knowledge of the Truth, and to build them up therein, while they were young and tender; of them he would say, 'The Lord will judge them for it.

The numerous trials with which Friends were assailed at the rise of the Society, involved them in deep suffering for the support of the Christian testimonies which they promulgated to the world. Not only the spoiling of their estates, the violence offered to their persons, which sometimes terminated life, the malevolence of their opponents in misrepresenting their religious principles—but when some respite was permitted them from their multiplied grievances, disaffected or apostatized members rose up against their brethren, who were engaged in administering the discipline and government of the church; and in some instances, denied its religious principles or questioned the soundness of its faith. Jeffery Bullock, a member of Haverill Monthly Meeting, to which Giles Barnardiston belonged, forsook the Christian doctrines of Friends, and denied that the Christ, who died at Jerusalem, was the Saviour and Judge of the world. After the requisite labour to reclaim him from the state of darkness and unbelief into which he had fallen, the men's meeting disowned him from membership, and his heretical opinions, as ever having been any part of the creed of the Society, as appears by the following document, transcribed from the minutes of that meeting.

"For the clearing of the precious truth of God, professed by us, his people called Quakers, from the occasion of stumbling and reproach given by Jeffery Bullock's pernicious

doctrine, in affirming that he neither expects justification nor condemnation by that Christ that died, or was put to death, at Jerusalem.

"These are to certify all Friends and friendly people whom it may concern, that we testify against this doctrine as stated by him, as both pernicious and antichristian, and contrary to plain Scriptures and the constant testimony. faithfully borne amongst us from the beginning.

"For neither do we profess or preach two Christs; nor yet own justification by any other Christ, or in any other name, but by and in the name of that one very Christ of God, [of] whom the holy prophets and apostles gave witness in the Scriptures of truth, 1 Pet. iii. 18.; who was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost overshadowing the virgin Mary; and was crucified and put to death in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem, but quickened by the Spirit, whom God raised from the dead.

"We must confess with the holy apostles, Acts xiii. 30. that even by Him, to wit, that very Christ, all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses: and that remission of sins, justification and salvation, as then preached in the name of the same Lord Jesus Christ and by his eternal power and Spirit of our God; so the same is constantly believed and witnessed amongst us.

"And although the best sense that we can suppose or gather, as aimed at by the said Jeffery Bullock, is, That it is not only by the sufferings and death of Christ, nor by a mere literal knowledge of Christ as after the flesh, that men can be either completely justified or saved from sin and death, any more than the apostles or primitive Christians were, but by his life, Spirit, and power operating in them, and so by a living and spiritual knowledge of Christ as after the Spirit: Which, though the truth of this we cannot but own and justify, yet this cannot excuse the before cited doctrine, as laid down, which denies justification and condemnation by that Christ that died: for that supposeth another Christ for that end, and so two Christs.\*

"Whereas, the very Christ, the Son of God, is but one, though he hath often and variously manifested himself from the beginning, as both before he came in the flesh, and in the fulness of time in the flesh, viz. that body that was prepared for him to do the will of his Father in: and since in Spirit, for the everlast-

\* "And therefore the said Jeffery Bullock ought to see his error and recant, and call back his words which have given occasion of stumbling in Sudbury."

ing salvation and comfort of all them who believe in his name and power, which by his divine light within, is livingly revealed.

"And we confess that this Son of God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ our Lord, was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, Rom. i. 3, 4. and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead: and that that very Christ that came of Israel as concerning the flesh, is over all, God blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 5. So that he is truly and inseparably God and man, according to the Scriptures of truth. And even that very Christ who was crucified and slain, hath God lifted up with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, Acts v. 30, 31.

"So we confess with the apostles, 1 Cor. viii. 6. that to us, is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.†

"And further, we cannot own any such doctrine or words, by whomsoever spoken, as tend to undervalue the sufferings, death, and blood of Christ. For not only a reconciliation was declared and made through his death, Rom. v. 10. Heb. ii. 17. but all his sufferings, and his being the one universal offering and sacrifice, did contribute to man's redemption, and the salvation of all that truly believe in his name, Titus iii. 5, 6. Though without the washing of regeneration and being born again, John iii. 5. 1 Pet. i. 23. of the living Word and Spirit of life, none do really partake of eternal salvation, or that redemption which is obtained through the blood of Christ, who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity."

Jeffery Bullock took great offence at this decisive testimony of Friends, and wrote a pamphlet, which he called "Anti-christ's transformations within, discovered by the light within," inveighing against them and the exercise of that authority with which the church under the direction of its Divine Head is clothed, to place the judgment of Truth upon those who have made shipwreck of faith, and broken the bonds of its fellowship. To this pamphlet Giles Barnardiston wrote a reply, in which he says, "that Anti-christ's transformations within, is setting itself above the Light within, in such as have departed from it in themselves; amongst whom is this Jeffery Bullock with some others, who went out from us because they were not of us, but went out and so are made manifest. Had they continued in the Light, they would not have been pushing at

† Acts xvii. 31. And God will judge the world in righteousness, by that Man he hath ordained.

us, and it, for such are at unity with the Light, and in sweet fellowship, peace and communion one with another; and there is no occasion of stumbling in them, because they walk in the Light. These have been much opposed since they were a people gathered by the Light, to walk in it; the enemy hath laboured always to disperse their gatherings, and to hedge up their path; and when the national priests and others of all sorts, could effect nothing with their weapons, then have arisen some amongst ourselves, who have spoken perverse things to draw others after them. This is no new thing, nor would we have any startled and make a wrong judgment concerning us or the blessed Light, because thereof, and thus make their bands strong." With reference to the charge of imposition, Giles Barnardiston says, "Neither have such forced any, or exercised dominion over the consciences of any, as Rome and other churches have done, by their coercive power and penal laws; and so none are likely to be ensnared by the power and authority given them of God to judge error and blasphemy, and whatever rises up that is of a contrary nature to the pure Light and peaceable spirit of righteousness, which has brought us forth a people to his praise; amongst whom is the spirit of judgment and a sound mind; who have the mind of Christ, and will not be divided from their Husband, their Maker; nor let his judgment depart, nor his law that he has placed in their hearts, and his righteousness that he put by his Spirit in their inward parts, which now go forth to judge unrighteousness and filthiness as well of spirit as of flesh. This makes the filthy dreamers that despise dominion angry, and causes them to vent their confusion, blasphemy and darkness to the manifesting their own shame, as Jeffery Bullock has done, because judgment is gone forth against him for denying that Christ that died at Jerusalem to be the Judge and Saviour; who, having denied him in his workings for our salvation, we cannot think it strange to see him inveighing against the ministers and elders, and the form and order in the church, established by the Lord and his power in them."

"And as to our testimony to that Christ that died without the gates at Jerusalem, we are glad for the truth and our sake, thou hast printed it, and our dealings with thee in that particular, concerning the opposition to us in it, and we can leave it to the witness of God in the consciences of them who see it; and thy seeming answer is somewhat answered in what is already written; and I am willing to add this further, seeing thou thinkest thou art yet unanswered, and also for the sake of the

simple. Rome and the priests saying that they own justification and condemnation by that Christ that died at Jerusalem, does not make it antichristian doctrine; and we do not deny the true doctrine that Rome and the priests own, but the antichristian. It is not contrary to the Scriptures and the form of sound words, to expect justification and condemnation, by that Christ that died at Jerusalem, but agreeing therewith; and thy subtlety is seen, in making these expressions to exclude the manhood in which it is really included, which says, 'by grace ye are saved, and therefore not by him that died,' though he was full of grace, and by it tasted death, that he might reconcile unto God, without which there is no salvation. J. Bullock says, 'And by the light of the world we are condemned,' as if it was not he who died who said, I am the light of the world. I might as well say, because it is said, the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, therefore not the seed of God; and a man shall be for an hiding place, and a covert from the storm, therefore not Christ: the son of man's coming is as the lightening, therefore not the Spirit; God shall judge the world by that man Christ Jesus, therefore not by the light; this is contrary to the sense of Scripture, for that includes them in one, and joins them together, whom thou wouldst part asunder. Thou mayest read in John, when Christ said, The son of man must be lifted up; and they asked him, Who is this son of man; his answer was, Yet a little while and the light is with you; while you have the light, walk in it. Likewise, when the babe was brought to Simeon, he took it in his arms, saying of it, 'Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, a light to lighten the Gentiles;' &c. And the prophet speaking of him, says, 'And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall he come forth, who shall be ruler of my people Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.' So he that came out of Bethlehem, was he that died at Jerusalem, who is the ruler that judges and condemns, who was from everlasting. So the Gentiles who were in the world before that body came in it, need not perish for want of salvation; for his goings forth were from of old, from everlasting; and God's anointed is spoken of, which is Christ, before his coming in that body."

Thou tellest us, "Only all the world was freed from their offerings for sin by that one offering, and that *only* has an *also* too, they were *outwardly* reconciled by the death of his Son." And was not he who was the one offering for sin, that ended all other offerings, the justifier, condemner, and Saviour? Why did

he put an end by it to all other offerings, but because they were faulty and had not efficacy in them to justify and save? He that reconciles to God by his death, must needs be the alone justifier and Saviour, and there is not another.

“Our testimony has always had a reverent esteem of that precious blood that was spilt without the gates, as being of great value in the sight of the Lord, and having a testimony in it towards the remission of sin, to oblige all that are sensible of the end thereof, not to live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them. And as they are to be blamed who will not come to the light, but cry it down, relying upon the death and sufferings without it, so art thou who pretendest to cry up the light, to render the loving-kindness of the Lord invalid, in sending his Son to lay down his life and precious blood, and taste death for mankind. Such as speak from the light, which is the life, that was in that blessed body, can never disregard, but have an high esteem of what he did and suffered therein.

“An antichrist,” says J. Bullock, “strives to bring in his doctrine, and would be head over all those invisible appearances that come from God, yea, and visible appearances also;” which, replies Giles Barnardiston, is fulfilled in thee and thy brethren, who are judging his ministers, and the wholesome order and commendable form in the church, to lay them waste. Nay, that spirit, hath not left unattempted the Scriptures themselves, that so all outward footsteps in the goings forth of the light being abolished, and the motions and whimsies from antichrists’ transformations set up in their place, the true Light and Spirit might thereby be abolished also; and that is the word of Truth in my heart, to that Spirit whose workings have been to that end. So thy work is seen and judgment gone forth against that spirit, which it cannot escape; and the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting is true, and will stand over thy head forever, except thou repentest. And whereas thou disowns that body or church, who looks upon itself to have power to judge of errors, and has not power to convince of errors, &c.—“I answer, that the power by which the ministers and elders amongst us, do, and have judged errors, the same hath convinced thousands of errors and false doctrines, and I believe even thee also, in years past, when thou wast little and tender. There is a difference between a conscience truly tender unto God, and that which is scared and hardened through enmity, which is to be judged and condemned by the church, and such as make strife and division, to be marked by them who keep in the power.”

The reply of Giles Barnardiston, notices

many other absurd and unscriptural sentiments, contained in J. Bullock’s pamphlet of little interest at this day. What has been extracted, shows the completeness of the faith of Friends from the beginning, respecting the Divinity and manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, both as he was the one great offering for sin, and the Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, our Redeemer, Advocate, and Saviour, and will be our Judge, according to that we have done, whether it be good or evil.

John Wilkinson and John Story, having succeeded with other disaffected members, in making a separation in the Society, after various labours to reclaim them, a meeting was held at Ellis Hooks’ chamber, in London, which issued a document, dated 12th of fourth month, 1677, testifying against them and their disorganizing proceedings. It appears that Giles Barnardiston united with his brethren and signed this testimony.

These unsettled people, desirous of strengthening themselves by drawing into their ranks, those who had denied the principles, or violated the peace and order of the Society, wrote to Jeffery Bullock for several copies of his pamphlets. In the letter, dated Chippingham, 4th of tenth month, 1679, they say, “Barnardiston and others have been here, and besides, their envious darts fly secretly and swiftly.” This scornful notice of that faithful servant of the church of Christ, though designed to vilify him, shows his diligence and energy, in endeavouring to arrest the spread of that evil spirit, and to maintain the doctrines and cause of Truth over their heads.

Either by the labour of his friends, or the secret convictions of the Holy Spirit upon his heart, Jeffery Bullock was brought to see and condemn the errors into which he had fallen; and in the year 1686, he gave forth “several testimonies against that evil spirit by which he had been led to oppose the truth and people of God, both by word, writing, and printed books, for several years past.” The following is extracted from it:—viz.

“Sudbury, the 25th of eighth month, 1686.

“Whereas, in an hour of darkness and temptation, I have been drawn forth by the enemy of my soul, that hath led me out in envy, enmity, and great wilfulness, through my departing from the holy light and pure witness of God in my own conscience, to write, and cause to be printed and published, divers books and papers, which were *unsound, pernicious, and contrary to truth*, in reproach of God’s truth and people, and their holy way and order, into which truth had led and settled them; and not only so, but have also de-



famed the children of truth, and enviously opposed them, not only by writing, but publicly in meetings; and by retaining the counsel of the adversary of my soul, was carried on further to that ungodly act, in wilfulness and stubbornness, to break that holy command of Christ, who saith, 'Swear not at all,' yet contradictory to the witness of God in my conscience, I did swear; and now after all these my wicked doings, the pure witness of God is risen, and hath set all these my sins in order before me, and sin now is my soul's burthen: Wherefore, that my soul may find ease, and favour and forgiveness of God, in humility of heart, and contriteness of soul, do condemn all these my wicked works; and that it may be clearly and particularly evidenced, I condemn by name all my said books, viz. my book entitled 'Antichrist's Transformations within, discovered by the Light within;' my book, entitled 'One Blow more against Antichrist's Ministers, &c.' being a reply to Giles Barnardiston's answer to my first book; also, my book, entitled 'A Testimony against the Sixty-Six Judges, called Quakers, that wrote an epistle against John Story and John Wilkinson;' also, my book, called 'Gross Errors Detected, or, many of the doctrines of the leading Quakers disowned:' All which books are for judgment. Moreover, I desire that all such that have read any or all of the said books, that you take heed to yourselves, that nothing in them do you hurt, for certainly it was the dark and evil spirit that guided me therein, to write and publish them, by which I did despite to the Spirit of grace therein; and I desire that all that have any of the said books, that you destroy them, as I have done them in my own possession, that they may all be obliterated, and that they may never be spoken of, or remembered any more. The hand of the Lord lieth heavy upon me for these things, therefore let all take warning by me, that you may be kept out of the snares and baits of the devil, but as every one keeps to the light, and are obedient to God's witness, and holy grace placed in their hearts, it will preserve them in the way of truth and uprightness for ever. Subscribed with my own hand, the day and year above written.

"JEFFERY BULLOCK."

"Postscript. Whatever I have spoken, or caused to be printed against George Fox, or the order that is amongst those called Quakers, I do disown it. And as to what I have held forth that the soul is mortal, and that there is no future state, I do utterly disown the same, believing it came from the same

power of darkness that brought forth the fruits above mentioned that I have testified against.  
JEFFERY BULLOCK."

Giles Barnardiston's signature stands first in the testimony against that misguided man, and from the circumstance of his replying to Jeffery Bullock's attack upon the meeting, it is probable that the burden of labouring with him for his restoration, and the defence of the Christian soundness of the Society, fell very much upon this devoted servant of Christ. He lived but a short period after the event; but from the little account preserved of his movements, it appears he filled up his day in doing or suffering for the Truth. J. Whiting mentions, that in company with his countryman, William Bennet, he came to Bristol about the year 1677, and after this visit he suffered imprisonment in London in the course of the ensuing three years, the time of his commitment not being known. Upon his release, he went to Chelmsford, in Essex, and was taken ill. His sickness was short, in which he said the Lord was his portion; and having served God in his generation, he was made a partaker of that mercy and salvation which is dispensed to the obedient and sanctified soul, through our Lord Jesus Christ. He declared his readiness to die, and departed on the 11th of the eleventh month, 1680, aged about fifty-six years.

His excellent character and the high esteem in which he was held by his friends, is further portrayed by George Whitehead, in "his testimony concerning that faithful man of God, and servant of Jesus Christ, Giles Barnardiston." Worthy is the memorial of the righteous to be recorded, and the upright to be had in everlasting remembrance. Such ought to be regarded in their day for their virtue and brightness, and are worthy to be commemorated when they are gone, as ensamples and monuments of God's great kindness to men, that they may be stirred up to seek him and follow their footsteps, who have walked in the way of life and salvation, and attained to the end of the perfect man and the upright, which is peace. My intention herein is to magnify the grace of God, and to speak of the creature no otherwise, than as his workmanship in Christ Jesus. All that we can say on behalf of this sincere hearted man, comes short of the virtue and excellency with which he was divinely endued. My soul is overcome in the deep sense of his integrity, and the remembrance of the sweet society we have often had together, since the Lord brought him into a living sense of his goodness. He was a man that feared God and eschewed evil; he hated every evil way. He sincerely loved God's

faithful servants and messengers; he had the true qualifications of an elder and overseer in Christ's church, being blameless in his conversation, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy; temperate, and he truly desired the prosperity of God's whole heritage, church and people, in true love, peace and concord; his heart was set aright, and his spirit was steadfast with God. My soul was deeply affected with his innocent life, sincere and tender spirit to God, and with his humble example amongst his people, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity, in gravity, and sound speech that could not be condemned; having a clear evangelical testimony, which none but good men are meet to partake of, and that through the experience of the power and work of Christ Jesus in them.

"He valued the sense of that divine life, which he received in Christ Jesus our Lord. His eye was to that life above all, and he truly sought and loved unity and peace therein

among God's people, and rejoiced where he felt true and living unity, and beheld good order and steadfastness of faith in Christ and love among them, that Friends therein might be a strength and comfort to one another in the Lord. He is taken away from the evil to come; he is entered into his rest and peace, his reward of glory and triumph is with him; his portion is with the spirits of just men; as he loved the appearance and life of our Lord Jesus Christ, a crown of righteousness, life and glory, which was laid up for him, was his portion. Oh! let his innocent, faithful example and testimony, be remembered, and have a living impression upon all his friends, relations and acquaintance, to engage them the more to follow the footsteps of the Lord's flock in truth and righteousness, even in the way and teachings of the grace and counsel of God, that they may be received into glory hereafter."

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SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE

OF

ELIZABETH ASHBRIDGE.

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WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

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Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much. *Luke vii. 47.*

A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. *Gal. v. 9.*

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My life having been attended with many uncommon occurrences, I have thought proper to make some remarks on the dealings of Divine goodness with me. I have often had cause, with David, to say, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted;" and most earnestly desire that they who read the following lines may take warning, and shun the evils into which I have been drawn.

I was born at Middlewich, in Cheshire, in the year 1713, of honest parents, named Thomas and Mary Sampson. My father bore a good character, but he was not so strictly re-

ligious as my mother, who was a pattern of virtue to me. I was my father's only child; but my mother had a son and a daughter by a former husband. Soon after I was born, my father went to sea, and following his profession, which was that of a surgeon, made many long voyages. He continued in his sea-faring course of life till I was twelve years old, so that the care of the early part of my education, devolved upon my mother; and she discharged her duty, in endeavouring to imbue my mind with the principles of virtue. I have had reason to be thankful that I was

blessed with such a parent; her good advice and counsel to me have been as bread cast upon the waters. She was an instructive example to all who knew her, and generally beloved; but, alas! as soon as the time came, when she might reasonably expect the benefit from her labours, and have had comfort in me, I deserted her. In my childhood I had an awful regard for religion and religious people, particularly for ministers, all of whom I believed to be good men and beloved of God, which I earnestly wished to be my own case. I had also great tenderness for the poor, remembering that I had read they were beloved of the Lord. This I supposed to mean such as were poor in temporal things; whom I often visited in their cottages, and used to think they were better off than myself; yet, if I had money, or any thing suitable for a gift, I bestowed it on them, recollecting that they who gave to such, lent unto the Lord. I made remarks on those who pretended to religion; and when I heard people swear, I was troubled; for my mother told me, that if I used any naughty words, God would not love me.

I observed that there were several different religious societies; this I often thought of, and wept, with desires that I might be directed to the one which it would be best for me to join. In this frame of mind passed my younger years. I was sometimes guilty of the faults common among children, but was always sorry for what I had done amiss; and, until I was fourteen years of age, was as innocent as most children. About this time, my sorrows, which have continued for the greatest part of my life, began, by my giving way to a foolish passion, in setting my affections on a young man, who, without the leave of my parents, courted me till I consented to marry him; and, with sorrow of heart I relate, that I suffered myself to be carried off in the night. We were married. My parents made all possible search for me, as soon as I was missing, but it was in vain. This precipitate act plunged me into much sorrow. I was soon smitten with remorse for thus leaving my parents, whose right it was to be consulted on such an occasion. But I was soon chastised for my disobedience, and convinced of my error. In five months I was stripped of the darling of my heart, and left a young and disconsolate widow. I was now without a home. My husband had derived his livelihood from his trade, which was that of a stocking weaver; and my father was so displeased at my conduct, that he would do nothing for me. My dear mother had some compassion for me, and kept me among the neighbours. Afterwards, by her advice, I

went to a relation of hers at Dublin. We hoped that my absence would soften my father's rigour; but he continued inflexible; he would not send for me back, and I dared not to return unless he did.

The relation I went to reside with was one of the people called Quakers. His habits were so very different from what I had been accustomed to, that the visit proved disagreeable to me. I had been brought up in the way of the Church of England, and though, as I have said, I had a religious education, yet I was allowed to sing and dance, which my cousin would not permit. The great vivacity of my natural disposition would not, in this instance, suffer me to give way to the gloomy sense of sorrow and conviction; and therefore my present restraints had a wrong effect. I became more wild and airy than ever; my cousin often reprov'd me; but I then thought his conduct was the result of singularity, and would not be controlled. Having a distant relation in the West of Ireland, I went to him. I now enjoyed all the liberty I wished; for, what rendered me disagreeable to my other kinsman, was quite pleasing to this. Between these two relations I spent three years and three months.

While I was in Ireland, I contracted an intimate acquaintance with a widow and her daughter, who were papists. We conversed very frequently about religion, each of us defending our peculiar tenets; and, though I was much given to gaiety, our discussions often made me thoughtful. The old woman told me of such mighty miracles done by their priests, that I began to be shaken in my own belief; and thought that, if these things were so, they must, of a truth, be the apostles' successors. She perceived the state of my mind, and one day exclaimed with rapture, "Oh! if I can, under God, be the happy instrument of converting you to the holy Catholic faith, all the sins that ever I committed will be forgiven." Sometimes I frequented her place of worship, but none of my relations knew what was the motive. The affair went so far, that the priest came to converse with me. Being young, and my judgment weak, I was ready to believe what he said; yet resolved not blindly to adopt their creed. I thought that if their articles of faith were sound, they would not be against my knowing them; and, therefore, the next time I saw the priest, I told him that I had some intention of becoming one of his flock, but wished first to know what I must agree to. He answered, that I must first confess my sins to him; and gave me till the next day to consider of them. I was not averse to this, conscious of having done nothing for which any

one could harm me; and thinking that if what he had said was true, the confession would be for my good. When he came again, I told all that I could remember; which, for my part, I thought bad enough; but he considered me, he said, the most innocent creature that ever made confession to him. When I had done, he took a book, which he read, and told me, I was to swear I believed, if I joined them. I shall not trouble my reader with the recital of its ridiculous contents. What principally made me sick of my new intention was, that I was to swear I considered the Pretender to be king James's son, and the true heir of the crown of England; and that all who died out of the pale of the popish church, would be damned. These doctrines startled me; I hesitated, and desired time to take them into consideration; but, before I saw the priest again, a change of circumstances freed me from the necessity of giving him an answer.

My father still keeping me at such a distance, I thought myself quite excluded from his affections, and therefore resolved not to return home. I became acquainted with a gentlewoman, lately arrived from Pennsylvania; who was intending to return, and, as I had an uncle, my mother's brother, in this province, I soon agreed with her for my passage. I was ignorant of the nature of an indenture, and suffered myself to be bound. This was done privately, that it might not be found out. As soon as it was over, she invited me to see the vessel in which I was to sail. I readily consented, and we went on board, where there was another young woman, who, as I afterwards found, was of a respectable family, and had been brought there in the same way as myself. I was pleased with the thought that I should have such an agreeable companion in my voyage. While we were busy conversing, my conductor went on shore, and when I wished to go, I was not permitted. I now saw I was kidnapped. I was kept a prisoner in the ship three weeks, at the end of which time my companion was found out by her friends, who fetched her away; and by her information, my friends sent the water-bailiff, who took me on shore. I was kept close for two weeks, but at length found means to get away. I was so filled with the thoughts of going to America that I could not give up the design; and meeting the captain, I inquired when he sailed; he told me, and I went on board.

There were in the ship, sixty Irish servants and several English passengers. The latter were unacquainted with the Irish language, which I had taken much pains to learn, and understood pretty well. Twenty of the ser-

vants belonged to the gentlewoman above-mentioned, who, with a young man, her husband's brother, went with us. While we were on the coast of Ireland, where the wind kept us some weeks, I overheard the Irish contriving how they should be free, when they got to America. To accomplish their design, they concluded to rise and kill the ship's crew, and all the English, and to appoint the above-mentioned young man to navigate the vessel. But, overhearing their conversation, I discovered their barbarous intention to the captain, who acquainted the English with it. The next day we bore for the shore, and at a short distance from the cove of Cork, lowered sail and dropped anchor, under pretence that the wind was not fair for us to stand our course. The boat was hoisted out, and the passengers were invited to go and divert themselves on shore. Along with others went the ringleader of the Irish. This was all that was desired. The rest left him, and came on board. The captain immediately ordered his men to weigh anchor, and hoist sail. There were great outcries for the young man on shore, but he said that the wind had freshened up, and he would not stay for his own son. Thus were the designs of those Irish servants rendered abortive, in a way they did not suspect, and which it was thought advisable to keep a secret, lest they should injure me. At length, however, they discovered that I understood their speech, by my smiling at a story they were telling. From this time they devised many ways to do me mischief, for which several of them were punished.

On the 15th of the seventh month, which was nine weeks after we left Dublin, we arrived at New York. Here I was betrayed by the very men whose lives I had preserved. The captain caused an indenture to be made, and threatened me with a jail, if I refused to sign it. I told him that I could find means to satisfy him for my passage without becoming bound. He replied, that I might take my choice, either to sign the indenture he showed me, or the one I had signed in Ireland should be in force. In a fright, I signed the former; for I had by this time learned the character of the woman who first induced me to think of going to America; she was a vile creature, and I feared that if I fell into her hands, I should be used ill.

In two weeks I was sold. At first I had not much reason to complain of the treatment I received; but in a short time a difference, in which I was innocent, happened, that set my master against me, and rendered him inhuman. It will be impossible for me to convey an adequate idea of the sufferings of my

servitude. Though my father was not rich, yet, in his house I lived well, and I had been used to little but my school; but now I found it would have been better for me if I had been brought up with less indulgence. I was not allowed decent clothes; I was obliged to perform the meanest drudgery, and even to go barefoot in the snow. I suffered the utmost hardship that my body was able to bear, and the effect produced on my mind had nearly been my ruin for ever.

My master seemed to be a very religious man, taking the sacrament, so called, regularly, and praying every night in his family; unless his prayer book could not be found, for he never prayed without it to my knowledge. His example, however, made me sick of his religion: for though I had but little religion myself, I had some idea of what religious people ought to be. Respecting religion, my opinions began to waver; I even doubted whether there was any such thing; and began to think that the convictions I had felt from my infancy, were only the prejudices of education. These convictions seemed now to be lost; and for some months I do not remember to have felt them. I became hardened, and was ready to conclude that there was no God. The veneration I had felt for religious men, in my infancy, was entirely gone; I now looked upon them in a very different manner. My master's house was a place of great resort for the clergy; and sometimes those who came from a distance lodged with him. The observations I made on their conduct confirmed me in my atheistical opinions. They diverted themselves in the evening, with cards and songs, and a few moments after, introduced prayers and singing psalms to Almighty God. Often did I say to myself, "If there be a God, he is a pure Being, and will not hear the prayers of polluted lips."

But he who hath in an abundant manner shown mercy to me, as will be seen in the sequel, did not long suffer my mind to be perplexed with doubts; but, in a moment, when my feet were on the brink of the bottomless pit, plucked me back.

To one woman, and to no other, I told the nature of the difference which had happened two years before, between my master and me. By her means he heard of it, and though he knew it was true, he sent for the town's whipper to correct me. I was called in. He never asked me whether I had told any such thing, but ordered me to strip. My heart was ready to burst. I would as freely have given up my life as have suffered such ignominy. "If," said I, "there be a God, be graciously pleased to look down on one of the most unhappy creatures, and plead my cause;

for thou knowest that what I have related is the truth;" and had it not been for a principle more noble than he was capable of, I would have told it to his wife. Then fixing my eyes on the barbarous man, I said, "Sir, if you have no pity on me, yet for my father's sake spare me from this shame; for he had heard several ways of my parents; and if you think I deserve such punishment, do it yourself." He took a turn over the room, and bade the whipper go about his business. Thus I came off without a blow; but my character seemed to be lost. Many reports of me were spread, which I bless God were not true. I suffered so much cruelty that I could not bear it; and was tempted to put an end to my miserable life. I listened to the temptation, and for that purpose went into the garret to hang myself. Now it was I felt convinced that there was a God. As I entered the place, horror and trembling seized me; and while I stood as one in amazement, I seemed to hear a voice saying, "There is a hell beyond the grave." I was greatly astonished, and cried, "God be merciful, and enable me to bear whatsoever thou in thy providence, shall bring or suffer to come upon me." I then went down stairs, but let no one know what I had been about.

Soon after this I had a dream; and though some ridicule dreams, this seemed very significant to me, and therefore I shall mention it. I thought I heard a knocking at the door, by which, when I had opened it, there stood a grave woman, holding in her right hand a lamp burning, who, with a solid countenance, fixed her eye upon me and said, "I am sent to tell thee, that if thou wilt return to the Lord thy God, who created thee, he will have mercy on thee, and thy lamp shall not be put out in obscurity." Her lamp then flamed, in an extraordinary manner; she left me, and I awoke.

But, alas! I did not give up to the "heavenly vision," as I think I may call it. I was nearly caught in another snare, of the most dangerous nature. I was esteemed skilful at singing and dancing, in which I took great delight. Once, falling in with a company of players, who were then in New York, they took a great fancy, as they said, to me, and invited me to become an actress amongst them. They added, that they would find means to release me from my cruel servitude, and I should live like a lady. The proposal pleased me, and I took no small pains to qualify myself for them, in reading their play-books, even when I should have slept. Yet, on reflection, I demurred at taking this new step, when I came to consider what my father would think of it, who had forgiven my dis-

obedience in marrying, and had sent for me home, earnestly desiring to see me again. But my proud heart would not suffer me to return, in so mean a condition, and I preferred bondage. However, when I had served about three years, I bought out the remainder of my time, and worked at my needle, by which I could maintain myself handsomely. But, alas! I was not sufficiently punished. I released myself from one cruel servitude, and in the course of a few months, entered into another for life, by marrying a young man who fell in love with me for my dancing; a poor motive for a man to choose a wife, or a woman a husband. For my part, I was in love with nothing I saw in him; and it seems unaccountable to me, that after refusing several offers, both in this country and Ireland, I should at last marry one I did not esteem. My husband was a school-master. A few days after we were married, we went from New York to a place called Westerly, in Rhode Island, where he had engaged to keep a school. With respect to religion he was much like myself, without any; and when intoxicated, would use the worst of oaths. I do not mention this to expose him, but to show the effect it had on myself. I saw myself ruined, as I thought, in being joined to a man I did not love, and who was a pattern of no good to me. We thus seemed hastening towards destruction, when I concluded, if I was not forsaken of heaven, to alter my course of life. To fix my affection on the Divine Being, and not to love my husband, seemed inconsistent. I daily desired, with tears, that my affections might be directed in a right manner, and can say, that in a little time, my love was sincere. I resolved to do my duty to God, and expecting I must come to the knowledge of it by the Scriptures, I read these sacred writings with a determination to follow their directions. The more I read, the more uneasy I grew, especially about baptism. I had reason to believe I had been sprinkled in my infancy, because, at the age of thirteen, I was confirmed by the bishop; yet I could not discover a precedent for the practice. In the course of reading, I came to the passage where it is said, "He that believes and is baptized," &c. Here I observed that belief, of which I was not capable when sprinkled, went before baptism. I conversed frequently with the Seventh-day Baptists that lived in the neighbourhood, and at length thinking it a real duty, was in the winter baptized by one of their teachers. I did not strictly join with them, though I began to think the seventh-day the true sabbath, and for a time kept it. My husband did not oppose me, for he saw I grew more affectionate to him; and as yet, I did

not refuse to sing and dance when he asked me, though this way of amusing myself did not yield me so much satisfaction as formerly.

My husband and I now formed the plan of going to England, and for this purpose we went to Boston, where we found a vessel bound to Liverpool. We agreed for our passage, and expected to sail in about two weeks; but in the mean time, a gentleman hired the vessel to carry himself and his attendants to Fayal, and take no other passengers. There being no other ship near sailing, we for that time gave up our design, though we continued at Boston several weeks. My mind was still not satisfied with regard to religion. I had reformed my conduct, so as to be accounted, by those who knew me, a sober woman; yet I was not content, for I expected to find the sweets of such a change; and though several thought me religious, I dared not to think so myself. I conversed with people of all societies, as opportunity offered, several of whom thought I was of their persuasion; however, I joined strictly with none, but resolved never to leave off searching till I found the truth. This was in the twenty-second year of my age. While we were in Boston, I went one day to the Quakers' meeting, where I heard a woman Friend speak, at which I was a little surprised. I had been told of women's preaching, but had never heard it before; and I looked upon her with pity for her ignorance, and contempt for her practice; saying to myself, "I'm sure you're a fool, and if ever I turn Quaker, which will never be, I will not be a preacher." Thus was my mind occupied while she was speaking. When she had done, a man stood up, who I could better bear. He spoke sound doctrine on good Joshua's resolution, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord." After sitting down and remaining silent awhile, he went to prayer, which was attended with something so awful and affecting, that it drew tears from my eyes.

After leaving Boston, my husband being given to rambling, which was very disagreeable to me, we went to Rhode Island, and from thence to the east end of Long Island, where he hired to keep a school. This place was principally settled by Presbyterians, and I soon became acquainted with the most religious among them. My poverty was no bar to my reception with people of the best credit, with whom I frequently conversed; but the more I became acquainted with them, the less I liked their opinions. Many temptations in the mean time, assaulted my unsettled mind. Having been abroad one day, I perceived that the people in whose house we had a room, had left some flax in an apartment through which I was to pass; at the sight of it, I was

tempted to steal some to make thread. I went to it, and took a small bunch in my hand, upon which I was smitten with such remorse that I laid it down again, saying, "Lord keep me from so vile an action." But the temptation to steal became stronger than before, and I took the bunch of flax into my room; when I came there, horror seized me, and with tears I cried out, "O, thou God of mercy, enable me to abstain from this vile action." I then took the flax back, and felt that pleasure which is only known to those who have resisted temptation.

My husband having hired further up the island, we changed our residence, and the nearest place of worship belonging to a congregation of the Church of England, which, on the whole, I liked best, I attended it.

A fresh exercise, of a very peculiar kind, now came upon me. It was in the second month: I thought myself sitting by a fire, in company with several others, among whom was my husband; when there arose a thunder gust, and a noise, loud as from a mighty trumpet, pierced my ears with these words: "*Oh eternity! eternity, the endless term of long eternity!*" I was exceedingly astonished, and while I was sitting as in a trance, I beheld a long roll, written in black characters; hearing at the same time, a voice saying, "These are thy sins," and afterwards adding, "And the blood of Christ is not sufficient to wash them out. This is shown thee that thou mayest confess thy damnation to be just, and not in order that that thou shouldst be forgiven." I sat speechless; at last I got up trembling and threw myself on the bed. The company thought my indisposition proceeded from a fright occasioned by the thunder; but it was of another kind. For several months I was almost in a state of despair, and if at any time I endeavoured to hope or lay hold of any gracious promise, the tempter would insinuate that it was now too late; that the day of mercy was over; and that I should only add to my sins by praying for pardon, and provoke Divine vengeance to make of me a monument of wrath. I was, as it were, already in torment. I could not sleep, and ate but little. I became extremely melancholy, and took no delight in any thing. Had all the world been mine, I would have given it gladly for one glimpse of hope.

My husband was shocked to see me so changed. I, who once used to divert him with singing and dancing, in which he greatly delighted, could not, since I grew religious, do it any longer. My singing was turned into mourning, and my dancing into lamentation.

My nights and days were one continued scene of sorrow; but I let no one know the

state of my mind. In vain did my husband use all the means in his power to divert my melancholy. The wound was too deep to be healed with any thing short of the balm of Gilead. For fear of evil spirits I dared not, nor would my husband suffer me to go much alone; and if I took up the Bible, he would take it from me, exclaiming, "How you are altered; you used to be agreeable company, but now I've no comfort in you." I endeavoured to bear all with patience, expecting that I should soon have to bear more than man could inflict.

I went to the priest, to see if he could relieve me; but he was a stranger to my case. He advised me to take the sacrament, and amuse myself with innocent diversions. He also lent me a book of prayers, which he said were suited to my condition. But all was to no purpose; as to the sacrament, I thought myself in a very unfit state to receive it worthily: as for prayers, it appeared to me that when I could pray acceptably, I should be enabled to do it without form; and diversions were burthensome. My husband, with a view to alleviate my grief, persuaded me to go to the raising of a building, where much company was collected, but it had a contrary effect. An officer came to summons a jury to sit on the body of a man who had hanged himself; on receiving which information, a voice within me seemed to address me thus;—"Thou shalt be the next to come to a like end; for thou art not worthy to die a natural death." For two months I was daily tempted to destroy myself, often so strongly that I could scarcely resist. Before I ventured to walk out alone, I left behind me every article which, in an unguarded moment I might use for this purpose; fervently desiring, at the same time, that God would preserve me from taking that life which he had given, and which he would have made happy, if I had accepted the offers of his grace, by regarding the convictions he had favoured me with from my youth. During all this agony of mind, I could not shed a tear. My heart was hardened, and my life miserable; but God in his infinite mercy, delivered my soul from this thralldom. One night, as I lay in bed, bemoaning my condition, I cried, "Oh my God, I beseech thee, in thy mercy, look down upon me for Christ's sake, who hath promised that all manner of sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven. Lord, if thou wilt be graciously pleased to extend this promise to me, an unworthy creature, trembling before thee, in all that thou shalt command I will obey thee." In an instant my heart was tendered, and I was dissolved in a flood of tears. I abhorred my past of-



fences, and admired the mercies of my God. I could now hope in Christ my Redeemer, and look upon him with an eye of faith. I experienced what I believed when the priest lent me his book, that when my prayers would be acceptable, I should not need a form, which I used no more. I now took the sacrament, and can say I did it with reverence and fear.

Being thus released from my deep distress, I seemed like another creature, and went often alone without fear. Once, as I was abhorring myself, in great humility of mind, I seemed to hear a gracious voice, full of love, say to me, "I will never forsake thee, only obey in what I shall make known unto thee." I answered, "My soul doth magnify the God of mercy. If thou wilt dispense thy grace, the rest of my days shall be devoted to serve thee; and if it be thy will that I should beg my bread, I will submit with content to thy providence."

I now began to think of my relations in Pennsylvania, whom I had not yet seen. My husband gave me liberty to visit them, and I obtained a certificate from the priest, in order that, if I made any stay, I might be received as a member of the church wherever I came. My husband accompanied me to the Blazing-star ferry, saw me safely over, and then returned. In my way, I fell from my horse, and for several days was unable to travel. I abode at the house of an honest Dutchman, who, with his wife, paid me the utmost attention, and would have no recompense for their trouble. I left them with sentiments of deep gratitude for their extraordinary kindness, and they charged me, if ever I came that way again, to lodge with them. I mention this, because I shall have occasion to allude to it hereafter.

When I came to Trenton ferry, I felt no small mortification on hearing that my relations were all Quakers, and what was worst of all, that my aunt was a preacher. I was exceedingly prejudiced against this people, and often wondered how they could call themselves Christians. I repented my coming, and was almost inclined to turn back; yet as I was so far on my journey, I proceeded, though I expected but little comfort from my visit. How little was I aware that it would bring me to the knowledge of the Truth!

I went from Trenton to Philadelphia by water, and from thence to my uncle's on horseback. My uncle was dead, and my aunt married again; yet, both she and her husband received me in the kindest manner. I had scarcely been three hours in the house, before my opinion of these people began to alter. I perceived a book lying upon the table, and being fond of reading, took it up; my

aunt observed me, and said, "Cousin, that is a Quaker's book." She saw I was not a Quaker, and supposed I would not like it. I made her no answer, but queried with myself, what can these people write about? I have heard that they deny the Scriptures, and have no other Bible than George Fox's Journal—denying, also, all the holy ordinances. But, before I had read two pages, my heart burned within me, and for fear I should be seen, I went into the garden. I sat down, and as the piece was short, read it before I returned, though I was often obliged to stop to give vent to my tears. The fulness of my heart produced the involuntary exclamation, "O my God, must I, if ever I come to the knowledge of thy Truth, be of this man's opinion, who has sought thee as I have done; and must I join this people, to whom a few hours ago I preferred the Papists. O, thou God of my salvation, and of my life, who hast abundantly manifested thy long suffering and tender mercy, in redeeming me as from the lowest hell, I beseech thee to direct me in the right way, and keep me from error; so will I perform my covenant, and think nothing too near to part with for thy name's sake. O, happy people, thus beloved of God!"

After having collected myself, I washed my face, that it might not be perceived I had been weeping. In the night I got but little sleep; the enemy of mankind haunted me with his insinuations, suggesting that I was one of those who wavered, and was not steadfast in faith; advancing several texts of Scripture against me, as that, in the latter days there should be those who would deceive the very elect; that of such were the people I was among, and that I was in danger of being deluded. Warned in this manner, (from the right source as I thought,) I resolved to be aware of those deceivers, and for some weeks did not touch one of their books. The next day, being the first of the week, I was desirous of going to church, which was distant about four miles; but being a stranger, and having no one to go with me, I gave up all thoughts of that, and as most of the family were going to meeting, I went there with them. As we sat in silence, I looked over the meeting, and said to myself, "How like fools these people sit; how much better would it be to stay at home, and read the Bible, or some good book, than to come here and go to sleep." As for me I was very drowsy; and while asleep, had nearly fallen down. This was the last time I ever fell asleep in a meeting. I now began to be lifted up with spiritual pride, and to think myself better than they; but this disposition of mind did not last long. It may seem strange, that after living so long



with one of this Society at Dublin, I should yet be so much a stranger to them. In answer, let it be considered that while I was there, I never read any of their books, nor went to one meeting; besides, I had heard such accounts of them, as made me think that, of all societies, they were the worst. But he who knows the sincerity of the heart, looked on my weakness with pity; I was permitted to see my error, and shown that these were the people I ought to join.

A few weeks afterwards, there was an afternoon meeting at my uncle's, at which a minister named William Hammans was present. I was highly prejudiced against him when he stood up, but I was soon humbled; for he preached the Gospel with such power that I was obliged to confess it was the truth. But, though he was the instrument of assisting me out of many doubts, my mind was not wholly freed from them. The morning before this meeting I had been disputing with my uncle about baptism, which was the subject handled by this minister, who removed all my scruples beyond objection, and yet I seemed loath to believe that the sermon I had heard proceeded from divine revelation. I accused my aunt and uncle of having spoken of me to the Friend; but they cleared themselves, by telling me, that they had not seen him since my coming, until he came into the meeting. I then viewed him as the messenger of God to me, and laying aside my prejudices, opened my heart to receive the truth; the beauty of which was shown to me, with the glory of those who continued faithful to it. I had also revealed to me the emptiness of all shadows and types, which, though proper in their day, were now, by the coming of the Son of God, at an end, and everlasting righteousness, which is a work in the heart, was to be established in the room thereof. I was permitted to see that all I had gone through was to prepare me for this day; and that the time was near, when it would be required of me, to go and declare to others what the God of mercy had done for my soul; at which I was surprised, and desired to be excused, lest I should bring dishonour to the Truth, and cause his holy name to be evilly spoken of.

Of these things I let no one know. I feared discovery, and did not even appear like a Friend.

I now hired to keep school, and hearing of a place for my husband, I wrote, and desired him to come, though I did not let him know how it was with me.

I loved to be at meetings, but did not love to be seen going on week-days, and therefore went to them from my school, through the woods. Notwithstanding all my care, the

neighbours, who were not Friends, soon began to revile me with the name of Quaker; adding, that they supposed I intended to be a fool, and turn preacher. Thus did I receive the same censure, which, about a year before, I had passed on one of the handmaids of the Lord in Boston. I was so weak, that I could not bear the reproach, and in order to change their opinion, went into greater excess of apparel than I had freedom to do, even before I became acquainted with Friends. In this condition I continued until my husband came, and then began the trial of my faith.

Before he reached me, he heard I was turned Quaker; at which he stamped, and said, "I had rather have heard she was dead, well as I love her; for, if it be so, all my comfort is gone." After an absence of four months, he came to me, and I got up and said to him, "My dear, I am glad to see thee." At this, he flew into a great rage, exclaiming, "The devil thee, thee, thee, don't thee me." I endeavoured by every mild means to pacify him; and at length got him fit to speak to my relations. As soon after this as we were alone, he said to me, "And so I see your Quaker relations have made you one;" I replied, that they had not, which was true, I never told them how it was with me. He said he would not stay amongst them; and having found a place to his mind, hired, and came directly back to fetch me, walking, in one afternoon, thirty miles to keep me from meeting the next day, which was first-day. He took me, after resting this day, to the place where he had hired, and to lodgings he had engaged at the house of a churchwarden. This man was a bitter enemy of Friends, and did all he could to irritate my husband against them.

Though I did not appear like a Friend, they all believed me to be one. When my husband and he used to be making their diversions and reviling, I sat in silence, though now and then an involuntary sigh broke from me; at which he would say, "There, did not I tell you your wife was a Quaker, and she will become a preacher." On such an occasion as this, my husband once came up to me in a great rage, and shaking his hand over me, said, "You had better be hanged in that day." I was seized with horror, and again plunged into despair, which continued nearly three months. I was afraid that, by denying the Lord, the heavens would be shut against me. I walked much alone in the woods, and there, where no eye saw, nor ear heard me, lamented my miserable condition. Often have I wandered, from morning till night, without food. I was brought so low that my life became a burden to me, and the devil seemed to vaunt, that though the sins of my youth

were forgiven me, yet now I had committed an unpardonable sin, and hell would inevitably be my portion, and my torments greater than if I had hanged myself at first.

In the night, under this painful distress of mind, I could not sleep, and if my husband perceived me weeping, he would revile me for it. At length, when he and his friend thought themselves too weak to overset me, he went to the priest at Chester, to inquire what he could do with me. This man knew I was a member of the church, for I had shown him my certificate. His advice was, to take me out of Pennsylvania, and settle in some place where there were no Quakers. My husband replied, he did not care where we went, if he could but restore me to my natural liveliness of temper. As for me, I had no resolution to oppose their proposals, nor much cared where I went. I seemed to have nothing to hope for. I daily expected to be made a victim of Divine wrath, and was possessed with the idea that this would be by thunder.

When the time of removal came, I was not permitted to bid my relations farewell; and, as my husband was poor, and kept no horse, I was obliged to travel on foot. We came to Wilmington, fifteen miles, and from thence to Philadelphia by water. Here we stopped at a tavern, where I became the spectacle and discourse of the company. My husband told them his wife had become a Quaker, and he designed, if possible, to find out a place where there were none. I thought I was once in a condition to deserve that name, but now it is over with me. O that I might, from a true hope, once more have an opportunity to confess the truth; though I was sure of all manner of cruelties, I would not regard them. Such were my concerns, while he was entertaining the company with my story, in which he told them that I had been a good dancer, but now he could get me neither to dance nor sing. One of the company then started up, and said, "I'll fetch a fiddle, and we'll have a good dance;" a proposal with which my husband was pleased. When the fiddle was brought, my husband came and said to me, "My dear, shake off that gloom, and let us have a civil dance; you would, now and then, when you were a good churchwoman, and that's better than a stiff Quaker." I had taken up the resolution not to comply with his request, whatever might be the consequence; this I let him know, though I durst say but little, for fear of his choleric temper. He pulled me round the room, till the tears fell from my eyes, at the sight of which the musician stopped, and said "I'll play no more; let your wife alone." A person in company, who came from Freehold, in East Jersey, said,

"I see your wife's a Quaker, but, if you'll take my advice you need not go so far as you intend; come and live with us; we'll soon cure her of her Quakerism, and we want a school-master and school-mistress too." He consented, and a happy turn it was for me, as will shortly be seen. The answer of peace was afforded me, for refusing to dance; I rejoiced more than if I had been made mistress of much riches, and with tears, prayed, "Lord, I dread to ask, and yet without thy gracious pardon, I am miserable. I therefore fall down before thy throne, imploring mercy at thy hand. O Lord, once more, I beseech thee, try my obedience, and then, in whatsoever thou commandest, I will obey thee, and not fear to confess thee before men." My cries were heard, and it was shown to me, that he delights not in the death of a sinner. My soul was again set at liberty, and I could praise him.

In our way to Freehold, we visited the kind Dutchman, whom I have mentioned in a former part of this narrative. He made us welcome, and invited us to pass a day or two with him. During our stay, we went to a large meeting of Presbyterians, held not only for worship, but business; and the trial of one of their priests, who had been charged with drunkenness, was to come on. I perceived such great divisions among the people, respecting who should be their shepherd, that I pitied them. Some insisted on having the old offender restored; others wished to have a young man they had had on trial for some weeks; others, again, were for sending to New England for a minister. In reply, one who addressed himself to the chief speaker observed, "Sir, when we have been at the expense, which will not be trifling, of fetching this gentleman from New England, perhaps he'll not stay with us." "Don't you know how to make him stay?" said another. "No sir." "I'll tell you; give him a large salary, and I'll engage he'll stay." I listened attentively to the debate, and it plainly appeared to me, that these mercenary preachers were actuated by one motive, which was, not the regard for souls, but the love of money. One of these men, called a reverend divine, whom these people almost adored, had, to my knowledge, left his flock in Long Island, and removed to Philadelphia, where he could get more money. I have myself heard some on the island say that they had almost impoverished themselves in order to keep him; but, being unable to equal what he was offered at Philadelphia, he left them. Surely these are the shepherds who regard the fleece more than the flock, and in whose mouths are lies, when they say that they are the ambassadors of Christ, whose

command it is, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

In our way to Freehold, as we came to Stony Brook, my husband turned towards me and tauntingly said, "Here's one of satan's synagogues, don't you long to be in it; I hope to see you cured of your new religion." A little further on we came to a large run of water, over which there was no bridge, and being strangers we knew no way to avoid passing through it. He carried over our clothes, which we had in bundles; and taking off my shoes, I walked through in my stockings. It was in the twelfth month; the weather was very cold and a fall of snow lay on the ground. It was the concern of my heart, that the Lord would sanctify all my afflictions to me and give me patience to bear them. After walking nearly a mile we came to a house, which proved to be a sort of tavern. My husband called for some spirituous liquors, and I got some weakened cider mulled, which rendered me extremely sick; so that after we were a little past the house, being too faint to proceed I fell down. "What's the matter now?" said my husband, "what, are you drunk? Where's your religion now?" He knew I was not drunk, and at that time I believe he pitied me, although he spoke in this manner. After I was a little recovered, we went on and came to another tavern, where we lodged. The next day as we journeyed, a young man driving an empty cart, overtook us. We asked him to let us ride, and he readily granted the request. I had known the time when I would not have been seen in a cart, but my proud heart was humbled, and I did not now regard the look of it. This cart belonged to a man in Shrewsbury, and was to go through the place of our destination. We soon had the care of the team to ourselves, through a failure of the driver, and arrived with it at Freehold. My husband would have had me stay here, while he went to see the team safe home; I told him, no; since he had led me through the country like a vagabond, I would not stay behind him. We therefore went together, and lodged that night at the house of the owner of the cart. The next day on our return to Freehold, we met a man who said to my husband, "Sir, are you a schoolmaster?" He answered, "Yes." "I am come," replied the stranger, "to tell you of two new school-houses, two miles apart, at each of which a master is wanted." How this person came to hear of us, who arrived but the night before, I never knew. I was glad he was not a Quaker, lest it should have been thought a plot by my husband, to whom I turned and said,—“My dear, look on me with pity, if thou hast any affection left for

me, which I hope thou hast, for I am not conscious of having done any thing to alienate it. Here is an opportunity to settle us both, and I am willing to do all in my power, towards getting an honest livelihood." After a short pause, he consented to go with the young man. In our way, we came to the house of a worthy Friend, who was a preacher, though we did not know it. I was surprised to see the people so kind to us. We had not been long in the house, till we were invited to lodge there for the night, being the last of the week. My husband accepted the invitation, saying, "My wife has had a tedious travel, and I pity her." These kind expressions affected me, for I heard them very seldom. The Friend's kindness could not proceed from my appearing like a Quaker, because I had not yet altered my dress. The woman of the house, after we had concluded to stay, fixed her eyes upon me, and said, "I believe thou hast met with a deal of trouble," to which I made but little answer. My husband observing they were of that sort of people whom he had so much endeavoured to shun, gave us no opportunity for discourse that night; but the next morning, I let my friend know a little of my situation.

When meeting time came I longed to go, but dared not to ask my husband's leave. As the Friends were getting ready themselves, they asked him if he would accompany them, observing, that they knew those who were to be his employers, and if they were at meeting, would speak to them. He consented. The woman Friend then said, "And wilt thou let thy wife go too?" which request he denied; but she answered his objections so prudently that he could not be angry, and at last consented. I went with joy, and a heavenly meeting it was. My spirit did rejoice in the God of my salvation. May I ever in humility, preserve the remembrance of his tender mercies to me.

By the end of the week, we got settled in our new situation. We took a room in a Friend's house, one mile from each school, and eight from the meeting-house. I now deemed it proper to let my husband see I was determined to join with Friends. When first-day came, I directed myself to him in this manner; "My dear, art thou willing to let me go to meeting?" He flew into a rage, and replied, "No you shan't." Speaking firmly, I told him, "That as a dutiful wife, I was ready to obey all his lawful commands; but when they imposed upon my conscience, I could not obey him. I had already wronged myself, in having done it too long; and though he was near to me, and as a wife ought, I loved him, yet God, who was nearer

than all the world to me, had made me sensible that this was the way in which I ought to go. I added, that this was no small cross to my own will; but I had given up my heart, and I trusted that He who called for it would enable me for the remainder of my life, to keep it steadily devoted to his service; and I hoped I should not on this account, make the worse wife." I spoke however, to no purpose;—he continued inflexible.

I had now put my hand to the plough, and resolved not to draw back; I therefore went without leave. I expected he would immediately follow and force me back, but he did not. I called at the house of one of the neighbours, and getting a girl to show me the way, I went on rejoicing and praising God in my heart.

Thus for some time, I had to go eight miles on foot to meeting, which I never thought hard. My husband had a horse, but he would not suffer me to ride on it; nor when my shoes were worn out, would he let me have a new pair; but though he hoped on this account to keep me from meeting, it did not hinder me:—I have tied them round with strings to keep them on.

Finding that all the means he had yet used could not alter my resolutions, he several times struck me severe blows. I endeavoured to bear all with patience, believing that the time would come when he would see I was in the right. Once he came up to me, took out his penknife and said, "If you offer to go to meeting to-morrow, with this knife I'll cripple you, for you shall not be a Quaker." I made him no answer. In the morning I set out as usual; and he did not attempt to harm me.—Having despaired of recovering me himself, he fled for help to the priest, whom he told that I had been a very religious woman, in the way of the Church of England; of which I was a member and had a good certificate from Long Island; that I was now bewitched and had turned Quaker, which almost broke his heart; and therefore, he desired that as he was one who had the care of souls, he would come and pay me a visit and use his endeavours to reclaim me, which he hoped by the blessing of God, would be done. The priest consented and fixed the time for his coming, which was that day two weeks, as he said he could not come sooner. My husband came home extremely pleased, and told me of it. I replied with a smile, I trusted I should be enabled to give a reason for the hope within me; yet I believed at the same time, that the priest would never trouble himself about me, which proved to be the case. Before the day he appointed came, it was required of me in a more public manner, to confess to the world what I

was. I felt myself called to give up to prayer in meeting. I trembled, and would freely have given up my life to be excused. What rendered the required service harder was, that I was not yet taken under the care of Friends; and was kept from requesting to be so, for fear I should bring a scandal on the Society. I begged to be excused till I had joined, and then I would give up freely. The answer was, "I am a covenant-keeping God, and the word that I spake to thee when I found thee in distress, even that I would never forsake thee if thou wouldst be obedient to what I should make known unto thee, I will assuredly make good. If thou refusest, my spirit shall not always strive. Fear not, I will make way for thee through all thy difficulties, which shall be many for my name's sake; but be faithful, and I will give thee a crown of life." To this language I answered, "Thy will, O God, be done; I am in thy hand, do with me according to thy word;" and I then prayed.

This day as usual, I had gone to meeting on foot. While my husband, as he afterwards told me, was lying on the bed, these words crossed his mind: "Lord, where shall I fly to shun thee," &c.; upon which he arose, and seeing it rain, got the horse and set off to fetch me, arriving just as the meeting broke up. I got on horseback as quickly as possible, lest he should hear I had been speaking; he did hear of it nevertheless, and as soon as we were in the woods, began with saying, "Why do you mean thus to make my life unhappy? What, could you not be a Quaker, without turning fool in this manner?" I answered in tears, "My dear, look on me with pity if thou hast any; canst thou think that I, in the bloom of my days, would bear all that thou knowest of and much that thou knowest not of, if I did not feel it my duty?" These words touched him, and he said, "Well, I'll e'en give you up; I see it won't avail to strive; if it be of God I cannot overthrow it; and if of yourself, it will soon fall." I saw the tears stand in his eyes, at which I was overcome with joy, and began already to reap the fruits of my obedience. But my trials were not yet over. The time appointed for the priest to visit me arrived, but no priest appeared. My husband went to fetch him, but he refused, saying he was busy, which so displeased my husband that he never went to hear him again, and for some time went to no place of worship.

My faith was now assaulted in another way so strongly, that all my former trials were but trifling to it. This exercise came upon me unexpectedly, by hearing a woman speak of a book she had read, in which it was asserted

that Christ was not the Son of God. A voice within me seemed to answer, "No more is he, it's all a fancy, and the contrivance of men." Thus again was I filled with inexpressible trouble, which continued three weeks; and again did I seek desolate places, where I might make my moan. I have laid whole nights without sleep. I thought myself deserted of God, but did not let go my trust in him. I kept alive a hope, that He who had delivered me as it were out of the paw of the bear, and the jaws of the lion, would in his own good time, deliver me from this temptation also. This was at length my experience; and I found the truth of his words, that all things shall work together for the good of those who love and fear him. My present exercises were to prepare me for further services in his cause; and it is necessary for his ministers to experience many baptisms, that they may thereby be more able to speak to the conditions of others.

This happened just after my first appearance as a minister, and Friends had not been to talk with me. They did not well know what to do until I appeared again, which was not for some time, when the Monthly Meeting appointed four Friends to pay me a visit. They left me well satisfied with the conference, and I joined the Society. My husband still went to no place of worship. One day he said to me, "I would go to meeting, only I'm afraid I shall hear your clack, which I cannot bear." I used no persuasions. When meeting-time came he got the horse, took me behind him and went. For several months, if he saw me offer to rise he went out; till one day I rose before he was aware, and then as he afterwards owned, he was ashamed to do it.

From this time he left off the practice, and never hindered me from going to meeting. Though he did not take up the cross, yet his judgment was convinced; and sometimes melting into tears, he would say to me, "My dear, I have seen the beauty there is in the Truth, and that thou hast followed the right way, in which I pray God to preserve thee." I told him that I hoped He who had given me strength would also favour him. "O," said he, "I cannot bear the reproach thou dost, to be called turn-coat, and become a laughing-stock to the world; but I'll no longer hinder thee." This I considered a favour, and a little hope remained that my prayers on his account, would be heard.

We lived in a small house by ourselves, which, though mean, and though we had little to put in it, our bed being no better than chaff, I was truly content. The only desires I had were for my own preservation, and to be

blessed with the reformation of my husband. He was connected with a set of men whom he feared would make game of him, which indeed they already did; asking him when he designed to commence preacher, for they saw he intended to turn Quaker, and seemed to love his wife better since she became one than before. They used to come to our house, and provoked him to sit up and drink with them, sometimes till near day, while I have been sorrowing in a stable. Once as I sat in this condition, I heard him say to his company, "I can't bear any longer to afflict my poor wife in this manner; for whatever you may think of her, I do believe she's a good woman." He then came to me and said, "Come in my dear, God has given thee a deal of patience: I'll put an end to this practice." This was the last time they sat up at night.

My husband now thought that if he was in any place where it was not known he had been so bitter against Friends, he could do better. I objected to this, fearing it would not be for his benefit. Frequently in a broken and affectionate manner, he condemned his ill usage of me. I answered that I hoped it had been for my good, and therefore desired he would not be afflicted on that account. According to the measure of grace received, I did what I could, both by example and precept, for his good. My advice was to stay where he was, as I was afraid he would grow weaker in his good resolutions, if he removed.

All I could say would not avail. Hearing of a place at Bordentown he went thither, but was not suited. He next removed to Mount Holly, where he settled. We had each of us a good school; we soon got our house pretty well furnished, and might have done very well. Nothing seemed wanting to complete my happiness, except the reformation of my husband, which I had much reason to fear that I should not soon see. It fell out according to my fears. He addicted himself much to drinking, and grew worse than before. Sorrow was again my lot, I prayed for patience to bear my afflictions, and to submit to the dispensations of Providence. I murmured not; nor do I recollect that I ever uttered any harsh expressions except on one occasion. My husband coming home a little intoxicated, a state in which he was very fractious, and finding me at work by a candle, he put it out, fetching me at the same time, a box on the ear, and saying, "You don't earn your light." At this unkind usage, which I had not been used to for the last two years, I was somewhat angry, and said, "Thou art a vile man." He struck me again; but my anger had cooled, and I received the blow without so much as a word in return. This also displeased him,

and he went on in a distracted like manner, uttering such expressions of despair as, he believed he was predestined to damnation, and he did not care how soon God struck him dead. I said very little, till at length in the bitterness of my soul, I broke out into these expressions: "Lord, look down on my afflictions, and deliver me by some means or other." My prayer was granted, but in such a manner that I thought it would have killed me. He went to Burlington, where he got drunk, and enlisted to go as a common soldier to Cuba, in the year 1740. I had drunk many bitter cups, but this seemed the bitterest of them all. I blamed myself for making such a request, which I was afraid had displeased God, who had in displeasure, granted it for my punishment.

I have since had cause to believe that he was benefitted by his rash act, as in the army, he did what he could not at home;—he suffered for the testimony of Truth. When they came to prepare for an engagement, he refused to fight; he was whipped and brought before the general, who asked him why he enlisted if he would not fight. "I did it," said he, "in a drunken frolic, when the devil had the better of me; but now my judgment is convinced I ought not to fight, neither will I, whatever I suffer. I have but one life, and you may take that if you please, for I'll never take up arms." He adhered to this resolution. By their cruel usage of him in consequence, he was so much disabled that the general sent him to Chelsea Hospital, near London. Within nine months afterwards he died at this place, and I hope made a good end.

I never thought him the worst of men. If he had suffered religion to have its perfect work, I should have been happy in the lowest situation of life. I have had cause to bless God, for enabling me in the station of a wife, to do my duty, and now that I am a widow, I submit to his will. May I still be preserved by the arm of Divine Power; and never forget the tender mercies of my God, the remembrance of which often boweth my soul in humility before his throne. "Lord! what was I, that thou shouldst reveal to my soul the knowledge of thy truth, and have done so much for one who deserved thy displeasure? Mayest thou, O God, be glorified and I abased. It is thy own works that praise thee; and of a truth, to the humble soul thou makest every bitter thing sweet."

The foregoing account was written by Elizabeth Ashbridge: the few particulars which follow, were written by her last husband and sent along with it.

Her husband had been gone two or three years before she heard of his death. He left her nearly eighty pounds in debt, which by law she was not obliged to pay, for want of effects; yet as several creditors complained, and said they would not have trusted him if it had not been for her sake, she engaged to satisfy them all as fast as she could. She settled steadily to the business of school-keeping, with which and her needle, she maintained herself handsomely. She gradually paid off the above debts, and had nearly discharged them all during her widowhood, though she travelled much in the mean time, as a minister.

In the ninth month, 1746, we were married at Burlington, West Jersey. The company of each other was dear and delightful; but the time came when we must part. Sufficiently convinced that her Lord and Master called for her services abroad, my heart was willing to give up the darling object of its love. Though it has pleased the Divine Will to remove her without indulging my longing desire to see her again, yet fully satisfied that she is called from the troubles of time to a happy eternity, I am resigned and enjoy a grateful composure of mind. She left home the 11th of the fifth month, 1753, and died in Ireland, the 16th of the fifth month, 1755.

AARON ASHBRIDGE.

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*Abstract of a Testimony from the National Meeting of Ireland, held in Dublin, concerning ELIZABETH ASHBRIDGE.*

IN the year 1753, apprehending it required of her to visit the meetings of Friends, in England and Ireland, she left her habitation with the consent of her husband, and the unity and approbation of Friends as appears by her certificate, and performed a religious visit to many meetings in this nation, to the general satisfaction of Friends; wherein she endured so much bodily hardship in travelling and underwent so much spiritual exercise, that she fell dangerously ill at the city of Cork.

After recovering strength so as to be able to proceed on her journey, she left Cork and came to Waterford, to the house of our friend John Hutchinson, where she remained very much indisposed for the most part of fourteen weeks; and in that interval, was at the province meeting at Clonmel, where she had extraordinary service. From thence she got to the county of Carlow, to the house of our friend Robert Lecky; whilst there, some expressions which she uttered in an affecting

manner, were taken down in writing, and are as follow.

The 7th of the fifth month, 1755, being sorely afflicted with pain of body, she expressed her fear of not being patient enough under it, but several times desired she might, saying, "O dearest goodness, grant me patience till my change come, and then do not forsake me, Lord of my life." Speaking of what she had suffered, she observed, "words could not express nor thoughts conceive, what she had gone through during the past seven months; for what cause the Lord only knew: Although it had been so with her, yet she would not have any to be discouraged, for her master was a good master, and she did not grudge suffering for him. Though he chastises his children, it is for some good end; sometimes for their own and sometimes for the good of others." She said, "she did not repent coming into this nation, being satisfied she was in her place, and that it was the requiring of Him who had supported her to a miracle: and now it looked as if she and her companion were sent to lay down their lives in the cause of Truth," her companion Sarah Worrall having departed this life at Cork a short time before; "that many faithful servants had been sufferers in this land, and as they were not the first, so she thought they would not be the last." Those who had put their hands to the plough, she desired might go on with courage, and said, "God was on their side; and that it was happy for those who remembered their Creator in their youth."

Another time when in extreme pain, she cried out, "Lord, look down upon me," and begged, "that patience, her old companion, might not leave her;" and said, "although pain of body was her portion at present, through the mercies of a gracious God her mind was pretty easy." Sometimes she feared she was not quite fitted for that glorious mansion which she aimed at, and into which nothing that is unholy can enter; yet had a hope it was not in wrath she was chastised, as she felt the touches of Divine love to her soul: and said, "she loved the Truth, and those that loved it were precious to her life, whether relations or others; and that she had sought it from her youth, and was thankful for being preserved so as not to bring a blemish on it, since she made profession thereof, but had done what she could for it."

A Friend taking leave of her, she told him "Whether he heard of her life or death, she hoped it would be well." Some Friends being with her she said something of the singularity of her trials, but that "the hand that permitted them, had an indisputable right;" to which she seemed resigned whether in life or death,

hoping it would be well. She said, "she loved the Truth, and it had been her support;" and desired those who had begun to walk in it, "to keep close to it, and it would never leave them."

She seemed thankful that the beauty of this world and the enjoyments of it, were stained in her view, and she made willing to give up all; the hardest to part with was her dear husband, from whom she was so far separated; but even that was made easier than she could expect. Being wished a good night's rest; she said "she did not expect to be free from pain, but that every night the Lord sent, was good; and though uneasy, hoped they all would be good nights, and when once the gulph was passed she should have rest."

She said "she endeavoured to live without a will; and hoped she had borne her afflictions with a degree of Christian fortitude." Being in great pain, and asked whether she would be settled? she said "None could settle her but one; and in his own time, she hoped he would." Then cried out, "Dearest Lord, though thou slay me, I will die at thy feet; for I have loved thee more than life." She gratefully acknowledged the care and tenderness shown to her, and counted it a high favour that the hearts of her friends were opened to receive and sympathize with her. She spoke of the exercises of mind she went through before her conviction, and of the time she got relief from great distress and was enabled to make covenant with the Lord; "which time she hoped she should never forget, being desirous often to return to Bethel and to remember the time of her espousals." She acknowledged the advantage there was "in being deeply tried, and that it was the way to be enabled to speak comfortably to others."

Having grown weaker for several days, she departed this life in a quiet frame, the 16th of the fifth month, 1755, and on the 19th her corpse, accompanied by many Friends, was buried in Friends' burying-ground at Ballybrumhill, where several testimonies were borne to the Truth.

To this account of her last sickness and death, the National Meeting of Ireland adds this testimony:

"She was a woman of an excellent natural understanding; in her conversation cheerful, yet grave and instructive; she felt the afflictions of others with a tender sympathy, and bore her own with patience and resignation.

"As a minister, she was deep in travail, clear in her openings, plain and pertinent in her expressions, solid and awful in her de-



portment, and attended with that baptizing power, which is the evidence of a living ministry; and which so evidently attended her in the last testimony she bore in a public meeting, in great bodily weakness, that most or all present were reached and deeply affected thereby, and a young woman was at that

time, convinced of the Truth; which was as a seal to the finishing of her service in the work of the ministry; and in which, being so owned to the last, we have no doubt but she now receives the reward of the faithful servant, and is entered into the joy of her Lord."

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MEMOIRS

OF

RUTH FOLLOWS,

LATE OF CASTLE DONNINGTON, LEICESTERSHIRE; FOR SIXTY YEARS A MINISTER  
IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HER LETTERS.

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BY SAMUEL STANSFIELD.

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PREFACE.

HAVING been favoured with the perusal of the manuscripts and letters of Ruth Follows, and believing that a selection from them would be worthy of preservation, the editor has ventured upon the present undertaking; and although it is upwards of twenty years since the decease of this our dear friend, and therefore many of her remarks may not be so forcible as regards the particular circumstances which occasioned them; yet, being written under lively feelings, and in themselves truly valuable, they are evidently calculated to promote the cause of spiritual religion.

Her memory is precious to many who knew her; and a desire has often been expressed that something of her life and religious experience should be published for more general benefit. In offering the present memoir of our deceased friend, it is also apprehended to be in accordance with her own desire, that an evidence should remain of the sufficiency of Divine grace in her own mind, and a testimony of her travail and solicitude for the welfare of others.

It has been the care of the editor to preserve her remarks, as much as might be, in her own words or manner of expression, as being upon the whole, the best adapted to convey instruction to the reader.

Her situation as to outward circumstances, was an humble one; yet her example of devotedness to the service of her Divine Master was very conspicuous; and in her beloved husband she found a true helper, and one ever ready to promote her religious views.

As a mark of the esteem she was held in by her friends, the following notice of her is extracted from the testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Hardshaw East, respecting Martha Routh: viz.—“That in the year 1775, in company with that valuable minister of the Gospel, Ruth Follows, she visited the meetings of Friends in some of the northern counties and Scotland.” And Martha Routh, in the early part of her own memoirs, remarks, “I often visited my dear and much tried friend, Ruth Follows, and sometimes accompanied her to neighbouring meetings; her company was useful, encouraging and edifying.”

In the extracts from her letters, it is also



hoped much instruction will be found. They manifest a tender solicitude, and great Christian care for the welfare of her own family, which she continued to cherish while engaged from home on religious service.

Liverpool, Fourth month 1st, 1829.

*Testimony from Nottingham Monthly Meeting, concerning RUTH FOLLOWS.*

THIS our dear ancient friend, was the daughter of Richard and Ruth Alcock, of Weston, in Nottinghamshire, exemplary members of our Society, who endeavoured to train her up in a religious life and conversation; yet, it appears from some of her memorandums, that she forsook their counsel and deviated from the simplicity of Truth, when very young; but being favoured with Divine visitations, she was humbled and brought near to the Lord, and in love with his chastisements.

In this state she was enabled, first to overcome one thing and then another, and expresses herself thus:—"Oh the peace that my poor soul enjoyed when favoured with the presence of the Almighty! then could I say rejoicing—"In thy presence there is joy, and at thy right hand there are rivers of pleasure, and that for evermore." "

About the twenty-third year of her age, she was united in marriage to George Follows, of Castle Donnington, with whom she lived in much harmony more than sixty years, and though both of them were in low circumstances, yet being first concerned to seek the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, they were blessed with health and strength to labour honestly for their support, and witnessed the fulfilment of the promise, that all things needful should be added.

About the thirtieth year of her age, after much close exercise of mind, she was made willing to appear in public testimony and soon afterwards believed it her duty to travel in the work of the ministry, and at different times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this nation, and was twice in Ireland.

In her conduct she was truly exemplary: she was a diligent attender of meetings, even when very infirm; a sound minister, reverently waiting for a right qualification: her testimony was lively, clear and edifying, reaching to the witness in the minds of many. She was a sharp instrument in the Lord's hand against every thing that defiled his house, and very desirous that the camp might be kept clean:—her words were accompanied with power, encouraging the faithful to hold on their way, and the unfaithful to return, repent and live.

Being gradually on the decline for some years, she suffered little bodily pain; and having done her days' work in the day time, was favoured with a happy calm at the close of life.

On the 3d day of fourth month, in the ninety-first year of her age, she quietly departed; and on the 10th was interred in Friends' burying-ground, at Castle Donnington, in the county of Leicester.

SECTION I.

*An account of her early experience, including a few journies after her first appearance in the ministry.*

A SHORT account of the Lord's tender dealings with me, and how he visited my poor soul when very young in years:—

My dear parents taught me, both by example and precept, to live a sober and godly life. My dear mother bore a faithful testimony to the blessed Truth, according to the manifestation received from God, who enabled her to be as a standard-bearer for his holy name; and I believe I may say, she hath laid down her head in peace, and is at rest from her labours. Although I had such parents, and was accounted much like my dear mother, yet after she was taken from us I left her counsel behind me, trod her testimony under my feet and took a large swing in vanity, frequenting such company as had like to have proved my utter ruin. But blessed be the Lord! he closely followed me with his sharp reproofs, and for ever let my soul praise his holy name! stopped me in the midst of my career, and took off my chariot wheels, so that I could not overthrow nor yet keep the pure Seed in bondage; for he was pleased to let me see my state, and very often did he make me to confess my sins before him, and with tears implore his mercy; and I can truly say, I witnessed him to be a God hearing prayer. But, oh! yet was I unwilling to forsake my iniquity, and was for reserving a part, such as I best liked; but the Lord who calls for the whole heart would not accept of a half-offering—Agag must be slain, and all that appertaineth to Amalek.

Thus was the Lord pleased to visit and revisit me; and truly do I desire that I may never forget his mercies, which have been so very largely extended towards me. And blessed be his holy name! I was enabled through the might of his power, first to overcome one thing and then another; so that by degrees I was brought near to the Lord, and made to love his chastisements. O, the peace

that my poor soul enjoyed when favoured with the presence of the Almighty! then could I say with rejoicing, "in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore."

As I was thus made willing to obey the Lord, he was pleased to bless my undertakings; and about the twenty-third year of my age I was married to a young man far more worthy than myself; and I can truly say, it was because he was well inclined that I had so much love for him as to have him for my husband: and as it was our concern first to seek "the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," kind Providence was pleased to bless us with health and strength, so that we could honestly labour for the support of our bodies, we not having much else to trust to but our own industry. As our desire continued not to esteem these lower enjoyments above those that are unchangeable, but having food and raiment to be therewith content, so I can say we have not wanted, but have been favoured beyond what we did expect; and as we really loved the company of good Friends, several were sent to visit us, with whom we had comfortable meetings. How have our souls been refreshed in the love of our God, for which we have cause to bless his holy name, and to be truly thankful that he has been pleased to send his servants amongst us; desiring that he may still raise up more such worthies, who may be as valiants in Israel.

As I was thus brought near to the Lord and his people, he was pleased to show me that he had further service for me to do, which was to bear a public testimony for his name. But oh! the exercise this brought upon me, for I found self was yet for being pleased; I was not willing to be counted a fool, and was for being almost any thing so that the Lord would be pleased without this, that I might not become a gazing-stock to the world: but the more I strove against it, the heavier was my exercise. The Lord was pleased to afflict me in a wonderful manner, which bowed my soul even to the earth, and in the midst of this trouble I was made to cry in the bitterness of my poor afflicted soul, "O Lord, make me what thou wouldest have me to be—lay me even with the dust, be thou but pleased to raise me up again, and let me enjoy thy presence as in days past."

Thus did the Lord work in me, and by the might of his power made me willing to become a fool or any thing, for his name's sake. O, what peace did my soul enjoy, when I had given up in pure obedience to the Lord's requirements, which was about the beginning of the twelfth month, 1747, when my mouth was first opened in a public manner at our week-

day meeting at Castle Donnington, I being then about the thirtieth year of my age.

In a little time after, I heard that Elizabeth Fletcher, a Friend in Derbyshire, had a concern on her mind to visit the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, so to London, in order to visit that great city, and was inquiring where she might meet with a companion who had the same concern. This took such hold of me when I first heard of it, that it struck like a dart; but I would not have consented to it, if I could have had peace in the refusal; for I let in many reasonings against it, and thought but few like me travelled, and could not see how way was to be made without a great deal of trouble;—and having just appeared in the ministry, and being a poor weak creature in spiritual things, I could not think what service I could be of to any, except it were to Elizabeth Fletcher, who was a very weakly woman. But I was made willing to drop these reasonings, and leave all to the Lord, who can and doth make way when we can see no way; so in obedience to his pure mind and will, I left all to his divine protection, my dear husband and sweet babes, my eldest about six, and youngest about three years old. I thought this a great trial, and it seemed at times to come very near my life; but as I stood resigned to the will of God, he gave me strength in weakness, and his holy arm bore me up through many deep exercises that I met with in this journey.

And blessed be his powerful name! the same arm that took me from my nearest connexions in life, also brought me home again in peace; and as I was preserved, so were my dear husband and children; and we both have cause to give all honour and glory to God, who is alone worthy, now and for evermore!

On this journey she wrote the following letter to her husband, viz:

TO HER HUSBAND.

"Woodbridge, 21st Third month, 1748.

"In unfeigned love to thee and my dear and tender children do I now write; and although it is so ordered that we are separated one from another outwardly, yet I am near to you in spirit. As it is in obedience to the Lord that I am where I am, I sincerely desire that I may continue in obedience to his pure and holy will, although it be a very great trial, and at times comes near almost as my life. Yet, blessed be the Lord, he has been pleased so to favour me with his living presence, and to support me with his divine power, that I am made willing to be what he would have me to be; and, my dear husband, as I desire for myself, so for thee, that we both be wholly resigned to his will; and I believe, whilst we

abide in his fear, all things will work together for our good."

In the course of the journey mentioned in the foregoing account, it appears that she attended eighty-two meetings, in company with her friend Elizabeth Fletcher; besides being at the Yearly Meeting at Woodbridge; leaving home the 8th of third month, and returning the 29th of sixth month.

On the 25th of sixth month, 1749, she again accompanied Elizabeth Fletcher on a religious visit, and returned home on the 26th of seventh month; having attended eleven meetings in parts of Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, &c.; at three of which, Henley, Broomsgrove and Worcester, they had the company of John Griffith.

The subsequent letters were written after her return home, viz :

"Leicester, 27th of Sixth month, 1754.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I with gladness received thy letter, but in the reading of it, was seized with a jealousy that thou art not yet emptied enough of self. I hope, my dear friend, thou wilt bear with me, as I must deal honestly; and desire I may speak simply upon all occasions without seeking to ornament it with what might please myself, because I have learned to know that what is done to gratify self, is displeasing to the Almighty. It seems to me as if thou wast in a track that I long trod in, therefore I am in much love engaged to tell thee a little of what I have experienced. When the Lord has been pleased to lay a concern upon me to speak amongst his people, I was not willing to stand up or to kneel down, until I had as I thought, made it somewhat compact; and those who were my best friends have been much concerned for me, and advised me to give up in faith, for I should never grow whilst I remained so. For this cause I have been brought into great confusion, so that I could neither go forward nor make an end in a proper manner; if I dare have said that I would never preach more, I would have said it; but blessed be our God, he is ready to lead us step by step, were we but willing to follow him in humility. Let all our actions be in his fear, without the least desire for the praise of men; then I am satisfied he would forgive all our past offences, and love us freely. Well, my dear friend, I seem to be near a conclusion, and also near thee in spirit, and in a degree of that love which first united us, I sincerely salute thee and bid thee farewell."

"Donnington, 18th of Ninth month, 1757.

"DEAR COUSIN,

"Thou hast at times been brought to my mind, and I thought I had freedom to write a

few lines to thee, supposing thou might be at the Quarterly Meeting. I hope thou wilt not be negligent in attending such meetings, nor any other which are appointed for the service of Truth, and for the worship of Almighty God. I pray thee, let not the indifference of others lull thee asleep; but be thou diligent and watchful, truly waiting in the depth of humility, and then I doubt not but thou wilt be favoured with the presence of God, both to thy comfort and edification; for it is the Divine Monitor from heaven that is still the teacher of his people. It is He that yet speaks as never man spoke, and he cannot be removed into a corner. I hope dear cousin, thou art sensible of these things, and I desire that thou mayest increase in wisdom. Let it be thy concern to keep a conscience void of offence both toward God and man. This is what I desire to hear of thee and my other relatives."

From 1749 until the year 1758, it does not appear that she was engaged in any more extended religious service than of attending the general meetings at Atherstone and Matlock, when, on the 20th of eighth month she accompanied Anne Wright into Yorkshire:—they attended forty meetings, and the Quarterly Meeting at York; where she says, was James Wilson from Darlington, aged ninety years, who had a deal of the service of the meeting, and seemed to take his final farewell of the place.—She returned home on the 15th of tenth month.

In the twelfth month she says, I had for some time drawings in my mind to Warwick, and a few other meetings in that county, and having acquainted the Monthly Meeting thereof, I had its approbation, and a certificate accordingly. I attended Leicester Quarterly Meeting, where we were favoured with the company of George Boone and William Dodson. From thence, with G. B. Sampson Lloyd and Joseph Heath, I went to Coventry; and on the 17th to Warwick, where was Catharine Payton, of whose company I was glad. We were both engaged to labour amongst a degenerate people, but had peace for so doing, and Friends who were truly sensible, were satisfied and seemed glad of our company.

We were at the Quarterly Meeting on second-day, from whence after attending a few more meetings, I returned home and found my family well, for which I was thankful to my Lord and Master, who hath often seen meet to call me from it; and although it is a pinching trial to leave dear husband and children, yet great peace have they who are obedient to the Lord's requirings. As I never had cause to repent being faithful, and I

heartily desire that all who are called of God, anointed and appointed to preach the Gospel, would steadily walk and diligently hearken, that they may perfectly hear the distinct sound and the true voice, that they may not run before they are sent, nor stay behind when they are commanded to go—then all would be well with them.

On the 21st of second month, 1759, I went with Thomas Bakewell and his wife to our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester, where was George Mason out of Yorkshire, of whose company we were glad, and were truly comforted together in the love of God.

On the 26th of fourth month, was at the general meeting at Nottingham, where was John Alderson of Yorkshire, whose company was very acceptable.

On the 14th of seventh month I went to Polesworth and Atherstone; and on the 15th was at their general meeting, where were Catharine Payton and many other public Friends.—On the 29th was at Matlock, where was Samuel Fothergill, whose visit was very acceptable.

## SECTION II.

*Her visit to the meetings of Friends Westward—  
to Bristol—and thence to London.*

ON the 28th of second month, 1760, after a long time of deep exercise, I parted from my dear children, having the approbation of my friends and a certificate according to good order, to visit the meetings of Friends westward to Bristol, and from thence to London; my dear husband accompanied me a few days, first to Leicester then to Coventry; at which places I held no meetings, but parted with my friends in much love, being engaged in my mind to be at Birmingham on first-day. I was at their meetings to my satisfaction. On the next day I parted with my dear husband, which was no small trial to me, being left alone and never having gone such a journey by myself; it seemed full hard for me to bear; but I found it best to be still, knowing that I was engaged by and for Him, who is alone able to help and preserve his people.

From Birmingham I was at various places, attending nineteen meetings, and on the 20th of third month reached Bristol, where I attended six meetings before the quarterly meeting, and seven afterwards. I now seemed to take my farewell of them to my satisfaction, though I was an example of silence in many of their meetings.

I here feel inclined to look back upon my journey, not having had an opportunity until now to make any remarks. And first I find

freedom to say, for the encouragement of such as have the right cause at heart, that I have had no cause to repent leaving home and my near and dear connexions there; for the Lord has been pleased to be with me hitherto. I have been kindly received by Friends; and at this time a hope is afforded me, that I shall be enabled to perform the rest of my journey; and being well assured that I am in the way of my duty, I am thankfully content. I was now favoured with the company of Mary Winter, a young woman, young also in the ministry; she was with me at Bewdley and Bromsgrove, and I was truly glad of her company.

I was favoured also with the company of Martha Merrill, who staid with me whilst I was at Bristol, and accompanied me to Frenchay and Earthcot; at the latter place we parted in much love. On seventh-day I went to Bath and lodged at Love Tyler's, who very kindly received me, which made my lonesome situation much pleasanter whilst I remained in that town. My great Master too, whose servant I have been and for whom I desire that I may ever be rightly engaged, was pleased to send my dear friends Robert and Love Peters, from Bristol to Bath on first-day morning. O, how glad was I to see them, for it seemed as if I could hardly live or be able to get that day over; but being thus favoured with agreeable company, and again finding the Lord to be my helper, I got through the meetings with some degree of satisfaction. My dear friend Love Peters, offered to accompany me to some meetings, which I very thankfully accepted; we were at nine including the Quarterly Meeting at Caln, where we parted, she returning with her husband, who came from Bristol for her. There were many Friends at the above meeting from several places, but too few who were truly concerned for the cause of God; so that they who were rightly engaged had very hard work; but the power of the Most High was over all, and his great name was glorified.

We next proceeded to Devizes, and how hard did it seem to me to go amongst strangers. I cannot express what my soul went through in that place; I had nothing to say at meeting; neither could I see for some time how I might find ease. I endeavoured to be still, and cried unto the Lord in my spirit that I might be preserved, and if it would please him to show me what he required of me, I thought I should submit if it were ever so hard to my own will. As thus I sat, there came several to dine at the house where I was. We sat down to dinner, and in the bitterness of my soul did I at the command of the Lord, pour forth my supplication unto him for their

sakes, poor souls, who were living in forgetfulness of God: yet did the Lord visit them in this wise, and engaged me to pray for them; and by my obedience I had peace. O! how thankful was I that I could leave the town with satisfaction; so from Devizes I went to Marlborough, though still in dread and fear lest I should not be able to stand my ground; but blessed be the Lord who has thus been pleased to lead me, even as through the valley of the shadow of death; he stood by me, and I got safe from the town. From thence to Newberry and Backhurst, and Reading: staid their Half-year's Meeting, with which I was well satisfied; there were many worthy Friends present, one of whom was Joseph White, from America.

I then proceeded towards London, where, and in its neighbourhood, I continued nearly six weeks visiting the different meetings. Finding myself at liberty when the Yearly Meeting was over I parted from many Friends in much love and satisfaction, some of whom I had now first become acquainted with; amongst these was Susannah Hatton from Ireland, a widow, who was intending to visit America, and had left six children. My friend Anne Wright, was nearly two weeks at John Cartledge's in Wood street, and we were together at several families, to much satisfaction. May that love ever remain with them in which we were truly united; and although we may be outwardly separated, yet we are as epistles written in one another's minds.—Oh! that we may keep near to the Fountain of love and life! then we shall have to rejoice together in the communion of the one pure Spirit, which is extended to the whole family of God, the world over. Amen.

#### TO HER HUSBAND.

“London, Fourth month, 25th, 1760.

“I am still satisfied that I am about my Father's business, and for thy comfort may inform thee that I now enjoy peace, and desire that we may be enabled to do our duty to Him from whom all our blessings come. I was at Gracechurch street meeting this day, and came away in peace; Isaac Sharpless was there in the morning, and we were comforted together. His concern has been to visit families, and he has got through so far as to think he will be at liberty to go home to-morrow, having been at many places and families, although only here a little more than a week. By his labour he has made way for others who had the concern, but perhaps could not so well begin that great work. In looking back a little to my visit at Bristol, the place where I have often been concerned, it

was not without a cause that my service there should be in a manner I did not expect. I laboured diligently and was baptized often, because of the sins of the people, and brought near to the mourners in Sion, and feel as I now write, my spirit drawn towards them. It is pleasant to me to think of them, for we were joined in a holy fellowship which will endure. I visited many families, in which engagement I had freedom to join Martha Merrill and Love Peters. I had to admire how their states were brought before me; nay, I had hard work to believe my Lord, but his mighty power did enable me to do his will, for which I am truly thankful; and the love of God did so prevail that many were bowed, and seemed to be brought near to us. Although I have been thus favoured, yet fear and weakness encompass me, so that at times I am ready to faint and seem like one who has not known good. Oh! may the fear of the Lord, which is a fountain of life, ever preserve us from the snares of death. May we who have known redemption in some degree, never more be entangled with the yoke of bondage. May we be favoured with food and raiment, and a blessing upon our tender offspring from the Holy Spirit, which hath and doth conduct us; and may this good Spirit rest upon our children. This I desire for them and us more than uncertain riches, which will fade away. My mind is very closely engaged, often in great painfulness and watchings, lest the enemy, who way-lays me daily, should so prevail as to cause me to do any thing that would occasion the honest minded to be uneasy. Oh! the proving seasons I have met with, but which I hope are all for my good; and I do expect many in this place, and surely thou with my dear friends, will have a concern to pray for me.”

On 4th of sixth month I left London, and went with our friend John Griffith, to his house at Chelmsford; staid their first-day meeting, where I was again favoured with the company of Susannah Hatton. With these Friends I proceeded to the Yearly Meeting at Colchester, after which we again parted, and on the next first-day I was at Ipswich; thence to Woodbridge Yearly Meeting, and on the 18th to Yarmouth; next to Norwich, where I lodged at Samuel Gurney's, and was at many meetings with many worthy Friends. Then in company with Mary Gurney, I went to North Walsham; from which place my worthy friend John Ransom went with me to several meetings. I was truly glad of his company, and hope I may not forget his kindness to me.

We returned to Norwich 12th of seventh

month, where I mostly continued till 7th of the ninth, when I parted with my dear friend with whom I had been so unexpectedly detained. It was very contrary to my own will, and might seem strange to many; but I believe it was according to the will of God; and for his cause did I mourn with them that mourned, yea, I was very often in sorrow; a time of deep searching of heart it was to me; but blessed be the Lord, he was pleased after he had thus tried me, and found me in sincerity truly desiring that I might not be deceived, but that his will might be done—I say, after all this time of proving, he let me see my way again; and when the cloud was removed from my tabernacle, I went on my way rejoicing. My friend John Lucas, accompanied me until I came to Lynn; thence I went to Downham to their general meeting, where I met David Coulson and William Dodson. Proceeding to several places I came to Godmanchester, where was Samuel Spavold; afterwards I proceeded homeward, and arrived there the 15th of ninth month, 1760.

The following letter is a further description of the close conflict she endured in being detained at Norwich:

“Norwich, Eighth month 18th, 1760.

“It seems very hard for me to tell thee that I am yet bound in this place, although when I wrote to thee I thought that I might have got away. It is not omission of duty that detains me, but surely it is for a trial of my patience and of thine, for a cause we know not. I fear we have been over anxious; yet sometimes I have hopes that thou art more resigned to the will of the Most High than I am. If I be rightly sensible, I believe that I am where I ought to be; and although I would have hid the concern, yet I could not; for several Friends whose spirits are united with mine, and who had a sense of my travail of soul came to see me—and my dear friends with whom I make this long abode told me they did believe I was not clear, and my unwillingness to stay made my affliction heavier; which indeed was true. Friends are very kind and loving to me, seem glad to see me and tell me they are not weary of me. When I consider how it was formerly, when our worthy ancients were concerned to speak in the name of the Lord, how they were haled to prisons, abused, and all they had taken from them; yea, that many sealed their testimony with their blood; when I remember those things, what can I say? There hardly seems room for us to complain; our trials seem so trifling to those which they met with; and looking at what many are tried with now, as to going over sea, oh! my heart is often

affected for them. Yet how unwilling I am to be thus confined in my native land, which seems but little to engage with to what those have who cross the mighty ocean. Therefore, as it thus happens for me to be tried on this wise, I beg that thou may still resign me; how affecting would it be to us both to bring a burden home with me. O that it may not be so! it would be better for thee to see me no more, than to see me in that anxiety of soul which disobedience brings. Therefore be thou comforted, for although thou may with me have been tossed as with a tempest, yet our foundation is sure, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail; and may we ever remain upon it.”

30th of seventh month, 1761—Although I have not set any thing down of my travels for many months, yet I have not been much idle, but have had an afflicting time so that I could not go far from home, yet when able, got to our own Quarterly Meetings. In the sixth month, Joseph White from America, was at our meeting, and I with other Friends, were with him at Soilby and Dalby.—In the seventh month my husband took me to Nottingham, I being engaged for Lincoln Quarterly Meeting, where were John Griffith, John Hunt, Thomas Corbin, Joseph Taylor and Joseph Roe, on an appointment from the Yearly Meeting to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in divers counties—whose company was very acceptable. After my return home, I attended the Atherstone general meeting.

### SECTION III.

*Her visit to Friends in Ireland, and to the Yearly Meeting in London.*

ON the 22nd of eighth month, 1761, I parted with my dear children, having some time before acquainted my friends with my concern to visit the meetings in Ireland, and they having unity therewith gave me a certificate. My dear husband and Joseph Evatt accompanied me to Uttoxeter, where Anne White from Coventry met me, she having the same concern. We lodged at John Shipley's—and here I parted with my dear husband, he going home with Joseph Evatt. We next lodged at Joshua Toft's at Haregate; thence to Warrington and so to Liverpool, and were at their fifth-day meeting.

On the 28th we embarked for Dublin, and were at sea three days and three nights, in which time we had a sore tempest, and were amongst a very disagreeable crew; but by Divine Providence we were wonderfully preserved, and landing safe on the 31st, proceed-

ed to the house of our worthy friend, Samuel Judd.

The 1st of ninth month we were at the meeting in Dublin, which though silent, was solid and satisfactory. We were also at the meetings on sixth and first-days, where we laboured more in silence than in words; being sensible that there is something amongst them which at times obstructs and hinders the ministry. May we and all those whom the Lord is engaging to visit the churches of his people, patiently wait and willingly suffer, until the Lord's power be over all; and when he is pleased to favour his ministers with strength and zeal for his cause, and commands us to speak to the people, then let us be faithful, and doubtless we shall witness his power to subdue our enemies, and behold his glory as in days past. But oh! the sins of the people are as a thick cloud, which at times seems to cover our assemblies and causes the true travailers very often to mourn. We were also at their women's meeting on second-day morning, and after a painful travail as through darkness, the Lord was pleased to arise and we were comforted. On third-day at their meeting for worship, but not yet able to clear ourselves; so taking leave of the dear friends with whom we quartered, in the expectation of again visiting Dublin, we proceeded to visit the north part of the nation. William Grubb and David Newland accompanied us to Dundalk; thence to Rathfriland, where we had a meeting with some who professed with us. Our next meeting was at Moyallen—thence to Lurgan and were at their meeting on first-day, which was very large. Here we parted with our two friends, who had indeed taken great care of us; and accompanied by two kind friends from Lurgan, proceeded to Lisburn, Newton and Hillsborough, in each of which places we had a meeting.

On the next first-day we were at a large meeting near Ballinderry, where we had very hard labour; indeed it has been so in most places, the people are so little concerned about religion and so much grasping after the riches of this life. We lodged at John Murray's, near Brome Hedge—on second-day rode to Antrim, lodged at an inn, and held a meeting the next day: there are several who profess with us in this place, but few who are worthy to be called by our name. From Antrim to Ballycane, Grange, Ballinacree and Coleraine; also to Morgan Wilson's, near Toberhead; then to Dungannon, Charlemont, Moyallen, and to the Quarterly Meeting at Ballinderry; being accompanied by James Christy from Moyallen. We were at the meeting of ministers and elders, which I hope not to forget: the meeting for worship was

large, and after it the meetings for discipline were held. On first-day at the meeting for worship, many of us were favoured with the presence of Him who hath promised that "where two or three are gathered together in his name, there will he be in the midst of them;" wherein we greatly rejoiced, and took a solemn farewell of each other. We then returned with our dear friend to Moyallen, and on second-day morning took leave of his family, being much broken into tears but intermixed with joy, in the feeling whereof we still live together, though far separated outwardly.

At Armagh we parted with my friend and father in the truth, James Christy, he returning home and we proceeding to Castlesheen, where we held a meeting. Then to Coothill, Oldcastle Moate and Ballinmurry, at which places we had meetings. At Moate we lodged at James Clibborn's, whose wife was granddaughter to Robert Barclay. Next to Tullamore and Edenderry; and thence to Joshua Wilson's, near Rathangan; had a meeting at each place; so to Samuel Neale's, uncle to our worthy friend of the same name, who is an acceptable minister.

Her concern for the spiritual welfare of her dear friends at home continued unabated, as appears by the following letter:

TO ———

"Castle Donnington, Fifth month 3d, 1761.

"Endeared friend, brother and companion in tribulation, for so it seems to me thou art, for which I have been thankful. What strength hath it given me when I found that I was at times brought into thy remembrance with other of my dear friends, whom with thyself I do dearly salute, humbly craving that we may ever remain in this holy fellowship, wherein the saints in light rejoice. For I may tell thee that at the reading of thine I did rejoice, although I was in tribulation, yet I hope in some degree of patience; but my trials since my return have been more than I can express; under all which for some time it seemed hard for me to submit. Oh, this preparation! this time of purging! Who indeed can abide the day of his coming, or who can stand when he appeareth, who is as a refiner's fire?—but so it must be with the sons of Sion, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness."

We came to Dublin on the 28th, to our old worthy friend Samuel Judd's: at this time many Friends were here from divers parts of the nation, it being both their province and Half-year's meetings; during which we had the help of our friends Samuel Neale, Thomas



Greer and several others, unto whom I am nearly united in Gospel fellowship.

From Dublin we were accompanied by William Taylor to Ashton, Wicklow and Ballinmurry, to Joseph Pim's. We then proceeded to Ballycane, and were at meeting there on first-day, which I think held four hours. On second-day we had a meeting at Askin —, in the house of Henry Errats; then we proceeded to Ballinclair, Coolatore, Randalsmills and Cooladine, at which places we had meetings; and at Enniscorthy on first-day, it being their Monthly Meeting; but, how painful was it to me! After meeting we dined at Isaac Bell's, and then accompanied our ancient friend Joseph Williams to his house at Dansmills; thence to Wexford, and had a meeting to satisfaction, although there are very few who profess with us in that place, and those few not in the possession of the Truth, which I believe, is one cause that our friends have suffered so much here; the people of the town are in great darkness, but they behaved better than usual, and I had much peace in being there. From this place we went to Joseph Poole's near Forrest, and had the company of Samuel Chambers; from these Friends we parted in much love and proceeded to Ross with Samuel Elly, who came to meet us; we lodged at his house and had a meeting on fifth-day; and the weather being very wet we remained until seventh-day. Indeed, I believe this delay was very agreeable both to us and to our worthy friend, who had a few weeks before been parted from a good wife, and with other circumstances was in so mournful a situation, that our company seemed very acceptable to him.

From Ross we went to Waterford, lodged at Joshua Jacob's, were at their meetings on first-day, and in the evening visited Thomas Wiley who was ill; a comfortable season it was. Next to Clonmel, and lodged at Joseph Grubb's; then to Cashell and Kilconner, at which places we had meetings. We then proceeded on our way to Cork, but the journey being long we lodged at an inn. On seventh-day we got to our dear friend Samuel Neale's; we attended their meetings on first-day, which to me were times of deep travail in silence. From Cork we went to Youghall, where we had a meeting and returned; then to Bandon and had an evening meeting. Our dear friend Sarah Neale and two others accompanied us, and we all returned to Cork in order to attend the Quarterly Meeting; the sittings of which were measurably favoured with the Divine presence; yet there remained a great weight upon my mind until third-day, when I was enabled to discharge my duty so as to obtain that peace which it is our great

interest to labour for. O that all those who minister would wait the right time and always move in their proper order, then we should again shine amongst the nations.

We had several good opportunities amongst our friends, and left Cork on fourth-day: visited a family at Mallow and the next day got to Limerick; attended their meetings on sixth and first-days, and had some profitable opportunities in a few families with James Tomey, who was a help to us. From Limerick we went to Tormevan, thence to Roscreagh, had a meeting and dined at John Pim's. Next to Burreis in Ossory, lodged at William Morris's, had an opportunity in the family, then proceeded to Joshua Thompson's near Ballinakill, and had a meeting the next day; then proceeded to Carlow, the province meeting for Leinster being held there. We attended the meeting for ministers and elders; and on the 19th of twelfth month that for worship; after which followed those for discipline. In these meetings many were engaged to travail very deeply; that on first-day was very large, wherein we were strengthened and refreshed in the love of our God, who is still pleased to come down and dwell amongst his people, and is helping those who put their trust in him. We had here an opportunity of seeing many Friends from the several counties which we had visited, and having had renewed cause to rejoice together, in true love we again parted.

From Carlow we proceeded to Castletown, then to Kilconner, lodged at Samuel Watson's, and had a meeting on third-day; thence to Robert Lecky's, and on fourth-day had a meeting at Newtown. We had been favoured with the company of Richard Shackleton, and at Newtown his wife, father, and several other Friends met us, in whose company we proceeded to Ballitore, and lodged at Abraham Shackleton's. Oh! the sweet harmony which is found amongst those families who dwell in true love. Our next meeting was at Athy, on the 25th of twelfth month, and a satisfactory one it was. We then proceeded, accompanied by Abraham Shackleton and Ephraim Boake, to Maryborough; thence to James Pim's near Mountrath, and attended meeting on first-day. On second-day to James Hutchinson's, at Knockballymaher, and had a meeting both large and satisfactory. Then to Kilconnermore and Birr, where we had meetings; and on seventh-day to Thomas Strangman's at Mountmelick, and attended their meeting on the next day. Whilst here I was in much trouble, yea, afflicted almost beyond measure, which indeed, has been my portion in many places in this poor nation. Oh! had those who account themselves ambassadors of Christ kept properly under the holy anointing, and



never dared to move without it, our assemblies would not have been so full of confusion, nor our solemn feasts so often marred. It is such things which cause so many spots in our feasts of charity; and under a sense thereof the true ministers mourn: yet let me thankfully acknowledge, the Lord has not forsaken his people, but those who truly fear his name, at times behold his glory.

The following letter written from Edenderry, expresses her concern for her beloved family:

“Edenderry, Tenth month 24th, 1761.

“MY DEAR HUSBAND,

“By these thou mayest know that we enjoy health and peace, two great blessings: and believing thou wert thoughtful about me, I was desirous to write; yet have hope that thou, my dear, wilt live by faith, for so we must endeavour, as it is and will be our lot to be much parted. Let us therefore learn submission to the will of our God, for nothing short thereof can obtain his peace.

“I have hope that as I am in the way of my duty I shall be preserved, although we travel through considerable difficulties both from within and without. We have been through the North, amongst a people that fear not God as they ought—yet blessed be our Lord, we have felt his power and love to be extended even to these poor rebellious creatures.

“I am often with you in spirit, looking as into your meetings, where you have none to rely upon but the Lord. Wait therefore for his appearance, and he will arise for your help; for did we enough seek him, I am sure it would be better with us as a people. Let us not forget those who have been of peculiar service, as indeed hath our well beloved and worthy friend Thomas Cornwall, of whose removal I have heard. Oh! I have mourned and sorrow hath filled my heart, until tears gave some relief. He has been as a father to me and many others—He helped to rebuild the walls of our Zion which had been broken down; and he hath been of great service many ways. Therefore let a just regard be paid to his memory. And I desire that those who are left behind, who have known and do still talk of the goodness of God, may not play the coward, but when under right influence be sure to do their duty, and not start aside: for behold the ways of Zion mourn, because so few come to her solemn feasts.”

We next attended the Monthly Meeting at Edenderry, where the Truth was declared.—We dined with our worthy friend Thomas Bewley; then went to Isaac Jackson’s, where

to our great comfort, we met with Thomas Wiley, who had been very ill for a long time. At this place we also met with Richard Shackleton and his wife, and were favoured with their company at Rathangan, at the week-day meeting. Thence to Joshua Wilson’s, where we lodged; visited Thomas Pim’s family, and on the 7th of first month parted with our dear friends. Abraham Shackleton had been with us about two weeks. Joseph Inman, Isaac Jackson and Samuel Watson accompanied us to Baltiboys; we lodged at Samuel Peasley’s, had a meeting on sixth-day, visited the families who professed with us, and under a sense of Divine love, parted with our dear friends and proceeded to Dublin, where we arrived on the 9th of first month, 1762. Here we staid expecting to sail in a vessel bound for Liverpool, but it not being ready, we found close engagement and great exercise of mind in this city. Sometimes I had an opportunity to plead with the people; but examples of silence are wanted, such was I very often, and desire that it may be more practised there. Whilst we were thus waiting in the hope of shortly leaving the country, a concern fell upon Anne White to visit families; and when I found that she was engaged in the city, I saw that it was my duty to return into the country; and finding that sensible honest Friends had unity with me in my concern, it was a great help to me. My exercise was great, more than I can express; but having learned that except we bear the cross we must not wear the crown, I submitted to the yoke of Christ, which by obedience becomes more easy.

Accompanied by Thomas Wiley and his brother John, I left Dublin on the 2nd of second month, and that night lodged at Samuel Neale’s near Rathgannon; the next day got to James Pim’s, and they were I believe, very glad to see us. We attended their meeting at Mountrath on fifth-day to satisfaction, and I was made thankful that I had given up to attend these meetings.

TO HER HUSBAND.

“Portarlington, Second month 6th, 1762.

“My last, written in Dublin a week since, I hope thou hast received: it gives thee an account of our waiting for a vessel, having then a hope that we should have been at liberty as soon as it was loaded. My dear companion has since found a concern upon her mind to visit families in Dublin; but I did not feel any engagement of the kind; yet when she had begun I then saw my way. I did not hastily make it known, but the Lord who hath been my helper is still near and hath made way for me, even to admiration. Some sensible

Friends visited me, querying of me, if it would not be best for me to turn into the country? I confessed that it was my concern and found it was my duty to give up to it, but the thought of thy expectation of seeing me soon, made the exercise exceedingly heavy: yet I am thankful that the way is opened for me, for how affecting it would have been to come home and had no peace until I returned. But He in whom we trust hears our cry, and if we be faithful will deliver us from all those things which at times are suffered to try us deeply—but we must submit to his will.

“Do not be uneasy about me for I am in careful hands; and if it be the will of God that I should here end my labours, thou well knowest I cannot be better employed; and as thou art my fellow-helper, thou not only sufferest with me, but wilt also rejoice with me in that joy that is unspeakable and full of glory. O that we may ‘run with patience the race that is set before us,’ still looking unto Him who is the Author, and I trust will be the ‘Finisher of our faith:’ yea, He that was our ‘Morning Star will be our Evening Song.’ Yet we must exercise patience, which I believe, is our individual care and concern, and that hope will doubtless be added of which we have no need to be ashamed. O! how great is the harvest, and how few are the faithful labourers! Yet, blessed be the Lord! he hath not left himself without a witness, neither is his glory departed from our Israel. No, no: for we can at times say, ‘how goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel:—the Lord our God is with us, and the shout of a King is amongst us.’

“I now feel my spirit near thee, and also near to my beloved children.—In the pure and undefiled love of the Gospel I once more salute you all, and bid you farewell.”

On first-day we attended the Monthly Meeting at Mountmelick, which was large and a time of hard labour to those who had a right sense of feeling; but the Lord whom we served was with us, and I left the place in peace.

After being at Kilconner, Waterford and Clonmel, I came to Limerick and attended the province meeting on first and second-days; some of us staid the meeting on third-day also. The whole were exceedingly painful; and what made it more so, some who are accounted teachers do not mind to keep their places, but are for feeding the people, yea, they do feed them with that which is not rightly prepared, and so increase the disorder. I believe that it would be better if the people were to know a true fast. On fifth-day we reached Cork, where I lodged at my worthy friend Samuel Neale’s, and attended their

meetings on fifth and first-days. We had some satisfaction in this visit, being favoured with the renewings of the love of our God, wherein we were nearly united to some and hope that we shall ever remain in this holy fellowship, wherein the saints in light rejoice.

Our next meeting was at Kilconner, on fourth-day; and that evening went to Cashel. Robert Fennel accompanied us, staid with us at the inn, and on the morrow went with us many miles. It was very difficult travelling on account of the snow, but after a long and hard journey, we arrived at Mountrath on sixth-day morning the 12th of third month, and attended the select meeting, where we felt the extensions of Divine regard, and were thereby engaged to labour amongst them. On seventh-day we were at the province meeting; on first-day at a very large meeting, wherein, after a time of deep travail in silence, we were once more renewed and strengthened in our spirits, and enabled by the power of the Most High, to worship and praise his ever excellent name. After being at several other places, we arrived at our dear friend Thomas Greer’s at Dungannon, on the 25th of third month. On sixth-day the select meeting was held at Grange, near Charlemont, where on the two following days, was the Quarterly Meeting for the province of Ulster. These meetings were times of suffering—yea, to those who were rightly concerned, of deep baptism; but after a long time of travail, the Lord our God was pleased to arise for our help, and in and by the might of his power were his servants once more enabled to testify of his name, and the meeting ended well.

Here I parted with my dear friends Thomas Wiley and J. Russell, who had accompanied me I believe, more than a hundred miles. On third-day went to Lurgan, thence to Lisburn and attended their meeting on fifth-day. On first-day I was at a meeting at Ballinderry which was large, and after a time of deep travail in silence, we were made sensible that the love of God was extended, under the influence whereof the people were afresh pleaded with, and called unto. On third-day had a meeting at Newtown to some satisfaction—on fifth-day one at Hillsborough, and then returned to Lisburn. On first-day the 11th of fourth month, several Friends accompanied me to Lurgan meeting, where there are many who profess with us; but, alas! they are departed from the Rock of their strength, and a dull heavy meeting it was for the most part. From this place I went with James Christy, his sons and daughter Sarah, to Moyallen, and remained there until fifth-day morning, when I was favoured with his company to Banbridge, where Phoebe Watson and I got a

carriage to convey us to Dublin; so I parted with my kind friend at whose house I had been many times during this journey, and was well satisfied with some conversation we had while travelling these few miles; his son John went with us to Dublin, where we safely arrived on the 16th of fourth month. Finding my engagement to be at the Half-year's Meeting continued, I duly attended the sittings thereof, and in some had true satisfaction, being confirmed in my mind that I was still in the way of my duty to God. The company of Samuel Spavold and several others, was truly acceptable; and although a time of painful labour and much suffering, yet were we satisfied and thankful, being united in spirit and favoured to experience the love of God and the extension of his power; so that the meeting ended well. Near the conclusion I took a final farewell of my dear friends, with and amongst whom I had so long been engaged.

I now waited for a vessel and also for company, several Friends intending for the Yearly Meeting at London; and as it had for some time appeared to me that I must be there also, I waited until the 15th of fifth month, and that evening went on board a vessel bound for Liverpool: we had a good passage, arrived about five o'clock the next evening and lodged at Richard Hillary's. On second-day some of our company went to Chester, to hire horses to carry us to London. On third-day we left Liverpool and attended Warrington Monthly Meeting, which was large and satisfactory. On fourth-day got to Leek and staid their meeting, where the Lord was again pleased to favour us with his presence, and to renew our spiritual strength. Here several of our company parted; but Abraham Shackleton, Joseph Grubb and Thomas Wiley continued with me, and accompanied me to my own home at Castle Donnington; we arrived on sixth-day night, where we were gladly received by my dear husband and children, and finding them well was indeed a great satisfaction to me and cause of thankfulness; yea, we rejoiced together in humility and in the fear of our God, for whose cause we had been thus separated, by whose power we had been preserved through many deep trials, and now brought to meet again in pure peace. Oh! that we may still live to praise his holy name, who is for ever worthy! Having acquainted my husband and friends of my intention of going to London, and ascertained their unity therewith, I again sat out accompanied by my dear friends from Ireland, and reached London on the 27th of fifth month, 1762.

I staid in and about London more than two weeks, attending meetings. On first-day the

13th of sixth month, was at the meeting in Gracechurch street in the morning, and at Devonshire-house in the afternoon, at both of which I was enabled to bear testimony in the power which God giveth; and by so doing I obtained great peace. It was also satisfactory to many Friends, who were glad that I now could depart from this great city with an easy mind and a cheerful countenance, for they had not seen me much in that situation during the time of my stay. Oh! the deep travail of soul that I often experienced! and desirous I am that such a travail were more frequently witnessed by those who would be called the "sent of God." But, alas! too many there are who do not keep near enough to the holy anointing, but are too much led by the desires of the people, whose ears are after words. Surely if I be rightly sensible, I have sorrowfully felt this to be the case, and whilst such things prevail amongst us the true seed will suffer; but we still have cause to be thankful, knowing that the Lord hath not forsaken his people, but is raising "judges as at the first and counsellors as at the beginning." A number there are who truly wait for wisdom and by it divide the word aright, and when these speak they speak as the oracles of God; these are they who do administer grace to the hearers; and that the number of these may increase is the desire and prayer of my soul.

On the 15th of sixth month, I left London on third-day morning about two o'clock, and got safely the same evening to Leicester, and on the 16th attended their Monthly Meeting at Hinckley; thence to Leicester Quarterly Meeting on the 18th, in which those who were rightly concerned, were made sensible that the power of God was with us, by which some were enabled to worship him in spirit and in truth.

I now returned home with my husband, but contrary to my hopes, met with fresh exercise; but I desire that I may learn patience, and by passing through many and great tribulations may know my robes to be made white in the blood of the Lamb, that so having suffered with him we may also reign with him in his glory.

#### SECTION IV.

*Her visit to the meetings of Friends Westward, and in Wales, &c.*

On the 17th of third month, 1763, it having been my concern for some time to visit the meetings of Friends Westward, and having the concurrence of my friends and a certificate from the Monthly Meeting, I proceeded accordingly, attending the Quarterly Meetings at Leicester and Birmingham: we had the

company of Catharine Payton, who had good service. I was afterwards at Dudley, Stourbridge, Bromsgrove and Worcester; at the latter place I remained until the 7th of fourth month, visiting several sick Friends and attending their meetings for worship, also the Monthly Meeting, where I should have been glad if more of the women Friends had attended; however, I think I may say we were favoured with the love of our God, not only in the meeting for discipline but in that for worship, and enabled to offer thanksgiving and praise to his most holy name, who is alone worthy thereof.

From Worcester I departed in much peace, accompanied by several Friends to Tewkesbury, where we had a suffering meeting; thence to Bristol and arrived at my dear friend Robert Peters, whose wife though in a very poor state of health, accompanied me to most of the meetings. On the 20th was at Frenchay, in their company, where at meeting, we had some satisfaction. Robert Peters returned home, but his wife accompanied me to Earthcote meeting, where we were favoured with strength to labour amongst a people who are not enough concerned for themselves.

We returned to Bristol on the 22nd, where I remained until the Yearly Meeting, at which we had the company of John Hunt from London, and Isaac Sharples from Hitchin, who were engaged to labour and travail, and to speak to the states of the people.

“Bristol, Fourth month 30th, 1763.

“Though I am far from being lifted up, yet I esteem it a great favour that I have hitherto been preserved from sinking too low; therefore I hope thou wilt continue easy about me; for though I am thine in one sense, yet as we are none of us our own, let us be willing to serve Him whose we are, and be obedient children unto Him who in love visited us. Surely, He it is who sees meet to separate us outwardly—yet I am often near to you in spirit. I have had many satisfactory opportunities in this city, and my friends seem to have unity with me, which is a strength to me. I cannot forget what I have met with in my painful pilgrimage; but have still hope that it hath been, and will be of service to me, by making me more watchful and careful, for there is great need of watchfulness.

“Many are ill, and many die suddenly—how happy are all those who have made their peace with God! I think I may say, *I know that peace*, and beg that I may be preserved to the end; being assured, that all those who are ‘faithful unto death,’ shall receive ‘a crown of life.’”

I was enabled to leave Bristol with a degree

of satisfaction, on the 16th of fifth month, accompanied by William Bragg and William Bush:—Robert Peters also going to Hotwells to see his worthy wife, who seems to be near her change, having fought a good fight, and no doubt will finish her course with joy. Mary Winter of Stourbridge, accompanied me into Wales. We rode to New Passage, and with difficulty got safe over to the county of Monmouth. Our first meeting was at Sheernewton, to which came several of the neighbours, and we had a satisfactory opportunity. We then proceeded to Pontypool, a poor place as to the situation of our professors; but we had cause to be thankful to our Lord who sent us, and was pleased to show unto us the states of the people, with whom we had a meeting on the 18th. We then visited a few families in the town, one of which, or rather the father thereof had done wickedly, but we knew it not, yet were led to pay them a visit; and soon after entering the house I had to believe that something was wrong; after a time of silence I found an engagement to speak, there being present two children of this person both grown up, himself and his second wife. At first the old man looked very stiff; but though an entire stranger, I was led to speak very closely to his state and to mourn with the children, desiring them not to bring forth the fruits of Sodom, nor the grapes of Gomorrah, although their teeth had been set on edge by their parents; neither to be worshippers of idols, nor in any way to defile themselves; telling them, that the Lord was of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with approbation, neither should the sinner go unpunished. Yet, although I was thus led, I had to speak of the beautiful situation of those, who came through true repentance and amendment of life to have their hearts purged from dead works, and in them living sacrifices prepared, and could offer them as upon God’s holy mountain, having access to the throne of divine grace, through Jesus Christ, which I was desirous might be one day their situation, therefore I exhorted them to beg for true repentance. Surely it was a time of favour, wherein the youth were encouraged and the old man brought down and broken into tears. Oh! how often do we mourn, because the fathers and mothers lead their poor children into captivity.

From Pontypool we had a long and tedious ride over the mountains to Irevring; lodged at John Bevan’s the 19th of fifth month, and on the 23d went to Nailth, having meetings at both places. Thence we went to Swansea, and attended meetings on first-day; in the afternoon were at the funeral of a Friend named John Griffiths; a great number of people attended, and a very solemn time it was. We

lodged at our friend Paul Bevan's, and on second-day, with our dear friend Elizabeth Bevan visited several families, being engaged to labour amongst them in spirit, and in the demonstration and power of God to preach the Gospel; for indeed the Gospel is the power of God, which is often preached in our souls; and did all that hear it live in obedience unto it, they would know redemption from sin and come to witness a being reconciled unto God, his Spirit bearing witness with their spirits that they are his children.

On the 24th we proceeded to Carmarthen, and lodged at William Reynolds's, where we had a meeting: thence to Haverfordwest to John Lewis's, who went with us over a large and difficult ferry to Jamestown, where we had a meeting. On first-day attended meetings at Haverfordwest, and in the evening had an opportunity in the house of a Friend at which several were present; it was an exercising season, but I was at length favoured with strength to speak in a very close manner, and to query, whether the fathers and mothers, who once had been serviceable in the church of God, were not now laying waste what they had helped to build? It seemed to me to be so; and that those who should have been the repairers of breaches had broken down the wall of discipline, and made way for the destruction of their children; yet that the Lord had mercifully visited them with his servants, and had hewn them by his prophets, but if they would not return and repent, I believed the Lord would remove the stumbling blocks and pluck up the dead trees; and in place thereof, raise up a people whom he would purify, and that such should tread his courts, and only such could sing his praise. By thus discharging my duty, although it was in fear, I obtained peace; and our friend John Lewis concluded in supplication, confirming what had been said. On the morrow we left for a place called Redstone, where we had a satisfactory meeting. We then continued our journey to Carmarthen, accompanied by William Reynolds and another Friend, and had a meeting at a place called the New Inn to satisfaction, although very close doctrine was preached.

We afterwards had a meeting at Pennibunt, on the 1st of sixth month; on the 2nd had an evening meeting at Llandewey-Brevy and lodged at the house where it was held, but knew nothing of the people until afterward; for indeed, we do not inquire, neither are we willing to be informed until our service is over; but we think Friends should be careful where they take us. We asked our guide soon after we entered the house, if it would not have been better to take us to an inn;

for we were afraid that all was not well, but he said there was no place convenient; so here we staid, but had such a meeting as I hope I shall not forget. Oh! how did the Lord lead me as into the secret places, and engage my spirit in a deep and painful travail, enabling me to tell unto the people their transgressions and to call upon them to repent, for their sins seemed grievous. And so they were, as I was afterwards informed; for not only the people of the house had grievously erred, but some of that meeting who had been preachers, had been disowned for their wicked conduct, yet would at times preach to the people; and these I was concerned to cry against. We had hard labour in most places, finding very few that were rightly concerned, yet these few were encouraged, and I hope, strengthened, being made sensible that the Lord was with us of a truth, and that "with him is neither variableness nor shadow of turning." Although many depart from him, yet he remains a faithful Creator and a sure Helper in the needful time, to all those who keep near him, and put their trust in him alone.

We next went to Talcord, and Friends were informed at Cwm that they might meet with us on first-day at this place; several of them came, and we had a painful time of sitting together, but were favoured in the conclusion and the meeting ended well. On second-day we went to Esgyrgoch, in Montgomeryshire. We had only one meeting in Cardiganshire, being all there is, and held at Llandewey-Brevy; and we were but at one in Radnorshire, as some from the other meetings met us at Talcord. The few meetings in this principality are far distant from each other, so that we had hard work to get from one place to another in one day. We had a meeting at Esgyrgoch on third-day, which was dull and heavy. On fourth-day we went to Llenynde, to Humphrey Owens', whose wife is the daughter of our worthy friend John Goodwin, whom I have often heard called the "Prince of Wales;" we were glad of his company, he and his wife both having lived to a good old age; and although thus advanced in years, they are living members fresh and green. We staid here two nights and had a meeting, in which I believe we should have been more favoured if all of us had been faithful; I could not forbear thinking that something was wanting from our worthy friend; yet said within myself, perhaps it is only because I should be glad to hear him; but after meeting to my satisfaction and confirmation, he told me that he was afraid of being in the way of strangers. "O!" said I unto him, "what a pity it was, that thou, who art a father, should withhold

any thing from a poor child, who was in such need of a little help." He said, he always used to be fearful and backward. However, he was open and free in conversation, and told us many things which had befallen him in his pilgrimage, and how wonderfully the Lord had made way for him, and been with him all along, even unto this day. Although at one time he had not where to lay his head, he now by the favour of Providence, enjoys plenty of the things of this life, is freed from the cares of worldly business, and like a faithful steward, is ready when his Lord may be pleased to call him. Oh! saith my spirit, that I, who have known something of the same trials, and have also known the arm of the Lord to be made bare for my help, may also know a being kept in humility, and in a true sense of the goodness of God and of my own nothingness, that so over all, God may be glorified, who alone is worthy.

We parted in much love and proceeded to Tyddynyarrag, where we had a meeting, I believe, to the satisfaction of the few who are alive. The next day being very wet, we remained and staid the meeting on first-day, and were well satisfied therewith. We afterwards had meetings at Dolobran and Salop; and on the 26th of sixth month at Colebrookdale. Many thereabouts profess with us, but we had an exceedingly hard meeting amongst them; some however, expressed their satisfaction at our visit, and we were glad to find a few who were living in the Truth: for indeed, the world and the things of it do too much prevail amongst us. On the 18th were at Dudley at James Payton's, he and his mother being at home, whose company was very acceptable; thence forward to Birmingham, where my dear husband met me, and on the 22nd of sixth month we got safe home. I was out this journey fourteen weeks, and was favoured with the company of Mary Winter through the principality of Wales. I was near two weeks in Worcester, near five in Bristol, and four in Wales; from all which places I returned home in peace.

In the fifth month, 1764, finding drawings in my mind to attend the Yearly Meeting in Wales, held at Wrexham, I was at a forenoon meeting at Uttoxeter; in the afternoon, in company with Thomas Shipley and his sister Hannah, went to Newcastle, and next day to Wrexham, where I met several Friends I had known before, and we were glad to see each other. We were favoured with the company of Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Payton; the meetings were large, and I think conducted to satisfaction. On the 11th, came with Thomas Shipley and his sister to Chester, and with Samuel Lucas I went the same night to Con-

gleton, and in the morning to our worthy friends John and Joshua Toft's, at Haregate. We attended a funeral at Leek in the afternoon, where, after a long time of silence, our aged friend John Toft, appeared in a sound, plain and lively testimony, greatly to my satisfaction. On first-day his brother appeared also in a lively manner, and a satisfactory meeting we had together, besides several profitable opportunities in his family. It was an agreeable visit to me, as I am persuaded that I found them as lively in the blessed Truth as they had been in years past, and have a hope that they will be gathered in due season, as shocks of corn fully ripe. I parted with these my dear friends on the 15th, and arrived at home the next day, when I found my family well, which was a great favour.

#### SECTION V.

*Her visit to some South and South-east counties; also to London, the Land's-end, &c.*

IN 1765 I felt an engagement of mind to visit some meetings in some Southern and South-east counties, and the Yearly Meeting of London; I therefore laid my concern before Friends and had their approbation, and a certificate accordingly; not then knowing of a companion. But in the fourth month went to a general meeting at Breck, in Derbyshire, and there providentially met with Sarah Taylor, of Manchester, who was going the same way. We were at Nottingham at the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, much to our satisfaction; but not being set out on my intended journey, I returned home a few days and parted with my dear children. My husband accompanied me to Leicester, where we separated. I proceeded to Oakham and had a meeting; thence to Godmanchester and to Ramsey, where I met with my companion, Sarah Taylor. We attended several meetings in our way to London, and many in that city before the Yearly Meeting, and staid some little time after its conclusion. We then went to Bromley, and lodged at Robert Forster's; thence to Chelmsford to John Griffith's, who was then very ill but recovered shortly after, and I believe went to America.

The following letters appear to have been penned about this period:

"London, Sixth month 1st, 1765.

"— And thou my son, whom with the rest of my children I dearly love, let me entreat thee to be constant in thy pursuit after stability of mind; suffer not thy own will to prevail, but learn meekness, exercise patience, and let thy moderation in all things appear;

inasmuch as thou knowest that ‘the Lord is at hand.’ Let me again advise thee to ‘study to be quiet and mind thy own business:’ ‘be swift to hear and slow to speak:’ let thy mind be often gathered into silence, and thy desires more after communion with God than with men. I hope these hints will be observed by thee, and as thou lovest and seekest after true retirement, thou wilt be favoured with clear instructions: therefore to the holy guidance of the pure Spirit of Christ I recommend thee.”

## TO HER HUSBAND.

“London, Sixth month 14th, 1765.

“—— O that we may be more and more concerned to watch against every appearance of evil—be willing to be what we ought to be, and do what we ought to do. This is my daily concern for myself, who am still surrounded with weakness, and slavish fear hath too much prevailed. My poor soul hath often been in bitterness, fearing lest the Divine Hand would no more strive with me. Yet I hope a sincerity remains in my heart; and the Lord in his tender mercy hath had compassion on me, and enabled me to speak well of his name. O that I may keep in the way of my duty, and faithfully discharge the same; then peace will assuredly be my portion. Therefore I feel desirous that we may more and more unite in a godly concern with our dear children and the few Friends who remain alive, that so our strength may again be renewed. Let us learn patience and wait for it; and when able, pray for resignation; and not marvel at the fiery trials that we may meet with, for so it hath been with the righteous of all generations from the beginning of the world.”

We then went to Coggeshall, Colchester, Needham, and to the Yearly Meeting at Norwich. We staid here and in the neighbourhood several weeks, and as in other places, had hard labour; yet in our journey we have had many satisfactory meetings, visiting most of those in Norfolk and many in Suffolk.— We came pretty direct from Lynn to Wisbeach, Spalding, Broughton, Stableforth and Nottingham, where my husband met me.

I think I may say, that my foregoing journey was in the Lord’s time and according to his will; and I was favoured with a companion who, indeed, was a helpmeet in the good cause for which we were both engaged; and as we faithfully laboured therein, we enjoyed much peace: yet, as it was formerly so it is now, many are the trials of those who are truly concerned, and above all, still prefer Jerusalem above their chiefest joy. O that I may be enabled to struggle through the many

difficulties which it is my lot to experience; but doubtless, they are suffered for good. Meeting with some close trials, I had great difficulty after my return home, to keep my mind in any degree of quiet; but considering that I had been so far as I knew, in the way of my duty, I saw I must learn patience. As I endeavoured to submit to the all-wise Disposer of events, who will do as he sees meet with us his poor creatures, and surely it is good for us to be tried and proved; and as in this sore time of conflict I could not find that the things which had befallen us were any way through any neglect of mine, but in the ordering of Providence: therefore to him did I again look for help; and in his mercy he looked down upon me, and once more delivered my soul. Then did his peace return, and again was I engaged to visit some of my brethren, and went to our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester, where my Lord and Master favoured me with his presence, and enabled me to praise his holy name. I also went to the Quarterly Meeting at Wellingborough, where I had some service for the Truth and returned home in peace.

On the 20th of sixth month, 1768, I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Coventry, where were Samuel Geulea of Bristol, and Hannah Bevington of Worcester, who had a concern to visit the families of Friends in this county. I also found it my duty to join with them in this close exercise; and did not leave them until the visit was performed, which ended at Eddington, where we parted, having been made helpful one unto another, and very often as one another’s joy in the Lord. It was by the help of his power that we were carried through so great a work; and as it was at seasons, very edifying and comfortable to ourselves, so we have cause to believe it was a time of favour to many: and the great name of our God was glorified; and with his peace in our bosoms we returned, and I arrived at my habitation after an absence of nine weeks.

On the 22nd of ninth month, 1769, I was at our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester. On first-day at Wigston; and in the evening had a large and satisfactory meeting at Oadby, with the people of that village, who behaved very well. Thence by Wigston and Nuneaton to Coventry, and attended their meeting on fourth-day, which was a very trying one to me; and I was given to understand that I had caused uneasiness by making some sort of preamble and needless apology, which I was not sensible of until after being told; then by a deep consideration and thorough self-examination I found myself guilty, and much exercise and many a painful hour it



cost me. Oh! how was I covered with shame! but true repentance I was favoured with, and again received into favour. I leave this as a caution to such as may see these lines; desiring that none may slight advice which is intended for good, although it may seem to be given sharply.

From the following letter it appears she was on a visit at Norwich:

TO THE SAME.

“Norwich, Sixth month 3d, 1770.

“As a tribulated path is our lot I would have us learn contentment therein, as we have the comfortable assurance in ourselves of having endeavoured to do our part. Let us remember to put in practice the good advice of our worthy friend Samuel Emlen, which was, ‘to commit ourselves and all we have into the hand of Him who can turn the heart of man as a man turns the water-course in his field:’ we see that by our over thoughtfulness we cannot add one cubit to our stature, nor make one hair white or black. I have a hope that things will appear rather pleasanter in time; and if we faithfully follow our holy Captain unto the end of this short race, we then shall inhabit a glorious eternity. Let not thy spirit sink too low neither be over much troubled, for certain it is, that in our Father’s house are many dwelling places;—therefore be of good cheer; many have, and I hope we shall be enabled to overcome this wicked world. I hope my dear J—— will be with thee when thou receives this: I should be glad to hear of a suitable place for him, but do not know how to advise. Would he but take my counsel, and choose good and refuse evil, then would peace flow in his soul as a river and righteousness as a mighty stream: and that this may be the experience of us all, is the travail of my soul.”

Twelfth month 13th, 1770, I attended our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester; thence to Coventry, and to the Quarterly Meeting at Warwick. On the 18th was at Wigston with John Burgess, where I remained some days; on the 23d was at the meeting at Leicester, and finding that I must now proceed on a longer journey that had for some time rested upon my mind, I wrote home for a certificate to meet me in London, feeling engaged to attend several Quarterly Meetings. On the 24th proceeded to Oadby, Drayton and Northampton; was at their Quarterly Meeting, where were Joseph Worcester and Thomas Ball, from Buckinghamshire. Proceeded to Akeley, and lodged at Thomas Buck’s; going afterwards to Buckingham, with Joseph Worcester. Thence to Oxford, where I met with

George Boone, was at their meetings on first-day, and the Quarterly Meeting on second-day; from hence with Thomas Hull and Robert Eells, I went to Thame, and on the 1st of first month, 1771, was at the Quarterly Meeting at Aylesbury; and that evening to High Wycombe, very much wearied. I lodged at Joseph Stevens’, who had five daughters and two sons, all grown up; they were very friendly, and such a family as we seldom see: they and their parents live together. On fifth-day was at Amersham, and returned to an evening meeting at Wycombe. Thence with Joseph Worcester to Uxbridge, to my kind friend John Hull’s; and here my kind friend Rebecca Stevens came. I attended their meetings on first-day, and on the fourth, was accompanied by Thomas Hull and his wife to Staines, and remained several days with the widow Finch, whose husband died suddenly a few weeks ago.

On the 14th of first month came to London, and lodged at Joseph Roe’s. I staid in and about London eight weeks, and was diligent in attending meetings during that time; and was at Tottenham, Plaistow and Bromley; visited many families, and by endeavouring to discharge my duty faithfully, peace was my reward, and many hearts rejoiced at times with mine in this my visit. My kind friends Joseph Roe and his wife accompanied me to Colchester, finding liberty to pay my children a visit; my son Richard being settled at Norwich, and my youngest an apprentice at Yarmouth, and in my way attended meetings at Chelmsford, Colchester, and the Quarterly Meeting at Ipswich; thence to Needham, from which place my beloved friend Martha Alexander, accompanied me to Norwich and Yarmouth. I was at the Quarterly Meeting at Norwich, and my stay in this city was longer than I intended, my children having need of my assistance on account of the illness of my grand-daughter. I had also deep travail, and very hard labour in many meetings in this city, and many times at Yarmouth; and although things are much out of order in most places, yet we had many satisfactory meetings, some of them silent. I staid over the Yearly Meeting in Norwich, which lasted three days, and then left for Bury and Godmanchester; and on the 24th to Northampton, at their Quarterly and Yearly Meetings; thence to Drayton and Oadby, and on the 29th at Wigston, where my husband met me, and we got safe home the 1st of seventh month.

In 1772 she was from home, of which we have no other account but this letter written at East Markham to her husband:



“ East Markham, Sixth month 18th, 1772.

“ Thou wilt admire at my long stay in and about this city—it hath caused deep searching of heart, and has been a time of humiliation to me. The Lord alone knows for what cause; yet I am thankful that he hath been pleased to give me an evidence that I have done according to his will, and therefore I enjoy his peace, which I value more than all outward enjoyments. Nevertheless, I am often thoughtful about thee and my dear children, and when I feel strength, am engaged to pray for thee as well as for myself, that patience may be granted. I hope thou art at times engaged for me, who am as a wandering pilgrim; yet as it is according to the will of God, I desire that we may submit. Though our love for each other doth, and I trust ever will remain, we must yet know a being separated outwardly. This seems to be a weaning time, a time that I hope I may never forget; for although the Lord has been pleased to prove me many times, as with bitter waters, in order to keep me humble, yet blessed be his holy name, he hath also caused the spring of life to arise, and in the flowings thereof, I have had to praise his name in the congregations of his people.

“ It seems as if my face will soon be set homeward, but I pray for patience, that the latter end of my journey may not lay waste the forepart. Having hitherto been preserved in the way of my duty, may it be so to the end, and that we may meet with joy, is the prayer of my soul.”

On the 18th of third month, 1773, I left home with the approbation and true unity of my friends, with an intention to visit several counties to the Land's-end, in Cornwall. My dear husband went with me to our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester, where we parted. I proceeded to Coventry, thence to Birmingham, and attended their Quarterly Meeting. Here I staid a week; satisfied that I was in the way of my duty so far, having had some deep travail, but by faithful obedience sweet peace. On the 29th, Samuel Baker went with me to Dudley, where was a large meeting, the people of the town coming in, and indeed, it was a good opportunity. From thence I was accompanied by James Payton to Stourbridge. Was afterwards at seven other towns, having meetings in each, and although deep travail is generally my lot, yet being mercifully favoured with Divine help to discharge my duty, my soul enjoys much peace. At Sudbury I attended both their meetings on first-day; then proceeded to Bristol, where I staid several weeks. Attended the Monthly Meeting at

Bath, where I met Sarah Morris and her companion from America, of whose company I was glad, and many comfortable opportunities we had together in Bristol, both in meetings and families. On the 13th of fifth month I accompanied them to King's Weston, where was a large and satisfactory meeting, and here we parted in much nearness of spirit. On the 16th was at Clareham meeting, and in the evening at Sidcot; thence to the Monthly Meeting at Bridgewater, and lodged at Joseph Ball's; was afterwards at meetings at Taunton and Bridgewater. We had several satisfactory meetings in the foregoing journey; though there is cause for painful labour, which I have deeply felt; but was helped to discharge my duty, and am brought near to such as faithfully labour with me. Was next at Minehead, Spisom and Uffcolme; and was accompanied by our worthy friend Ann Byrd, to Wellington, whom having now for a companion, we went to Collumpton on the 26th, and had a meeting the same day; then proceeded to Exeter, where, although there are many who have neither the form nor the possession of the Truth, our good Lord caused his power to be manifested amongst us.

Proceeding on our journey to Kingsbridge, stopped and dined at Newton Bushel, at which town live two or three of our name, but we only saw one poor woman who met us in the street and accompanied us to our inn, where we had a satisfactory opportunity. We lodged at John Morris's at Kingsbridge, and had a meeting there; after which he went with us to Plymouth. We crossed the passage at Salt Ash, intending for Germans, where we arrived on the 3d and had a meeting, and were at Liskeard at their meeting on first-day; thence we went by Castle Penryn to Falmouth, where we staid and visited several families, as we had done at some other places, and found here and there a few who lived in the Truth: but, oh! how few; as they are, for the most part, so leavened with the spirit of this world, that painful indeed was our labour amongst them. But our great Master, who sent us thus to visit his own and led us into deep suffering with his seed, gave us a clear sight of the state of the church. Some that had ears, did hear what the Spirit said. And as we were favoured with strength to discharge our duty, our souls were filled with sweet peace, which is the only reward we labour for.

From Bradford she wrote to her husband:

“ Bradford, Sixth month 7th, 1773.

“ I think I can salute thee in that love that wisheth thy health and salvation, and I may

inform thee of my welfare, with that of my near and dear companion. We have got so far in safety, and do not know but Friends have true unity with us, and having true peace in ourselves, we endeavour to be content. Though deep travail and very close exercise is our lot, yet we have at times had to rejoice in the God of our salvation, feeling his mighty power to be over all. We met with our valuable friends William and Esther Tuke, at Chesterfield; they intended being at Loughborough; I should be glad to hear of thy seeing them. If ever I moved rightly in the work I am engaged in, or had an undoubted evidence of it, we have had it hitherto, in this great and solemn undertaking. Having to believe that poor M. W. moved right, and that we are joined in such a bond as will not easily be broken; and as we are thus made true helpmeets, I would not that any man in his own wisdom should put us asunder. Yet a close exercise having befallen us, many tears have been shed by us on this occasion; but I hope it may not hinder our service, for we still feel engaged to proceed, and have been favoured again with the presence of the living God, who alone can sweeten our bitter cups; and I have also had encouragement from such Friends as I think are able to judge for us. I remember my former buffeting, and He who knew, and now knows, the integrity of my heart, was, is, and I hope will be, my Helper and thy Helper. May thy spirit feel and travail with ours, that so when we rejoice thou mayest rejoice also."

From Falmouth we went to Penzance and lodged at William Prideaux's, where we staid till the 28th; thence came to Redruth and lodged at William Phillip's, whose wife and I had formerly been acquainted, and before we parted we were favoured with a renewal of that love that changeth not; and, oh! did we but keep near enough unto it what useful vessels should we be.

On the 30th came to Edward Fox's at Wade's bridge; had a meeting next day at Port Isaac; were at Liskeard on first-day, and had a very large and satisfactory meeting. In the evening were at Looe, and at the Quarterly Meeting, which lasted two days—some things were very trying, but the Truth was over all, and we were well satisfied with being there. Thence to Plymouth to their Quarterly Meeting, which ended on sixth-day: a very satisfactory time. We were comforted in the parting meeting, and in much love and nearness of spirit took leave of the few who are alive in the Truth; then proceeding to Kingsbridge, attended their meetings on first-day, which were very dull and painful; but

we found a little liberty by visiting some Friends, and were helped to do our duty and came away with peace. We were at Exeter on the 12th, and staid their fifth-day meeting, which was a very comfortable opportunity to such as are truly waiting for the consolation of Israel. Thence we came to Uffcolme, and were at their meeting on first-day. On second-day accompanied by several Friends, we went a very long journey to Whitsby, near Torrington, and lodged at Thomas Millard's; the next day were at Littland, and had a meeting in the house of a Friend, whose family was large but very disagreeable; and although I was an entire stranger, yet He who reveals his secrets to his children, gave me a sense of these unhappy people, and by his help we testified against all uncleanness; and I desired Friends not to hold their meetings in that place, for it was not reputable. There were a few present who did not profess with us, which I was glad of, that they might bear witness to the truth of what was declared in that meeting. We went back to Thomas Millard's, and had a meeting in his family, he having nine children; we had also the company of Nathaniel Williams and Ann Dymond of Exeter, with others; and I believe the Truth was declared, and we had a sweet reward for our labour and long travel, it being the hardest journey I have had since leaving home.

We returned to Uffcolme, and on the 25th were at the meeting at Spison; thence to Wellington and Milverton, lodging at Thomas Pole's, and were at their meeting—but, oh! what a cloudy time it was: several Friends, however, dined at our lodgings, when we had a satisfactory and comfortable season, and returned in great peace to Spison, being at their meeting on fifth-day. Thence to Ilminster, and were at their meeting to satisfaction. Then to Chard, a large meeting, but very few Friends in the place. Next to Cloakham to the widow Canaway's, where we dined, and had a very good and satisfactory season with three widows, one of whom was above eighty years of age, but alive in the Truth. Thence to Bridport, and had a satisfactory meeting on third-day evening, though I was very unwell. On sixth-day had a satisfactory meeting at Poole; thence by Ashmore and Shaftsbury to Sherborne, and had a laborious time; indeed, we had painful labour in most places, because of the prevalence of a worldly spirit. Next to Compton, to our worthy friend Jonah Thompson's; thence to Yeovil and Puddimore, where in an evening meeting we were much comforted, being owned of our heavenly Father, whose glory shone forth amongst us, and his power was over all the worldly spirits.

On fifth-day we had a meeting at Long Sutton; thence to Summerton and Street; at the latter place, attended the funeral of Mary the wife of James Cloather, where was our worthy aged friend Jonah Thompson. Here I parted with my near and dear friend and companion, Ann Byrd, and went to Glastonbury; I lodged at William Metford's, and had a satisfactory meeting at that town on seventh-day; thence with John Thomas to his house. On first-day were at their meetings at Sidcot, where we were again refreshed together, though amongst a poor company. I then went to Yatton and lodged at Lydia Harewood's, a very kind Friend. We paid an agreeable visit to John Hipsley's, and had a profitable opportunity. On the 18th I had a meeting at Clareham. I was now in great distress, not having heard of my dear husband for many weeks, so that I sunk exceedingly low and had great conflict of soul; yet as my heavenly Father knew that my heart was sincere, he, in his wonted goodness and tender mercy arose for my help, and enabled me to rejoice with the few who truly feared him. From the meeting I went to dine with several Friends at the widow Wilmett's, a young woman left with seven children; then returned to Yatton, and on the 19th had a meeting at Hollowtree; thence to Pensford, and was accompanied by Robert Peters to his house in Bristol.

In this city I remained several weeks, and duly attended meetings; there being three on first-day, and three on other days of the week; and I think I only appeared twice in testimony, and three or four times in supplication; yet having done all that was required, my soul had peace. But the deep travail I passed through no tongue can express. Oh! the deep baptisms and many bitter cups that are handed to the living children—and doubtless, they are good for them. If we do not suffer with Christ, we shall never reign with him. And as he, who indeed was and is the Son of God, was made a gazing-stock and called by some Beelzebub, why should any of his servants be unwilling to bear reproach, or to sit like fools in silence? O, how do I beg to be preserved from ever moving in my own will; I had rather bear the name of a dumb prophet. I am sensible that these stripping seasons have been very teaching to me; and when we look like fools to those who are foolish indeed, we learn true wisdom; for in true silence we have the best teaching, even the Lord himself is our instructor. O that we, as a people, beloved of God, were but truly obedient to his law; then we should be far from being weary of true silence, but should rejoice to be favoured with it; for

when our minds are thus gathered to God, in pure stillness and nothingness of self, the tempter hath no place; he hates quietude, and I am glad that I have been helped to starve that restless spirit, and been made an example of silence. I was engaged to sit silent eleven or twelve meetings one after another, in and near Bristol, and can look back with satisfaction.

I left Bristol on the 18th of ninth month, and came with many Friends to Gloucester, where was held the circular meeting—a very large gathering of Friends and great numbers of other people, who behaved very soberly. The meetings were well conducted and greatly favoured; and many were made thankful to Him who is the Author of all good; for his great name was glorified, who is alone worthy. Amen.

I now proceeded to Colebrook-dale, and lodged at the house of Richard Reynolds; his wife being my former acquaintance, I felt drawn to pay her a visit, and we were glad of each other's company. I was engaged to stay longer than I intended, and having been so long from home, it was indeed very trying—but my dear friend Rebecca Reynolds, was as a nursing mother unto me, and I was glad that I gave up to stay their Monthly Meeting, which was held at New Dale, 28th of ninth month; and though few are willing to attend such meetings, yet those who are were encouraged, the power of God was manifested, and the living, faithful children were comforted. I parted in true love with my friend, and came with John Young to Birmingham; thence to Coventry where I was very kindly received, but it was a cloudy suffering time at both meetings. I was very unwell and exceedingly low, but got safe to Leicester the 4th of tenth month, where, contrary to my own inclination, I felt engaged to stay over their Monthly Meeting; but, oh! such dullness and indifference appeared that I cannot express the feelings of my distressed mind, so that I went home in much fear, where I arrived safely on the 6th of tenth month, and found my husband and son well, for which I was thankful.

I have been much at home from the twelfth month, 1773, to the fourth month, 1774. My husband and I were at the Quarterly and general meetings at Nottingham; also at Breack, and at Ruddington the 1st of fifth month; was at our Monthly Meeting, and visited one who had married out of the Society, and had brought to herself shame and confusion. Our visit was, I believe, very satisfactory; and I was well pleased that I had attended these several meetings. I was also at Womswold, and in the sixth month at our Quarterly Meeting; thence to Coventry,

Oakham, Lincoln, Blyth, Chesterfield, York and Sheffield, so to Mansfield, Nottingham, &c. and had many satisfactory meetings. In the seventh month I was at Loughborough, Ath-erstone and Leamington, and at the general meeting at Monyash. In the ninth month at our Quarterly Meeting at Leicester, where was Sarah Gurney from Norwich, who had a good opportunity, and a very satisfactory meet- ing it was.

In this year she was again from home, as appears by the following letter :

“Leicester, Twelfth month 16th, 1774.

“DEAR HUSBAND,

“I know thou wilt be pleased to hear well of me :—indeed, very closely have I been tried of late—bitter have been my conflicts, and heavy mine exercise—unknown to most, and in fear that I should become a castaway. Oh! how long have I sought for Him whom my soul loved—yea, I sought and found him not; until at length He who is the Messenger of the covenant did come again into his temple. I went to meeting, where were honest William Dodgson and his wife, sat by them, and Oh! how was my poor soul humbled. The hard- ness that I had long groaned under was re- moved—‘the mountains gave way and the hills trembled;’ Jordan also was driven back at the presence of the mighty God, whose power filled his temple, and I again rejoiced in his salvation; beholding the glory of his house, and admiring the attendance of his servants, and the beauty of that work which is carried on without the noise of a tool. All this was in pure silence. It was indeed, a so- lemn feast to me, and I believe that Divine good overshadowed the whole; and during our thus sitting, as in a heavenly place, came in George Boone, who, after a time of continued silence, had an acceptable opportunity, and the meeting seemed to end well.”

#### SECTION VI.

*Her visit to the Northern Counties and Scotland, in company with her friend Martha Winter.*

HAVING for some time had a concern to visit meetings in the northern counties and Scotland, and having the concurrence of my friends and a certificate for the purpose, my dear husband accompanied me to Nottingham, on the 21st of fifth month, 1775; on the 22nd we parted. My dear friend Martha Winter, who had the like concern, accompanied me on the 23d to Breack, where we had encour- agement to go forward. We then had meet- ings at Furnace, Matlock and Chesterfield; on the 27th, our worthy friend William Coning,

with many other Friends from Sheffield met us at Dronfield, and after a trying meeting we accompanied them to the former place, and were at their meeting on first-day to our sat- isfaction.

On the day following we had a meeting at Woodhouse, very laborious; yet we had the reward of peace, and being true help- meets and fellow-labourers in the Gospel, we were a comfort to each other. On the 30th, had a meeting at Burton near Barnsley; and in the evening went to High Flats, having the company of John Swanwick from Sheffield to this place. Were at their meeting on the 31st, which was very large and satisfactory, al- though we had very close work, as indeed hath been our lot hitherto; yet when we wit- ness the power of God to be over all, there is cause for thanksgiving and praise. On the 1st of sixth month had a large and satisfactory meeting at Wakefield; then to Gildersome, to a large and painful meeting. Then to Leeds and staid over their meeting on first-day, and very painful was our labour, but by a faithful discharge of duty we obtained peace. At Raw- don we again had close work, but were com- forted with God’s good presence, whereby the right minded were strengthened. On the 6th went to Undercliffe, to John Hustler’s, and the next day were at meeting at Bradford to sat- isfaction. On the 8th to Brighouse and after- wards to Halifax, where we had a laborious time :—at this meeting we had the company of our friend Phebe Marshall.

On the 10th to Todmorden, and lodged at Samuel Fielden’s, where I was taken very ill, yet was enabled to be at meeting and labour hard amongst a scattered people: we were fa- voured with the company of George Howarth, a very aged Friend, who had an acceptable time in supplication, which was a help to us. From this place we went to Marsden, and on second-day were at meeting at Trawdon, which though small, was a time of favour. Next day had a meeting at Marsden, where many people were assembled, but we were both silent; we had, however, a comfortable oppor- tunity with several Friends at our quarters, and parted in true love. At Crawshaw-booth meeting on the 14th, through deep travail and honest labour, we obtained peace. Here we met James Brandwood from Edgeworth, and accompanied him to his house. On the 15th we had a very satisfactory meeting at Edge- worth; the next day at Oldham, where, amongst a poor few, our strength was greatly renewed, and we encouraged to hold on our way.

At this place Jonathan Flounders of Man- chester, met us, and with him and James Brandwood we were several nights at John

Routh's in that town. On the 18th were at four meetings; in the two for worship had some degree of satisfaction, being favoured with the help of Him who remains to be the true helper of his people. My old companion and fellow-labourer, Sarah Taylor, also bore a living testimony to the Truth. And oh! saith my soul, that all we who at times have to make mention of the great name, may dwell near to it and know our abiding to be in it, that so our worldly concerns may not have too much room in our minds, and thereby dim that glory and bring a cloud over that brightness, in which we at times have appeared in the congregations of God's people. On second-day afternoon we went to Warrington, and were at three meetings on the 20th; first, the Select Meeting, where was very close labour, yet a time of favour; the meeting for worship was in the beginning overshadowed with good, but being hurt by an unskillful hand, did not end so well; there was a large number of Friends, being their Monthly Meeting, and in the women's meeting our friend Sarah Taylor was favoured in supplication, even for us who had a long journey before us.

On the 21st went to Langtree, and Henry Binns from Preston, having come there to meet us, we went with him; on the 22nd had a meeting at Preston, which, though small, yet that power that is not limited to time, place or number, was indeed wonderfully made manifest; and we came away with the rich reward of pure peace. At Lancaster we lodged at our worthy friend William Dillworth's, and attended their meetings on first-day, the 25th. In the afternoon was a funeral attended by very many people, which was a solid, edifying season; and although I had passed through deep suffering, and being poorly as to health, was very low, yet we came away rejoicing. Accompanied by several Friends from Lancaster, we came to Kendal, having an invitation to the funeral of two Friends, an elderly woman and her son, a widower, interred together. On the 29th we went to Preston Patrick, accompanied by many Friends from Kendal, and were favoured with a good meeting; after which we dined at George Crossfield's, and spent most of the afternoon with these worthy Friends. We returned to Kendal to their Monthly Meeting on the 30th, and were not easy to leave until after first-day, at which meetings we were helped to labour, and by our obedience witnessed peace. In the evening many Friends were together at our friend Thomas Crewdson's, and I believe it was an edifying season, wherein we were again comforted, and parted in true love. On the 3d of seventh month, we came to Grayrigg, where we had a meeting, a searching time indeed,

but seemed to end to satisfaction. On the 4th we went to Moreland, and on the 5th to Penrith, and were at their Monthly Meeting; there were a large number gathered at this place, and it was a time of renewed visitation to those poor souls, who as is the case with many in other places, seem to live in forgetfulness of God. Oh, what an alarming time it was; the trumpet was indeed blown as in Sion, and an alarm beat as on God's holy mountain; would that the people be gathered. On the 6th we went to Scotby and on the 7th had a meeting, in which the power of the Lord was manifested; in the afternoon went to William Sutton's, where was an agreeable family, and our heavenly Father was with us, so that we seemed united in his love, and had to speak well of his name, who over all is blessed for ever. Amen.

On the 8th went to Carlisle, and were at both meetings on first-day; it was a time of close labour amongst a multitude of revolvers; but through best help we were favoured to come away in peace, and got that evening to Kirklington, and had two meetings the following day at Solport, to some satisfaction. On the 11th we came to Kelso in Scotland, and had a meeting on the 12th. There are but few in that town who profess with us, but other people came in, and we had a satisfactory season. On the 14th we departed, having James Anderson for our guide through Scotland. We got to Edinburgh the same night, and were at both their meetings on first-day. There are few in this place who profess with us, and most of them have not the mark, or much appearance of Friends either in dress or address; and yet such is the regard of the Shepherd of Israel, that he is seeking after these and affording them renewed visitations, so that if they will not be gathered the fault is their own. Oh! what did we suffer in this place! yet through the help of Him who never fails his faithful children, we were enabled to discharge our duty, and go on with some degree of peace. On the 17th we crossed a ferry seven miles over, rode to Kelso, and lodged at William Brown's, with whose family we had an opportunity in the evening. On the 18th we travelled above forty miles to Arbroath, and next day to Montrose, and in the afternoon to Urie; lodged at Robert Barclay's, and had a meeting with several who profess with us, and I think it was a time of favour. Oh! that it may not be forgotten, for the mercy of God was wonderfully extended. From hence we went to Aberdeen, and had a meeting; then to Old Meldrum, and were at their meetings on first-day, where was a large number of poor professors; yet notwithstanding this sore revolting, the

Lord was pleased to make his name known, and we had great cause to rejoice. This was the farthest place we visited in the North of Scotland.

On the 24th we returned to Aberdeen and Stonehaven, near Urie, and on the 25th to Montrose; thence to Arbroath; and on the 26th, after a long day's travel, got to Joseph Brown's. On the 27th we again crossed the ferry, and there being a calm we were four hours on board. On landing we took coach for Edinburgh, and were kindly received by our friends. In the evening came James Buck and Isaac Whitelock from Leeds, and James Morris from Philadelphia; they having seen my husband at Nottingham and my dear companion's family, gave us a pleasing account of their welfare; and as we inclined to sit with the Friends of this city, we had the company of these strangers also, and were favoured with a solemn satisfactory meeting, whereby some of our spirits were nearly united. In true love we took leave and got to Kelso, to the comfortable little habitation of the kind Friend who has been so long with us, and were kindly received by his mother and very valuable sister: with the other three Friends we attended their meeting, which is very small indeed, and it was a time of close exercise and deep suffering. The 2nd of eighth month we got safe to Newcastle, being still favoured with the company of James Anderson. We attended their meeting on fifth-day, much to our satisfaction; on the following day had a meeting at Shields, and were again owned by our heavenly Father.

On first-day were at the meeting at Sunderland, where there was a large number of people, but alas! few who live as they ought; yet the kindness of the Lord was manifested:—at this meeting we were favoured with the company of Mabel Wigham, who now belongs to it. We left Sunderland on second-day, having parted with our kind Scotch friend, with whose company we had been so long favoured. In the evening we got to Durham and had a meeting next day: we had very close and painful labour, yet were so favoured with Divine good, that I thought we could say the truth was over all. Hence to Bishop Auckland, and had a meeting to satisfaction; then to Darlington, and had a meeting wherein the Gospel was preached in the demonstration thereof. In this town there are many who have the appearance of Friends, and I think are so. From this place we were accompanied by four Friends to Northallerton, where a small meeting is held, and with the few who attended we sat in great poverty, yet were favoured with some degree of best help before we parted. On first-day were at Thirsk meeting, where

we had the company of Robert Proud, who with us laboured in the ability received, and by our obedience we still are favoured with peace.

On the 15th we were at Huby, and had a meeting with a few, but very little life appeared. William Tuke from York met us, and we went with him to his house; his worthy wife was then at Scarborough, labouring in her allotment, and it was no small cross to us not to have her company; we were at their meeting on fifth-day, where we had some satisfaction, and should have had much more if the arising of the pure spring had not been hindered, and rather resisted, by too much reasoning. From York we went to Knaresborough; and had a meeting on sixth-day, which was very much favoured with the presence of our God, and glory was ascribed to his most worthy name. At Settle we had a solid satisfactory meeting on first-day the 20th, in the forenoon, but not so much so in the afternoon. Had a meeting at Skipton on third-day, wherein we had very painful labour indeed; thence to Carfield, and had a satisfactory meeting with a few. At Leeds meeting on fifth-day, where many were truly comforted together. Next day to Pontefract, where we had a time of deep suffering, but were helped through and witnessed peace. Thence to Newell and met with our valuable friend Mary Leaver, being the first of our seeing her since her return from America. She had an acceptable opportunity in testimony at a meeting then held in the house. On third-day had a meeting at Blyth; and one at Retford on fourth-day, when many of the town's people came in, to whom the Gospel was freely preached, and sweet peace was our reward. On fifth-day had a meeting at Kirsall; the next evening got to Nottingham, where my husband met me; we staid over the forenoon meeting on first-day and reached our own home that evening, the 3d of ninth month.

The following was written to her son:

“Donnington, Eleventh month, 1775.

“After long expectation we received thy acceptable letter, and were glad to hear of thy safe arrival; for many fears and doubts had arisen respecting thee.—

“Let not little matters disturb thee, but endeavour to do thy best; and if thou art not able to do much for the Truth, be sure that thou do nothing against it. I beg thou wilt labour, as thou sayest, to get near us, and be willing to sympathize with us in mourning for thy poor brother, who indeed, is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. I am desirous also, that thou mayest be an acceptable communicant with us, when the cup of blessing is



handed forth. O what a favour it was, that we could rejoice together in that heart-tendering love, and breathe in that pure Spirit by which we are adopted, and can cry, Abba, Father! And being as we think, sorely chastised, yet herein are we encouraged, seeing that 'whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth.' O that patience may be abode in, and true resignation experienced, that so at the end of this painful pilgrimage, 'well done,' may be our reward.

"Neglect not spiritual or temporal things. Seek after the best company, that so an improvement may be known. I think there are some in — who endeavour to promote the cause of Truth both by example and precept; and as example is far better than precept, see that thou become of these. 'Study to be quiet, and do thy own business;' and wherein thou hast missed the right way let what is passed suffice, and do so no more."

During the remainder of this year and part of the following, I attended a number of meetings near home; and on the 11th of fifth month, 1776, although suffering under many infirmities, I left home, having a concern to attend the Yearly Meetings of London, Colchester, Woodbridge and Norwich, in which engagement I had the concurrence of my friends, and a certificate accordingly. At Leicester I met Mary Leaver and Anna Coulson, they also intending for London. We attended meetings in various places on our way. The Yearly Meeting was attended by a large number of Friends, and many solid, satisfactory meetings we had, wherein we were mutually comforted in our heavenly Father's love, and some did celebrate his praise. Having staid in London until the 5th of sixth month, and taken leave of many in much love and near sympathy, I accompanied several of my dear friends, amongst whom was Sarah Stephenson, to Chelmsford, and had some satisfaction in being at their meetings. I also paid a last visit to our worthy friend John Griffith. At Colchester the meetings were attended by several public Friends, and much labour and deep travail was witnessed—sometimes the Truth was over all, and the Lord was magnified.

From this place she wrote to her husband as follows:

"Colchester, Sixth month 8th, 1776.

"I gladly received thine and rejoiced at the account of thy good health, with that of thy little company; and can also inform thee of my welfare and sweet peace of mind, which thou well knowest is only obtained by pure obedience. I know that thy heart will be

comforted in reading of me in this present situation; and I have no doubt of thy good desires for me, that by a steady and faithful perseverance I may still have this richest of blessings in possession, for it hath been and I desire it ever may be so, that we have rejoiced in this more than in any thing in this world.

"The Yearly Meeting was large and much favoured with the presence of the living God, who is alone the crown and diadem of all our assemblies.

"Oh! did the people enough endeavour to be gathered nearer to the Lord, and thereby witness redemption from the vanities of this world, how much more comfortable would our meetings be: we have great cause to be thankful to the God and Father of all our mercies, for the continuance of his gracious regard and tender visitations to the children of men.

"The last meeting I was at in London was the Peel meeting, where I comfortably sat in company with Samuel Neale and my dear Ann Byrd, and nearly were we united in our heavenly Father's love, which indeed surpasses the understanding of the natural man.

"The following day with several valuable Friends I came to Chelmsford, feeling an engagement to sit their meeting on fifth-day, and to visit our much afflicted and truly worthy friend, John Griffith, who seems near a comfortable close—his very dear love is to thee. On sixth-day, having seemingly taken a final farewell of this our dear friend, we got to this place last night, and were kindly received by our worthy friends, John Kendall and his wife."

From Colchester, accompanied by Sarah Stephenson and John Kendall, I went to Manningtree, where we had a very comfortable meeting; after which I was left alone; but my lodging being at that worthy, aged Friend, Mary Bandoock's, I was much pleased with her company. From hence I went to Ipswich, and met with Mary Oxley and Elizabeth Candler, from Norwich; and after a satisfactory meeting in this town, where my son Samuel met me, we went in the evening to Woodbridge. Our worthy friend Samuel Neale, accompanied by Richard Shackleton and Abraham Abell, who had attended the Yearly Meeting in London, were also here, and had good service in the meetings. At Norwich also, Samuel Neale was much favoured. In this city I staid at my son Richard's many weeks; attended the burial of my grandson, and was made helpful to them in their affliction. During my long stay, I visited many Friends and most of the meetings in the county; was afresh united to many in Norwich and favoured with a comfortable part-

ing meeting, taking leave both of Friends and my dear children in the nearest affection, in that love that will go beyond the grave. In my return I had a companion from near Skipton, in Yorkshire, Margaret Hartley, who had been at Norwich, and with whom I had visited many meetings in Norfolk. We attended about twenty meetings on our way to Nottingham, some of which were satisfactory opportunities, and owned of our heavenly Father. At that town my husband met me, and after staying over first-day I took leave of my companion, she going towards her home, and I with my husband to ours, where we arrived safe with the reward of peace, the 16th of ninth month, 1776.

The following letters were addressed to her son, viz :

“Nottingham, Tenth month, 1776.

“We received thine and were glad to hear of thy continued health : through mercy we also are enjoyers of that great blessing. Our concern for thee my dear son, is very great, who like others, art way-laid with temptations. Thy religious and pious father was so affected with the account I gave of thee, that he pressed upon me to mention it ; that if possible, our united concern may in some measure prevail, and thy good desires increase, so that every hurtful thing may be watched against and firmly withstood ; and that thou mayest witness an increase and advancement in pure wisdom, by which thou wouldst see the foolishness of the wisdom of this world. I would hope that a hint to remind thee will be rightly taken ; for as our care for all our children is great, so are we desirous to do our duty, and not deprive them of any good, either spiritual or temporal.”

“Donnington, Second month 8th, 1777.

“We received thine dated tenth month, and glad were we to hear of thy good health ; and, oh ! that thy conduct was such as would proclaim thee a Christian ! I would willingly hope, that thou sometimes lookest back and weepst, like that people who had grievously revolted, and therefore were captive in a strange land, and could not sing a Hebrew song—they sat weeping by the rivers of Babylon, yet had Zion in their remembrance. Is this thy case, my son ? Dost thou not sometimes think of the way of thy fathers, and of that pure spiritual worship performed by them, when thou wast often made to partake with them of that spiritual food, that bread which comes down from heaven, whereby thy poor

soul was nourished ?—Thou didst taste of eternal life, and then was that stony heart melted, and thou hadst true feeling. And, oh ! that such times may not be quite over ; nor thou, by repeating sin, harden thyself, and thereby bring upon thyself destruction—the fault then will be thine own. Thou well knowest that thou hast been very often visited, and great hath been, and is our concern for thee ; we are very doubtful thou hast not had the letters we sent, for they would have testified of our continued care, which I now have not words to express. As all is vain, except thou take heed to the Witness, which I believe hath not quite left thee, therefore to it I recommend thee, as the only sufficient help.—Wherever thou art, and into what part of the world soever thou mayest be driven, it will find thee out. Oh ! our son, didst thou but feel our affectionate regard, and the many visits that our spirits pay thee, frequently flying as over the ocean to see what thou art about !—And be assured, here are many wish thee well, and would rejoice with us to see thee home in an agreeable condition of mind.”

From the date before mentioned to the year 1782, a period of about six years, it does not appear that she travelled with a certificate, but was much engaged in attending general and other meetings near her own home.

In this time she wrote the following letters :

TO HER HUSBAND.

“London, Third month, 1777.

“I gladly received thy letter, and rejoiced to hear of thy welfare ; and through mercy, I can now give an agreeable account of myself. I am still greatly favoured with health, and although I have had very deep and painful travail, yet I can say of a truth that the Lord hath been my helper, and my exceeding great reward. Some may very likely wonder at my long stay in this city, yet I believe there are many who can witness for me that I have waited the right time, and now seem near leaving my dear friends in this place ; hoping to go on fourth-day to Chelmsford, to John Griffith’s ; thence to Colchester, Woodbridge, &c.

“May but my dear ——— endeavour to be a comfort to thee ; and oh ! that we may all know a growth in the blessed truth, that so when we meet, we may have to rejoice in the increase of God, and in the aboundings of his goodness, have to praise his holy name, who indeed hath done great things for us ; and that he may be by us ever counted worthy, is the sincere breathing of my soul.”



## TO A RELATION.

“Donnington, Eleventh month, 1778.

“Were we but nearer one to the other, how comfortable it would be to be together now and then; yours is a poor spot, and we here are not very rich; or at least it is my case; having now so little of the life of true religion in myself, or feeling of the stirrings of it in others, that I seem to languish. But well remembering the need there is for clean vessels, and that it is the right time to wash them when they are empty, may this be a time of refining to me, that all my dregs may be washed away, and I fitted as a new bottle, that new wine may again be put therein; so that my drooping spirits may be revived, and we may rejoice in the feeling of the fresh springs thereof, though far separated as to the outward. This is more desirable than the increase of corn, wine or oil, as with all outward blessings, the world cannot give peace to the soul.”

## TO HER SON SAMUEL.

“Donnington, Eighth month 27th, 1779.

“— Go on patiently—Is it not good for thee to feel thy own burthen? Consider how much greater difficulty thousands are now in, who have large families, and very little to support them with.

“I should be glad if I could say any thing that would be of service to thee, but thou well knowest that the best help is in thyself. O look there—ask of Him who ‘giveth liberally and upbraideth not.’ Neglect not thy chiefest duty of laying up for thyself treasure in heaven, and there is no doubt with me, that thou wilt then have a comfortable share of earthly blessings.

“It is worth while now and then, to look a few years back at the situation thy seemingly undone brother was in—in whom there was little hope of such a change as we now see; nor would he ever have so far conquered without a good and strong resolution. O that my dear children may all overcome the wicked one, that so I may salute you as young men, who are strong, having the word of God abiding in you.”

## TO HER SON.

“Donnington, Tenth month 29th, 1779.

“We were glad to receive thine, and to find that a sense of good and a desire after it, still attend thy mind; and perhaps thy poor body being afflicted might be a means of arresting thy attention, making thee sensible of

the uncertainty of this life, and raising desires in thee to be prepared for a better. Oh! the many struggles and conflicts, with deep baptisms, that all those have whose desires are to be devoted to God’s service, and wholly redeemed from every over anxious pursuit after the things of this life. I, thy poor mother, who for many years have been exercised in the work of religion, am still sorely beset, and often in great fear lest I should become a prey to the enemy. Since I last wrote thee, I went to the circular meeting at Gloucester, which was very large, and attended by some solid Friends and abundance of people, who behaved well. The overshadowing wing of Divine love was manifested, and some living testimonies were borne to the praise of our God, and to the honour of his name. Did all who would be called ambassadors, keep close enough to the holy anointing, and neither add nor diminish, how comfortable our assemblies would be. I was favoured with sweet peace for the discharge of duty, not only there, but at many places in my going and returning, for which favour I beg to be truly thankful. But now I witness a stripping, and am reduced to much poverty of spirit, like an empty vessel set by for a season; and it is my care to be kept clean, in order that when my great Lord sees meet to make use of me, I may be in readiness, or if he be pleased to take me to himself, I may not be surprised.”

## TO HER SON —

“Shipston, First month, 1781.

“I have been kindly received in most places; for which favour I am often humbly thankful. Oh! that I might not labour in vain!—however, I have peace in discharging my duty, and I beg to be clear of the blood of all men.

“How near are my children to my soul, and how frequently do I breathe unto God on their account, begging of him yet to remember mercy, and not cast them off in anger, but still own them as his children, and as a part of his inheritance.

“O my son! thou well knowest that this is the travail of my soul; thou art also sensible that we cannot do the work one for another; therefore neglect not thy day, but remember in prosperity and health, what thou vowed in thy sickness, and how desirous thou wast to be spared a little longer: was it not so with thee? Did not the Lord hear thy cry, and grant thee thy petition; and now wilt thou not answer when he calls, and accept of that grace that would be sufficient?”

## TO HER CHILDREN.

“London, Fifth month, 1782.

“The hearing so good an account of the welfare of you all, is great satisfaction and comfort to my mind; and had it been right for me to be at home, I think I should have been glad once more to see two of my dear sons together. I am not at my own disposal; but under the care and direction of Him who is a Father unto us all, and as I commit myself to Him, so do I commit to his care my dear children, with all other concerns of this life, well knowing that we cannot provide for ourselves, neither can we preserve ourselves. Therefore, as we know that it is the Lord alone who has hitherto been our best help—oh! that I and mine may still endeavour to live in pure obedience to his Divine will; that so our peace may flow as a river, and our righteousness as a mighty stream. It hath been so with me in this journey; and by such great favours, yea, merciful kindnesses, have many bitter cups been sweetened. O, my dears, feel with me, and rejoice: learn also, to bear a part with me in my sufferings; that so we may go hand in hand, and now and then ascend to the holy mount, where we can sing the Lord’s praise.”

## TO THE SAME.

“Norwich, Sixth month 22nd, 1782.

“Strong are my desires for you all, as for myself, that we may abide in the Truth and witness a growth therein, in order that a few living stones may be supporters of an holy building. O, my dears, look to it, and remember what station you are in. In the love of the Gospel I beseech you to take heed how you walk, and that you so demean yourselves as to be ensamples to the flock of Christ, and feeders of his lambs—way-marks unto all, both within and without. We are watched, and we must watch also, even against every appearance of evil; and not suffer our own wills to prevail, but let our dispositions be brought into true subjection, that we may experience the truth of the lion and the lamb lying down together, and of the weaned child playing at the hole of the asp, and the sucking child laying its hand upon the cockatrice’s den, and that nothing can hurt or destroy upon God’s holy mountain. I had no thought of penning these things when I sat down, but merely to give you an account of my welfare, as through mercy I am bravely, and our children here are the same. I had much comfort in son ——’s company at Woodbridge, and had a few agreeable lines from him the other day, wherein he expresses his great satisfac-

tion in paying you a visit, and having seen us all to his comfort. As he is still in a weak state, though better, he says if it be the Divine will to remove him, his peace will be much greater, having the favour of being reconciled to us, by the renewings of that love which we know to be of eternal duration. Oh! what a blessing to my dear offspring, that they are so visited and favoured with a true sense of the Divine will.”

## SECTION VII.

*Her second visit to Ireland.*

In the seventh month, 1782, I requested a certificate for going into Ireland, which was granted; and had the company of Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson, who were about to return to that country, after visiting most of the meetings in England. I left home on the 13th, with my dear husband, and proceeded to my kind friend Richard Reynolds’, of Colebrook-dale. On the 16th, with Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson, we were at their meeting, much to our satisfaction; on the 17th I parted with my dear husband, which was a sore trial. I then went with many Friends to the Monthly Meeting at Salop, and from thence back to Colebrook-dale, where I remained until first-day, and was at the meeting at Newdale. We afterwards proceeded to Holyhead, and on sixth-day, the 26th, sailed in a packet, and were landed at Dunleary, on seventh-day, where we lodged. We got safe to Dublin on first-day forenoon, and were all kindly received by our friends. On second-day were at a funeral; a large meeting was held on the occasion at Meath street, which was satisfactory.

On third-day, at the week-day meeting, we were again owned by our dear Lord, and his name was praised. On sixth-day at Sycamore-alley meeting, which was also satisfactory. On first-day attended the meeting in Meath street in the forenoon, and were favoured with gracious help; in the afternoon at Sycamore-alley, where some light appeared. On third-day we attended a marriage in Meath street, but it was a dull, heavy and painful time. On sixth-day we had a very satisfactory meeting; my great Lord was pleased to enable me to bear testimony to the blessed Truth, in the power whereof his holy name was magnified, and the souls of his living children were comforted. On first-day, the 11th, in the forenoon my dear friend Mary Ridgway was much favoured both in testimony and supplication; the afternoon meeting was very dull; after which we went to James Forbes’, where were many Friends, and a

humbling season it was to me, and I think, to some others. O that such favours were not so soon forgotten, but that a right improvement might be made and good fruits brought forth, to the praise of the Great Husbandman, who still waits to be gracious to the children of men!

From Dublin, accompanied by a young woman named Rachel Jenkinson, we proceeded to Rathfriland, and were at their meeting on fifth-day. But few profess with us in that place, and still fewer have the Truth in possession; so that those who visit them in the love of the everlasting Gospel, have hard and dull meetings; yet a call is extended, and when the messengers have done their duty, peace is their reward. Several Friends from Moyallen met us, and thither we went, to our ancient friend Thomas Christy's. On first-day, the 18th, we were at both the meetings at Lurgan, to some degree of satisfaction—a large number, but the want of weight is sorrowful. On second-day we had a trying meeting at Moyallen, but I was favoured with best help to discharge my duty. On third-day to Ballyhagen; then to Lisburn, Hillsborough and Newtown. We returned to Lisburn, and were at William Rogers's in the forenoon, and at John Gough's in the afternoon. On first-day, the 25th, at a large meeting at Ballinderry. Then to Antrim, Ballymena, Grange, Ballinacree and near Toberhead; arriving on seventh-day at our friend Thomas Greer's. On first-day were at a large meeting at Grange, near Charlemount; and here parted with our kind friends James Christy and John Conran, who had accompanied us round the lough, and by their care and tenderness made our journey much pleasanter. We staid at Dungannon until fourth-day, and were at their men and women's meetings at Grange; and although the life of true religion is very low in this as in other places, yet Divine favour was witnessed, and I was mercifully helped to discharge my duty, and came away with peace. Our dear friend James Christy, senior, meeting us, we went with him to his daughter-in-law's, the worthy Deborah Christy, with whom he dwells; and were at their meeting at Moyallen, on fifth-day, much to our satisfaction.

From Stranmore near Lisburn, she wrote to a friend as follows:

TO ———

“Stranmore, near Lisburn, Ninth month 7th, 1782.

“—— We often have to lodge at very poor inns, yet being accompanied by two worthy Friends, and greatly favoured with the smiles

of our heavenly Father's countenance, and having his holy help to discharge my duty in every place, have enabled me to rejoice, in suffering. I am humbly thankful that my great Lord condescends to employ me in his service, not only for my own improvement, but sometimes for the help of others. Now and then we find one or two whose souls are thirsting after God—perhaps one may be found as in a tribe, but not always one in a family; yet what favours are still extended, and how are the distant ones laboured with to come near, and that those who are near would truly acknowledge his might. Oh! how earnest are my desires that the love of Truth might more and more abound in the hearts of those who have long made profession of it; and that the love of the things of this perishing world did not so much prevail; for the people having so much love for the world, there is not room for the love of the Father to dwell richly in them. O that all my Father's children were truly obedient to his law, willing to be such as he would have them! What a beautiful family should we be, and how would the house of our God be adorned with clean vessels, on whom his own image would be engraven, and holiness would be proclaimed to his name. Now, my friend, thou knowest my travail, labour and deep exercise is, that I may witness an increase of those things that belong to my peace, in which I rejoice more than in the increase of corn, wine and oil.”

On first-day, the 8th of ninth month, were at Lurgan, at their men and women's meeting, which was very large, and measurably owned by the Divine presence. We staid their week-day meeting; on fifth-day were at Lisburn; then returned to the Quarterly Meeting for the province of Ulster, which was concluded on first-day, by a very large meeting for worship. At these meetings were Robert Valentine and his companion, John Hall; and much labour was bestowed upon a revolting people, amongst whom the Lord did manifest his power and magnify his own name—it is still precious to a few, and such as truly gather thereto find a place of safety. From Lurgan we proceeded to several places, attended seventeen meetings, and on the 15th of tenth month, with Samuel Neale and his wife, were at a meeting at Cork, and had a satisfactory season. Indeed, we had many favoured opportunities, both in meetings and in families; and I think I may say, that I was owned by my great Master, and favoured with his Divine presence in most places; though it was often my lot to travail very deep before the spring arose: our labour, too, is often hard,

because we find few true helpers. We left Cork on fourth-day morning; next day, the 17th, had a meeting at Garryroan, and an affecting opportunity at Joshua Fennell's. To Clonmel on the 18th, where we had a meeting, and lodged at the widow Grubb's. On the 19th, rode to Waterford—were at both their meetings on first-day, also, at the Select Meeting, and that for discipline. On fourth and fifth-days we visited several families, which was very satisfactory to myself, and, I believe, to my friends also. Returning to Clonmel, we attended the Select Meeting on the 26th, and the Quarterly Meeting on the two following days:—best help was granted us, and several opportunities afforded, wherein some were nearly united in the one Spirit, which is the bond of peace.

After attending the meetings of Carlow and Ballitore, we arrived in Dublin on the 1st of the eleventh month, in time for the Half-year's meeting. It commenced the next day, and ended on the 6th, and was attended by Robert Valentine, and many worthy Friends; but our meetings were heavy and cloudy, though some Divine help was witnessed. On my return to this city, I met with my dear companion, Ann Byrd, who ought to have come over with me, but delayed, yet not finding peace at home, came afterwards. It seems now an acceptable time, and we have had many remarkable opportunities amongst our friends here.

From this city she addresses her husband and children with these lines.

TO HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN.

"Dublin, 1782.

"I salute you all in the love of the Gospel, in which I wish you health and salvation; and although far absent in body, I am often with you in spirit, and sometimes you are with me in my near approaches to the throne of Divine grace. Oh! may we ever be preserved in a holy dependence upon, and in pure obedience unto, the Divine will! considering that these fleeting moments will soon be over. If we patiently bear the cross, we shall undoubtedly wear the crown. Oh! how many foretastes have I had of that endless felicity, since I came into this land. Yea, I think I may say, that in most places where I have been, my good and great Lord hath enabled me to speak well of his name. Although I have many, many deep plunges, I find they are times of refinement, and when I am helped from thence I can sing the song of praise. And thankful is my soul that you are not strangers to these things, but are sharers with me in the commonwealth of our Israel. Be sure to hold on your way—slack not your pace—and let my dear

— keep in remembrance the remarkable deliverances he hath known, so that he may well say, as was said formerly, 'What hath the Lord wrought!'

"The kindness of Friends is great, and a very cordial reception I have had in most places, and am afresh united to those whom I knew before. Let my dear friends know, that they are often in my remembrance, and that I send them an affectionate salutation in my heavenly Father's love, in which I wish they may be nearly united one unto another, and that grace, mercy, and peace may be multiplied. This is the desire of their well-wishing friend, and sympathizing companion with the true mourners in Zion."

On the 12th of eleventh month we left Dublin, got to Wicklow that evening, and had a meeting on the 13th; at Ballahan the next day, and in the evening got to Ballinclair, at which place we were at the marriage of William Knott and Abigail Wright; a solid, satisfactory meeting it was, there being also many present who did not profess with us. Thence to Joshua Smithson's, and had a meeting on sixth-day; after which to Cooladine; then to Jacob Goff's, and lodged there two nights:—he had a very large family, and some comfortable opportunities we had with them. On the 19th to Ross, and had a meeting there much to our comfort. Our great Lord owned us in all these meetings, and employed us in his service. But, how hard was our labour in most places! the people being so leavened with the spirit of this world, and so in love with its vanities, that the life of religion is lost in many. On fourth-day we were favoured with the company of Jacob Goff and the widow Elly, and had a meeting at Kilconner. On sixth-day at the Select Meeting at Carlow, where were Robert Valentine, John Hall, and John Conran; the Quarterly Meeting was held the next day, and a very large meeting for worship on first-day, in which the everlasting Gospel was preached; many hearts were made to rejoice and joy in the God of our salvation.

On the 25th, we had a very dull meeting at Castle Dermot. We then proceeded to the house of our kind friend, Richard Shackleton, who with his wife are of great use in our Society. This was a very agreeable place for poor travellers to rest at; and I being very unwell, we staid above a week. On fifth-day, the 28th, were at their meeting, where through much exercise and deep travail, we were at length favoured with best help to do our duty. On first-day attended their meetings, but were silent in both. On second-day went to Joshua Pim's, near Rathangan, and had a meeting next day; and on fifth-day one at Timahoe;

thence to Ann Wiley's, at New Park, and Joseph Inman's, at Ballibritain. On first-day we attended the meetings at Edenderry; then came back to Joseph Inman's, and were favoured with an opportunity before we left, which I wish we may not forget. On the 10th we attended the Monthly Meeting at Edenderry; on the 12th had a meeting at Mount-melick; and on seventh-day attended the Monthly Meeting at Monrath, which was large, and, I believe, satisfactory to some, who had not quite lost the life of religion. Although there is not much of it to be felt, being almost in a state of stagnation through the prevalence of evil, yet we had many opportunities to plead with the backsliders, both in meetings and in families, and their states were very closely spoken to.

We next proceeded to a meeting at Knockballymaher, and our chaise being broken, we staid at this place several days. On the 21st we lodged at the widow Walpole's, who had six sons and as many daughters—a large and hopeful family. On the 22d were at Ballinakillick, where, as at many other places, we were favoured with best help. The next day we reached Clonmel, lodged at Samuel Grubb's, and were twice at their meeting on fifth-day, which was satisfactory. We visited the father and mother of Joseph Sparrow, who was lost about a year before, on his way for England, the vessel being wrecked and many lost; he was going with an intention of marriage to a Friend of Minehead. The visit we paid to the afflicted parents, with whom we had near sympathy, although exceedingly humbling, yet was greatly favoured with the living and powerful presence of our God, who alone can and doth sweeten every bitter cup, that he sees meet to hand for our good; and we had to believe, that this great trial would be of use to many of those concerned, if entire resignation be experienced.

Here she again addresses her beloved husband and children.

“Waterford, First month 2d, 1783.

“— Perhaps we may leave here next week.—How long we may stay at Clonmel on our return we cannot say, the Friends there being desirous of our joining them in a family visit; but if our great Lord do not direct us, their desires will not avail; if we should be so engaged it may be well. After leaving there, it is not unlikely for us to go to Cork. Our dear and much esteemed friend, Robert Valentine, is now there, and has been very poorly; but we hear of his being better. His companion has left him, they having gone through the nation. I have visited all the meetings except two, which we intend taking in our re-

turn to Dublin, which I hope will be in the right time; for what matters it when or where we are, so we be but where and what we ought; and thus far I believe it is so. Had I come sooner hither, I might have suffered less; but I can truly say, that I preferred my Master's work before my own ease, and was desirous of finishing my visit, or nearly so, before I stopped for relief, not knowing what the consequence would be; but as I am now so bravely, I am willing to hope to be favoured with seeing you, my near and dear connexions, once more; and if not, I wish you to be content. Sometimes I have longed to be unclothed of this poor mortal body, as I have often had my mind covered as with immortality and eternal life, and could say, that a glorious crown and an everlasting song was before me. O, my dears, I beg of you all to labour so as to have the same in your experience. I know that all of you have often tasted with me of the good word of life, and of the powers of the world to come; oh! let us not fall away, but stand fast in that faith that was delivered to the saints, and hath been delivered unto us, whereby they *did*, and we *may*, obtain the victory. Well, I am glad that in my thus moving along, I feel you near, as indeed I often do; and now can I salute you all in a degree of that love which changeth not, and I still remain a faithful wife to my dear husband, and an affectionate mother to all my dear children.”

We staid over first-day, and on second-day went to Waterford, in which city we had much exercise, yet were so favoured that our visit was very acceptable to our friends, and, I hope, of some service. I think we visited more than fifty families, and had many satisfactory opportunities, both public and private; and being both confined with fever more than twelve days, our stay was long. A very humbling dispensation it was to us; yet were we so united to many of our friends, and felt such an increase of pure love towards them, that our parting was with tears, sweetened, however, with that peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

The following appears to have been written about this time.

TO HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN.

“Clonmel, Third month, 1783.

“I can now inform you of my recovery, not having much relapsed since I wrote before, and both of us are bravely every way, having been graciously helped through some very trying dispensations; no doubt for our own good, and, I do believe, for the help of many who have with meekness received the ingrafted

word. How have we rejoiced with such ; and great has been our joy in the God of our salvation ; and thus have all our bitter cups been sweetened. And how frequently doth my spirit visit you, having also a belief that you often think of me. Strong are my desires, that you all may witness an increase of that which is of God, having the wisdom that is pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of love, and abundant in good fruits ; knowing the old man with all his corrupt deeds to be put off, and being clothed with the new man Christ Jesus, whose fruits are unto holiness and the end everlasting life."

On second-day, the 26th, we came to Clonmel, and were very kindly received by our friends Samuel and Margaret Grubb : here we had to enter into the arduous labour of visiting families, which was accomplished to satisfaction. We visited more than thirty families, and had some satisfactory meetings, besides visiting some families in the country, and got to Youghal on seventh-day, the 15th of third month, being the time of the province meeting. On first-day we attended both meetings, and had the company of some valuable Friends from several parts of the province. On second-day, being favoured with best help, we had a satisfactory meeting ; we staid over their meeting on third-day, and were well satisfied in so doing. On fourth-day we arrived at Cork, staying in and near there about four weeks ; visited above fifty families, and had some good service. From thence we went to Limerick, and staid about a week, had some satisfactory meetings, and visited several families ; thence to Ross, and were much favoured amongst a poor few ; then to Mountmelick, and were well satisfied with staying meeting there, and had the company of John Ridgway before we left. We were at meeting at Ballitore on first-day.

At Ballitore she writes to her family, as follows :

" Ballitore, Fourth month 26th, 1783.

" I have hitherto been helped with best help, so as faithfully to discharge my duty in all the meetings I have been at since I came into this nation ; and I think we have been at all the places where meetings are constantly held, except one, which we intend to take on our way to Dublin, where the Half-year's National Meeting is to begin. O that I may finish well ! is the breathing of my humble, thankful soul.

" I long to fix a time for my return, but cannot tell how long we may be detained in Dublin ; having frequently been in bonds, as ambassadors who have to declare the way of life and salvation. I desire that you will with

me learn patience and resignation to the Divine will, as we well know, that it is the will and power of God which is our sanctification ; and, my dears, you, with me, are very sensible that our time here will soon be over ; therefore let us cheer up our drooping spirits, and not sink below hope, but ever witness it to be a safe anchor to our souls. Though one fall on one hand, and another on the other, yet let us remember, that the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal—'The Lord knoweth them that are his.'

" I feel very near to you all, and though absent in body, yet very often present in spirit ; and sure I am, that we have been baptized into the one Spirit, and have drank of the one cup, even the cup of blessing, by which our many bitters have been often sweetened, and we have blessed that name which alone is worthy of thanksgiving and praise. I beg that we may ever rely upon, and live in pure obedience unto Him, who can subject our natural wills, and change the very nature of the lion into that of the lamb ; and how pleasant is our dwelling, when upon God's holy mountain, where nothing can hurt or destroy."

On third-day had a meeting at Baltiboys. We reached Dublin, and were at the Quarterly Meeting for the province, and at the National Half-year's Meeting ; during the course of which we had some edifying seasons ; but, alas ! here, and almost every where else in this country, things are very low, and truth is trampled under foot. We were favoured with the company of William Rathbone, of Liverpool, and with that of many valuable Friends of this nation, of whom we took a long farewell. I had felt an engagement of mind to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Moyallen—the trial was great, as some Friends were going to England : my companion, too, was ill of a cold, and not able to move away for a few days, so that we did not take all the meetings we had intended. I had, however, one more opportunity of sitting with Friends in Dublin, which was greatly to my satisfaction, and I took a solemn and final farewell of many. On the 15th of fifth month, we commenced our journey, having the company of our worthy friend, James Christy, who had waited for us. He has gone with us many long journeys :—I think I had his company six weeks, and he is nearly eighty years of age. On sixth-day we reached his pleasant habitation. We then attended meetings at Lurgan, Grange, Ballyhagan and Moyallen ; the Select Meeting, on sixth-day, the Quarterly Meeting on seventh, and a very large meeting for worship on first-day, in all of which we were



favoured with best help, and the conclusion was satisfactory. We took a solemn leave of many, and had some opportunities of edification and comfort with our beloved friends.

On the 26th she arrived in Dublin, where she wrote to her son.

“Dublin, Fifth month, 1783.

“I was glad of thy letter, and to hear of our solemn parting being had in remembrance by thee; and thou, my son, with many who were there present, art also remembered by me. Oh! that pure cementing love may so prevail in all our hearts, as to melt us down again and again, until all the dross be done away, and all the reprobate silver removed, and we be as pure gold, not only in lustre, but having the full weight; then we shall not only be of the *called*, but the *chosen* of God, serviceable in his church, as firm stakes in our Sion, useful vessels in the Lord’s house; and our conduct will proclaim holiness to his name.”

The next day several of our friends came, and we were favoured together, and parted in that true love and holy fellowship that will never end.

On fifth-day, the 28th, we went on board the packet, being accompanied by Joseph Williams, of Dublin, Richard Shackleton, and John Russel, from Moate, who were on their way to the Yearly Meeting of London. On seventh-day we arrived safe at the head, and immediately proceeded to Colebrook-dale.—Here we had a meeting on third-day; afterwards attended meetings at Newdale, Brotley, and Shrewsbury, all, I think, to much satisfaction. Here my dear companion, Ann Byrd, and I parted; she returning homeward, and I to the Bank, with my kind friend, Rebecca Reynolds. In our travel on first-day, the 8th, though much shaken with the rough and uneven road, we had a remarkably favoured opportunity, which in silence and testimony held more than two hours; and as such a season in a stage coach is not common, I thought fit to mention it. On the 13th of sixth month, 1783, I got safe home, and found my dear husband and children all well; for which favour, and for the blessing of preservation both by sea and land, I am, and desire always to be, humbly thankful unto the God and Father of all our mercies, who is ever worthy of thanksgiving and praise. Amen.

About this period we have this remembrance of her beloved family.

“Sheffield, Eighth month, 1784.

“I can truly salute you in a degree of our heavenly Father’s love, daily breathing unto Him in secret for help for myself and for you,

that we may be strengthened, and may know an increase of faith, and a decrease of unbelief, which at times is ready to enter, and if given way to, would lay waste all that ever hath been done in us for the good cause of Truth. Oh that nothing may be permitted to hinder our perseverance therein! I find it as needful now to be upon my watch as ever, desiring that I may do no harm, as I seem not capable of doing much good. Yet I feel bound to duty, and sit as a sentinel not daring to move out of the right course. O, my dears, think of me, for I am sorely buffeted and in a continued warfare; and yet, at times, am favoured with an unshaken hope of obtaining the victory over death, hell, and the grave.”

## SECTION VIII.

*Her visit to Bristol, Wellington, Exeter, &c.*

ON the 6th of ninth month, 1784, I had a few lines from our Monthly Meeting, having the weight of a journey upon me, but could not see clearly any farther than Shipston; yet did not believe that I should return home soon; so took a very humbling farewell of my near and dear connexions, and was accompanied by my husband to Leicester. On the 9th, our friend, Daniel Woodland, went with me to Hinckley; thence to Coventry, Warwick, and Shipston; where were many Friends whom I was glad to see, among others, my dear companion, Ann Byrd. The meetings were very large, both of Friends and others; many public Friends were there from divers parts, and Patience Brayton from America. The concluding meeting was much to the satisfaction of many.

My way seemed now open towards Bristol, and having Ann Byrd for my companion, I went on pretty cheerfully. We were at several meetings on our way to Bristol; and were at theirs on first and third-days, and at the Select and Quarterly Meetings on fourth-day. Hence we proceeded to Sidcot, and had a favoured opportunity; thence to Bridgewater, Wellington, Uffcolme, and, on first-day, to the Monthly Meeting at Collumpton; in the evening got to Exeter.

Here she wrote the following to her husband and children.

“Exeter, Tenth month, 1784.

“I do not remember ever going out with so little sight; nor can I express what I felt before I left home, but think my exercise was in part felt, and also seen by thee, my dear husband, and that thou, with myself, dost believe I moved at the right time. A way has indeed been opened, and help administered in a wonderful manner, very unexpectedly to me; my

deep sufferings at home have brought me into such a degree of willingness, that I endeavour to follow my Lord whithersoever he leads me, and to discharge my duty faithfully in every place where my lot is cast. I was glad of the company of M. L., and A. C., at Shipston. There I also met my dear companion A. B., and we are very nearly united in true Gospel labour; we attended their week-day meeting at Cirencester, which was to our friends' satisfaction; and at several places in our passing along, we were favoured with the manifestation of our heavenly Father's love and regard, both to us and to those we called upon. We staid over their Quarterly Meeting at Bristol, and I saw many Friends who remembered my being in the west before, and we were truly glad to see each other; but at most of the meetings I was shut up, hearing a voice within me saying, thou must come here again, and so I believe I must. I felt drawn towards Kingsbridge, where the Quarterly Meeting for Devonshire was held on the fourth-day following that at Bristol. I had never more cause to be thankful than I now have, it being such a time of favour as will by some be thankfully remembered. Oh! my dears, all of you, feel and rejoice with me; for sweet is the peace that dwells in my soul. Strong are my desires for you, as for my poor self, that a steady perseverance and preservation from all evil may be witnessed by us. You are all often in my thoughts, and in the best love I dearly salute thee my dear husband, with my children and children's children."

On second-day, reached Kingsbridge, a very long journey, which, I believe, would have been too hard for me, had not our dear friend Mary Ware, of Wellington, taken me in her carriage. Indeed, the kindness of Friends to me is very great. On third-day was a large meeting, and on fourth-day the Quarterly Meeting—both very favoured and comfortable seasons, more so to me than at any place where I have been since leaving home, so that I was thankful I was there; many Friends too, who remembered my former visit to them, rejoiced to see me once more; and in a renewal of that love that is unchangeable, we took a final farewell of each other. On the 30th we came back to Exeter, and staid over first-day. On second-day to Uffcolme, where I staid until seventh-day, only visiting one worthy Friend, Robert Fry, who has been in great affliction many years.

On first-day at meeting at Milverton. The next day went to Minehead, to visit Robert Davis, he being very ill and not likely to recover; he has a wife and several hopeful children, with whom we had a comfortable oppor-

tunity. On fourth-day morning, after a very agreeable and heart-melting season, we left Milverton for Wellington; where we visited several families, and were at meetings on first-day; it was a trying time to me, but I was helped to discharge my duty, part in testimony, but most in silence. On second-day returned to Uffcolme, where I again made some stay, it being my dear companion's habitation. On fifth and first-days were at meetings at Spice-land, about a mile from Uffcolme; the latter was very large, many Friends from other meetings being there. The next first-day I was at meeting at Wellington and so much favoured in the forenoon, that I think I may say, as was said formerly, the Truth was over all. I staid more than a week in this place, and was for a time in so very dangerous a way, that I was ready to conclude my time in this world was nearly over; but through Divine mercy I recovered.

At this place she again wrote to her husband and children.

"Wellington, 1st of Eleventh month, 1784.

"How thankful shall I be to hear of the welfare of you all both in things natural and Divine; and the way for us to enjoy temporal blessings with contentment is, that we be chiefly concerned to witness improvement in things that are heavenly, an increase of such riches as will never decay, and being clothed with a garment which will not wax old. You well understand what I say; and as we are blessed with a knowledge of these things, our happiness consists in doing them. I wish my dear children may take good heed that their conduct in every respect may be truly teaching, and your conversation so savoury as to season the tender minds of your dear offspring, and that you endeavour to keep them in subjection, so that if I be favoured to see you again, I may find you so comfortable as to cause rejoicing, as was the case when I returned from Ireland. I beg you will not slacken your pace nor suffer any thing to hinder you in your progress heavenward. Oh! how doth my poor soul travail for you even as for myself, and I can thankfully say that the Lord hath been my helper hitherto, and believing I am in the way of my duty, I have the reward of peace."

Being again joined by my dear companion, who had a concern, and the approbation of her friends, to visit Bristol, we took leave of my kind friends, to whom I was nearly united. We were at meeting at Taunton; thence to Bridgewater, and lodged at our worthy friend Joseph Ball's, who accompanied us to John



Hipsley's near Claverham; we attended their meeting, and afterwards had an opportunity in our friend's family; he had been long confined with illness, and we felt near sympathy with him in his affliction.

On sixth-day were at Sidcot meeting; then to Bristol, and lodged with Mary Peters. Our stay in this city was very long, full nine weeks; in which time like good soldiers, we endured much hardship, being greatly afflicted both in body and mind. When able, we duly attended their meetings and visited many families. We were favoured with many satisfactory opportunities; and though mostly silent in meetings, yet can with humble confidence say, that I was not guilty of any omission in all this long travail. Oh! saith my soul, that there may be more life and fewer words amongst us.

The lively interest which she felt for the spiritual welfare of her son, is set forth in this parental appeal:

TO HER SON.

"Bristol, Twelfth month, 1784.

"I received thy welcome letter nearly two weeks ago, and was glad to see thy handwriting, and the more thou feelest of my continued love and regard for thee, the more will thine increase; and thy obedience to us, thy dear parents, will still be manifested, and thou wilt feel strength renewed to maintain a holy warfare against the unwearied enemy. Thou, my dear child, well knowest that if there be no warfare there will be no victory, and as the flesh will war against the Spirit, so I hope thou wilt be favoured with the pure Spirit of Truth to enable thee to war against the flesh; let not go thy hold, cease not to strive, and no doubt is with me but thou wilt obtain the victory. The love of Truth having seemed to spread in my soul towards many of my friends in this city, we have entered into the arduous labour of visiting families. I do not see at present that we shall visit all that profess with us, but have been to several with whom I was before acquainted, and we have had fresh visitations in most places. On account of the shortness of the days, and my being unable to walk, we get on slowly; but as we step safely, we feel satisfied that we are where we ought to be. I beg for patience, remembering that the end will come when all our labours will cease, and the prospect of a happy conclusion is at times very comfortable, and by me rather desirable that it may soon be experienced."

On the 17th of first month, 1785, we left Bristol, having the blessed reward of pure

peace for our labours. Lydia Hawksworth accompanied us to Frenchay, where we had a meeting; several Friends from the city were there, and we were owned by our great Lord, his name was magnified, and his own works did praise him.

Early on the following morning, accompanied by Thomas Scantlebury, we went to Painswick, and were at their meeting on the 19th; and at Tewkesbury on the 21st.

On seventh-day we reached Worcester, and lodged at our kind friend Timothy Bevington's: were at their meetings on first-day, where were also Patience Brayton and her companion. On second-day, the 24th, my dear companion left me, she being very desirous to get home; but I was not easy to leave Worcester so soon, and staid more than a week longer, in which time I visited several of my acquaintance, had several satisfactory seasons, and was much favoured at some of their public meetings, so that I came away with sweet peace.

On fourth-day morning I took an affectionate farewell of my dear friends, and was accompanied by George Beckett and Mary Bewley to Alcester, where they left me, and I lodged at the widow Stanley's, whence I was favoured with the company of an agreeable young woman, Mary Ford, to Jeffery Bevington's, at Eddington. I was at their meeting on fifth-day; and on sixth, at the meeting at Grmscott; but the weather being severe, there were few Friends present; yet it was a time of deep travail and hard labour for the honest hearted. On fourth-day I was at the meeting at Warwick, and on the following day reached Coventry, where I was joined by my husband. Attended their meeting on first-day, Timothy Bevington of Worcester, being there also, and we were owned by our Great Master, and employed in his service. On the 15th of second month we got safe home, and found our dear children well. I had been absent on this occasion more than five months.

From her memorandums which come down to the fifth month, 1801, this journey appears to be the last which she performed with certificate from her Monthly Meeting, nevertheless she was almost continually engaged in the service of Truth, in attending meetings in various places, and often through much bodily infirmity, in the course of which her remarks are frequently weighty and edifying, of which the following are a few:

On the 17th of seventh month, 1785, I being very infirm and now at home, and having been often engaged in my good Master's service, and having a sure evidence, even the

Truth bearing me witness that I am in the way of my duty to my great Lord, my spirits are borne up over all opposers and such as say hard things of me, and I have peace.

In 1787, she writes from London to her children, showing the unabated affectionate concern for their everlasting welfare :

TO HER CHILDREN.

“London, Sixth month, 1787.

“O my dear children, endeavour to keep near to that preserving Power, who is alone able to help and strengthen you to persevere in the way of life and salvation, and also to teach you how to order your dear little ones. Often doth my spirit breathe unto the God and Father of all our mercies for your help, that nothing may draw you aside from that pure path in which I know you have enjoyed true peace. Friends seem glad to see us. The meetings are very large, and graciously owned by Him who is the crown and diadem of our assemblies : happy should we be if all kept to the proper standard, and never moved out of the pure order of the Gospel.”

On the 26th of eighth month, 1788, she writes :

I left my home, having for some time felt an inclination to visit a few meetings in Warwickshire, and Ann Byrd coming our way and being very desirous of my company, and she having a concern to visit the said meetings, we went together in true unity, and were indeed fellow labourers in the Gospel though very deep was our travail, and great the exercise of our minds, because of the lukewarmness and indifferency which prevail amongst a people who have been so favoured ; yea, a people beloved of God and chosen of him before all the families of the earth, and if there be not a reformation, them will he punish. How are they visited, and how do some labour for their restoration ; and though much tried, we were at times much favoured and enabled to discharge our duty, for which we enjoyed peace ; the faithful amongst us were comforted, and the Lord over all was magnified, who alone is worthy.

I accompanied my friend as far as Worcester, where we staid more than a week, and visited several aged people much to our satisfaction. At this place we parted, and I came to Chadwick, where we had a large and satisfactory meeting ; after which, staying the meetings at Dudley, Birmingham and Coventry, I returned home in peace the 21st of ninth month, 1788.

At the latter end of the fourth month, 1789, I attended our Quarterly Meeting at Nottingham. Several strangers were there, and I had satisfaction in being with them, being favoured with a sense of Divine life, whereby I had access to the throne of grace, and witnessed a renewal of strength in the inner man, although I feel a great decay of bodily strength, and was ill part of the time of being there.

In the fourth month, 1792, was again at our Quarterly Meeting, and in the several sittings thereof we were favoured with a sense of the love of our Lord, who still is with those that are gathered together in his name.

Fourth month 29th, 1793. Attended our Quarterly Meeting at Nottingham, and 1st of fifth month our Monthly Meeting at Loughborough ; this little journey I was enabled to perform beyond expectation, and felt my mind under the covering of the Spirit of the Lord, and returned in peace. My complaints too not feeling so grievous as in months past, I apprehended it my duty to attend some Quarterly Meetings, although being still in a very weak state every way, the trial was great. On the 15th of sixth month, I left home, accompanied by my son Joseph, reached Coventry that evening, sat three meetings on first-day, and the Quarterly Meeting on second. Went to Warwick on third-day, was at their week-day meeting on fourth, and at Eddington meeting on sixth-day, at Shipston meeting on first-day, and to Banbury that evening ; was at three meetings on second-day, and the Quarterly Meeting on third ; went same day to Buckingham, was at meeting in the evening, and at the Quarterly Meeting on fourth-day, which was large and satisfactory. Thence to Northampton, on fifth-day was at meeting in the evening and at the Quarterly Meeting on sixth-day ; thence to Wellington that evening, and lodged at our very kind and honest friend Benjamin Middleton's ; was at Finedon on first-day, at their Monthly Meeting on second and on third-day to Ridlington Park ; thence to Oakham, at their meeting on fifth-day, and on sixth, after having a solemn opportunity with our dear friends there, returned to the Park, and on seventh-day, in a renewed sense of Divine love we took leave. On first-day was at their meetings at Leicester ; thence to Groby Lodge ; on fourth-day returned to Leicester, it having rested on my mind to be there the first-day following : was taken very unwell at meeting ; lodged at John Priestman's, whose wife took great care of me ; and getting better, I was able to sit meetings on first-day, and was well satisfied that I did right in staying. On second-day I reached home in safety, with the richest re-

ward, for which I beg to be truly thankful, and that I may be carried safe through this life of trouble into everlasting rest.

I have thus had one more opportunity, though unexpectedly, to renew mine acquaintance, and strengthen the bond of pure affection which we in years past had known, I having at these four Quarterly Meetings, as also at some others, fallen in and met with many of my dear friends, whom I was truly glad to see, and probably took a final farewell of them, I being now in the seventy-sixth year of my age, and infirm. The succeeding two years I was engaged in attending many meetings near home, to satisfaction.

In the year 1794, she writes to her family from Leeds :

TO HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN.

“Leeds, Ninth month, 1794.

“My absence from you has been longer than I had any sight of when I left you, yet I have at times to believe, that as I did so in pure obedience to the Divine command, so I still continue bound to the law and the testimony, yea, to that pure law that the Lord writeth in our hearts; but as I am led in a way that I knew not of, so I could not inform my friends thereof, nor have their approbation; yet I endeavour to take heed that I make no breach in good order, and I seem to have a very kind welcome wherever I have yet come. Nevertheless, great have been the trials of my poor mind, and the exercise thereof inexpressible; and though I look upon my thus moving as a friendly visit, yet if I did not feel a necessity, surely I should not thus venture. I have with humble thankfulness to admire how way is made for me, so poor and unworthy a creature as I am. I feel an inclination to be at the Quarterly Meeting at York, and am favoured with the agreeable company of our dear friend M. S. wife of William Smith, of Doncaster. I long to hear of the welfare of you all; and might my prayers but avail, they are very frequent on your account. Oh! my dears, forget not to be watchful; you know how uncertain time is, and what a sad thing to be unprepared; may I not say our happiness consists in doing the will of God, and in living in obedience according to knowledge.”

On the 8th of fifth month, 1795, attended the Yearly Meeting in London, where I was kindly received by my friends at my good old quarters, the widow Roe's, which journey I bore better than I expected, and was enabled to attend most of the meetings, and like one raised from death unto life, had to testify of the Lord's goodness, and to speak well of his great and powerful name, which is still manifested in the assemblies of his people, so that we can say our God is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises and doth great wonders amongst us. Great is the reward and sweet is the peace that my soul now enjoys: this bears me up, though I move with a poor afflicted body, and in advanced age; and being unable to walk from one meeting to another, it is with gratitude I mention the kindness of my friends in assisting me in many respects; and in their thus helping a poor disciple, they will no doubt receive a reward, even a portion of that peace which my soul now enjoys, peace with God and rest in him who hath dealt bountifully with me. Amen!

In the eighty-sixth year of her age, she penned this short effusion of parental affection towards her grandchildren:

TO HER GRANDCHILDREN.

“Donnington, Third month, 1804.

“Being likely to have a ready conveyance, I am set down as in the depth of poverty; but I felt willing to salute my dear grandchildren once more; though it will expose my weakness, yet it will manifest my willingness, and that you are very frequently in my remembrance. I am glad that you are so agreeably placed, and wish you to improve in the best things, as it seems you are encouraged, and I would hope exemplified thereto. However, take heed to the gift that is in you, whereby you may be made truly wise and fitted for whatever service you may be employed in; and thus being faithful in a little you will be made rulers over more, and have the joyful sentence at last of, ‘come ye blessed of my Father enter ye into the joy of your Lord, and into your Master's rest.’ Now, having thus written a little of my meaning, and the fervent desire of my heart, I conclude in that love which changeth not, and am your very aged, infirm, and much reduced grandmother,

“RUTH FOLLOWS.”

## ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE

OF THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

## JOHN RICHARDSON.

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He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me. *Luke x. 16.*

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*The Testimony of Friends belonging to Gisbrough Monthly Meeting, concerning our worthy friend JOHN RICHARDSON, who departed this life near Hutton-in-the-Hole, the 2nd of the Fourth month, 1753, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in Friends' burying-ground at Kirby-moorside.*

As many of our elders are removed, and but few left who had personal knowledge of this Friend in his younger years and early part of his service, we cannot give so full an account thereof as otherwise might have been done.

By accounts transmitted to us, we have cause to believe he was much devoted, and given up to walk in the way of his duty, and therein was of great service to the churches where his lot was cast; and an instrument in the Divine hand in turning many to righteousness.

As to the latter part of his life, we have this testimony to give of him; that he was a lover of discipline and good order in the church, diligent in attending meetings for worship and Truth's service, whilst of ability; a good example therein, by sitting in a still and unaffected manner in silence, and when raised up to bear a public testimony, was comfortable and acceptable to Friends.

And when his natural faculties were somewhat impaired, and he confined at home through old age and infirmities, he appeared more and more heavenly-minded, and seemed to grow in the life of religion, that we hope he is now at rest in the fruition of that happi-

ness, prepared for such as hold on to the end in well-doing.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting, held at Castleton, on the 22nd of the third month, 1754.

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*The Testimony of Friends from the Quarterly Meeting held at York.*

ON reading the testimony given from the Monthly Meeting of Gisbrough, concerning our late ancient and worthy friend John Richardson, deceased, of which we approve, we find ourselves under an engagement to add this short testimony; from certain experience of the service he had amongst us in a fresh and lively ministry, and in exercising the discipline of the church in a Gospel-spirit, whereby many received comfort and edification; some of us having knowledge of him from his early appearance in the ministry, remember that he was acceptable to Friends, being sound in doctrine, reaching the witness of God in those to whom he ministered. He was a diligent and faithful labourer, travelling several times through most parts of this nation, and visited Friends meetings in Scotland and Ireland, also twice the English plantations in America, leaving many seals of his ministry, having had the approbation and unity of Friends with his service both at home and abroad. He was a tender nursing father, in the church, over the youth whom God had visited, to encourage and strengthen the newly convinced, to whom also he was a good example; and though of a sweet and courteous

disposition, yet careful in the spirit of wisdom, to caution and guard such against the deceitful workings and false representations of the spirit of error. To divers of us who visited him towards the close of his time, he appeared in a heavenly frame of mind, to our great comfort; evidencing a preparation for that eternal bliss whereinto, we doubt not, he is entered, and now reaps the fruits of his labours.

Signed in and on behalf of our Quarterly Meeting, held at York, the 27th and 28th of the third month, 1754.

*An account of the life of JOHN RICHARDSON, introduced with a brief relation concerning his father, WILLIAM RICHARDSON.*

It has been repeatedly revived in my mind, to leave the following account concerning my dear father, William Richardson, having seen something of his own in manuscript, concerning his conviction, with remarks on some other things; but I being young when he died, did not then much heed it, and when I would gladly have seen it for my own satisfaction, I could not, nor as yet can meet with it.

As my father was early convinced of the Truth, a sufferer for it, and bore a public testimony to it, I found it my duty, as nearly as I could remember the contents thereof, to leave this short account concerning him.

He was born at North Cave, in the eastern part of Yorkshire, in the year 1624, of honest parents, and of good repute, and was educated in the Episcopal way, being soberly inclined from his childhood; a lover and seeker after purity and virtue. I have heard him say he gave his mind much to retirement, reading the Holy Scriptures, and seeking after the Lord, especially in the fields, being by calling a shepherd; and it pleased the Lord to open his understanding so clearly, that he saw and longed for a more excellent dispensation to come. He also saw that the priests were wrong, and generally proud and covetous, so that he was weary of following them, and much weaned from them and all company, except two or three men who met with him, and spoke one to another concerning their inward conditions, and what they had experienced of the Lord's dealings with them. This was before they had heard of the name Quaker, as it was in a short time after given to a people which the Lord raised up to give testimony of the notable and ancient, yet newly revived and blessed, dispensation of Christ's coming, and manifestation by the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the children of men, in order to enlighten, quicken, sanctify, and save them

from darkness, death, ignorance and sin, that they might be made capable of obeying, worshipping and glorifying the great God and sanctifier of them.

As my father was thus waiting and looking for a more general breaking forth of this glorious, powerful, and Gospel day, which had in a good degree sprung up in his heart, he had not, as yet, seen that worthy and good man, George Fox, although he passed through those parts about that time; but soon after came William Dewsbury, and at the sound of his voice, I have heard my father say, he was exceedingly glad, in hearing him declare the way to find the lost piece of silver, the pearl of great price within, a Saviour near, who had been held forth by men to be at a distance. But having left the dark watchmen, of whom they used to inquire, they now met with their beloved at home, in their own bosoms; renowned be the name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Thus the hearing and receiving the ever blessed Truth, was as the seed, or word of the kingdom, sown in the good ground, or honest hearts of men, which took root downward and sprang upward, and brought forth fruit, in some thirty, in some sixty, and in others an hundred fold, to the praise of the great and good Husbandman.

My father was early raised to bear a public testimony, which was living and acceptable to Friends, but was so much attended with weakness of body for many years, that he went little abroad in the work of the ministry. He suffered patiently the spoiling of his goods, and imprisonment of his weakly body, in the great and more general imprisonment; and not only believed in Jesus Christ, but suffered for him. He was a good neighbour, a loving husband, and a tender father over all that was good, but severe to all that which was wrong, and was for judgment, without respect of persons, and spared not even his own children; especially he was much concerned for me, for he said, I was the wildest of them. As he lived well, and believed in Jesus Christ, I doubt not that he has finished his course in the love and favour of God, is entered into a mansion of glory, and is at rest with all the faithful, who "loved not their lives unto death," but rather hated them in comparison of that endeared and unfeigned love they bore to God the Father, and to Jesus Christ his dear and well-beloved Son, who died for them, and also for the whole world.

He departed this life in 1679, aged about fifty-five years, and was decently buried in Friends' burying-place at Hotham, near Cave, where he was born.

Having given the foregoing account of my father, it remains with me to leave to posterity some remarks on my conviction, with an account of sundry transactions, travels, healings, and deliverances I have met with, from my youth to this day, with some advice and openings in the Spirit of Truth.

I was not above thirteen years of age when my father died, yet the Lord was at work by his light, grace, and Holy Spirit in my heart; but I knew not then what it was which inwardly disquieted my mind, when any thing which was evil prevailed over the good in me, which it oftentimes did, for want of taking heed to the spirit of God in my heart. I desired ease and peace some other way, without taking up the cross of Christ to my own corrupt will, and strove for some time, as no doubt many do, to make merry over the just witness, until for a season the converting and true witness of God seemed to be slain, or disappeared. Then I took liberty, but not in gross evils which many ran into, being preserved religiously inclined, seeking after professors, and inquiring of them, for my information and satisfaction, to find, if I could, any thing that was safe to rest in, or any true and solid comfort to my poor disconsolate and bewildered soul. But I was afraid I should be deceived, or take up a false rest in any thing that was wrong or unsafe; which fear was of the great love and mercy of God to me. After many searches and inquiries among those who were but in the letter and outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, and the eye of the mind is not truly opened to see into things that are hid from all carnal-minded men; so my state and afflictions were hid from them, and all the deceitful workings of satan, and the strong temptations which I met with, these blind guides could not see, nor did they know how to direct me to the true Shepherd of Israel, the Law-giver coming out of Sion, that turns away ungodliness from Jacob, and transgression from Israel; not having truly experienced deliverance wrought in themselves out of this cloudy, bewildered, and tempted state which I was in. Oh! that people would come to him that hath the eye-salve, with which if the eye be truly anointed, it will see things clearly as they are, and not darkly, mistaking trees for men, and things terrestrial for things celestial; and that they would buy gold, tried by the fire of him who is called the Tried Stone, elect and precious, laid in Sion for a foundation. This is Christ whom the true church believes in and builds upon, and is enriched with his love, power, and virtue, which is better than gold outwardly: this is the unction, which the true church hath, and

receives from Christ, the Holy One; and such as do truly put on his righteousness, purity, and holiness, their clothing is better than that of fine linen outwardly. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth might be thus anointed, enriched, and truly clothed, that no more inward blindness or poverty may be found in the children of men, nor the shame of their nakedness be any more seen.

Receive and learn these things, you that can, of him that is the faithful and true witness, who always witnesseth against the evil in man, but always giveth witness to the Father, for the good in men which they say and think. This is the Spirit of him that was dead, and is alive, no more to be known after the flesh, as the apostle gave testimony, but is to be known inwardly and spiritually by the children of men, to open the blind eye, and unstop the deaf ear, and pierce into the soul that hath been clouded and captivated, imprisoned, and misguided, and even in a wilderness, and sees no way for deliverance; like Israel in the land of Egypt, when the Lord Jehovah sent Moses, a lively type of Christ, and employed him in that great work of pleading with, and plaguing Pharaoh and the Egyptians. For a time their burthens were increased, and their exercises more imbittered, until their deliverance was in a good degree accomplished; and which was not wrought until the first-born of man, and of beast, was slain, throughout all the land of Egypt.

The clear opening I had in the light, of what is to be understood and gathered from hence, is not the slaying of the outward man, but a putting off, or slaying the body of the sins of the flesh, crucifying, or putting off the old man with his deeds; and as to the beast, all cruelty, lust, pushing, tearing, devouring, and savageness, is to be slain or put away; and the corrupt or strong will of man, as well as what is bestial, must be slain before man can come from under the power of him who is called the Prince of the power of the air, the spirit that rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience. These things must be experienced, before the children of men can go forth rightly qualified to glorify God, and follow his dear Son, whom he hath appointed to be a leader and a commander of his people. This is he, as Moses declares, who is to be heard in all things, under the penalty of being cut off from the people; or of having their names blotted out of the book of life; or being deprived of the comforts of the Lord's holy presence. Read this, you who have heard and understood what the Spirit saith unto the churches. These things I saw, after the true witness arose or revived in me, and the light shone which had disappeared or been clouded.

After much searching without, amongst those who proved to me physicians of no value, and miserable comforters, I betook myself to a lonesome and retired life, breathing after, and seeking the Lord in the fields and private places, beseeching him, that he would bring me to the saving knowledge of his truth; and blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, I had not sought him long with all my heart, before I met with his inward appearance to me, in and by his Holy Spirit, light and grace. But when the true Light did begin to shine more clearly, and the living witness arose in my inward man, oh! then my undone, bewildered, and miserable condition began to appear, and great and unutterable were my conflicts and distress. I thought no man's condition upon the face of the earth was like mine. I thought I was not fit to die, neither did I know how to live. I thought in the evening, "Oh that it was morning!" and in the morning, "that it was evening!" I had many solitary walks in the fields, and other places, in which I poured out my complaints and cries before the Lord, with fervent supplications to him, that he would look upon my affliction and the strong temptations I was under, and that he would rebuke the adversary of my soul, and deliver it, for I even thought it was in the jaws of a devouring lion, and amongst the fiery spirits, and, as it were, under the weight of the mountains. Read and understand the afflictions of thy brother, thou that hast come through great tribulations, and hast washed and made thy garments white in the blood of the Lamb. This is the beginning of that baptism which doth save, and of that washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which the Lord sheds upon the believers in abundance. This is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, that the children of men, thus changed, may serve the living and true God; this is the life which converts the world, even as many as are converted; this is the virtue, life, and blood, which maketh clean the saints' garments, and inwardly washeth them from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit. I found this was and is He of whom it is said, "By him were all things made, and he is Lord of all;" a man ought to be servant to him, and all things in man subservient to him, who commands and comprehends all things, in whom all the types and shadows end, or are fulfilled. Read this, thou virgin daughter, or clean church of Christ, the rock of thy strength, whose name to thee is as precious ointment poured forth, and because of the savour thereof, the virgins love him, and are under great obligations to

obey and follow the Lamb of God, wheresoever he leadeth.

Although I had seen many things, and had divers openings, yet great were my trials, and many were the temptations I met with in those days, for I lived at a distance from Friends and meetings, which made my exercise the harder, as will more fully appear hereafter, in the course of my travels and pilgrimage in this vale of tears and troubles, and some of them not very common; but the Lord helped me through them all, blessed be his name for ever.

I now came to witness that Scripture to be fulfilled which saith, that "When the Lord's judgments are in the earth," or earthly hearts of men, "the inhabitants learn righteousness;" and notwithstanding there was an aversion in my wild nature to the people in scorn called Quakers, as also to the name itself, yet when the afflicting hand of the Lord was upon me for my disobedience, and when, like Ephraim and Judah, I saw in the light my hurt and my wound, I bemoaned myself, and mourned over that just principle of light and grace in me, which I had pierced with my sins and disobedience. Although that ministration of condemnation was glorious in its time, yet great were my troubles, which humbled my mind, and made me willing to deny myself of every thing which the light made known in me to be evil, I being in great distress, and wanting peace and assurance of the love of God to my soul; the weight of which so humbled my mind, that I knew not of any calling, people, practice, or principle, that was lawful and right, which I could not embrace, or fall in with. This was surely like the day of Jacob's troubles, and David's fears. I saw that the filth of Sion was to be purged away by the Spirit of judgment and of burning; this is the way of the deliverance and recovery of poor men out of the fall, and the time of the restoration of the kingdom to God's true Israel. Read ye that can, and understand. This was the day of my baptism into the love of God, and true faith in his beloved Son, as also into a feeling of, or sympathy with him in his sufferings, which were unutterable, and I found that ministration changed; that which had been unto death, was now unto life; and the ministration which was of condemnation unto the first birth, when that was slain, and in a good degree nailed or fastened to the cross of Christ, the power of God, then the good prevailed over the evil, and working out the evil in the mind, and also in the members, made all good or holy. The Lord's living power, and consuming word, when it works and prevails, brings into subjection,



and maketh holy the very heart or ground in men.

As there had been an aversion in me to the people called in scorn Quakers, and also to their strict living, and demeanour, plainness of habit and language, so I learned none of these from them; for when the Lord changed my heart, he also changed my thoughts, words, and ways, and there became an aversion in me to vice, sin, and vanity, as there had been to the ways of virtue. Having tasted of the terrors and judgments of God because of sin, I was warned to flee from such things as occasioned Christ's coming not to bring peace upon the earth, but a sword; a sword indeed, yea, his heart-penetrating, searching word, which is sharper than any two-edged sword, that pierceth to the dividing asunder between flesh and spirit, joints and marrow. As I came thus to see and abhor the evil in myself, when such who had been my companions in vanity reviled me, or came in my way, I was often moved to warn and reprove them. Having tasted of the terrors of the Lord for sin, I could not well forbear to warn others to flee such things as I had been judged for. Now I came clearly to be convinced about hat-honour, bowing the knee, and the corrupt language, as well as finery in habit; all which, for conscience-sake, and the peace thereof, I came to deny, and take up the cross to, and had great peace in so doing.

Notwithstanding the blessed truth thus prevailed in me, I was not without great conflicts of spirit, temptations, and trials of divers kinds; yet my mind was resigned to the Lord, and my fervent prayers were to him, and he kept me, and opened my understanding, for I was afraid of being misled in any thing, especially relating to my salvation. I came to be weaned from all my companions and lovers in whom I had taken delight, and all things in this world were little to me, my mind being much redeemed out of the world, not only the corrupt and evil part thereof, but even from the lawful part; so that I became much given up to seek the Lord, waiting upon him to feel his presence, and peace, and to know his will, and receive power to do the same.

As my mind came to be thus brought into a dependant and waiting frame upon the Lord, and to be stayed in the light, and experimentally and feelingly to partake of his love and grace, which helped me against my infirmities, blessed be his name, I found it sufficient for me, as I kept to it, in all trials and temptations. Then I came to see, that all outward performances in matters of religion did not avail nor render man acceptable to God, but as the heart came to be truly given up to him,

that he might not only purge it from defilement, but keep it clean through the indwelling of his Holy Spirit. As nearly as I remember, I saw clearly through these things before the sixteenth year of my age. Between the death of my father and this time, I took liberty to go among what people I would, my mother giving us great liberty, although she was a woman well accounted of among all who knew her, and not undeservedly, for her industry and fair dealing concerning the things of this world.

After this time I attended the meetings of the Lord's people called Quakers, as diligently as my circumstances would well admit. My mother being left with five children, the youngest about three years old when my father died, and he leaving but little of this world to bring us up, though my parents always had as much as kept them above contempt, and nobody lost by them; I found myself under a necessity to work hard for my own support, the help of my mother, and education of my brothers, more especially as my only sister died soon after.

Being left on a grazing farm, part of which was tilled, we did well as to the things of this world, yet I cannot well omit mentioning one thing which became a great exercise to me, which was thus: My mother married one who was zealous for the Presbytery, and being much against it, I showed my dislike to the marriage, and told my mother, I was afraid that she had too much an eye to what he had, for he was counted rich as to this world; but if she thought to augment our portion in so marrying, the hand of the Lord would be against her, and a blasting or mildew would come upon even that which we had got through industry and hard labour, and what the Lord had intended to bless to us, if we kept faithful to the truth, and contented ourselves with our present condition. My mother confessed, that as to the worldly enjoyments, it had not been better with her than now. I must write with great caution; she was my mother, and a tender mother over me, loath to offend me, and had promised, as far as she well durst, not to marry with any one with whom I was not satisfied. Of their procedure in courtship, and marriage, from this time I was entirely ignorant, until it was accomplished. But when my poor mother was married, her cry was, "My son, how shall I ever be able to look him in the face any more, it will be such a trouble to him! he that hath not at any time disobliged me—but if I bid him go, he ran; and if I bid him do any thing, he did it with all his might;" or to that effect, as several told me who heard her. She being married, what we had was mixed with

my father-in-law's goods; my mother died first, and our father married again, made his will, and dying, left me five shillings for all my part, which was of right to descend from my own parents upon me. I gave his executors a receipt in full, and there was an end of all, except some small matter given to my youngest brother, for the rest of my brothers and sisters were dead. As nearly as I remember, this marriage was in the eighteenth year of my age, so that what I foresaw about the blast and mildew, came to pass.

To return to my account concerning the troubles that attended me while I was in my father-in-law and mother's house; after marriage, we, and what we had, were removed to his house, except part of the stock left in the ground. I foresaw that I was likely to come to a great trial, and was brought very low about the marriage, and exercise of mind concerning my own condition, having many conflicts of spirit, so that I was almost in despair. Had not the Lord, in whom I believed, risen in his power, and rebuked the adversary of my soul, I had been overthrown, and swallowed up in the floods of temptation that were cast out of the mouth of the dragon after me, in this day of great trouble and travail; but the God of love and pity saw me, and helped me in my distress, in an acceptable time. He that heard poor Ishmael when he cried from under the shrub, and gave relief to him and his mother, who had gone from Abraham's house, saw me in this great strait. When I came to my father's house, he being a man much given to family duties, saying grace, &c. before and after meat, I could comply with none of them, except I felt evidently the Spirit of Truth to attend therein, and open the heart and mouth into such duties. The first day I came to the house, being called to the table with all or most of the family, I thought, "Is it now come to this? I must either displease my heavenly or earthly father:" but, oh! the awfulness, or deep exercise, which was upon my spirit, and strong cries that ascended to the Lord for help and preservation that I might not offend him. My father-in-law sat with his hat partly off, with his eyes fixed on me, as mine were on him in much fear; so we continued as long or longer than he used to be in saying grace, as they call it, but said nothing that we heard. At length he put on his hat again, to the wonder of the family: neither did he then, nor ever after, ask me why I did not put off my hat; neither did he perform that ceremony all the time I stayed with him, which was above one year: thus the Lord helped me, renowned be his great name now and for ever. My father might seem for age, spirit, and understanding, to be

much more than a match for me, a poor shrub; but the Lord, who caused the pillar of cloud to be bright and give light to Israel, and brought darkness upon the Egyptians, and fought against them, and for Israel, I believe smote my poor father, that he could not rise up against the power with which the Lord helped me; for it was not mine but the Lord's doing, to him be given the attributes of praise, salvation, and strength, now and for ever. I saw clearly, that there could not be any true and acceptable worship performed to God, but what was in the Spirit, and in the Truth; neither could any pray aright, but as the Spirit helped them, which teacheth how to pray, and what to pray for, and rightly prepares the mind, and guides it in the performance of every service which the Lord calls for from his children.

I found my father-in-law was much displeased with my going to meetings, yet I could not see what way to appease his displeasure, except in being very diligent in his business, which I was, rather beyond my ability, working very hard. It is almost incredible what my poor little weak body went through in those days, but all would not gain his love, for the longer I staid with him, the more his love declined from me; although I told him he need not be uneasy about my wages, for I would leave that to himself. I could not see what he could have against me, except my going to meetings; however that was all he alleged. When his former stratagems would not do, he offered me a horse to ride on, if I would go with him to his place of worship. I met with many a snib and sour countenance from him, in my return on foot from meetings, although as seasonably as my body was capable of performing. On the first-day mornings my father commonly sent me into the fields a mile or two on foot, and as far upon a common to look at beasts, horses and sheep, I thought with a design to weary and make me incapable of going to meetings; all which I bore patiently, neither ever said, that I remember, this is hard usage: after this, to the great grief of my poor mother, I had to go two, three, four, five, and sometimes six miles, to Friends' meetings. After I had walked fast, and ran sometimes with my shoes under my arms for want of time, I have seen many Friends weep, and could not forbear when they saw me come into the meeting very hot and in a great sweat, they being in part sensible of the hard task I had to undergo.

There is one thing somewhat remarkable, which was thus: One first-day morning, when I was about going to the meeting, my father said, if I would ride upon such a young mare,

as he mentioned, I might; she was one of the greatest of ten or twelve horses that he kept, about four years old, and had not been ridden before. I thought his design was more to hinder me of the meeting than any good to me, or any expectation of getting his mare rightly broken; but I accepted his offer, only asking how I might catch her. Having got help to answer that, she being abroad, I put on the bridle, and mounted the topping beast, and upon her first resistance, down she came; for that was my way: and if the first or second fall did not, the third mostly cured them from striving to throw the rider. I commonly fell upon my feet, and endeavoured so to free my legs that she might not fall upon them, and then sprang up on her back while down, and made her rise with me; so away we went, and came in due time to the meeting. I rode to meetings two or three times, and my father asked me, if the mare did not carry me soberly: I replied, she did; then I must have her no more, he would make her his saddle-mare; so I took to my feet again, except some other such turn came. The Lord's mighty power bore me up, and he gave me as it were hinds' feet, and enabled me to go through these exercises, and to bear the burthen in the heat of the day of my trials, inwardly and outwardly, which were many and various.

Now the last stratagem my father used to hinder my going to meetings was thus: He took me in his arms in great show of kindness, saying, If I would be as a son to him, I should find he would be a father to me, expressing something about his having no near kindred, and more to the same effect he said to my brother Daniel, who was an innocent, wise, and clean spirited lad. I replied to him, If in thus making me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from going to meetings, or to oblige me to go with thee to the Presbyterian meetings, or any thing that is against my conscience, I cannot upon this bottom be thy son; and, for the same reasons, I refused to be his hired servant, although he offered to hire me and give me wages. Now when he saw that neither frowns, threatenings, hardships, nor great promises of kindness could prevail with me, he told me bluntly and roughly, I should stay no longer in his house. I innocently answered, I could not help it if it must be so, as all I could do would not give him content, without hurting my conscience, and the peace of my mind, which I valued above all mutable things of this world. My poor mother heard my pleading with him, and how I offered to do the best for him I was capable of by night or day, as I always had done, if he would be easy, and let me have his countenance. But this was the sentence: No, I

should not stay in the house. That troubled my mother so, that I was forced to leave my father, and go to endeavour to mitigate her great trouble by telling her, that if I was but faithful, the Lord, I believed, would take care of me that I should not want; and the more fully to discharge myself, I reminded her, that as she had entered into marriage covenants with her husband, she should endeavour to perform them, and in every thing faithfully to discharge herself as a wife ought to do to a husband, and leave me and all, and cleave to him, and to make her life as easy as she could. I also told her, never to send me any thing that my father knew not of, for I was not free to receive it; although what we had was in his hand, and all sunk there, as I mentioned before.

I write this partly, that all who marry, may take special heed that it be done with great caution, and under due consideration, and the Lord sought to in it, that it may be done in his counsel, and not only nominally, but truly in his fear, and then no doubt that it will be well with both husband and wife. Being equally yoked, such will not only be true helpers in all things belonging to this life, but more especially in things appertaining to the world that is to come, and the good of the immortal soul, which to the faithful people of the Lord is of great value. Oh! how happily and peaceably do such live together in the Lord, as they keep to that which thus joined them: there is more in it, both as to the parents and their posterity, than it is to be feared many think of, as is apparent in the many forward and unequal marriages of which I have made observation.

One remarkable passage occurs, which happened thus: My father having been at the Presbyterian meeting, and come home, he, as his manner was, put me or my brother upon reading the priest's text, which had been that day in Daniel, concerning his being cast into the den of lions, for not regarding the king's decree, but on the contrary, he prayed to the God of heaven with his windows open toward Jerusalem, after his wonted manner. My father made his observations as my brother read, and very much magnified Daniel, and said, the Spirit of God was in him, but that there were none such as him in our days. I owned that he was indeed an extraordinary man, but in that there were none endowed with a measure of the same spirit in any degree, I dissented from him, and gave my father a brief account of the many sufferings of our Friends, some of which were past, and some then under sufferings for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, which they bore for him, and especially the great suffer-

ings of our dear Friends in New England, viz: hard imprisonments, cruel whippings, cutting off ears, and banishment if they returned into New England any more. I showed him likewise, how they put to death Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, William Leddra and Mary Dyer, for no other cause but labouring to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the living power of God, to his light, grace and Holy Spirit in their hearts, and labouring to bring the people from persecution, pride, and every evil work and way, to live a self-denying, humble life, a life agreeably to the Christianity they professed. This was the service they were called to, and so deeply suffered for: from whence I inferred, there was somewhat of the Spirit of God in man in these days as there was in Daniel, and many more formerly, which helped and bore them up in their great sufferings. My father confessed, it was true some suffered for good, and some for evil; and said, he had now lived to the age of about sixty-five years, and although he heard us telling of a principle, or light within, yet he knew not what it was. I replied very meekly, If he would hear me, I would tell him what it was; which I did in the following words: When at any time thou hast been under a temptation to put forth thy hand to steal, or to lie for advantage, or by provocation to swear, or any evil work or word, hast thou not found something in thee, that hath showed thee thou oughtest not to say or do so, which, if thou hast taken heed to, and not said or done wrong, hast thou not found great peace and inward comfort in thy mind? But if thou hast said or done wrong, hast thou not found great disquietness and trouble of mind? This is the inward principle, light, or grace, that God hath placed in man to help and direct him, which we the people of God called Quakers, do hold agreeably to the Holy Scriptures. My father smote his hands together, and confessed it was true.

There was one thing worthy of notice, which may be duly considered by all who read or hear it. When I mentioned Marmaduke Stevenson, that good man, and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, my mother said, it was true; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilberfoss, an honest Quaker in Skipton, where Marmaduke Stevenson was a day labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New England. [See the account of New England judged, not by man as man, but by the Spirit of the living God, written by George Bishop.] If I remember right she said, He was such a man as she never before knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family;

if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still: if one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, these were his words, Go thy way; or, Go home, lest I whip thee; and they were subject and quiet. This account, I thought had some reach upon my father, however, it much affected my mind. Oh! that we the professors of the same holy Truth, may so live in it, as to reign over every wrong thing in ourselves and in others, especially in our children.

Some little time before the marriage of my mother, I was brought into the public work of the ministry, concerning which I had many reasonings, being young, scarcely eighteen years old, and naturally of a stammering tongue, which I could not overcome; although I used what endeavours lay in my power as a man, considering my years and education, all would not do until the Truth helped me. But after my many conflicts, troubles and temptations, the worst I ever met with, and the most piercing sorrow I had been in since I came to the knowledge of the blessed Truth was, when through reasonings, disobedience, and an unwillingness to comply with the Lord's requirings, he in displeasure took away from me the comfort of his holy presence for several months together. Oh! the tribulations I met with in this condition! No tongue is able to express, nor any creature to conceive the depth of the heart-piercing sorrows I was in. I thought my state was as bad as Jonah's, for surely if there be a hell upon earth, I was in it. What greater hell can be here to a quickened soul, and an enlightened understanding, who hath tasted of the goodness of God, and in degree of the powers of the world to come, than to be deprived thereof, and think they are fallen away from this state? I could scarcely believe I should ever have repentance granted to me, or be restored to the love and favour of God, when I found that river of life dried up, as to me, which did before, not only make me, but even the whole city of God truly glad. Being left under an apprehension of the Lord's displeasure, and in part a partaker of the terrors of his wrath, oh! I thought surely the very mountains and the hills, were not sufficient, if they could have been put into the balance, to have weighed against my troubles and afflictions they were so great. But as the Lord by his judgments had brought me in a good degree from the vice and vanity of this world, now by his judgments he made me willing to give up to answer his requirings in part, and

in my obedience to him I began to feel some comfort of love and fellowship of the Spirit of the Lord in myself, and in his people, who were partakers of the like fellowship.

Now I return to the matter about my being turned out of my father's house, which I mentioned before, but was willing to keep this solemn account entire, with desires it may be a caution to all, in whom the Lord is at work in the same manner, not to reason or gainsay as I did, but to give up freely and cheerfully to the will of God. When I saw I must turn out, I thought it expedient to acquaint some worthy Friends with it, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the Truth, or Friends, or myself, that if so, these Friends might be able to contradict them. So I acquainted Sebastian Ellethorp, and that worthy minister of the Gospel, Benjamin Padley, two of the chief Friends in Ellington Monthly Meeting; they came to my father's house, and inquired the reasons why I went away; if my father had any thing against me concerning the business he employed me in; and whether I was not faithful and diligent in all his affairs he sent me about: he confessed I was; and thought none could exceed me. They said, Well then, what is the reason of that misunderstanding which is between thee and thy son-in-law? Is it about his going to meetings? When they understood his reasons, which it was not hard to do, they expressed pity towards me that I could have no more liberty; and they thought, as I was so diligent in his business, if he would give me a little more liberty to go to meetings, it would be more encouragement to me. At which he took offence, gave the good men rough language, and asked, what they had to do with him and his son; and bid them go home, and mind their own business; which they were troubled at, especially for my sake, and wondered how I had lived with him so long; for he said in short, that there was no abiding for me there. But Sebastian Ellethorp told me, which was mightily to my comfort, that my father had nothing against me, save concerning the law of my God. This is the sense, if not the words, of these wise and good men, which passed between them and my father, as they expressed them to me; for I was not there when they were together.

Notwithstanding I pleaded with my father to let me stay until I could hear of a place, he would not, though I was scarcely fit for service, being almost like an anatomy, as the saying is, so that most who knew me, said, I would pine away in a consumption; but turn out I must, and did, though I was weak, poor and low in body, mind, pocket and clothes; for I think I had but twelve pence in my

pocket, and very ordinary clothes upon my back. Thus I took my solemn leave of the family, with my heart full, but I kept inward to the Lord, and under Truth's government. Many tears were shed, especially by my poor mother, when I left them; my father said little, but appeared like one struck with wonder, to see so much love manifested towards me by the family, and so much wishing that I might not go away. I came out upon the great common afore-mentioned, where I had had many solitary walks, but none like this, for this reason, that I knew not where to go. I then thought of Abraham, who was called out of Ur in the land of the Chaldeans, as it is briefly mentioned by Stephen; but this was the difference between us, he was called, I was forced out. Although I had many friends, I could not be free to go to them, unless I had known they had business for me, being not of a forward, but rather backward and shy disposition. As I was walking upon the common, the sense of my weak condition, not knowing whither to go, nor where to lay my head, came over me to that degree, that it appeared to me as though my way was hedged up on every side, inwardly and outwardly. I thought myself like a pelican in the wilderness, or as an owl in the desert, there appearing to me scarcely a man in all the earth in my condition, every way considered; and in the sense and deep consideration of my present wilderness state, I felt myself under a great oppression of spirit, and my heart seemed full, like a bottle that wanted vent. I looked round about me to see that none were near to see my tears, nor hear my cries, and in the very anguish and bitterness of my soul I poured forth my complaints, cries and tears, to the Judge of all the earth, who spoke to me and comforted me in this my deplorable state, which was worse than Jacob's when he lay upon the ground, and had a stone for his pillow. He had his near kindred to go to, who he might expect would receive him gladly, I had none to go to but such as rather reviled me, and gave me hard language; but the Lord said unto me, as if a man had spoke, Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things that thou standest in need of shall be given unto thee. I then desired he would be pleased to show me the place I should go to; and the Lord opened my way, and showed me the house I should go to, and abide in for a time. I said, Good is the word of the Lord: I believed, and it was a great means to stay my mind, and settle it in the Truth, with full purpose of heart to follow the Lord and obey his requirings, according to the knowledge and ability given me; yet reasonings attended me. Soon after I came to

the Friend's house in South-Cliff, viz: William Allon by name, I bound myself to him to learn his trade of a weaver, and after I was bound, I found this good man loved me, and I loved him to the day of his death; he often said, he was blessed for my sake, and all that appertained to him; for he was very poor, but increased very considerably after I went to live with him.

Three things stood in my way of answering the Lord's commands as fully as sometimes I should have done; first, a violent humour fell into one of my legs soon after I was bound apprentice, which I with others thought was much occasioned by hard usage, heats and colds, and many surfeits, even from my infancy. The lameness held me about two years, and it much discouraged and disabled me. The second hindrance was, my low circumstances in the world, which very few knew of, because the common fame was, and not without some truth, that I had rich parents. Few knew the straits I met with; yet my truly religious master, if he understood any thing was upon my mind to go to visit any meeting or meetings, would say, take my mare and go thy way, and be not uneasy, neither about the mare nor business; and do not hasten thyself. These kindnesses made me often thoughtful how I might return suitable acknowledgments, and be duly grateful for the same. I was diligent in my master's business, not serving him with eye service, but faithfully; believing it good and acceptable in the sight of God, and I had great peace in it; my master never found fault with me for doing too little, but often for doing too much, and would sometimes say, I think thou wilt cleave to the beam; come off and let us walk into the fields and see how things are there. The healing of my leg, I attribute to the great and good providence of God; for in a short time after I gave up freely and cheerfully to answer the Lord's requirings, the Lord healed me of my lameness. As to the third hindrance, when I cried unto him, that he would also heal my tongue of its stammering, believing that the Lord was able to take away this impediment, as he was to stop the violence of the humour in my body: notwithstanding several men had given their advice, and had showed their skill, which all proved ineffectual, until I came to believe in Jesus Christ, and to press through all to him, and to touch the skirt, or lowest appearance of his blessed truth and power, in which I found true healing virtue to my soul, and also to my body, and to my tongue, even to my admiration; so that I did not only speak plain in the testimony the Lord gave me to bear, but also spoke plain in my common intercourse with men.

I was likewise in these days under the dispensation of openings and visions, and thought myself as it were upon Mount Pisgah, and saw into the holy land, into things relating to God and his heavenly kingdom, and into his work and way of bringing man out of the fall and alienation, to himself again, and into a heavenly state in Christ, as man yields true obedience to the leadings and operation of his blessed grace and Holy Spirit in the heart. But under such dispensations it is of absolute necessity, that man be brought into true self-denial, into a depending frame of mind, and resignation of his will to the will of God, and a daily sitting as in the dust, as to the motions and workings of the creature; for all that is of man's working, does but hinder the spiritual work of God in the heart. And we must come truly to know all fleshly motions, and the workings in man's own will and spirit, to be silenced, in order to hear the voice of God, which is a still small voice, and not to be heard in the noise and hurries of the world; neither when the mind is busied with things agreeable to our own corrupt wills and depraved nature.

Although I had clear sights into many heavenly things, and also at times had comfortable enjoyments of the living presence of God, yet I wanted to be more established in the unchangeable Truth, of which I had some comfortable feeling. In crying to the Lord, I found he inclined unto me, and, as David said, he heard my cries, and plucked my feet out of the mire and clay, and set them upon a rock, that was higher than I, and in part, established my goings, and put a new song into my mouth, even high praises unto the Lord for all his tender mercies to me in these trying times. And now being more crucified to the world, and the spirit of it, I witnessed a more constant indwelling of his heavenly power and living presence, light and grace; I came to be brought into stillness, and it was most agreeable to my condition to keep much in silence, and wait upon the Lord for the renewing of strength, that thereby I might surmount all temptations and trials with which I might be tried, which were not a few.

These things are worthy of commemoration, and proved great confirmations to me in the Truth, in these days of my tribulations and great trials: read and believe, thou that canst, for they are faithful and true sayings. After the Lord had healed me, he sent me forth in the work of the ministry, and the first journey I took was southward into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and through Coventry, and so to Warwick, to see William Dewsbury. One thing is remarkable; in giving him an account of the particular towns and



places I had passed through, in answer to his inquiry what way I came, I mentioned Coventry, which was the last and the worst; for some of the rude people flung stones at me, with great violence, as I was speaking in the meeting, so that had the Lord suffered them to hit me, they must have spoiled me; but my faith in the Lord, and the strength of the Truth, bore up my mind above the fear of what wicked men could do to me. After William had heard my account, he fixed his eyes on me, and said, thou must go back again to Coventry. I appeared unwilling, for two reasons: first, because I thought I had cleared myself of that people: secondly, I thought it not safe to run into the danger of suffering, unless I was satisfied the Lord required it of me. But William was positive, and said I must go, for there was a service for me to do there. Upon a deliberate consideration of the matter, and seeking to the Lord to know his will in it, I found my way clear to go, and I had some service and good satisfaction, and left Friends nearer to one another than when I first met with them; for there had been a misunderstanding amongst some Friends in that city. I came from thence to Tamworth, where there was a difference, especially between two Friends; both of whom had made some considerable figure among Friends. I felt it upon me to go to one of them, and warn him of the spirit of prejudice and envy, for if he gave way to it, it would eat out his love to Friends and Truth, and he would decline meetings and come to naught, and turn his back on the Truth; which came to be fulfilled, as I afterwards heard; for he became a loose man, and listed himself to be a soldier. I was zealous for the name of the Lord, and had a great concern upon my mind for the promulgation of the Truth, and where I met with loose professors of the Truth, it was a great exercise to me.

When I returned home from this, and indeed from all my journeys, I took care so far as my weak body was capable, to fall into business, and not to loiter away my time, neither abroad nor at home. My weak constitution would not well bear the weaving trade, therefore I left it much against my will; but I wrought upon clock and watch work, and many other things, which supplied my necessities, the Lord allowing me as much time at home as put me in a condition fit for travelling, and then I was inclined to go to visit Friends. Many things I omit, because I am not willing to swell my account too much. I travelled through most parts of England four times, and twice through most parts of Wales, between the twentieth and twenty-eighth year of my age.

After the Lord had opened my heart, and I came in part to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to have a feeling of that Holy Spirit in which the holy penmen wrote them, and a sympathy with the spirits and exercises of the righteous therein mentioned, I took great delight in reading them, and having a good memory, could thereby the better deal with priests, and with professors. I had many disputes and reasonings with persons of several denominations, both in Yorkshire and other parts in my travels, so that through these disputes, and much reading, my mind was rather too much in the letter, and not altogether so much in spirit and in power, as it should have been; for which I met with a gentle caution from the Lord, which was thus: I heard a voice from the Lord, as plain as if one had spoken to my outward ear, "the fowls of the air lodge in the branches." This being repeated to me, I besought the Lord to show me what was the meaning of that voice which I heard; and the Lord, the mighty God, showed me, in his condescending love, that the Scriptures, even all of them which were written as the holy men were moved of the Holy Ghost, sprung from the living root; yet those who rested only in the letter, and came not to be acquainted with, and live in, and minister from the same Holy Spirit, are outward, dead, dry, airy, and foolish. This gentle check was of great service to me; not so as to make me decline reading the Scriptures, but that I should not have overmuch dependency on them; and to caution me against the neglect of waiting for the help of the Holy Spirit, the root and pure spring of the right and living ministry, which reaches the heart and carries the true evidence with it to the believers, that it is of God; which that of the letter cannot do of itself. I tenderly desire that all concerned in this great work of the ministry, may not be ministers of the letter only, but of the spirit also, and may speak in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. Let him that speaketh, speak as the oracle of God, and he that ministereth, do it as of the ability that God giveth. This is the last and lasting ministry, which is after the order of Melchisedeck, and not after the order of Aaron, but in Jesus Christ, the high priest, the one offering, which makes perfect for ever all who come to him through the drawings of the Father. He is the one Lord, and there is but one true faith in him, and but one true and saving baptism into him, or into the likeness of his death; that as Christ died for sin, we may truly die to sin; and as he was raised by the glory of the Father, so we may walk in newness of life. He is the heavenly High Priest, holy, harmless, separate from sinners; who was



tempted, and knows how to succour such as are tempted; he is the Advocate with the Father, the Propitiation for the sins of all, the true Guide and Comforter, the Leader of them into all truth who obey and follow him; although to the world a Reprover and a swift Witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

My writing thus, from this gentle check, concerning the fowls and the branches, is not with the least intention either to lessen the Holy Scriptures, or discourage any from reading them; for I would have all true Christians encouraged to be more conversant in them; yet with this advice, kind reader, from thy well-wisher and true friend, to breathe to, and truly seek after the Lord for a measure of his holy and blessed Spirit, the only key and best expositor to open and truly expound them to thee, as by the same Holy Spirit, thy mind and understanding comes to be fitted and enlightened. Indeed, the whole vessel must be brought into a preparation to hold the heavenly treasure, and not to mix the pure with the corrupt and impure: for without this enlightening, preparing, opening, and sanctifying gift of God's holy grace and spirit, man can neither know the heavenly power of God, nor yet the Holy Scriptures aright, as he ought to know them. And for this reason it hath seemed good to God to hide these things from the learned, wise, and prudent of this world, that they should not pry into, nor find out the mysteries contained therein, unless they are sanctified, and called of God thereto; as no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him; likewise the things of God are not perceivable by man, without the help of the Holy Spirit of God in man.

Thus the Lord opened to me the true meaning of the parable of the mustard-seed, in this the time of my infancy as to the ministry, with which he sent me forth into the world, that my faith might stand in the Lord alone, the author and finisher, as well as giver of the true and saving faith, even that faith which works by love, and gives victory over the world. It was by and through the power and efficacy of true faith, which is the gift of God, that the elders in former ages obtained, and now obtain a good report; it was through this gift, that worthy Abel with his offering was accepted of God, although he was envied of his evil-minded brother Cain, and also by him slain. The ever memorable Enoch, through the virtue of this holy gift, walked with God, as himself gave witness that Enoch pleased him; he walked so in faith and obedience even to the end, that he died not as men in common do, but was translated, or changed

in a peculiar manner. Come, read, thou that canst, and understand, thou that art redeemed out of the power of the first nature, and hast overcome the flesh, the world and the devil, in a great measure; for thou knowest that it is by the operation of this gift that the dead in old Adam are raised to a new life and way of living, in the new man, and through this heavenly Adam, that is known to these to be a quickening spirit, agreeably to holy writ. Through faith the violence of fire was quenched, the mouths of lions stopped, the sword turned backward, and armies put to flight, even such as were aliens or strangers, who outwardly fought against the Lord's people; which sets before us, as in a glass, how and what we are to overcome in this Gospel-day, in which we are not to fight with men, but with our lusts, and to overcome sin and satan; which is as great a victory as he obtained who overcame the rampant lions, that had dominion over the wicked, as sin and satan have power and dominion over the wicked and ungodly to this day.

Consider now in time, thou that readest these lines, whether Christ or antichrist doth predominate in thee; whether grace or sin most abound in thy mortal body; whether the Spirit of Truth, that leads into all truth, or the spirit of error, that leads into all error and untruth, is the most prevalent, and hath the greatest place in thy heart. For to him to whom thou art the most subject, and yields thy members servants, his servant thou art; and to him to whom thou givest way and subjects thyself, his servant thou wilt altogether come to be in time, and the wages due to his servants thou shalt have given to thee at the end of thy work. Therefore consider in due time, while the day of thy visitation is continued unto thee, and the Lord is following and calling thee by his secret checks and reproofs, by which he disquiets thy mind, that although thou mayest take some pleasure in vanity and wrong ways, when thou canst get over the just witness of God in thy own soul, yet while it strives with thee to convert and gather thee out of earthly and fading pleasures, to have thy mind set upon heavenly things and take pleasure in them, thou wilt have no solid comfort in all thy lower enjoyments, but condemnation and anguish of soul will attend thee, until thou either gets over the witness, or leaves the evil. This is the experience of the Lord's people, who have been acquainted with the true inward warfare, and also with the saints' victory. Learn to follow Christ by the footsteps of the flocks of his companions; although it be through great tribulations, it is the way to have thy garments washed and made white in the mystical

blood of the immaculate Lamb of God. This is he, as John the Baptist said, that taketh away the sins of the world. Happy is every one that truly putteth on his lamb-like nature, his humility, righteousness, and purity, and is covered with his Holy Spirit, and lives and walks in and under the influence and conduct thereof to the end of time.

When I had travelled much of the time between my going forth, which was from about the nineteenth to the twenty-seventh year of my age; finding some little respite from the weight of that service, I inclined to settle a little closer to business, but had little to begin any calling with. I had been a sojourner some time at Whitby, Scarborough, and Bridlington; but upon seeking to the Lord to know what place I might now settle in, though my great inclination was for Whitby, yet it sounded in my ear, Bridlington, Bridlington is the place to settle in; and in the cross I repaired thither, and settled for some time, keeping a little shop, and mending clocks and watches, as I had done for several years past at times. My settling there was of good service, for the Lord began to work mightily, especially amongst the young Friends, so that in a few years many had their mouths opened in testimony for the Lord, and a fine spring of heavenly ministry was in that Monthly Meeting, the like I have not known in the same bounds, for it is but a small Monthly Meeting, and hath been so ever since I knew it. Truth did mightily prosper, and Friends grew so in the ministry, that it became a proverb, that Bridlington was become a school of prophets. This mighty work of the Lord, in these days, is worthy to be chronicled and remembered among his worthy and noble acts; we had many heavenly and good meetings, praised and renowned be the worthy name of the Lord, now and for ever.

We had but little discipline when I first settled in that place, but afterwards many Friends' hearts were stirred up in a holy zeal for the Lord, to promote meetings for worship, and also for good discipline in the church, for they began to see a necessity of coming up more in the practice of this very needful work. Although some said, They could see no need of such close order and discipline, I found it to be my way in the truth to bear with such, if they were not irregular in their conversations; but if they were disorderly, we dealt with them as the Lord opened our way in the wisdom of truth; and thus bearing with the indifference of some on the one hand, and encouraging the faithful and zealous on the other, way was made, beyond my expectation, for the spreading of the truth, its testimony, and the discipline thereof in those parts.

I had now travelled and laboured much in the Lord's work at home and abroad for about ten years, but had not in all that time found my way clear to marry, although not without some likely opportunity, and with such as were a great deal richer than she was whom I did marry. But I was afraid in this weighty affair to miss my way, knowing the great difference there is between those who only profess, and they who possess the truth; those who are only in the first and unregenerated state, strictly speaking, but the sons and daughters of men, and such who are born again, not of flesh and blood, but of that incorruptible Seed and living word of God which leads into a lively hope, and brings forth a new and heavenly birth in man, that takes delight to please and obey the Lord in all things, and so become sons, or children of God, in a more spiritual and nearer relation than that of creation only; that is in and through this great work of renovation, and being born again. As such live up to that Holy Seed and regenerating principle, and as the same doth predominate and rule in man, in this state man cannot sin, as the apostle said, with this reason annexed, because His Seed (to wit, the Seed of God) remaineth in him. Thus walking in the light, and living in the Seed, Grace, or Holy Spirit, for although the terms of it differ, the virtue and nature of it are indivisible; such come to be gathered to walk with, and truly love Christ, the bridegroom of the soul, and are brought into a greater nearness, truer sympathy, and unity of spirit, than the world knows of. I believe, and therefore truly speak it, the Lord gave me such a wife as really feared him, loved truth and righteousness, and all such as she thought loved, and especially such as lived in the truth; her name was Priscilla Canaby, daughter of James Canaby. She was descended of an honest family in the eastern part of Yorkshire, the only child her parents left; they gave her a commendable education, though they did not leave her any great portion; she was under the care of her uncle, Charles Canaby, of Bridlington, an honest Friend, who left something behind him in manuscript concerning his conviction of the Truth, and sufferings for the same; he was convinced early, lived to a great age, and was a man of great service in those parts where he lived.

I was in the twenty-eighth year of my age when I married my wife, who was a woman of an excellent temper, very affectionate, sober and prudent, loved retirement much, and waiting upon the Lord, and the enjoyment of his presence, especially with the Lord's people, that they might also be made partakers with her of the like favour; this was as her

crown and kingdom while in this world, even from her childhood; and to see Friends prosper in the truth was matter of great rejoicing to her. When we had been married scarcely three years, the Lord raised her up to bear a public testimony amongst Friends, which was very comfortable to them; she had also the Spirit of grace and supplication, measurably poured upon her, so that many with me did believe she had access to the throne of God, and to that river which maketh truly glad the city of God. She always freely gave me up to answer the service I believed the Lord called for of me. She was taken from me when we had been married about five years, in the twenty-eighth year of her age, and died in a sweet frame of mind, and was sensible to the last. Her last words were, "He is come, he is come, whom my soul loves; and my soul rejoices in God my Saviour, and my spirit magnifies him;" and so passed away like a lamb, I believe into a mansion of glory, where her innocent soul will for ever sing hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy of glory, honour, salvation, and strength, now and for ever.

I might enlarge much upon her virtue and worthiness, but in this, as in other matters, it is my desire to avoid prolixity, yet I would notice the most remarkable occurrences that have happened to me in the course of my pilgrimage. I have been much pressed by some of my faithful brethren, and I believe it to be my duty, to leave some accounts for the encouragement and comfort of others in the way and work of the Lord. One thing is worthy here to be inserted, which had an astonishing effect upon my mind, which was thus:

As I was walking in a plain field in the fore part of the day, not far from the sea, betwixt Bridlington and Broynton, my soul was in a deep concern, and at that time exercised in meditation on the things of God, and also in fervent prayer to him for preservation from every hurtful thing: my mind was then brought into a heavenly frame, I neither saw cloud over my mind, nor yet any in the firmament, for it appeared to me a morning without clouds, though I had passed under many. Soon after my mind was brought into this heavenly frame, and as it were swallowed up in the heavenly and internal presence of the Lord, I thought a bright cloud covered me, or caught me up into it: whether I was standing, walking, or set upon the ground, or carried up into the cloud in the body, or out of the body, I know not to this day; yet fear and reverence with bowing of soul, did possess me before the great Majesty, at the glory of whose countenance men and angels fled and gave way, and could not steadfastly behold the brightness and

glory of the countenance of the Son of the Highest, with the mighty God and Father, which are one in power, greatness, goodness, and glory, who was before all things, made all things, and upholds and fills all things that are good, with that which is truly good, or at least is for a good end. Read this mystery, thou that canst, and learn to fear him that hath power over both soul and body, to kill and to cast into hell, for at one time or another he will make thee fear him, when he brings thy sins to judgment, whether it be now or hereafter. The time hath been, is, or will be, in which the Lord, the Judge of both quick and dead, hath, doth, or will plead with thee and all flesh, as in the valley of Jehoshaphat; therefore beware, lest thou make him wroth, as he was upon mount Perizim, but be thou subject to the Lord, as faithful Moses was upon Mount Horeb, or the Mount of God, when he obeyed his voice, and put off his shoes; do thou obey, if it be to the putting away of the glory and wisdom of Egypt, or learning, or what else is required of thee. Oh, then thou art in the way to further service, and wilt be enabled, as thou continuest faithful, to go through all to God's glory, and thy unspeakable peace in the end.

Now as to the last part of the vision, when I was swallowed up in the luminous presence of Him that is first and last, the Alpha and Omega, I heard a voice, very intelligible to that sensation I had then given me, saying, "Dost thou see how pride and wickedness abound in the nation?" I answered in much fear, Lord, I do see it: the next words which I heard in the voice and in the cloud were, "The people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them, I will thin them." I desired of the Lord to show me whether it was his mind I should publish this in any part of the nation? The south was set before, with this caution, "Where this is opened to thee in my power, there speak of it, and not otherwise." I gave up to answer the heavenly vision, and visited most parts of the southern counties, as also the northern parts, and Scotland; and where the Lord opened my mouth to speak of what I had heard, as before, by way of prophecy, I gave up, but did not so much insist upon that matter, as to suffer it to be a means to mislead me from that work of the ministry I was chiefly concerned in. I would that all, who are concerned in the like manner, may be cautious in this great affair, and look well to the rise and original, whence they receive this gift, and how; and also what frame of mind they are in, that nothing of the warmth of their own spirits be set to work, either by the sight of the eye, hearing or reading, but that the mind may be redeemed from all

workings which arise from these and the like grounds, and purely purged, and fitted to receive this gift of prophecy: and also be sure to be very careful to be guidable in the gift, or otherwise thou mayest miss, as to time and place, &c. I intend not to dwell long upon it, as there are other services included in this of prophecy, as edification and comfort, &c., but what I have been upon relates to foretelling something that is to come; and, as a worthy elder once said to me, when I was young in the ministry, It is a great thing to know what, where, and when; and I have found it true to this day. Learn of Him that is meek and low of heart, and be not discouraged, but persevere in faith and sincerity, and look not too much at the difficulty, but look over all to him who hath called thee, and in some measure has revealed his Son through the Spirit in thee. Although I know, from some experience, what it is to be exercised in the matter of prophecy, for in the journey touched of before, I was concerned to tell Friends at Kinmuck, in Scotland, especially, That the Lord would take many of them away: which in a short time came to pass, for many died before that time twelvemonth, it being a time of scarcity of corn, and it was thought many died for want of bread, the year ensuing my being there. I had good service for the Lord, and great satisfaction in these my long travels, as I had in the like before, in divers of which some were convinced of the Truth.

At Cromer, in Norfolk, one Elizabeth Horry, when my mouth was opened, despised my youth, as she confessed afterwards; but what I had to say so reached her condition, that she shed many tears upon her fine silks, and before the meeting broke up, confessed, so that all might hear, in these words, "All that ever I have done hath been told me this day, and this is the everlasting truth." As I passed along from that meeting, not far from Cromer, with some other Friends, it rose in my heart to say aloud, so that a man who was watering his horse might hear, looking and pointing my hand towards him—That man will be a Friend before he dies; and, as he owned after, he was so struck with it, that he had no rest till he came among Friends, though he was then afar off, but he came to be a serviceable man among us, and his wife was also convinced of the truth, and was a serviceable woman. Samuel Hunt, of Nottingham, was first reached at Leicester, by the testimony I had given me to bear in that meeting at that time, as he acknowledged afterwards; but I always gave God the glory, and laid the creature as in the dust, that man might not be too much accounted of.

After my hearing the voice, as before mentioned, I had many deep and heavenly openings, some of which it may not be amiss to mention here, inasmuch as I had now a more clear sight into a translated state than ever I had before. I came, through a Divine sense and participation, to have great sympathy and dear unity, not only with the ever memorable Enoch, whose walking was such that the Lord gave testimony that he pleased him; the ground of which witness was from hence, that he lived near to, and loved God, and walked in the ways of virtue, and abhorred vice: but also with the apostle, having this seal, that God knoweth who are his: and with some other of the servants of Christ in former ages who could say, as some now can say, from true experience, that the Spirit of the Lord beareth witness with our spirits, that we are his, to wit, the Lord's children, so long as we do well; which last words are of large extent, to do well, think well, speak well, and believe well; for he that hath no faith, or that believes ill, cannot do well. He that eats, drinks, or wears that which he knows he ought not, doth not well; but what is done well, is done in a pure mind and clean conscience, for so is true faith held, and all acceptable work to God performed. I had great openings into the removal of Moses, and taking up of Elijah, that great and worthy prophet, from the earth into heaven, and I have seen things not fit to be uttered; neither can the world yet believe them. I saw far into the mystery of the transfiguration of Christ, and the appearance of Moses and Elias with him upon the mount; and the voice which was heard from the excellent glory, "This is my beloved Son, hear him;" not Moses nor Elias in comparison of him, for the law pointed to him, and was as a school-master to bring to him. The holy prophets foresaw and prophesied of his coming, and John the Baptist saw Christ, and baptized him, and bore witness of him as the Light, and said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world;" he also said, "He is the bridegroom that hath the bride," the church. He spoke of his own decrease, and unworthiness in comparison of Christ, though called by Christ himself, as great a prophet as was ever born of a woman. He was also called Elias, which must first come and is already come; in respect of power, knowledge, boldness, and faithfulness, he was as Elias, yet the least in the kingdom of Christ was greater than he, because the power and glorious kingdom and Gospel dispensation was not fully brought in and restored to Israel, or those who should believe in him until his ascension. But now these great agents all passed away, with their figu-

rative, prophetic, and elementary dispensations, and gave place to the Son and Heir of all things, the Messiah, the Great Prophet, Bishop, Shepherd, King, and Law-giver.

Read these things, and learn truly to understand how Moses past away, and Elias past away, and Christ is left, who is able alone to perfect the work of man's redemption, who trod the wine-press alone, and amongst all the sons of men, none were with him or helped him. He came who was the anti-type of all types gone before: he, Christ, is come to remove the covenant made before, because of the weakness and imperfection thereof; which covenant made not the comers thereto perfect, but the better hope brought in by Christ did. This covenant is abundantly more excellent and established upon better promises than that was or could be, by the blood of bulls, goats, and the ashes of an heifer, which reached the outside only. But in the second or new covenant, there is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, so that such may be fitted and qualified to serve the living God, not in the works of the old covenant, but in the newness of the Holy Spirit. This is he that, as to his divinity and eternity, was before the hills were settled, and the seas and foundations were made, that took delight to dwell with the sons of men, or in the habitable parts of the earth. As he is a spirit, or word uncreated, he dwelt measurably in Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, before the flood; for by his Spirit God strove with the old world to reclaim them from their wickedness, when it was great. It was by this Spirit Noah was made a preacher of righteousness, and instructed how to build the ark. This is he who was with Shem and Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and all the faithful fathers after the flood, the foundation of all the righteous, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, such as loved and believed in him, and suffered for his name's sake, and the testimony which they held. This is he that despised the glory of this world, and is lifted up as a standard to the people, and an ensign to the nations; unto him shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious. He hath lifted up a greater rod than that of Moses, sometimes called the rod of iron, by which he hath, and, I believe will, break to pieces many people as a potter's vessel, when the sin and iniquity of the people is come to the height. It was he that turned the waters of Egypt into blood; it was he that slew the first-born throughout all the land of Egypt: he overthrew the Egyptians, and brought forth Israel by a strong hand, and an outstretched arm. After he had marked the dwellings of his people, and spared them in the time of this great slaughter, which

was executed both upon man and beast, to wit, the first-born in Egypt, then he became Israel's passover. These things that were done typically and in an outward way, read inwardly and in thine own experience, that thou mayest say, and that truly, Christ is my passover, after he hath mitigated thy sore bondage, and in degree given thee faith in his great name, and caused thee to love him and made thee willing to follow him, although it be through the sea of troubles, and sometimes as through the wilderness. Here is an eating of the heavenly passover, or paschal Lamb, under the influence of the pure love of God, that is spread over the soul like a canopy, or banner; here is the heavenly manna, the true body to feed on, that yields true nourishment and solid comfort to thy soul, in thy travel towards the heavenly country; here the substance of the scape goat is known, that beareth away the sins of the people, for he bore our iniquities, and through his stripes we were healed. On his part there wants nothing, but on man's, faith in and obedience to Christ. He is the substance or antitype of the brazen serpent, which was lifted up in the wilderness to cure the people's ailments, occasioned by the serpents; he is the advocate with the Father, as John said, to encourage little children in that time, which I think may very well be applied to all in that state until time here shall be no more. Happy is every one that heareth, obeyeth, and reverenceth the Son and Heir of all things, in his spiritual appearance in the heart, where he speaks to the conditions of the children of men, as never man spoke, and to much better purpose than ever man could do. This is he that spoke to the fathers by the prophets, who in these times doth speak to us in or by his Spirit; so take heed to his spiritual appearance in the heart, for there must the work of our salvation be perfected, after sin is purged out, and the guilt thereof taken away. To such death is easy, where sin, the sting of death, is taken away, having a part in Christ, the first-born of many brethren, the resurrection from the dead—a part in Him that is the resurrection indeed and the life; over such the second death, which is a perpetual separation from the heavenly presence of God, and the company of holy angels, shall have no power. I now leave this digression, and return to the historical part.

In my young years, I was very much afflicted upon taking cold, with a sore throat, that I could scarcely speak so as to be heard, and had much trouble at times to swallow any thing which nature required. In a journey northward, in Truth's service, coming to Hawkshead, and sitting in the meeting

under no small exercise with the trouble aforesaid, not without some reasonings and conflicts of spirit, having left all, as I believed, to do what the Lord required of me, and yet I apprehended myself, by means of this affliction, not likely to be of any service; after some reasonings, and a fervent seeking to the Lord to know the cause, and to bring my mind to a true resignation to the will of God in this, and in all the trials he might see good in his wisdom to exercise me in; I had not been long brought into this resigned state to be and do what the Lord would have me do, but oh! I felt of the virtue of Christ as a sweet and living spring, by which I was healed. I was, and am to this day, when I remember the Lord's kind dealings with me, very thankful to him.

It has been frequently observable, that the Lord leads his servants through many states, that having the experience thereof, they may be the more capable of helping others in the like straits; it is an excellent thing to love and truly believe in Jesus Christ, and keep self down as in the dust for ever.

*An account of my first visit to Friends in America.*

Now the time came for my going into America, having had a sight of it about ten years before. I acquainted my wife therewith about a year before she died, and found it was likely to be a very near trial to her. She was a virtuous good woman, but was taken away, and left me three small children, the eldest not above four years old, the youngest not much above one month old. Having but little of this world, I reasoned much about going, thinking my circumstances at present might excuse me: my intentions were good in it, that I might not leave things in any way to the dishonour of the truth. My youngest child was taken away when about a year old; and soon after, wherever I went, while I was awake, it sounded in my ears several days and nights, Now is the time, now is the time. Providence so ordered it, that my other two children were placed to mine and Friends' satisfaction. I went through many provings that no man knew of, but I believe, when I am gathered to my place, I shall leave many brethren behind me in mutability, who will read my lines in their own experience. I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my outward circumstances, I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the world; for after I received the knowledge of the Truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to religion, if any should lose by me. I have often said, and been hearty in my intentions, that rather than

truth should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very hard if I were able, and upon any mean, but lawful calling. It has been matter of wonder to me, how persons who carry any pretensions to religion, dare run such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottom or abilities; which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable risk, and I apprehend pride and ostentation are much the occasion of it, which are against truth, and men are no better for their greatness; for the more plain, and the more humble we are, the more we resemble humble Jesus and his religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their places, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.

Now I must leave my little children, and my very near friends, and native country, and all for Christ and the Gospel's sake, without any sinister end or view. I appealed to the Lord, in the simplicity of my heart, that he knew I was willing to be at his disposal, and what he had favoured me with, I could leave to him; yet whether what I had was sufficient to defray mine and my two little ones necessary charges, was somewhat in my way; and to satisfy me in this doubt, the Lord's voice sounded exceedingly clear to that sensation I was then endued with, saying, "Go, and be faithful, and I will bless thee every way." Oh! my heart seemed to melt, and my spirit to dissolve within me, and I said, Good is the word of the Lord, thou hast not failed me in any of my great straits and trials to this day; I have great cause to trust in thee; renowned be thy most excellent name, now and for ever.

I parted from my friends with much brokenness of heart, and set forward on my journey towards London, in order to take shipping there, the 11th of the eighth month, 1700. With my companions, Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale, John Estaugh, and some other Friends, I went on board a ship in the river Thames, and we had not been long there, considering our freedom about going in the ship, when it opened clearly in my mind, in the light, That I must not go in that vessel; and I said to the Friends, I could not go in her, for I saw nothing but death and darkness there. The account of what afterwards happened to the ship I had from two particular Friends, in two letters from London to America, wherein they expressed a thankfulness for our deliverance, and magnified that hand which wrought it, and preserved us from going in that ship, which was lost near the island of either Jersey or Guernsey, and, as it was said, about seventy people were drowned.



I have seen a Divine Providence attend terrene affairs; and I may mention some things that appear to be of but little moment to some; and such as do not duly consider these things, may make a wrong application; yet my travels have afforded a variety of trials and transactions, which are in some things very peculiar, and there is a willingness in my mind to favour some who have been desirous I should leave a journal of my life, as far as I can see my way clear in the Truth.

We went on board another ship called the Arundel, Splenden Rand, master, in which we embarked the 17th of the ninth month, 1700, and after many storms, and much sea sickness, not without some conflicts of spirit, more than I am free to express, and a long passage, being nearly sixteen weeks upon the sea, we arrived in the river Patuxent, in Maryland, as near as I remember, the 5th or 6th of the first month, 1701, and my heart was glad, and filled with acknowledgments and praises to the Lord, for bringing us safely over the mighty waters.

We left the ship and master, who was a churlish, ill-natured man. I was very weak and low, both in body and mind, when I landed, but the Lord helped me, and made my journey and labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own soul. After the first or second meeting we were at, John Estaugh being my companion, as we came near a great house in Maryland, I espied a little white horse, the sight of which put me in mind of a dream I had on board the ship before I landed, in which I thought I got a little white horse, which carried me well, and many miles. I said to the Friends with me, Let us call at this house, which we did, and upon inquiry about a horse, the man said he had none but a little white young galloway, as he called it, which he was willing to sell, and told us, it carried him one day forty miles. He asked eight pounds sterling for it, and I bade him five pounds sterling; the man's wife coming up the passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her husband, It is enough: so I had him, and a good horse he proved, and carried me, by a moderate computation, four thousand miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a favour from that great Hand which led me forth, and hitherto hath preserved me in the land of the living, to praise his ever worthy name.

We set forward towards Virginia and North Carolina, and found great openness in these two provinces amongst the people, and a tender hearted remnant of Friends scattered in these wilderness countries. Although, as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and

put my trust, raised me, and many times filled my heart with his word and testimony, so that sometimes it went forth as a flame of fire amongst the loose libertines, who were proud and unfaithful, yet professors of the Truth; and we had many large and good meetings. One thing is worthy of notice; as I was speaking in a meeting in Virginia, a sudden stop came upon me, and occasioned me to say, I cannot go forward, whatsoever the matter may be, I know not; but giving over immediately, a Friend, whose name was Edward Thomas, began to preach, who was but young in the ministry, though an elderly man, and apt to be attended with reasonings. He said after the meeting, he had sought to the Lord with prayers, that he would condescend so far to his request, as to give me a sense of him, and in so doing he would take that as a great strength and confirmation to his ministry, in this day of many exercises and great fears; or much to the same effect. Thus we see the Lord in his great mercy condescends to the low, weak, and as it were, infant states of his children, like a tender father, and being our heavenly high priest, is touched with a feeling of the infirmities of his people; thanksgiving and honour be given to his most excellent name, now and for ever.

During our stay in Virginia, being at a Friend's house, an ancient widow, I observed several persons of note come into the yard, a store-house being near, to make, as appeared afterwards, a seizure for rates for the government and priest. Not being distinctly charged, but a mixed rate, it occasioned Friends to be straitened about the payment of them. Observing the priest to be there, and very busy, I asked what he was come about: the Friend replied, they were come to make distress for the forty pounds per poll, as they phrase it, which is forty pounds of tobacco, payable for every taxable head, *i. e.* all above sixteen years old. There were along with the priest, the sheriff and constable for the government, and divers merchants of note as spectators. Understanding the reason of their coming, I stepped out to the priest, who seemed a topping brisk man, his temper in this case not unsuitable to his name, which was Sharp; and desired him to be careful how he devoured widows' houses; he briskly replied, he did not; to which I as closely returned, that I found he did. He denied my assertion, and said, the government gave him what he demanded and took; to which I gave the following answer: Inasmuch as he did not any thing for the widow, for which he reasonably might require a reward, I believed the government would not insist upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop it, which in common equity I thought he



should. The priest, displeas'd with this modest reply, tartly answer'd, you are no Christians. I told him, the charge was high and false, and he might more easily affirm than prove it; wherefore I put the question, and asked him, why we were so charg'd by him; to which he return'd this insignificant answer, that we deny'd part of the divinity of Christ. I told him, he was a novice, and differ'd in his opinion from most of his brethren, seeing it was a general reflection cast on us by most of his fraternity, that we own'd the divinity of Christ, but deny'd his manhood, which was false also; therefore I demand'd of him, to prove what part of the divinity of Christ we deny'd; in which if he fail'd, I should look upon him as a false accuser, and those present would, I hop'd, be my witnesses. He shuffled and declin'd answering, though I urg'd him as much as possible; and to cut the matter off, he ask'd, whence I came. The sheriff bid him give me a verse in Greek; I told them, I matter'd not meddling in that, for as the English tongue was best understood by those present, I thought it would be best to keep by it. I told him, I was of Old England; but still remind'd him of proving his assertion, which I look'd for from him; but instead of that, he ask'd, what part of Old England I came from: I told him Yorkshire; and bid him produce his proofs, as before urg'd, but still evading the matter, he desired to know from what place. I told him, I was born at North Cave; and, said he, I was born at South Cave, and my father was minister there many years, his name was Sharp, and there is but a mile difference between those places: I said it was a long one. No sooner was this over, but the priest, transport'd with my being his countryman, began hugging me to such a degree, that I was quite ashamed of him. When I had got clear of his embraces, though not without some difficulty, I ask'd him, if he esteem'd himself a minister of Christ: he answer'd, yea, and lawfully call'd thereto. I told him, if he was a Gospel minister, as the Gospel was free, so should his ministry be free; and turning to the people there present, I told them I would not have them deceiv'd, for they might understand he only possess'd his place by virtue of a law in that case provided, and his call and ordination was only such as had been conferr'd upon him for a fee, which made him require pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair; wherefore they might upon consideration find he was but a minister of the letter, which was dead, and not a minister of the Spirit and Divine Power; from which he did not offer to clear himself, though I urg'd him thereto. Then I ask'd him, from which

of those odious characteristics that the false ministers were brand'd with in the New Testament, he would clear himself: which I then enumerat'd to him. The sheriff said it was so; and withal said, Mr. Sharp, answer the man, for the question is very rational, and you ought to answer him, and for honour-sake clear yourself of those odiums, if you can. But he would not offer to meddle with it; wherefore I told him, to mind for the future, not to charge any man or people with more than he could be sure to prove; for it was highly scandalous. It being now meeting time, I ask'd him to go thither; but he refusing, said he durst not; so we parted.

Having visit'd Friends here, we return'd back for Maryland and Pennsylvania, and we found a great many who lov'd to hear the testimony and doctrines of Truth, but too few who took up the cross daily, and follow'd Christ in the way of self-denial, and knew the thorough work of regeneration, so as to have their garments wash'd and made white in the mystical blood of the Lamb. These are not pollut'd with the sins and iniquities of the world, who have experienc'd this blood to sprinkle the heart from an evil conscience: these are capable of serving the living God; and coming from the laver or pool that truly washes, there is none unfruitful, but every one bearing twain, and they are inwardly clean and fruitful to God, and walk with him, whose bright and shining lives are also fruitful to the world that will receive them. Read this, thou that hast known something of the work of conversion, and consider the great difference there is between the bright lives of the virtuous, and the dull and cloudy lives of the vicious, and be sure thou look well, which of these thou most resemblest in thine.

When we came into Pennsylvania, my companion before mention'd, whom I lov'd well, told me he must go back to Virginia. It became an exercise to us both, for I could not see my way clear to go back, having been twice through that province. When no other way appear'd, but that we must part, for my way appear'd clear for the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island and New England, I held it needful that we should call the Friends and elders of Philadelphia and thereabouts together, to let them know how we parted, for we parted in much love and tender heartedness; that if any reflections should be cast upon the Friends there concerning us, because of our parting, they might set those things in their proper light; so taking our leave of our dear friends in these parts, I travel'd without any constant companion. Sometimes I fell into company with Elizabeth Webb and Sarah Clement, who were virtuous women,

and lived near the kingdom, and were of good service in their travels, and grew in the Truth, of which, while with them, I was sensible. We travelled under great care and circumspection, both for our own good and avoiding offence, as became our places and holy profession, that in all things we might adorn the Gospel of the kingdom, a dispensation of which was committed to us to preach to others. I had good service for the Lord, and great satisfaction in my own mind in these parts, the Lord helping me by his mighty power through all my trials, as my heart was devoted and resigned to answer his requirings.

I had great openings in several places in New England, and it appeared clear to me, and sometimes I spoke openly of it, that the Lord would gather a great people to the saving knowledge of the Truth in his time, notwithstanding what many of our Friends had suffered in these parts from the predecessors of the present inhabitants, for the name of the Lord and the testimony which they held. The view of the state of these things, especially the great sufferings of many of our faithful Friends, put me in mind of this saying, The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; and in this case, I believe it will be fulfilled in its season.

One passage happened, which I think not fit to pass over in silence. A man who was brother to a Presbyterian priest, came into a meeting in the eastern parts of New England, in order to oppose Friends. He had often been very troublesome, as Friends said, and in the beginning of the meeting he desired to have liberty to ask some questions. Being a stranger, and not having so much as heard of the man, and none making reply to him, I felt a liberty in the Truth to return the following answer in behalf of the meeting, That I did apprehend it was the desire of Friends, inasmuch as the meeting was appointed for the worship of God, and not for asking questions, or for controversies, that the chief part should first be answered; and I also thought the meeting would be willing, in the conclusion, to give him liberty to ask the questions, if his intent therein was for information or satisfaction, and not for contention. Friends were silent, and the man submitted to what was proposed, and a good meeting we had, the Lord's heavenly power and living presence being with us, and the substance was felt among us, and exalted over all the shadows and types; and Christ the true bread and living water, the light and life of the world, was exalted that day; and the mighty God and Father, with his beloved Son, through the help of the Holy Spirit, was glorified, who is worthy for ever. Near the conclusion of the

meeting, the man began to speak well of what he had heard, particularly touching water baptism, which he said, he had nothing to object against; but as to the sacrament, as he called it, because little or nothing had been said about it, therefore he concluded, we either denied or disused it; or words to the same purport. I stood up and said, I did not remember that the word sacrament was in all the Bible; but supposed he meant the bread and wine; he answered he did. I asked him whether he was of the same mind as the Episcopal church; if not of the same mind, he might say so; for they say, the bread and wine is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, &c.; what said he to it? He was some time silent; then I asked him, how long he thought that sign was to continue? He replied, to the end of the world. I answered, he did not read in all the Bible, that the Lord had appointed any figure or sign but what was to end in the substance, which is to be witnessed and enjoyed in this world, and not put off to the end or conclusion thereof, as his argument seemed to declare, by his urging, that the sign of that divine substance must remain till the end of this world. I asked him what he could answer to that: he turned off with only saying, I was too great a scholar for him, and so he would not meddle with me. He was then silent, and there being many people, I had a fine opportunity to open to the tender hearted and Friends present, how that was at best but a sign, which the people eat and drank outwardly, in remembrance of Christ's death until he came; but that I could now prove plenteously from the New Testament, that the substance, the grace, was come, and urged many proofs out of the Scriptures to the same purpose. What I said so reached a good-like old man, a Presbyterian, that he confessed with tears, he had heard much said upon that subject, but had never heard it so opened before; and said he believed I was in the right. The meeting broke up in a good frame, and Friends rejoiced that Truth came over all, and the contentious man was silenced. When the meeting was over, the goodly old man took me to the door, and asked me what a man should do in case of a solemn league and covenant, he being entered into it. I told him I needed not to direct him, for he had that in himself which would show him what he should do; for if one should make an agreement or covenant with hell and death, in the time of ignorance and darkness, and now the true light discovered it to be so; the same light which discovered and manifested it to be wrong, as he was faithful to the same, would show him how and when to break it, and every other wrong thing; to which light I re-

commended him, and bid him take heed to it; which, he said he hoped he should; and so I left him with tears on his cheeks, and passed on.

I omitted one thing which happened in that part of New England, near New York and Long Island, although I was twice backward and forward, yet to be brief in my travels through those countries, intended to make one account serve. As I was speaking in a meeting, there came a great damp over my spirit, and in that time came into the meeting several men, occasioned by a topping and great man in the world, who had given them an expectation that they should hear how he would oppose the Quakers; but in a short time Truth rose, and Friends generally heard a man say to this disputant, Why do you not speak? He hushed him with saying, The man is upon the subject which I intend to oppose them with. After some time the man was urged again to speak to me, with a Why do you not speak? We heard him say, The man has opened the thing so as I never heard it before, and I have nothing to say; and to his own, and the wonder of his neighbours, he sat down upon a seat near the door, and wept tenderly; so it was a good time to him and many more, for the Lord's mighty power was amongst us. In my return from my journey in the eastern parts of New England, the same man desired me to have a meeting at his house; and after due consideration and the approbation of Friends, who desired it might be so, when they knew it was his request, a meeting was appointed, and I heard there were likely to be at it a great many of the higher sort of Presbyterians of his neighbourhood.

I went to the meeting under no small concern of mind, but when I was come into the great house, I was very much affected with the wise conduct of the man, to see in what excellent order he had placed every thing, so that I could not find wherein any thing could be amended; and a heavenly meeting it was, without any opposition. At the breaking up of the meeting, this tender man, whose heart was broken and opened by the power of Truth, said audibly, his heart and house were open to receive me, and such as me, let all say what they would to the contrary. But what the subject matter was at the first meeting when he came in, I have forgotten; it was enough and that we remembered we had a good heavenly meeting, and were truly thankful for the same to Him who was the author thereof.

I and some other Friends being in our passage by water in a vessel bound for Rhode Island, and meeting with high and contrary winds, we put into a creek some miles distant from Rhode Island, and desired the people to

procure us some horses to ride on, and we would pay them any thing that was reasonable, but hoped they would not make a prey of us, for we were strangers, and they ought to do to us as they would be done by, if they were in a strange land, as we were. There came up to us a goodly old man, and asked us what people we were, if we were not Quakers? I told him we were in scorn so called, but we did not much mind names, for there was but little in them. He was a brisk talking man, and said, There was a man here lately who said he was a Quaker, and borrowed a horse, and when he was gone some miles from this place, he offered to sell the horse; I know not, said the man, but you are such. I returned this answer to the reflection; That that was a great proof we were an honest and reputable people where we were known, for when a man is so wicked as to become a notorious cheat, he will cover himself under the best name he can think of, otherwise he might have said he was a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or an Episcopalian, and desired you to lend him an horse; but you mind not these names, neither doth the wicked man think he can pass so well under any of these last, but under the first; and the reason of it I leave thee to judge. The old man asked no more questions, but used his endeavours to get us horses, and a man and horse to go with us, to have the horses back again, and we were well mounted; but before we set forward, he took me to his house and was very courteous, for though we had spoken for some victuals in as short a time as well might be, he invited me to drink, and brought of his apples and beer, which he would have my friends to partake of, for he said, and we found it true, it was but a poor inn. The old man and I parted very lovingly, and I gave him a piece of money to show my gratitude for his civility and good service to us. The people looked upon us as some great wonder, for I heard one say, Are these Quakers? Well, said he, they look like other people. How we had been represented, and by whom, it is not hard to gather, for it is very apparent, that the same spirit and the same enmity continues in some of the inhabitants of that country, of which our Friends formerly felt the severe effects. They are since somewhat moderated by the government there, which is of a more mild and Christian disposition; although I am well assured, that many of the more conscientious and thinking people in those parts of the world begin to see, and many will see and understand in time, that hanging and taking away lives, for the sake of religion, is opposite to Christ, and the nature of the true religion which is wrought in man by the operation, quickenings, and in-

dwellings of the Holy Spirit. As it is regarded and followed, it leavens and brings the soul of man in some degree to put on the purity, heavenly image, and nature of Christ, which is love, praying for enemies, and is not for destroying, but saving lives; how far the reverse will agree with that religion taught by Christ, and practised by him and the apostles, I would have all seriously consider in time.

While we were in Boston, when one of the afore-mentioned worthy women was declaring excellently, both with good utterance and voice, and good matter, as the manner of the inhabitants of Boston had been for many years to encourage, or at least suffer a rude mob to bawl and make a noise, so they did now, that it was hard to hear so as to understand distinctly what the Friend said, although she spoke plainly and intelligibly. It did very much grieve me to see the ignorance and darkness of those high professors of religion, and when the Friend had done, observing there appeared men of some note in the world, I requested them to hush the rabble, for I had something to say, which I desired them to make known to the governor and chief men of the town; so they soon quelled the noise. Then I told them, that in case we were as erroneous as some might insinuate we were, that was not the way to convince us of our errors, neither to bring us out of them, but rather to establish us in them; and that was not the way for them to gain proselytes, but the way to lose many from them, and increase dissenters; for what conviction could there be by noise and clamour, and hooting, as if they would split their own lungs. I had come a great way to see them, and what character could I give of them. I never thought to have seen so much folly amongst a wise and religious people as I now saw: tell the governor and chief men of the town, what the Englishman saith; for I am ashamed of such doings. It had a good effect, for when I came after, we had quiet meetings; and I understood by a letter from Daniel Zachary, of Boston, to Old England, that the governor said I was in the right, and ordered that peace should be kept in Friends' meetings there; and I never heard to the contrary but it is well yet as to that. We had great reason to be truly thankful to the Lord for these and all other mercies, that He, the fountain of all good, is pleased to favour us with. As an instance of the Lord's mercy to many poor sufferers, and to show the implacable envy of these people to Friends, the case of Thomas Maulham, of Salem, may suffice, in some measure, who was a great sufferer in the time of hot persecution. When the persecutors had stripped him of almost all he had; not content with

that, they came with axes, and hewed down all the apple trees in his orchard, which was a large one, and left the stumps about the height of a man's knee. As Thomas Maulham said, they took the way, as they thought, to ruin him, but the Lord turned it into a blessing, for the trees grew to admiration, and came to bear fruit abundantly, and a finer orchard I have not seen in all my travels, for the size of it; let the Lord be sanctified by all his people, and admired by all them that believe.

I went with several other Friends from Salem Yearly Meeting, which was a large and good meeting, towards Dover, and coming to a river, a Friend took my horse, with two more, into the boat, and by the time I came to the river side, the boat was sinking, and the ferryman made a lamentable cry, saying, The boat is sunk, and we shall be all drowned. It was so ordered, that there was but one Friend in the boat with the boatman, and I do not remember that ever before now my horse was in any boat and I not there; which I looked on as the mercy of a kind Providence to me, and to several other Friends in company. Hearing the noise and the floundering of the horses when tumbling into the water, I called to the men to be sure to take care to free themselves of all the tackling of the horses, as bridles, stirrups, &c., and catch hold of my horse's tail, and he would bring them both on shore; but if they trusted to the tackling, when the horses swam, they would fail them, unless very strong; and to hold by the bridle was the way to drown both horse and man. This advice was given while they had the horses in their hands; and the boatman being a lively youth, took my advice, caught hold of my horse's tail, it being long, which I ever approved of among rivers, and calling to my horse, he came quickly with the man ashore, but left the honest old Friend, Ezekiel Waring, to whose house we intended to go that night, in the river floating to the neck, a hundred yards from the shore by computation, yet watchful Providence did so attend, that his life was preserved to a wonder. He missed taking my advice, and caught hold of the stirrup, and the girth broke, as they are apt to do if they be tight when the horse begins to swim, which brought off the saddle and pillion, and the oar of the boat and his hat, which with the pillion-seat being in his arms, just bore up his head above water for some time. His poor wife seeing the danger to which her husband was exposed, fell into a fainting fit; there being neither house, man, or boat, to be seen on this side of the river but ourselves and the boatman, and the stem and stern of the sunk boat full of water. There

was a house on the other side of the river, which was half a mile over. The ferryman did his best to get a boat or canoe, and although it began to be dark, yet he found a canoe, which is made of a fine piece of timber, hollowed in the form of a boat, and generally will carry but two or three or four men. Coming to us, he asked if Ezekiel was alive: I told him he was, but very weak, for I had often heard him blubber in the water; I encouraged him, that he might not faint in his mind, for I told him, I yet believed his life would be preserved; he would very faintly say, Unless help came, he could not hold it long. I went on by the waterside, and laid me down often on the land, not much regarding wet or dirt, sometimes tumbling over logs of wood and limbs of trees, for so it is in these uncultivated places, and I directed the man with his canoe where the poor Friend was, as nearly as I could tell by my last observation, and desired he would turn the stern of his canoe to him, as he could not lift him into the canoe; neither to let him lay his hand upon the broad side of it, but upon the stern, lest he should overset it, and they be both drowned: he did so, and brought him gently on shore, to the great joy of his loving wife and of us all. The boatman, as he owned, had found my counsel good, and therefore would have me tell him what he must do now. I bid him fetch the boat to shore by the fowler or rope, and then go and carry Ezekiel in the canoe to the inn on the other side of the water, that he might dry, warm, and refresh himself until we came; in the mean time we cleared the boat of water, which, when done, we put two horses into it, and I towed my horse at the boat's stern, to make room for several, especially the good women before mentioned, who were at this time in my company, and not without their exercise any more than myself. We got well over, and then the ferryman and Friend on the other side, brought the horses that were left, being three, which were enough for the boat, and proved too many the first time. We found the good old Friend finely and well recruited, and got to his house about midnight, where we were glad, and our hearts were full of praises to the Lord for this great and eminent deliverance and preservation.

In this first visit, while in Rhode Island, I met with something worthy of thy notice, if thou art such a reader as I wish thou mayest be, which was thus: Being in Rhode Island, several Friends came to me in some of the intervals of the Yearly Meeting, for it held several days, both for worship and discipline, to inquire whether it was usual in our part of the world to let the young, and such as had appeared but little in testimony, come into the

meetings of public Friends: I said, Yes, if they were of clean lives, and what they had to say, approved; and it was very likely such might want advice as much as those who were come to more experience in the work of the ministry, if not more: this was some means of enlarging the said meetings of ministers now coming on. When I came into the meeting, several of the elders desired me to go into the gallery, which I refused, the concern upon my mind being so great, I thought it was enough that I could but get into the house, and sit down amongst the lowest rank.

This meeting was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent visitation from the Lord that was upon us in it. I have not often seen the like. I question if there were any dry cheeks for some time in it; and the manner of the working of the heavenly power was remarkable, in order to the sanctifying and preparing vessels for the Lord's use. He broke us down by his judgments from following flattering flesh, and the pleasing vanities of the world, and the subtle baits of satan, and by the tenders of his love, engaged us to follow the heavenly and inward calls, knocks and reproofs of his Holy Spirit, and to obey the dictates of the same. When the Lord prepares in a good degree for this work of the ministry, many have been unwilling to give up and obey, until they have tasted of the Lord's displeasure, and in part of his judgments, which have brought them into submission; after which they went out, sometimes with their lives in their hands, and became a wonder to men, bearing their reproach, and sometimes appeared in great congregations, sometimes in noises and tumults, and sometimes were in watchings and fastings, in weariness, hunger, and in cold, with much more, for the name of the Lord and his testimony, and for the enjoyment of peace, and his internal presence, who separated us to this work by the Holy Ghost. And it is by our abiding faithful to the same, that we are preserved in a capacity of persevering through all to the end, to the mutual help and comfort one of another, and renown of the name of the Lord, who is worthy now and for ever.

We also had a very large meeting on this island in an orchard, where I had good service for the Lord: I remember I was much concerned about the two ministrations, viz. John's baptism with water, and Christ's with the Holy Ghost, it being clear from John's words, that he saw to the end of his own dispensation when he declared, he must decrease, but Christ must increase; which is generally understood to relate to their differing dispensations. The first was to baptize unto repentance, the other to the purging of the floor, and

burning up of that which was combustible, viz. the chaff and stubble, which the Lord's baptism burneth up inwardly, and which no elementary thing can do; for if all the eatings, washings, observations, and ceremonies under the law, although commanded and enjoined to Israel by the Lord, could not make the comers thereunto perfect, how should these or any of them now perfect the Gentile world when not commanded, as they never were to us? What I had upon my mind, as I received I went through with, and showed the beginning, use and end of the watery dispensation, and the use and continuance of Christ's spiritual baptism to the end of the world. The meeting broke up, and Friends went into an upper room in an inn; but I felt such an exercise upon my spirit that I could not eat, but desired Friends to be easy, and I would eat as soon as I could; and while I was walking over the large chamber alone, there came up three men whom I knew not, or what they were, but it sprang livingly in my heart to set my eyes on them in the Lord's dread, and so I did. They passed away, and I was told afterwards, that they were three Baptist preachers who had been at the meeting, and came to see me, with a design to have a dispute with me; but, they said, I looked so sharply, they durst not meddle with me. Thus the Lord in a good degree wrought for me, blessed be his worthy name for ever.

Now I leave the account of my travels in those parts, and enter upon my second, with my honest companion, James Bates, who was born in Virginia, and travelled much with me through many provinces, and some islands, and we had good service together. It was much with me, when on Rhode Island, to visit Nantucket, where there were but very few Friends; Peleg Slocum, an honest public Friend, near Rhode Island, intending to carry us in his sloop to Nantucket that night. He thought we had been close in with our desired landing place, but we fell short, and night coming on, and having but one small canoe to put us on shore, which would carry but three people at once, we went on shore at twice, and left the sloop at an anchor. It being dark, we thought we were going up into the island among the inhabitants, but soon found that we were upon a beach of sand and rubbish, where was neither grass nor tree, neither could we find the sloop that night, though we sought it carefully, and hallowed one to another till we were weary, so that we were forced to settle upon our little island, from the centre of which, one might cast a stone into the sea on every side. Here we staid that night, not knowing but the sea, when at the height, would have swept us all

away, but it did not; there I walked, and sometimes sat, until morning, but slept none; at last the morning came, and the mist went away, and we got on board again, and reached the island about the ninth or tenth hour.

The master was willing, at our request, to land three of us, viz. me, my companion, and Susanna Freborn, a public Friend, who had had a concern upon her mind for some time, as she signified to Friends in Rhode Island, where she lived, to visit the few Friends in Nantucket, and Friends thought this was a proper season to pay that visit. She was a woman well beloved, and in good unity with Friends.

We landed safely, and as we went up an ascent, we saw a great many people looking towards the sea, for great fear had possessed them, that our sloop was a French sloop loaded with men and arms, who were coming to invade the island. I held out my arms and told them, I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to alarm the island, it being a time of war. I told the good-like people, for so they appeared to me, that Peleg Slocum, near Rhode Island, was master of the sloop, and that we came to visit them in the love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us, and said, they thought we might.

We then inquired for Nathaniel Starbuck, who, we understood was in some degree convinced of the truth, and having directions to his house, we went thither. I told him, we made bold to come to his house, and if he was free to receive us, we should stay a little with him, but if not, we should go elsewhere; for we heard he was a seeking religious man, and such chiefly we were come to visit: he said, we were very welcome. By this time came in his mother Mary Starbuck, whom the islanders esteemed as a judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood.

At the first sight of her it sprang in my heart, To this woman is the everlasting love of God. I looked upon her as a woman that bore some sway in the island, and so I said, and that truly, we are come in the love of God to visit you, if you are willing to let us have some meetings among you. She said, she thought we might; and further said, there was a Non-conformist minister who was to have a meeting, and they were going to it, and she thought it would be the best way for us to go with them to the meeting. I showed my dislike to that for these reasons; first, we did not want to hear what that minister had to say, because some of us had tried them before we



came there, meaning the Non-conformists of several sorts, and if we should go, and could not be clear without speaking something in the meeting, he might take it ill. But as we understand there is another meeting appointed at the second hour for the same man, and as we look upon ourselves to stand upon equal ground in a religious capacity with other dissenters, if we should appoint our meeting at the same hour, then the people will be left to their choice to which meeting they will go. The woman approved of the proposal, and said, Indeed that was the best way. The next consideration was, Where shall the meeting be? She paused awhile, and then said, I think at our house. I from thence gathered she had an husband, for I thought the word our carried in it some power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us. I then made my observation on him, and he appeared not a man of mean parts, but she far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her.

The meeting being agreed on, and care taken as to the appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any sleep, for I have showed before what sort of a night the last was with us; but sleep vanished from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the woods until the meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great load in my spirit; the occasion of which was hid from me, but I saw it my place to go to meeting, the order of which was such, in all the parts thereof, that I had not seen the like before; the large and bright rubbed room was set with suitable seats or chairs, the glass windows taken out of the frames, and many chairs placed without, very conveniently, so that I did not see any thing wanting, according to the place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary order than in some other things, for the seats both within and without doors were so placed, that the faces of the people were towards where the public Friends sat, and when so set, they did not look or gaze in our faces, as some I think are too apt to do, which in my thoughts bespeaks an unconcerned mind. The meeting being thus gathered, and set down in this orderly manner, although there were but very few bearing our name in it, it was not long before the mighty power of the Lord began to work, and in it my companion did appear in testimony in the fore part thereof. While he was speaking, a priest, not the one before mentioned, but another, threw out some reflections upon him, and the people

for his sake, which I did not see the least occasion for; after which he went away.

I sat a considerable time in the meeting before I could see my way clear to say any thing, until the Lord's heavenly power raised me, and set me upon my feet as if one had lifted me up; and what I had first in commission to speak, was in the words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" with these words, Nay, the natural and unregenerate man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in power but also in righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Spirit. I told them that to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural birth could be brought forth without trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not be able to render any account how it was performed, was unreasonable; it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge; for to be born again, signified to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new life, by which the body of the sins of the flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying life. Those who are crucified with Christ, are crucified to their sins, that as he died for sin, we might die to sin: in this state we live not after the flesh, although we live, as the apostle said, in the flesh; but the life which these live, is through faith in the Son of God: and to have all this, and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable.

As I was thus opened, and delivering these things, with much more than I can remember, the woman [Mary Starbuck] I felt, for most of an hour together, fought and strove against the testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy complexion; but the strength of the truth increased, and the Lord's mighty power began to shake the people within and without doors; but she who was looked upon as a Deborah by these people, was loath to lose her outside religion, or the appearance thereof. When she could no longer contain, she submitted to the power of Truth, and the doctrines thereof, and lifted up her voice and wept. Oh! then the universal cry and brokenness of heart and tears were wonderful! From this time I do not remember one word that I spoke in testimony, it was enough that I could keep upon the true bottom, and not be carried away with the stream above my measure.

I might add much more concerning this day's work, but I intend not to say any thing to the praise of the creature, but to the renown



of the mighty name of the Lord of Hosts, and let all flesh lie as in the dust for ever. While I continued speaking in this state, as before mentioned, and thus swallowed up in the internal presence of Christ, where there was no want of power, wisdom, or utterance, I spoke but a sentence and stopt, and so on for some time: I have since thought of John's being in the spirit on the Lord's day. If it had been a state to be continued in, I am of the mind I should not have been sensible of weariness, neither of hunger nor pain. This is a mystery to many, yet these are faithful and true sayings, thou mayest read that canst; but there are none who can know the white stone and new name, but they who have it; there are none who stand upon mount Sion with harps of God in their hands, but only such as have come through great tribulations, and have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. To these are the seals of the book of the mysteries of the glorious kingdom opened; these are called out of nations, kindreds, tongues and people; these are redeemed out of the fallen and earthly state of old Adam, into the living, heavenly and spiritual state in Christ the second Adam; these cry holy; the other part of the children of men cry unholy, because they are not willing to cast down their crowns at the feet or appearance of Christ in their own souls. Although such with the four beasts may cry, "Come and see," yet are they not properly qualified to worship the Lord God and the Lamb before his throne, as the four and twenty elders did, and as all do, and will do, who worship God in his holy temple in spirit and in truth, according to his own appointment; who are not tied up to the canons, creeds, systems, and dictates of men, much of which is beaten out of the wisdom, parts, and natural comprehensions of earthly fallen man.

I return from this, which may seem a mysterious digression, to the other part of what did happen concerning the meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof. As extreme heats oft end in extreme cold, and as great heights frequently centre, as to man in this capacity, in great depths, and great plenty in great poverty, which I have often seen to be good, in order to keep the creature low, in fear and in a dependance upon the Lord, I soon fell into such a condition that I was likely to die away. When it was so, I with my companion made a motion to break up the meeting, but could not for some time, for they sat weeping universally; then I told the meeting, especially such as were near me, that if I should faint away, I would not have them to be surprised at it; for I was much concerned lest that

should hurt these tender people; my life was not dear to me in comparison of the worth of the souls of the children of men; but all this did not break up the meeting. After some time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her hand, and spoke tremblingly and said, All that ever we have been building, and all that ever we have done, is pulled down this day; and this is the everlasting truth; or very nearly these words. Then she arose, and I observed that she, and as many as could well be seen, were wet with tears from their faces to the fore-skirts of their garments, and the floor was as though there had been a shower of rain upon it; but Mary, that worthy woman, said to me, when a little come to consider the poor state that I was in, Dear child, what shall I do for you? I said, A little would do for me; if thou canst get me something to drink that is not strong, but rather warm, it may do well: so she did, and I went unto her son's, where my clothes were, that I might shift me, for I felt sweat in my shoes as I walked.

I mention this partly for the sake of such of my brethren, who may be at any time in the like case, to take care to keep out of the cold, and beware of drinking that which is cold, neither is brandy good, for it feeds too much upon the weakened vitals; but in all things endeavour to possess your vessels in sanctification and honour. As it is not in man's power to make the vessel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth, with thy obedience through the work of his grace and Holy Spirit, fit thy vessel for his work and service, take this caution, see that thou neither destroy, defile, nor hurt the same. But it may be, some have done all these, some one way and some another.

I remember Peleg Slocum said after this meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the inhabitants of the island were shaken, and most of the people convinced of the Truth: however, a great conviction there was that day, Mary Starbuck was one of the number, and in a short time after received a public testimony, as did also her son Nathaniel.

After I was somewhat revived, my companion having a mind to speak to the priest, to know why he did so reflect on him, desired me to go with him, which I did with several more, and coming to his door, where he was set upon a bench, James Bates asked him, Why he did so reflect? He replied, he was in a passion, and had nothing against him: James forgave him, and they fell into some debate concerning faith; my friend urged the apostle James' words, which are these, "As the body without the spirit is dead, so is faith without

works, dead also." The priest said, Dead faith was nothing, and that it had no being in the world. I thought he appeared to be in the craft; and after they had tugged at it a while, I said, I found something in my mind to propose, if they would hear me; they both showed a willingness to hear what I had to say, and then I asked, What belief or faith that was the devils had; for I did not understand, but that although they believed there was a God, they remained devils still; therefore the word dead is a proper word, and properly adapted to that which any may call faith, and is not operative, but a notion that may be received by education, by hearing or reading, and not that faith which works by love and overcomes the world: and because of its not working, being inactive and useless, it is fitly called dead: what dost thou say to that? He said I was too great a scholar for him. I replied, there was no great scholarship in that. He then invited me to stay all night, and said I should be as welcome as his own children, and he and I would dispute about that between ourselves. I declined it, and showed these reasons for so doing; if he declined the debate publicly, I would not debate it privately, for then these neighbours of his would want the benefit of it; and so we parted with my saying, as it immediately sprang up in my heart, Thou hast been a man in thy young years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many openings, and if thou hadst been faithful to the gift of God, thou mightest have been serviceable; but thou hast been unfaithful, and a cloud is come over thee, and thou art laid aside as useless.

I was altogether a stranger to the state of the priest, nor had I heard any thing of him, nor indeed of the state of the inhabitants of the island, but what I heard afterwards, mostly from Mary Starbuck. As we walked from the priest's house towards our quarters, she said, Every thing she now met with, did confirm her in the Truth; for she knew this was the state of the priest, as I had said, being acquainted with him in his best state, and then he had fine openings and a living ministry among them, but of late a cloud was come over him, and, as I said, he was laid by and useless. She also put me in mind of something I had said in the meeting about election, which as near as I can remember was thus: I had endeavoured to make one in the election, and one born again, much the same; for I had laid waste all claim to election without being born again; for as Christ was the chosen or elect of God, who never fell, could such who were in the fall be the branches of Christ, the pure heavenly vine? Or such who were found in the impure state, and in the de-

generacy, by reason of sin and wicked works? Or would Christ be married to a people, and become as their husband, who were in an unconverted state? Could this be the true church of Christ? Could this be the Lamb's bride, who had departed from his spirit, and was in the pollutions of the world through lust, and running after the pleasures and fineries of the world, depending upon ceremonies, and outside things and elements, which appear not to be essential to our salvation, neither do we find life in them, nor conversion through them? I was of the apostle's mind, that "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature:" and what man in the world can say, that water, although he may have been baptized or dipped into the same, hath converted him, or changed his state from a natural to a spiritual, or from a dead to a living state in Christ? Or, who that have gone through the most celebrated ceremonies, as some may account them, had thereby got dominion over sin and satan?

Having thus treated of these things among them, I said to Mary, that she warred and strove against the testimony for a time: and as nearly as I remember, she said their principle was, That such who believed once in Christ, were always in him, without a possibility of falling away; and whom he had once loved, he loved to the end: it was a distinction they had given to their church, to be called Electarians; and as I said, or near it, she had no mind to be pulled out of her strong hold. But when she saw the glory of Christ and the true church, as the queen of the south saw Solomon's, and the glory of his house; and as she had her questions and doubts answered, she had no more spirit in her, or doubts or questions, but openly owned, This is the Truth, this is the glory I have heard so much of: that spirit of doubting and questioning was swallowed up now, by hearing and beholding for herself this greater than Solomon, his wisdom and glory, and the great house that he had built. The servants, the attendance, the excellent order, with the ascent to the house of God, which were all wonderful in Solomon's house, carried in them a lively resemblance of Christ, his power, glory and wisdom, as also that order and mien which is seen among his faithful servants, his church and people, even such as our spiritual Solomon rules in and over by his spirit and power. Here is Solomon or Man of Peace, elsewhere called the Prince of Peace; and as Solomon ruled in Jerusalem, formerly called Salem, or City of Peace, and indeed over all Judah, and over all his tribes, so doth Christ in his kingdom every where upon the face of the whole earth. Learn this, see and know

in and for thyself, that thou art truly translated out of the kingdom of death and darkness into the kingdom of Christ, which is a kingdom of power, life, light, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. I was much bowed down in my spirit, and in weakness, fasting, and in much fear; for the more Truth appears, the more it brings the creature into self-abasement.

A passage is here revived to my mind, which was thus: After a large Yearly Meeting, where were many able ministers, worthy William Penn, who was one of them, taking me aside, said, The main part of the service of this day's work went on thy side, and we saw it, and were willing and easy to give way to the Truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a shrub; and it is but reasonable the Lord should make use of whom he pleases: now, methinks, thou mayest be cheerful. From which I gathered, that he thought I was too much inclined to be cast down; therefore I gave him this true answer, I endeavour to keep in a medium, out of all extremes, as believing it to be most agreeable to my station; with this remark, the worst of my times rather imbitter the best to me. William shook his head, and said with much respect, There are many who steer in this course besides thee, and it is the safest path for us to walk in; with several other expressions which bespoke affection.

This worthy man, and minister of the Gospel, notwithstanding his great endowments and excellent qualifications, yet thought it his place to give way to the Truth, and let the holy testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to empower and employ in his work, although it might be through contemptible instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern, and into whose hands it may come, that the Lord's work may be truly minded, and given way to, when it is opened; for seeing no man can open it, let not any strive in the man's part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this, which hath not been altogether to my satisfaction. A word to the wise may serve, I hope, and be sufficient for a caution, for what I have written is in the love of God, and under a concern that hath been upon my mind at times, for some years, to leave behind me a gentle caution to my tender friends of both sexes, to have an especial care in all things to recommend not only their gifts, but their demeanour in them, as also their conversation after them, to every man's conscience in the sight of God; so that you may build up the Lord's house, and always have a great care, that nothing you say or do may in any way tend to the hindrance of the Lord's work, or

to discourage the weakest in the flock of Christ, but labour to fasten every stake, and strengthen every cord of Sion, and as much as you are capable, build up the tabernacle in Jerusalem. As God is a spirit, and the soul of man is a spiritual existence, and as the soul and body of man become sanctified and prepared, as a temple for the Lord by his Holy Spirit to tabernacle in, the Lord is to such as a sanctuary to flee to, and rest in, from heats and from storms: here is the Rock of the true church, and her place of defence, *to wit*, the name and power of the mighty God. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth were acquainted with this name, and rock of defence! they would not then be so much overcome, as they are, with the power of the enemy of the soul, but would live above his region, which is in the earth, or rather in the earthly hearts of men. All you who have escaped the pollutions of the world, keep in your tents, until the Lord moves and leads forward, and opens the way, sometimes as in a wilderness.

Read and understand from whence these things have their rise, for there is the church's safety, and its comeliness too in abiding in the Truth. This is your place of safety, where the enemy hath no power, where the wiles of satan and inventions of man cannot reach; no enchantment hath power over these, renowned be the great name of the Lord now and for ever.

How comfortable, how easy and pleasant are even all the books and testimonies, and exhortations, that are given forth in the spirit, love and life of Christ! yea, the very company and conversation of such who are preserved in the life, becomes a sweet savour of Divine life to the living. There is comfort and consolation, a strengthening and building up one of another in the most holy and precious faith, so that I find the truly quickened soul taketh great delight to resort to, and as much as may be, converse with the awakened and truly quickened souls who take up the cross of Christ daily, and follow him in the way of self-denial, although it be a way that is much spoken against, by such who know not the nature and discipline of the holy cross, and despise those who are the true followers of Christ. To feel this essential virtue, seed or leaven of the kingdom, or salt of the covenant, Christ, to work so effectually to the restoring of the powers and faculties of the soul, into the first rectitude and purity, that all the malignity may be thoroughly purged out, with all the dross or tin, which defiles the man, and makes him unfit for the kingdom and for the service of God, is a great work. Neither is the vessel preserved clean, when it

is in degree cleansed, but through great care, watchfulness, and diligence in attending upon the Lord with great devotedness, and resignation to his mind and will in all things. Experience hath taught us, as well as what we read in the Holy Scriptures, that there are many combats to go through for such as are engaged in this warfare, before the above-said states, deliverance from sin and satan, and a sabbatical or peaceful rest in Christ, can be obtained to the soul.

Come, thou that lovest the light, and bringest thy deeds to the light, and believest in the light, and hast thy body full of light, by keeping thy eye single to God, and in and to all things that may tend to his glory and thy duty; thou wilt become a child of the light, and receive the whole armour of light. This is that which will arm thee on the right hand and on the left. Put off thy own righteousness, with which it may be thy breast hath been too much possessed, and put on Christ's righteousness as a breast plate, for it much emboldens in imminent dangers, and also at approaching death. Wait upon him who hath power, that thy feet may be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace; so that as the Gospel power and Gospel ministry all tend to gather into the ways of the Gospel and of virtue, thou mayest not fail to be a preacher of righteousness in thy walking and in thy whole conversation; for this is one of the good ends for which the Gospel power hath reached and visited thy soul, viz: to purge it, and make it clean. Take care to have upon thy head the helmet of salvation, which will be a strength and as a crown to thee, not only in the many encounters, but more especially in thy last encounter with death; and that thou mayest have faith as a shield to put on, that thou mayest overcome the world; and above all things, take to thyself the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, that through this excellent armour of proof, thou mayest be able to quench all the fiery darts and temptations of the devil.

If thou art a soldier of Christ, this is thy armour; these are thy accoutrements which fit thee for thy vocation, as a follower of the Lamb through many encounters with thy enemies, which armour will give thee the victory, and bring thee through many tribulations, which is the way to the kingdom of heaven.

Now leaving the eastern parts of New England, and these tender people on Nantucket Island, with fervent supplications and prayers to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he will prosper his blessed work of conversion which he hath begun amongst them, and in all such upon the face of the whole earth; in the next place I came to Lynn, to Samuel

Collings', where I had not been long before I met with an unusual exercise, which I had expected for some time would fall upon me.

Having heard of George Keith's intention of being at Lynn Monthly Meeting the next day, which as near as I remember, lies between Salem and Boston, the evening coming on, as I was writing to some Friends in Old England, one came in haste to desire me to come down, for George Keith was come to the door, and a great number of people and a priest with him, and was railing against Friends exceedingly. I said, Inasmuch as I understand this Lynn meeting is, although large, mostly a newly convinced people, I advise you to be swift to hear, but slow to speak, for George Keith hath a life in argument; and let us, as a people, seek unto and cry mightily to the Lord, to look down upon us, and help us for his name's sake, for our preservation, that none may be hurt.

The country was much alarmed; for, as Friends said, George Keith had given notice two weeks beforehand, that he intended to be at this Monthly Meeting, and the people were in great expectation to hear the Quakers run down, for George Keith had boasted much of what he would prove against Friends. Soon after some pause, retirement, and fervent seeking to the Lord for direction and counsel in this important affair, I went to the rails, and leaned my arms on them near George Keith's horse's head, as he sat on his back, and many people were with him; but the few Friends who were come, stood with me in the yard. My fervent prayers were to the Lord, that if he gave me any thing to speak to George, it might go forth in that power and wisdom which was able to wound that wicked spirit in which he appeared, and boasted over Friends after the following manner, crying, "Is here a man that is a scholar? Is here a man that understands the languages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him." I told him, it was probable the English tongue was most generally understood and used amongst that people, and therefore I thought it was the best to keep to it. He went on and said, That he was come in the Queen's name to gather the Quakers from Quakerism, to the mother church, the good old Church of England, and that he intended to exhibit in our meeting on the morrow these charges following against us, which, he said, he could prove we were guilty of out of our Friends' books, viz: Errors, heresies, damnable doctrines and blasphemies: Look, said he, to answer for yourselves, for if you do not, the auditory will conclude that what I exhibit against you is true.

I was roused up in my spirit in a holy zeal

against his wicked insults and great threatenings, and said to him, That it was the fruit of malice and envy, and that he was to us but as an heathen man and a publican. Then he began to cast what odium he could upon Friends, with such bitter invectives as his malice could invent. I stood with an attentive ear and a watchful mind; for as I stood leaning upon the rails, with no small concern upon my mind, I felt the Lord's power arise, and by it my strength was renewed in the inner man, and faith, wisdom, and courage with it, so that the fear of man, with all his parts and learning was taken from me; and in this state George Keith appeared to me but as a little child, or as nothing: renowned be the most excellent name of the Lord, now and for ever. But this great champion, Goliath like, at least in his mind, I supposed feared not any there; he overlooked us all, and in the pride of his heart disdained us; but the Lord of heaven and earth looked down upon us in a very acceptable time, and helped us for his name's sake, and covered our heads in the day of battle: glorified be his great name for ever.

I have sometimes thought to omit some part of this account concerning George Keith, but remember it opened clearly in my mind then, and I said to him, That the hand of the Lord was against him, and that he would pour forth contempt upon him for his disobedience and wickedness.

But to return to his reflections: he said, The Quakers pretend to be against all ceremonies, but he could prove that they used many ceremonies, as taking one another by the hand, and men saluting one another, and women doing so to one another, and he said, that women did salute men; yea, they had done it to him; as it was generally understood by those who heard him, which I thought not worthy my notice. He went on and said, the Quakers pretended to be against all persecution, but they were not clear, for the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys had persecuted him, and would have hanged him, but that there was some alteration in the government.

Then came out one of my arrows, which cut and wounded him deeply: I said, George, that is not true. Upon that the priest drew near, and appeared very brisk, and said I had as good as charged Mr. Keith, as he called him, with a lie. I replied, Give me time, and I will prove that which George said, is not true, and then thou and he may take your advantage to rescue him from that epithet of a liar, if you can. The priest said I knew not Mr. Keith: I replied, If he knew him as well as I did, he would be ashamed to be there as an abettor of him. The priest got

away, and troubled me no more in all the engagements that George and I had afterwards, although the said priest was with him. Then I demanded of George, What way our friends proceeded against him, and what measures they took, as he would insinuate, to bring him to the gallows. But I perceived fear began to surprise the hypocrite, and he thinking by my boldness I was an inhabitant in those parts, and knew his abuse to Friends in these provinces, and their peaceable behaviour towards him, was willing to let the matter drop, and demanded my name, which was told him. I then asked, How he could have a face to urge such a notorious untruth in the view of that people who were much strangers to, and ignorant of the troubles and differences, chiefly created by him, among Friends in these parts.

The members of this meeting being generally newly convinced of the truth, I urged him to come to the particulars of Friends' proceedings against him, that among those strangers he would set forth as far as he could in truth, the steps Friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I showed him, and the people, the falsity of his charge, and the wickedness of his spirit, and the peaceableness of Friends' behaviour towards him, and what great affronts and provocations they had put up with at his hand, as I had it from those who were eye and ear witnesses of it. For, as I showed George Keith, I had searched into the bottom of these matters, and heard that when he stood before governors and assembly-men in their courts of judicature, when they were met about the affairs of the three provinces, he had torn open his buttons and told them, His back tickled for a whipping, and could they not cut him into collops, and fry and eat them with salt; and that he scorned they should wipe his shoes: all which, with much more, I told him I could prove against him. And when he saw he could not provoke Friends to give him some condign punishment, which I thought, as I said to him, none but Friends would have spared, especially when his back tickled so much for a whipping; but they, like men of peace and religion, overlooked it all; he, like a man full of malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken Friends with, wrote a letter, I know not where, but dated it from Bridlington prison, in West Jersey. It must have been dated on the outside of the prison, the doors being locked, so that he could not get into it; yet this went current far off, that George Keith was in prison; consequently by Friends' procurement, they being chiefly at the helm of government in those three provinces.

I asked, What he had to say to all this, for it was all provable: he did not object one word against what I had said, but vainly hoping for better success in Old England, relating to his undertaking, and finding me, as he might suppose, so well versed in the American affairs, hoped, no doubt, that I had been more ignorant of the affairs of Britain: but, poor man, he sped as illy there also. For he boastingly said, Since it pleased God to open his eyes to see into the worst of the Quakers' errors, although, he said, charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in fellowship with them, but since they were so opened, he had been instrumental to bring from Quakerism, to the good old mother church, in Old England, five hundred people. I replied, That is not true: if he rightly considered what he had done in Old England, he had little cause to boast; for, I said, I thought about as many persons as he spoke of hundreds, would make up the number there; and if there was occasion, I could name all or most of them; and told him, that some of those few, whilst amongst us, were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us. I urged George, if he could, to name or make appear more in number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsely said. This was a very great stroke, and put him to a stand.

He then began to ask of my country, and from whence I came; with the account of which I humoured him; yet I put him in mind of his great brag, and importuned him to make something appear towards that great matter he had done in Old England; for I was ashamed for him, that a man of his learning, parts, and pretensions, should so expose himself; but he went no farther about it. Then I showed the people what sort of a man he was, as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial, and that he was not worthy of our notice, for he cared not what he said, so that he could but calumniate and abuse us.

By this time he appeared somewhat glutted with the sharp sword and keen arrow the Lord gave me, which cut and wounded deeply, so that I did not find in our after encounters, he appeared at any time so bold and desperately hardy, but rather expressed himself, though very wickedly, yet in a softer tone. He was now for being gone, threatening us with what he would do on the morrow; but I reminded him, that he was to us as an heathen man or a publican, and that what he exhibited against us, being but the fruits of wrath and envy, as such we slighted and trod it under our feet as dirt, and rather desired his absence than his company: so away he went, only

telling us, he would be with us in the morning. We understood by it, that he intended to be with us at the Friend's house, the meeting-house being about a quarter of a mile from our lodgings.

The evening coming on, the neighbouring Presbyterian women fell hard upon our women Friends about their saluting men, which George Keith had charged upon them, as was generally understood in the plural, and this appeared as a confirmation, as they alleged, because when charged, I made no reply to it, as I had done to all or most other charges, and had overthrown Mr. Keith, as they said, so that he was not able to stand before me. They ought to have said, before the Lord in the first place. But how the women might clear themselves of that reflection was the present business. I said, I thought it would be the best, at a suitable time in the morning, when George Keith was come, that by handsomely bringing the matter over him, they might learn what women they were who saluted him, and so clear themselves from the reflection cast upon them; for, I said, perhaps he will limit it to some of his near kindred, as wife, mother, sister, daughter, which may serve him for a salvo in this present case; for I did not know of any such general practice in any place where I had been, and I had visited most of the meetings in England, Scotland, and Wales. So in the morning, when George, with two priests, and many people were come, with some Friends, who filled the house, a woman Friend stood up, and brought the matter discreetly over George Keith. But when she put the question in the plural, women, he shifted the term, and said, He did not say women. I desired the Friend to call to her neighbours who heard what George Keith had said the last evening, and were now present, how they understood the word. One, like a wise and just man, said, He would do justice to every man; and he understood that George said women; and many said to the same purpose, but none to the contrary. The Friends asked me, How I understood the word: as being a north countryman, I might know better the north or Scotch dialect than they. I replied, They had a broad way of expressing the word woman, rather sounding it like the plural, but I understood it women, as the above-mentioned discreet man had said.

The next question she put to him was, What woman? He answered, A good old motherly woman that was gone to heaven many years ago. Then she asked, What countrywoman? He replied, A Scotch woman. The Friend said, It was very well that he had cleared all the world of that fault, if it might be so termed, but Scotland, and one woman dead many



years ago. The women Friends were greatly satisfied, and glad they were so finely discharged of that which some counted a reflection, and especially before their zealous neighbours the Presbyterians; who, as the Friends said, might probably have twitted them with it, whether the matter was true or false, if it had not been cleared up; but, as I said to George, it was a reflection for reflection's sake: for I was willing to set every thing that was wrong, as far as I was capable, in its proper light, that Friends and others, of all persuasions who were present, might see things as they really were, and not be deceived; and I had much satisfaction in so doing. As I was engaged in the defence of the truth, it appeared most clear to me to load him with his own lies, mistakes, and wickedness, and to do what we did, as much as in us lay, in the Lord's mighty power; for he appeared to me like the angels who kept not their first state.

Matters being thus far gone through, and the meeting time drawing on, I was in some concern of mind, lest any should be hurt by either hearing or answering George Keith, he having a great propensity to jangling; it therefore opened in my mind to ask him a question, withal reminding him, that he was but to us as an heathen man or a publican, yet he might, if he pleased, answer me the question, which was, Whether he was always sound in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yea or nay? Upon which he sat a considerable time in silence, of which I was truly glad, my spirit being much bowed under the apprehension I had of the weighty exercise that was likely to attend the approaching meeting. But before we parted, George stood up, and taking his staff in his hand by the middle, said, While he was a Quaker, he thought as Paul thought, that he had the Spirit of God, and when he had the Spirit of God, then he wrote sound things, but when he had it not, then he wrote unsound things. I asked, whether these unsound things he wrote were in fundamentals, yea or nay: if not in fundamentals, then my question remained firm and untouched. He would have gone from the matter, but I reminded him of it again, as I supposed he foresaw that he could not answer it, but by bringing a stroke upon himself, for if he had owned his being unsound, I had it under his own hand, in a book written after he left Friends, that he was always sound, &c. And if he had said, he was always sound in the fundamentals, as before, then I intended to have asked, why he left us: for he advocated the same orthodox principles which we believed and taught; but we ended quietly, and prepared to go to the great meeting, for

by this time many Friends and people were come, and coming from every quarter, to see and hear how matters would go between the poor Quakers, and this great champion in his heart, George Keith, for I thought he most resembled the great Goliath of Gath, who defied the armies of the living God, of any I had seen in all my travels, in a religious respect.

Now to the meeting we went; George Keith, with two priests and a great many people of several professions and qualities gathered together into one body, and Friends and some friendly people into another body; and as we came near to the meeting-house, I stood still, and took a view of the people, and it appeared to me as if two armies were going to engage in battle. There appeared with George Keith men of considerable estates, parts, and learning, and we appeared like poor shrubs; and, under a sense of our present state, I had like to have been dismayed, and my faith even to have failed me. But I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender mercies, that he would look down upon us, and help us in this time of great exercise, which was not hid from him; but his penetrating eye saw, and his watchful providence attended us, blessed be his name for ever. I continued my fervent prayers and intercessions to the Lord of Hosts, that he would arise for his great name's sake, and work for us that day, that the enemies of truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of these tender plants, whom he had brought to the saving knowledge of the Truth, might be hurt.

I had no sooner thus heartily sought the Lord, but I felt renewed strength come upon me, and the fear of man was taken away from me, and I saw evidently that Truth would have the victory that day, and my faith and confidence were greatly strengthened in the Lord. These breathings forth of my spirit to the Lord were in secret, without words to be heard by men, but the Lord hears and knows the distress and language of the spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myself, it arose in my heart to speak to Friends before we went into the meeting-house; and I advised them to be swift to hear, and slow to speak, that what was spoken might be in the Lord's power, for that wounds George the most, and slays that wicked and ranting spirit in him, more than all the wisdom of words without it: let us maintain our testimony of denial against him, and endeavour to get together into one body, that we may be a help and strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily to him, that his living power and presence may be amongst us, and I believe the Lord will not suffer any to be hurt. So the meeting



gathered, and immediately after, George stood up to tell us, as before, that he was come in the Queen's name, to gather Quakers from Quakerism, to the good old mother church, the Church of England, as he called it, and that he could prove out of our own books, that we held errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies; with a threat to look to ourselves to answer, or else the auditory would conclude, that what he exhibited against us was true. I expected some of the elder Friends would say something to him, but none did; and having a deep concern upon my mind; lest Truth, or the friends of Truth, should suffer through our mismanagement, and such as waited for occasion might have it administered by us against ourselves; under this concern I stood up, and signified to the people what manner of man George Keith was. Notwithstanding he had walked many years amongst us, yet towards the latter end of his so walking with us, he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious spirit which did possess him; and after much labour and exercising of patience, and extending of love towards him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that labour of love and much forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the work of contention and disturbance; then he was publicly disowned, and testified against by us, as a person with whom we had no unity or fellowship. Being thus cast out, he became to us, agreeably to the sayings of Jesus Christ, as an heathen man or a publican; and did what lay in his power, to expose us to all sorts of people, printing against us; wherein he hath much abused us, in leaving out the explanatory parts of sentences, and coining words to make the meaning appear different from what was designed, and indeed, from what was most fair and genuine. Therefore, some of our Friends found themselves concerned to follow him in print, for the clearing us from what he, through envy, would have willingly fastened upon us, and to return his self-contradictions, misinterpretations, and misapplications of our writings upon himself, and to clear our own innocence, and manifest the perverseness and wickedness of his spirit. Neither do we, as a people, hold ourselves under any obligation to follow him into foreign parts of the world, to answer his charges, not being conscious that we hold any thing contrary to sound and orthodox doctrine. And knowing that what he exhibits against us, is the fruit of envy and malice, as such we reject it, and trample it under our feet; and were it not for your sakes, who are strangers to these things, we should take no further notice of George Keith, than to slight

and reject him as a man that cares not what he says, nor is he worthy of our notice.

Then pausing a little, George being quiet, a Friend stood up with a short, but living testimony, and then my companion; all this in much weight, and with good demonstration. After them it pleased the Lord to open my mouth, I think in as much strength, clearness and demonstration as ever, beginning with the following words: In that way you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ, both as to his Godhead and manhood; giving a summary account of his birth, working of miracles, some of his doctrine, sufferings and death, ascension and glorification, the coming of the Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, to lead all those who receive, believe and obey it, into all truth: having great openings concerning the law and prophets, and the beginning, service and end of the ministration of John the Baptist. The people appeared very attentive, for the Lord's heavenly baptizing power was amongst us that day: it was thought many were there who had not been at any of our meetings of worship before, and the presence of the priests there, opened a door for all the rest.

Being clear, I left them to the grace of God, and to their free teacher Christ, whose heavenly power in the appearance of his spirit, the last and lasting dispensation, was exalted that day above all the shadowy and typical things that ever had been in the world: a good meeting it was, and Friends were mutually comforted and edified in the eternal presence of the Lord.

The priest of this place, whose name was Sheppard, before my mouth was opened in testimony, made preparation to write; and when I began to speak, he had his hat upon his knee, and his paper upon its crown, and pen and ink in his hands, and made many motions to write, but wrote nothing; as he began so he ended, without writing at all. As Friends entered the meeting-house, the Lord's power, even that power which cut Rahab and wounded the Dragon, which had been at work, kept down in a good degree the wrong spirit in George, for he appeared much down; but this busy priest called to him several times to make his reply to what I had spoken. After some time, I said to the priest, in behalf of the meeting, That he might have liberty to make reply. He proposed to have another day appointed for a dispute; to which I said, If he did make a voluntary challenge, which he should not say we put him upon, we, or some of us, meaning Friends, if a day and place were agreed upon, should find it our

concern to answer him as well as we could. He said he would have Mr. Keith to be with him. I told him if he should, and meddled in the dispute, if I was there, I should reject him for reasons before assigned. When the priest had said this and somewhat more, an elder of the Presbyterian congregation clapped him on the shoulder, and bid him sit down; so he was quiet, and then stood up George Keith, and owned he had been refreshed amongst us that day, and had heard a great many sound truths, with some errors, but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached.

I then stood up and said, I had something to say to obviate what George Keith would insinuate; for his drift was to infuse an opinion into them, that the Quakers did not commonly preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, as I had done that day. I appealed to the auditory, whether any thought there was a necessity frequently to press a matter so universally received among Christians, as faith in the manhood of Christ was: yet we, as a people, had so often and clearly demonstrated our faith in the manhood of Christ, both in our testimonies and writings, as might satisfy any unbiassed person, or such who were not prejudiced against us; and we know not of any people who believe more scripturally in the manhood of Christ than we do. But inasmuch as the grace, light, and Holy Spirit, is highly concerned in the work of man's salvation, as well as what Christ did for us without us, and this being yet much a mystery to many called Christians, it pleases God to open, in the course of our ministry, into the meaning and mystery thereof, and to press the latter more than the former. To which George made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges against us, and said he could prove them out of our Friends' books, naming George Fox and Edward Burrough, &c. He had in a paper a great many quotations out of Friends' books, and a young man with him had many books in a bag, out of which, he said he would prove the charges he was about to exhibit against us.

He was now crowded up into the gallery between me and the rail, with a paper in his hand; and I standing over him, and being taller, could see his quotations, and his paraphrases upon them, on which I told him loudly, that all the meeting might hear, That he offered violence to that sense and understanding which God had given him, and he knew in his conscience, we were not that people, neither were our Friends' writings either damnable or blasphemous, as he through envy endeavoured to make the world believe, and that he would not have peace in so doing, but trouble from

the Lord in his conscience. I spoke in the Lord's dreadful power, and George trembled so much as I seldom ever saw any man do. I pitied him in my heart, yet as Moses said once concerning Israel, I felt the wrath of the Lord go forth against him. George said, Do not judge me; I replied, The Lord judges, and all who are truly one in spirit with the Lord, cannot but judge thee. So he gave over, and it appearing a suitable time to break up the meeting, Friends parted in great love, tenderness, and brokenness of heart; for the Lord's mighty power had been in and over the meeting from the beginning to the end thereof; glorified and renowned be his most excellent name, now and for ever, for his mercies are many to those that love and fear him, who is the fulness of all good.

This meeting was not only for worship, but also for business, as I said to the people at our parting; it was Friends' Monthly Meeting, in which their poor, fatherless and widows, were taken care of, and such other things as concern them as a people. Two Friends were desired to stay, to hear what George had to say to them who remained, which said two Friends gave us an account, that George said to the people after we were gone, the Quakers had left none to dispute with him but an ass and a fool; when I heard it, I said, could you not have replied, An ass was once made sufficient to reprove the madness of the prophet.

George called to see me the next day, and said, "You had the advantage of me yesterday, for you persuaded me to be quiet until you had done, and then you would not stay to hear me;" neither indeed were we under any obligation so to do. I told him, I hoped that Truth would always have the advantage over those who opposed it; and so we parted, but met again upon Rhode Island; the governor of which place, who was a friendly man, having heard of my intention of coming thither, ordered the deputy-governor, when I came, to bring me to him, which he did. When he saw me at the door, and after inquiry heard my name, he took me by the hand, and led me like a brother, or rather more like a tender father, into a room, setting me down by him, and then began to say, I have heard much of you, and I desired to see you long, and am glad you are here. Finding him near me in spirit, I was very open in my mind to him, and answered him with much clearness and satisfaction. I remember he asked, whether I thought the sourness in the minds of the Presbyterians against us, was not rather abated? I told him, I did believe it was; and if our Friends did but observe to walk wisely, and live up to what they pro-

fessed, they would overcome it all. He said that was the way, and there was not another comparable to it; and as he said, and I believe it was so, he had no other view in sending for me, but to manifest his respect to me, and to do me any service that lay in his power. I told him I was sensible of his love, and wished I could be capable of returning that which in gratitude his kindness to me called for: he said he desired no more than when I came that way, I would visit him, if he was living. I told him I intended so to do, if it was my lot to come there again. I then desired he would be at the meeting next day, George Keith proposing to be there, in all likelihood it would be very large; which he promised he would, and accordingly came.

George made little disturbance in the beginning of the meeting, but commanded the governor to quiet the Quakers. A priest said, Mr. Keith, you ought not to command the governor, but entreat him; well then, he entreated the governor to quiet the Quakers, that he might be heard; whereupon the governor, like a man of justice and wisdom, stood up and said, It was not in his power to quiet the Quakers; inasmuch as the house is theirs, and they have appointed the meeting, it is but reasonable they should have their liberty, and if they be willing when they have done, you have your liberty to say what you have to say to those who will stay to hear you: so the governor being next me, leaned his hand upon me, and went away in a sober manner. George was quiet, and we had a good meeting, and so parted.

After most of the Friends were gone, a Friend and I went to the meeting-house door, to hear what George said: he held his Bible in his hand, and said it was promised that the Gospel should be preached unto every creature under heaven; but if it was truly translated, it would be in every creature, not in every creature, as horse, cow, &c., but in every rational creature of mankind: and then their meeting broke up in confusion.

My next remove was to Long Island, where I met with Thomas Story and John Rodman; John desired Thomas and me to be assistant to him in preparing a writing against George Keith, when he came to Flushing meeting upon the aforesaid island, which writing was to this effect, viz:

“Colonel West, an inhabitant in these parts, who died and made Miles Forster a trustee, gave by Will a considerable sum of money to poor Friends of London, which money was ordered by the testator to be put into the hands of some faithful Friends of the aforesaid city of London, to distribute as above.” A true copy of which Will we obtained, and at the

meeting made it fairly appear to George Keith's face, that he had wronged the poor in receiving fifty pounds of the aforesaid money of Miles Forster, as appeared under Miles's own hand; which George did not deny when he was charged with it in the meeting; as knowingly to have robbed the poor; it being made fairly to appear, that George Keith had no right to meddle with the money, neither as a faithful Friend, nor yet as a poor Friend of London, because he was then in America. And what made him more incapable of claiming any part of it, was his being got into the spirit of strife and enmity against Friends, and therefore, before they could hear his charges, he ought first to lay down the money, or give such security as Friends approved of; neither of which he was capable of doing. He was slighted by all or most of the people, as well as by Friends, and this blocked up his way so much that we had little or no trouble with him in that part of the world. The Lord wrought for his name's sake, and the preservation of his tender people, praises and honour be given to his great name, now and for ever. Thus ended this engagement between a poor servant of Christ, and a grand apostate, who appeared to fight against reason, sense and conscience. Think not, my friends, the account too long, for it hath seemed to me, for some time, a debt due to my brethren, and a piece of justice due to the memory of George Keith, for his wickedness, revolting and sad apostacy. Few there are who can believe how great the power of darkness and wickedness of that mind and spirit was, which possessed and breathed through him; so great it was, that even the considerate and sober people said, they did not think that George Keith had been so wicked a man as they found he was upon trial. Courteous friend and reader, hold fast that which thou hast received, that none may take thy crown, for it is laid up in store for the righteous only, and such who hold out to the end, in the same pure righteousness which is of Christ, wrought and continued in man, by the operation and indwelling of his Holy Spirit, as man abideth in subjection and obedience to the leadings and dictates thereof.

I told George, that I was much ashamed of his complimenting great people; for I observed he sometimes said thee and thou, and sometimes you and sir; sometimes put his hat off; and sometimes kept it on, and that before I would be so unhandy, if I intended to be ceremonious, I would go to school a while, and not shame myself as he had done. If I have not written the very words, in all my accounts in the preceding pages, I have the substance: and for a conclusion, I had to say to George

Keith, the hand of the Lord was against him, and would follow him, unless he repented.

This account carries in it an admonition to us, and to Friends in future ages, into whose hands it may come, to beware of letting in the spirit of envy, prejudice and pride of heart, which I clearly saw was that which, with too much leaning to his natural abilities and learning, was his overthrow, he not keeping to the Lord's Holy Spirit, the life and strength of his faithful people, and the key of true knowledge, the good remembrancer, and leader into all truth, which the Lord sees meet in his wisdom to open and lead us into. Without the help of this anointing and Holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our duties towards God, and also in our love and duties one to another; but as the measure of this spirit is faithfully kept to and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good work and word, to the glory of God and comfort of our souls, and, as the salt of the earth, help to season those who are not seasoned.

When I was in the Yearly Meeting upon Rhode Island, there was a query concerning what Friends should do, in case there should be a tax laid upon the inhabitants for building fortifications, and to provide men and arms for the security of the island; such a thing being then in agitation. One of the chief Friends concerned in church affairs, would have me give an account what we did in the like case in England; for he said they looked upon themselves as the daughter, and Friends in Old England as their mother, and they were willing to act consistently with us as far as they could, and would know whether we could pay that tax which was for carrying on a vigorous war against France. I was unwilling to meddle with it, as I said; but the meeting waited a considerable time for my answer, as one told me, and was not willing to go forward without it. At last, when I could not well do otherwise, I signified to that large meeting, that I had heard the matter debated both in superior and inferior meetings, and privately, and the most general result was this; Friends did not see an effectual door opened to avoid the thing, that tax being mixed with the other taxes; although many Friends are not so easy as they could desire: neither have we any further sway in the government, than only giving our voices for such as are concerned therein; therefore, as things appear to me, there is a great disparity between our circumstances and yours here; for you have a great interest and share in the government, and perhaps may put such a thing by in voting, considering the body of Friends, and such as are friendly, whom you have an interest in; therefore look not for help from the mother,

wherein she is not capable of helping herself, and thereby neglect your own business; but mind your own way in the Truth, and look not out. Friends appeared well satisfied with these distinctions, and it gave me some ease, in that I had not hurt any.

During my stay in one of the Jerseys, a great weight, more than usual, seized upon my spirit as I sat in a meeting, and under a sense of the same my cries ascended unto the Lord, the fountain of all tender mercies, that he would please to show me what was the cause of that great power of darkness which did so oppress my spirit. And it pleased the Lord to show me, that a man there had been guilty of some gross wickedness; and when it clearly appeared to be required of me to express it publicly, it became a very great exercise to me, and I had some reasonings before I gave up to make it public to that large meeting of Friends and other people. I laboured under it till towards the conclusion of the meeting, but finding my peace concerned very nearly in the matter, I stood up in the gallery and said, Under a sense of some gross wickedness committed by some person not far from me, hath my spirit been borne down: which wickedness will in a short time break forth to the dishonour of Truth, and grief of Friends. A great man who sat in the gallery by me, started up and seated himself upon the rail of the gallery, with his eyes fixed on me, and in the Lord's dread, I fastened my eyes on him, and said, We have a common maxim in Old England, touch a galled horse's back, and he will kick; and I am of the opinion, he that kicks is not clear. He got down as fast as he could out of my way, for he not only prevented me from the view of the meeting by sitting there, but his uncleanness stood much in the way of my service.

After the meeting was over, several worthy Friends expressed to me the great concern they were under, lest he should either by money, or subtilty, conceal the wickedness, if such was committed; for I found there was a great jealousy in the minds of Friends, that something was wrong with the man, but I was till then altogether a stranger to their thoughts, and to the state of the man; yet I advised that Friends should have a watchful eye over him and his family, for I told Friends, my spirit was easy in what I had delivered, and I believed the evil would not be concealed. On my return, I heard his wickedness had been made manifest, which he did not deny.— Friends then asked me, what they should do in the case; I said, let the judgment of Truth go forth against all manifest wickedness, without respect of persons, that the ever blessed Truth, and such as live in it, may be kept

clear and in good esteem before all men as much as may be.

Something of the like exercise I met with in a meeting in Pennsylvania, repeating several times what oppression my spirit was under, because of some yet hidden wickedness, which in a short time would be brought to light, to the blemish of the Truth, and great trouble to Friends. That very evening, after the meeting, a woman little thought by Friends to be guilty of such a crime, went to a worthy Friend and told him, she was the woman who had done that great wickedness I had complained of, and had borne such a great load because of; and, as the honest Friend said, she wept bitterly, even in the very anguish of her soul. He came twelve miles the next day to Philadelphia to acquaint me with the matter, and ask my advice, which I gave to this effect: If Friends find upon inquiry, in the proper season, that the woman continues heartily sorry, and truly penitent for what she hath done, for godly sorrow worketh repentance, and if from such a hearty and penitent sense, which is to be felt beyond words, she gave forth a paper against her wicked doings, not so much to ingratiate herself into favour, as for the clearing of Truth and Friends, and for the ease and peace of her own mind, and took the blame and shame to herself, then Friends may pass it by; if not, Friends must set the judgment of Truth over manifest wickedness, as before mentioned.

I went to visit a meeting in that part called North Wales, which had not been long planted, where there was a fine tender people; but few understanding English, Rowland Ellis was my interpreter; we had a good meeting, and truth was over all. Some expressed their great satisfaction with our visit to that meeting, which heretofore had not been considered as Friends, but since that time they have been taken notice of, and grown into good esteem with the body of Friends.

I found it much my work to be engaged in the discipline of the church, which was very low in many places, yet there was a willingness in Friends' minds to be helped in that needful concern, for surely it is a good fence, and a help to keep the righteous in, and hurtful and wicked things and doings out, if the same be rightly handled and extended as it ought to be, in the love and wisdom of God.

When I was in Rhode Island, one Rogers came thither to offer his gift, as he said, in the Yearly Meeting amongst Friends; but they appeared in a great strait about him, although he had written on behalf of Truth's principles, suffered imprisonment, and the taking away his wife from him, and was not so much as permitted to converse with his

own son, but under a guard or watch which was set over him, to hear what passed betwixt them, as he told me and some other Friends, which Friends said was true; yet under the consideration of the matter, and clearness of the man's conversation, Friends remained in a strait what to do. And they desired that I would reason the case with him, to try if I could persuade him to be easy, and not insist upon any such thing, as a promise to receive his gift: for otherwise, he said, he would go where it would be received. I showed him, That it was a thing impracticable amongst us, and in itself unreasonable, that we should be by any pre-engagement obliged to receive that which he might call a gift, before we heard it. If he believed he had a gift, he might speak, and, as the apostle said, we might judge. It was not impossible but he, who was a scholar, and a wise man, and had a strong memory, might have gathered certain passages out of the Bible or other books, with what other interpretations he might have stored up, and speak of, and call it a gift, but which we could not receive as a real gift of the ministry, which stands in the Spirit, and in the power, and if it be such it will make way for itself, if not, we cannot receive it. So he went away, and troubled Friends no more than I heard of.

I was at William Penn's country house, called Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage. Much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing, to my satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians, not the least of them, in council concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England; all which was done in much calmness of temper, and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following: They never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, smiting his hand upon his head three times, they did not make them there in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they made them (i. e. their covenants) there in their hearts. When they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match coats and some other things; which the speaker for the Indians advised to be put into the hands of one of their cassacks or kings, for he knew best how to order them. I observed, and also heard the like from others, that they did not speak two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in their councils. Their eating and drinking was also in much stillness.

I desire that Christians, whether they may

be such in reality or profession only, may imitate these people in those things which are commendable, which may be a means to prevent loss of time and expedite business; as much as may be, endeavouring to prevent above one speaking at a time in meetings of conference and of business.

When these matters were nearly gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter, if he could find some terms intelligible to them, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate a sense of the principles of Truth, such as Christ's manifesting himself to the inward senses of the soul, by his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of its operations in the hearts of men, and how it reproves for evil, and ministers peace and comfort to the soul in obedience and well-doing; or, as nearly as he could, come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn pressed the matter much upon the interpreter to do his best, but he would not, either because, as he alleged, of a want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which, I know not; but I rather think the latter was the main reason.

William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter, what their notion was of God in their own way. The interpreter showed, by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of representation, the great man, as they termed him, in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. We queried what they owned as to eternity, or a future state; the interpreter said, they believed when such died as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, murder, &c., they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat venison, nor match coats, which is what they use instead of clothes to cover themselves, being of one piece in the form of a blanket or bed-covering. But those who died clear of the aforesaid sins, go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison and good match coats; things much valued by the natives. I thought, as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the Scriptures, as we have who are called Christians, that what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be by an inward sensation, by contemplating the works of God in the creation, or probably from some tradition handed down from father to son, by which it appears, they acknowledged a future state of rewards and punishments; the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing and food, and

the latter by nakedness, pining hunger, and piercing cold.

I have often thought and said, when I was amongst them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me, as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles inviolate, and agreed that if any differences happened amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever; they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their worship, which was done thus: First, they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring, and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on, I did not see them move them in all that part of their worship, while they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators. When they had thus done, they began to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company as at the first; which seemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done, they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like triumph or rejoicing.

I leave Pensbury, but intend, before I leave the Indians, to say something more concerning that people, which I met with near Caleb Pusey's house in Pennsylvania. Walking in the wood, I espied several wigwams or houses of the Indians, and drew towards them, but could not converse with them; but looking over them in the love of God, I found it to be my way, as I apprehended, to look for an interpreter, and go to them again, which I did. I signified to them that I was come from a far country, with a message from the great man above, as they called God, and my message was to endeavour to persuade them, that they should not be drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit adultery, nor put away their wives, especially for small faults, which, as I understood, is usual with them to do; for if they did those things, the great and good man above would be angry with them, and would not prosper them, but



bring trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain from these evils, then would God love them and prosper them, and speak peace to them; or very nearly these words. When the interpreter expressed these things to them in their own language they wept, and tears ran down their naked bodies, and they smote their hands upon their breasts, and I perceived said something to the interpreter. I asked what they said: he told me they said, all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the great man had sent me, I could not have told them those things. I desired the interpreter to ask them, how they knew what I had said to them was good: they replied, and smote their hands on their breasts, the good man here, meaning in their hearts, told them what I had said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them, and to all people in the day of their visitation.

Having left them, I came to a Friend's house in the lower part of Pennsylvania, who was in the office of a justice of peace, and had been convinced not long before by Thomas Story. When I came into the house the man's wife was very uneasy, and called me a deceiver, and wrung her hands and said, Woe is me! I am undone, my husband is deceived; and more deceivers are come! O how she lamented! I was somewhat struck with the passion the poor woman was in; however, I said little, but sat down, and after some time it rose in my mind to ask her, in what her husband was deceived: whether he was, since he came amongst us, any worse husband to her; if he was, it was a bad sign; or, was he a worse father to his children; or a worse neighbour; or in any particular thing which she could name, changed from better to worse, since he was convinced of the Truth? If not, she had no great reason to complain. But if he had turned drunkard, railer, fighter, or become a vicious man, she would have had reason to complain. She honestly owned, she had nothing to charge him with. He sat by me and heard all our discourse, but said nothing. I told her, she had made a lamentable outcry about her husband's being deceived, but had not convinced me of any cause she had received for her sore complaint.

Being weary, having rode a great way that day, I with my companion Richard Orm took leave of her husband, and went to our rest, and saw him no more till the next day in the evening. When he came, I asked him, for what reason he left us so long, as he knew how uneasy his wife was about us, and that we had a great want of him. He said he had been giving notice of the meeting twenty miles one way, and two men had given notice as

far, each man his way; that was six score miles in and out.

Our landlady, against we rose in the morning, had got another woman, a justice's wife, to help her to dispute with us, and overthrow us, as she hoped, but in vain, for Truth proved too hard for them; although the other woman charged high in the morning, and said we were no Christians. I said it was easier to charge than to prove; how do you prove it? Because, said they, you deny [water baptism,] the precious ordinance of Jesus Christ. I asked if they could prove it to be such: they said they did not question but they could. I said they should do it from plain texts of Scripture, verbatim as it lies, without any inferences, consequences, or comments upon the places they insisted upon; and they agreed to it. But I told them, in case they should fail and not prove, as they thought they could, that ordinance to be so appointed by Christ, I hoped then they would allow us to be Christians, notwithstanding what they had charged to the contrary; and they said they would.

I then repeated all the preliminaries, and asked them if they would agree to each particular: they said they would. I desired Richard Orm to mind them, and imprint them in his memory, for it was like enough we should have occasion to call them in question before we had done; which came to pass not long after we began. They urged the twenty-eighth of Matthew in defence of water-baptism, where Christ said to his disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Water not being mentioned, the disputants were at a stand, and said it must be implied. I showed them, that by their agreement to the preliminaries, there were to be no inferences, but plain Scripture. I told them, it was an unreasonable thing to undertake to unchristian a great body of religious people by a few inferences, which might be true, or not true. When they had searched the New Testament a great while, they could not find what they desired, although they urged what Peter said in a certain case, "Who can forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" I showed them, that there was a great disparity between a servant's question, and a master's command. When they were weary with searching, and could not find a positive ordination by Christ for water baptism, they gave it over, and I asked them, if they had not fallen short of the proof of what they had so



boldly charged upon us in the morning. My landlady confessed they had fallen short of their expectation; but the other was in the mind, as she said, that it might be proved: I told her she would not prove it from any plain text of Scripture.

My passionate landlady became more meek and friendly, and received the Truth in the love of it: we had a good meeting the next day, and she said if I would stay that night, I should be as welcome as her own children; but if not, she blessed the Lord for my company, and the good she had already received by me, and parted with me in much brokenness of heart; and I heard she lived and died in good unity with Friends. But, oh! how glad was her husband to see that great and sudden change wrought in her! it was the Lord's doings; to him be the praise now and for ever, for he alone is worthy.

I had many comfortable meetings in my travels through these provinces, and good service. We were at a Yearly Meeting at Tredhaven in Maryland, upon the eastern shore, to which meeting for worship, came William Penn, Lord Baltimore and his lady, with their retinue, but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting. The lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him, she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics; for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her, some of these were rather the best preachers we had amongst us; or nearly these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable wife, and withal a courteously carriaged woman. I was also in company with the governor of Virginia, at our friend Richard John's house, upon the west cliffs in Maryland, for we both lodged there one night, and I heard that he had been studious in a book against Friends, called the Snake, and Friends desired he might have the answer, called the Switch, but knew not how to be so free with him as to offer it to him; I told Friends I would endeavour to make way for it. Although he seemed to be a man of few words, yet at a suitable interval I said to him, I had heard that he had seen a book called the Snake in the Grass; he confessed he had. I desired he would accept of the answer, and be as studious in it as he had been in the Snake; which he promised he would, and took the book.

There happened a passage worthy of note

either in this or the preceding governor's time in Virginia, as I was credibly informed, which was thus: The governor wanted a cooper to mend his wine, cider and ale casks, and some told him there was a workman near, but he was a Quaker; he said if he was a workman, he made no matter what he professed; so the Quaker, such as he was, was sent for, and came with his hat under his arm: the governor was somewhat at a stand to see the man come in after that manner, and asked if he was the cooper he had sent for: he said, yes. Well, said the governor, are not you a Quaker? Yes, replied the man, I am so called, but I have not been faithful. He then asked, how long have you been called a Quaker? The poor man said, about twenty years. Alas for you, poor man, said the governor, I am sorry for you!

By this we may clearly see, that such who walk up to what they profess, are in most esteem among the more thinking and religious people; and the unfaithful and libertine professors of the Truth are slighted, and I believe will be more and more cast out as the unsavoury salt, which is good for naught in religion, and is indeed trodden under the feet of men; for a great part of the world have such an understanding as to know what we profess, and what we should do and be in many things. Let us therefore walk wisely before all, and not be an occasion of stumbling, nor give offence either to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of God, that so we may indeed be "as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid;" nay, that may not desire to be hid, but rather that the inhabitants of the earth may see our good works, and have an occasion from thence administered, to glorify the Father which is in heaven.

Having it on my mind to visit a meeting up the river called Perquimons, on the west side of the river Choptank, and being on the east side, Henry Hosier and some more Friends set forward with me in a small boat, not in good condition, with only one small sail. We set out, as we thought, in good time to reach our desired port, but when we were upon the great river, which is ten miles over the shortest way, according to my recollection, though the manner of our crossing it made it more, the wind veered much against us, being then within about four points of our course. It rained hard, and was very dark, so that we could scarcely see one another, and the water broke so into the boat, that it was one man's work to heave it out, and all our company were discouraged, and most of them very sea sick. Henry Hosier, of whom I had the most hope for help, said that he could not steer the boat any longer. Notwithstanding the ex-

treme darkness, the roughness of the waves, boisterousness of the wind and hard rain, unwell as I was, I was obliged to undertake the steering of the boat, and not without some conflicts of mind, having no certainty, from any outward rule, what way we went. Having no fire, and the boat being open, we could not have any light to see our compass, but my faith was in the Lord, that he would bring us to shore; and I kept the boat as near the wind as she would sail, and told my poor sick and helpless company, I believed that we should not perish, although we might miss of our port. The like imminent danger, I think, I was never in before upon any water; but renowned over all be the great name of the Lord for ever, we put into the mouth of our desired river Perquimons, as though we had seen it in the day, or steered by a compass, neither of which we had the benefit of for several hours.

Here we went on shore and made a great fire under the river's cliff, and about midnight the moon rose, it cleared up and froze, and was very cold. My companions falling asleep, I turned them over, and pulled them from the fire as it increased, and put them nearer as it failed, but could not keep them awake. I sought logs of wood, and carried them to and minded the fire, which was work enough for the remaining part of the night; but morning being come, we got into our cold icy boat, and sailed away towards the meeting. When we were come among Friends, notice was given of a stranger being there, and a heavenly and sweet meeting it was, so that we thought we had a good reward for all our trouble; blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, for he is worthy; although he may see good to try us, sometimes one way and sometimes another. How should we know that we have any faith, if it be not tried? How shall we know that we have any true love to God, if it never be proved? The trial of the true believer's faith is more precious than gold. The excellent sayings of Job came into my mind, "Behold, I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: On the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: He hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him." And then in verse the tenth, he, like a man in the true faith, saith, "The Lord knoweth the way that I take; and when he has tried me, I shall come forth as gold:" and the more vehement the fire is, the more it destroys the dross, and the more pure and weighty the gold is. Read thou, and understand this, that canst.

I had a meeting, when in Virginia, at a Friend's house, whose name was Matthew Jordan, and something that I said in the meet-

ing, offended a young woman, a Presbyterian; and not having, as she said, a suitable opportunity while I was there, to discourse with me, being busy in her master's affairs, for she was the Friend's housekeeper, she desired liberty of her master to go to the next meeting, that there she might ease her mind to me about the offence I had given her. It was something about election, and they told me what it was, but not writing it down, it went from me. Accordingly she came to the meeting, where the Lord's mighty power broke in upon us, to the tendering of many hearts, to Friends' mutual satisfaction, and it proved a good day to this young woman. Her heart was as if it had melted within her; she shed many tears, and I am satisfied went from the meeting in fear and in great joy; in fear, how to walk so as not to offend Christ the Elect, whom before she could talk of, but now she had met with, and he had opened her state to her: and joy, that she had met with the Messiah, the Elect of the Father, his choice and beloved Son; so that she could now say, Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? All her brisk talkative qualities were swallowed up in the feeling of the internal, enlightening presence of Christ.

When she returned to her master's house, he asked her if she had got satisfaction: meaning, had she had any discourse with me, and was satisfied. She replied, she was satisfied. Some time after I met with her in Philadelphia, plain and Truth-like, but knew not who she was at the first. The manner of the working of the Truth is to humble the creature, and bring it into contrition, tenderness and fear, with true self-denial.

When we were crossing James river to attend a Yearly Meeting in Virginia, there were five horses and nine people in the boat; among whom were Jane Pleasants, a public Friend, and her man-servant, who rode before her upon a great horse, and high in flesh. About the midst of the river, which was two miles over, he rose upon his hind feet, and threw himself upon the gunnel of the boat, half into the river; the fall of the horse, and the motion of the other horses, caused the boat to make such sallies that it took in water, and was very likely to sink. Before he could have time to rise again, I took several young men by the shoulders, and threw them upon his neck to keep him down, and told them, as fast as I could, why I did so. The ferryman, who was about to strip for swimming, said we should all be drowned; but for his part he could swim; and was about to leap into the river, for, he said the boat would either break or sink. I told him it was soon enough for him to swim, when he saw the boat either

break or sink, and if he would not row, I would. With much entreaty he took the oar again, and rowed us to the shore. But in our imminent danger I looked over my tender friends, for so they appeared to me, and thought what a pity it would be, if all these were drowned! yet the thought of my own drowning never entered my mind, until I was got over the river, which was a mercy to me, and a great means to keep out confusion, which commonly attends sudden surprises and frights, or makes people faint-hearted and almost senseless.

I had now occasion to observe, as well as in some imminent dangers I had seen before, that it is an excellent thing to be, as much as we can, always ready, and by frequently thinking upon death, it is not so surprising when it does come. It is a point of true wisdom, to number our days so as to remember our latter end. The want of thus contemplating what preparation we are in to look death in the face, and to appear before the great Judge of quick and dead, was the cause of the complaint, "Oh that my people were wise! that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!" The great remissness of such considerations among people, bespeaks folly and great insensibility, and that the heart is hardened through a habit of sinning. O that I might prevail with the children of men to awake. Arise, you that sleep in sin, and are at ease therein, that you may come to hear inwardly the call of the Son of God, that your souls may not only live here to serve God, but also may live eternally in bliss with him, is the desire of my soul for the whole bulk of mankind; for my life has often appeared not to be dear to me, in comparison of the saving of the souls of the children of men.

I have often thought of Moses, how far he went for saving Israel, and how far Paul went for the saving of his kinsfolk after the flesh. It was a demonstration that they had great faith and interest in the Lord, and a very great love to his people. Those whose eyes are truly opened, cannot but see it is the love of God, and love to the souls of men, that constrains us thus to take our lives as in our hands, and labour through many weary steps, in many perils by sea and by land, and in the wilderness; sometimes in tumults and noises, sometimes in watchings and fastings, and we have been sometimes made spectacles to men; but the Lord hath given us faith and patience to bear and overcome all, as we have singly stood in his heavenly counsel, and been truly devoted to his will in all things.

Something which I have before omitted now occurs to my memory: when I was in that

part of Virginia towards North Carolina, to visit Friends, a very great mist arose, and we went wrong, until the guides were so far lost, that they confessed, they knew not east from west, nor on which hand we had left the road, although it was in the fore part of the day, neither wind nor sun was to be felt or seen. I told them I would try what I could do, if they did but know what quarter we should go to: they said we should go towards the south: then I brought out my little compass which I had made before I left England, and steered by it till we came into the road. The inward sense I had persuaded me, that we were to the westward of the road, so leaning a little to the eastward of the south point, we came right, and the guides rejoiced, and said I was fitter to be guide in a wilderness country than they. My compass was not so big as a tailor's thimble, but had often been of use to me, and others with me.

Now the time came on for my leaving all my near and dear friends in these parts, and I embarked for the islands the 6th of the ninth month, 1702, with my companion James Bates, on board of a sloop, Samuel Salter, master, for Barbadoes, and we put into Bermudas in our way. Soon after we landed, being on the 21st of the same month, we were sent for by Governor Bennett to come before him, and being near his door, a man came and clapped me on the shoulder, as we were walking on our way, and said roughly to us, You must go before the governor, and seemed to hasten us. I replied meekly, I am willing to go as fast as I can, but I have been very sea sick, and can go but weakly. The man fell from his roughness, bid us take time, and carried himself very civilly, and put us by a man who was keeping sentry at the governor's door with his musket on his arm. When we were come into a large room the man left us, and we waited a while. I began to reason in myself, What if the governor should be a rigid man, and severe to us, and either confine or punish us? But I said in my heart, Lord, thou that knowest all things, knowest that I have not only offered up my liberty, but life also, for thy name and Gospel's sake; and immediately all fear and reasonings about human power were taken away from me.

Being unwell, and weary with walking from the ship, I sat down to rest myself unbidden, when there came a friendly well carriaged young woman, who I supposed to be a servant, and spoke kindly to us. I desired her to do as much for us as to give us something to drink, for we were very thirsty, and had been much out of health, and were not well recovered since we came from the sea, having had rough weather. She brought us wine

and water, and taking most of a glass of water, and a very little wine poured into it, I drank and was very well refreshed. By this time the governor called us into an upper room, and as I came near to the top of the stairs, going but faintly, for reasons before given, the governor put forth his hand and reached to take hold of mine, and like a tender father drew me up, and led me along towards a great window, and stood and looked on me and said, he believed he knew what I was, and my business too. I replied it might be so, and asked if he was the governor of that place: he said he was, and bowed his head. I then spoke to him in the love of God and said, Thy countenance bespeaks moderation, and the apostle said, "Let your moderation appear to all men, for the Lord is at hand:" and it was with me to say to him, The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee and all thine. He bade us sit down, and gave us each a glass of wine, and inquired from whence we came. I told him my home was in Old England, but it was long since I was there; my companion's was in Virginia. He wanting to know the affairs in Europe, I told him there was a merchant belonging to the same ship that we did, was lately come from Europe, and I thought was a man of parts and memory, and well versed in the affairs of those parts of the world, and when we came into this place he was with us. The governor sent for him, and when he came, he answered his expectation in resolving all or most of his questions, for the knowledge of the news appeared to me to be the young man's talent. Having dismissed him, he said he must now have some discourse with us: then rose up all the great men who were with the governor, to make way that I might come near him. I said if it was the governor's mind, I had rather sit where I was, for I sat in the air, and that suited well with my present weakness. So he bade them all sit down, and they did so.

Now, said he, I want to know the reasons why you, as a people, do not assist the king and country with men and arms, for their and your own defence and safety, against all that may attempt your hurt. I replied, the most convincing reasons I have to offer to the governor are, we have neither precept nor example from Christ, or his apostles, to use the sword to hurt one another with. No, said he, what then means that saying of our Saviour, when he bade him that had no sword, sell his cloak or coat and buy one? I replied, one of his disciples answered and said, Lord, here are two; Christ said, It is enough. Now how two swords can be enough to answer for a general precept, I leave the governor and all these men to judge. So after a little pause he

said, In case you were assaulted by robbers that would break your house, and take what they could get from you, or upon the highway, and would take your purse or horse, what would you do in that case? I replied, I could not directly answer what I should do in such a case, because through the Lord's mercy I was never yet so assaulted; but it appears most likely, that I should endeavour to keep my house from being broken up, and yet withal be tender of men's lives; and as to the other assault, inasmuch as it is well known I do not provide any outward weapon for my defence, neither sword, pistol, nor any such like weapon, therefore I must rely upon the Lord for protection and help, who is able to rescue me out of the hands of all such ungodly men: or if he does not, I must endeavour to bear what the Lord suffers such to do to me. The governor said, You say well: for inasmuch as you have not provided any thing for your defence, you have nothing to fly to but the Lord; you say very well; and said, he hoped what he had offered had not given any offence. I replied, it was so far from that, we were glad he was so free with us; yet if he pleased to dismiss us, we should be willing to be going, for night came on. He said, there were some of our friends would be glad to see us. I replied, I understood there were some further on the island that did own us, but how much they were of us I could not tell, for I had not seen any of them. He asked, whether we had a mind to go by water or by land, for he had a boat, and a couple of hands should carry us where we would; or if we had a desire to ride, he had two horses, we might take them and keep them as long as we staid upon the island. I endeavoured to persuade him to let us go without troubling himself any further, for I was sensible of his good will and love to us, and having his countenance, was more than we expected, and as much as we desired. He still urging to know, after what manner we would choose to go: I told him, I was very sensible of his generosity to us who were strangers, and if he would be easy and let us pass, we had wherewithal to defray our necessary charges, either by water or land, as would answer best with our conveniency. He pressed upon us to accept of his offer, for he said he did not do it in compliment to us. Seeing no way but to accept of his generous offer, I said riding at present would be much more acceptable to me, considering how I had been lately fatigued at sea, of which I was not yet well. He immediately gave orders for the horses to be brought to the door, which being done, and we having notice thereof, I rose up and made an offer to go, and the governor likewise rose up and came

and took me by the hand, and we went down into the great room where we first entered in the Lord's dread and holy fear. I had resigned my life and all to the Lord who gave it, and my life at that time, as at many others, was not dear to me for Christ's sake; and being thus resigned, I felt the love of God, and a measure of that life was manifest, in which I had dominion over men, bonds, and over death, and the powers of darkness; blessed be the Lord for ever.

Coming to take horse, I looked out at the door, and saw two horses. The one next the door, which I supposed I was to ride on, had a saddle set about with three rows of shining silver lace, I thought about two inches broad on each; the governor holding me by the hand, and looking in my face, said, I am apt to think you are not used to ride upon such a saddle as this. I told him, if he could let me have one more like myself, plain, without much trouble, I should like it better, but if not, I could ride on it, I thought, without much straitness, in case of necessity. He answered, he could not, for horses and saddles were scarce on that island; one was that which he rode on, and the other was for his man; but he said he would tell me how to prevent all this. If, said he, you get over the inlet of water, though he questioned it, because the wind blew very strong in the mouth or inlet of the river, and should come to Richard Stafford's, an old judge of life and death, we might ask there for the cover of his saddle, which ties on with little straps at each corner and hides all this, and then it will be like yourself. But if the ferryman says he cannot carry the horses over, what man soever you meet, white or black, if capable, tell him he must bring me my horses, he dares do no other but bring them; and be sure you take no further thought for them: and if we met with any thing that troubled us, let him know and he would help it, if it lay in his power. So with his blessing on us, we took leave of him, and came to the water-side, but could not get the horses over, therefore we sent them back again, and intended to stay at the ferry-house all night, but the boat was about going over as we alighted; and notice being got to the judge, that there were two strangers on the other side of the water, he sent a boat and a couple of men for us, who said, we must go, for the judge said he could not sleep until we came. So we went, after asking, if they at the ferry-house had been at any cost or trouble on our account in providing supper, for as yet we had not eaten any thing since we landed; the people said no, they had not done any thing which we should pay for. It grew dark and very stormy, and the sea broke over the

boat, so that some of us were forced to hold our coat laps one to touch another on the weather-side, to keep out the breakers, that they might not fill the boat. We came safe over to the judge's house, and no sooner got into the passage but his friendly wife met us, and asked us if we were the strangers her husband had sent for? I said, we are strangers. She bid us follow her to the judge, and we did so. When we came to him he rose up, and took the candle in his hand and said, Are you the strangers I sent for? I said, who thou mayest expect I know not, but we are strangers. When he had looked well in my face, he set down the candle, and said, What a mercy is this, that the Lord should send men from I know not where, in his love to visit me! and took me in his arms and kissed me; and I said to him, The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee; and we shed many tears and wept together.

As I entered the house, I felt the love of God, and his glory, I thought, shone in and filled every room as I passed through them, and I said, peace be to this place, and I felt it was so. He inquired of our travels, and from whence we came, of which we gave him a brief account; he also asked, if I knew any thing of the family of Staffords, at Lahorn, near Haverford-west, in South Wales. I told him all I knew about them, both of the dead and of the living; with which he was pleased, and said, he had not heard of them for many years, and that family were his near kindred.

I found his usual bed time drew near, and I made an offer to go away lest I should incommode him, yet he appeared unwilling to part with us; but considering his own ailments, and our early rising in the morning, he at length consented. Before we parted, his wife asked leave of him to go with us on the morrow to the meeting, to which he readily assented, if he was not worse of his distemper, and then ordered how we should ride, and which negro should go, not only to help his wife but us also, and take our horses when there was occasion, and do any thing he could for us; and indeed so he did, and appeared to me to run on foot without much trouble, being a lively young man.

I omitted before, that the judge asked, if we had seen the governor, and if he was kind to us. I told him he was very friendly to us, and said if we met with any trouble that he could help us in, only let him know and he would right us. The judge said it was very well, and he was glad of it. I perceived the judge was rather a moderator of the governor, he being an ancient wise man, and had lived long as a judge upon the island, and understood, it is likely, more fully the state of things

here than the governor, he being but a young man, although he appeared to be a wise man, and, as William Penn said, came of an ancient and honourable family in England, which he knew very well, whose name was Bennett. Afterwards I told William Penn how it had fared with us on that island; and especially the kindness of the two chief men in power there, and William Penn wept, and said, he had not heard any account of this nature, that he had been so much affected with, as he remembered, these many years.

We left the judge until the morning, and got some refreshment, it being late, and I had been faint for several hours for want of eating, but the Lord's heavenly power bore me up over all, so that at times I felt no want of any thing: Oh! renowned over all be the name of the mighty God, now and for ever. We went to bed, and when morning came, I and my companion were stirring early, having eight miles to the meeting, and it being in the latter end of the ninth month, we were willing to be in time, that we might give some notice to the people. I was walking in our lodging room early, and the judge's wife came to the door and asked, if she might speak with us; I said she might: then she came in and said she had a message from her husband to us. I queried, what it was; she said he desired we would come and pray for him before we went away. I desired she would favour us so much as to lay before her husband something which I had to say, and she promised she would: Well then, tell the judge, that if he will suffer us to come into his room, and sit down and wait upon the Lord, as our manner is in such a case as this, if it please the Lord to move us by his Holy Spirit to pray, we may; but if not, let not the judge take it amiss, for we are willing to be at the Lord's disposing in all things. She went, and I believe, as she said, laid the matter before him, as I had delivered it to her; for she was a woman of a good understanding, and came back again to us in a very little time. I asked what the judge said; she replied, he said, let the men take their own way, and whether they pray for me or not, I believe they are men of God. So after some little respite, being brought to the judge's bedside, we sat down and waited upon the Lord, who was pleased in his love, and by his mighty power to break in upon us, and also opened my mouth in his gift of grace and of supplication, in which gift ardent and fervent cries went up to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he would send health and salvation to the judge, and also to all his family, and to all people far and near, that all every where might repent, and come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved. The judge wept

aloud, and a mighty visitation it was to his family, and especially to himself and his tender wife. We left the judge in a fine frame of spirit, and no doubt near the kingdom, having his blessing and earnest request, that when we could reach his house we would not fail to come to it, for we were very welcome; and I found and felt it so, and it was mostly our lodgings. His wife and foot page went with us to all the meetings, except one, while we were on the island, which was about two weeks, in which time we had many good opportunities among a soberly behaved people, amongst whom we met with no opposition, but had large quiet meetings.

When we were clear, as we thought, of the island, we went to take our solid leave of the governor, acknowledging his civility and generosity to us. I told him and the judge, that they would not want their reward for what they had done to us, and to such who should take their lives as in their hands, and come in the love of God to visit those remote parts of the world, which we durst not have undertaken if we had not believed it required of us by the Almighty, and our peace concerned in it, as also the glory of God, and the good of the children of men; these are the motives to those our great undertakings, or words to that purpose. So we parted in much love, with these great men, especially the judge, with tears on his face, as also his tender and friendly wife, who had been very serviceable to us in ordering meetings, and making way for us. There was none like her in all the island, that we met with, being given up to that service, for encouraging Truth and Friends in what she was capable of.

Being invited to a Friend's house to dine one day, when we were sat down at the table, the woman of the house desired that one of us would say grace; from which I took occasion to show her and several more in the company, who appeared not much more grown in the Truth than she, that since we had been a people, we had both believed, and accordingly practised, that true prayer was not performed without the help of the Holy Spirit of God, and no man could pray aright and acceptably without it; nor was it in man's power to have it when he pleased. Therefore it is man's place to wait upon the Lord for the pouring forth of this gift upon him, and also to know whether it be required of him to pray so as to be heard by man, or only to pray secretly, so as to be heard of God, as did Hannah, and as many more have done; which, as they do aright, no doubt, but as Christ said to his disciples, their Father will hear them in secret, and reward them openly; or to this effect: with which they all appeared satisfied.



We then went on board our vessel, and set sail with a fair wind for Barbadoes; but soon after we got out to the mouth of that inlet where we arrived first, the wind came full against us, and we put in there again; and the master, although not called one of us, said, in a friendly manner, What is the matter now? This is because of you, Mr. Richardson, as he was pleased to call me, although I often showed my dislike to it, you have something to do yet upon the island. I said I know not of any thing; but he seemed positive, and said, if the wind came fair at midnight he would call, if I was willing, if not, he would stay as long as I pleased. I said I knew not of any thing to hinder, but he might call as soon as the wind came fair. So we parted, only telling him we intended to go for the judge's house. It was late in the evening when we got there, and the judge was gone to bed; but his wife was up, who lifted up her hands with more than ordinary surprise, and much joy, and said she was always glad to see me, but never more than now: I said, why so? She then began to tell, that since I went away, there had been a man with the judge, who had incensed him against me all that he could, and said he knew me in England, and that I was broken, and came into those parts to preach for a living. I asked what her husband said to all that? She said his answer to the man was, that he believed I was no such person, but an honest man; yet the accuser seemed very positive. I said it would be well if this man could be brought with me to the judge's face, that he might be convinced, not only of the man's ignorance of us as a people, but of me in particular, and his envy against me be made known. I opened to her the nature of such journeys and services, how we proceeded, and how the meetings were constituted in which we did so proceed, and from whence we had certificates, viz: from Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, or meetings of ministers to which we belonged, and from Friends in the several provinces and islands where we travelled, if we desired them, many of which I could show the judge, if time would admit. She said, lest we should be called away in haste, she craved to see some of those certificates. I showed her them, beginning at the first, wherein Friends of Kelk, now Bridlington, Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire, to Friends in America, declared not only their full unity with my present journey, but also with my service for the Truth, and conversation in the same, where I had lived and travelled; and that I had settled my outward affairs to Friends' satisfaction, under many hands variously written.

When this great and wise woman saw this,

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she said it was enough: but I showed her other certificates from divers places, wherein Friends had signified sufficiently their unity and satisfaction with me. I likewise informed her, that in case any man, not approved by us as a minister, attempted to impose his preaching upon any who were strangers to him, such as knew him, took care to acquaint the churches therewith, if his intentions could be known, that no impostor might do any hurt. All which she admired, and said she had never heard so much before, neither did she think there had been such excellent order amongst any people.

Having thus acquainted her with our order and discipline, and afterwards informed her of the cause of our unexpected return, I renewed my proposal of having my accuser before the judge. She told me, she had good place with her husband, and would endeavour to obtain it; and accordingly, after talking with him, she let me know, that the judge expressed his readiness to do me any service which lay in his power, and was of opinion my accuser durst not face either him or me in that affair. If the wind continued against us, he would try to find him out, and bring him, which might be of service; but if the wind favoured, she thought I might be easy to go; as indeed I was, and the more so, considering that our captain, Salter, who lived near the judge on the same island, had showed a great deal of patience and good disposition to us, for about two weeks, yet would gladly be gone. About midnight we were called to go on board the ship, for the wind was fair, if we were ready. I replied, we come quickly: and so we did, and took leave of all we saw of the family, and remembered our dear love, with grateful acknowledgments, to the judge, for all his civility and kindnesses to us, with reasons why we could not see him, for he had been afflicted some time with the gout, and was now fallen into some rest, and we going away very early, were not at our own disposal.

I admired the Lord's good providence in all this, and there was something from the same watchful Providence, to order that to be put into my certificate which did so fully remove the slur this enemy would have fastened upon me, *i. e.* That I had broken in England, and could not pay my debts, and therefore had come into these remote parts of the world, where I was unknown, to preach for a livelihood. But it fully appeared, that I was known, and well beloved too, and had effects to discharge any just demand upon me, blessed be the worthy name of the Lord now and for ever.

Now I may say something of our affairs upon the sea in this voyage. When Captain



Salter had taken us in passengers at Philadelphia for Barbadoes, it being a time of war, and people somewhat afraid of shipping goods, he said, he was to have two honest Quakers passengers, and he did not fear being taken by privateers, or pirates. I was troubled at his confidence in us, and told him so, and that it was much if the Lord did not suffer us to be taken, that he might see men were not to be depended upon, but that we ought to depend upon the Lord alone for protection and deliverance; however, in much less time than we expected, goods came, and we were loaded and gone. We had rough weather before we came to Barbadoes; especially about the tropic of Cancer we had very high winds, and I was extremely sea-sick, and so was my companion, and I could eat little, but was treated with remarkable civilities by the captain. About that latitude there are fish not unlike herring, which fly from wave to wave, and by dipping their fins or wings in the water, they will fly a great way, especially when they are chased by fishes of prey, and almost every morning there were some of those fish on the ship's deck. The captain often said, as his manner was, Mr. Richardson, these are sent for you, or for your breakfast, and seeing it is so, I will dress them myself, for I know my cook is so greasy you can hardly eat of his cookery. This was very true, and therefore he would wash his hands, and lay a clean napkin on his arm, and tell me he would dress me my breakfast in the best fashion he could. I asked him why he would put himself to so much trouble; he said he never waited on a man in all his life with so much pleasure, and if I were going into any country where he was going, I should not pay any thing for my passage; so much respect he showed me.

It happened in the course of this voyage, when we were within a few leagues of Barbadoes, one morning early, as soon as day appeared, he that was aloft, upon the watch to look out, as the manner of mariners is, especially in the time of wars and danger, espied a ship, which he and the rest of our most knowing men supposed to be a Turkish frigate, of considerable strength; however, it was a great vessel, and appeared to have many guns; and when we first saw her, she seemed to be within gun shot. But oh, what a surprise and fright our ship's crew were in! I had not often seen the like. Our vessel being deeply loaded, although a good sailer, was less than that which chased us, and to run for it appeared the only way for us to escape, hauling as close to the wind as we could, to keep the sails full. The vessel being stiff with its great burthen, endured sail well, and they crowded so much, that I told them I feared they would bring the

rigging by the board. Thus we laboured until noon, and then our captain having lost all his confidence in the Quakers, said, we shall be taken, for the ship has gained upon us for several hours; we have done what we can, and are all spent. I walked upon the main deck under no small concern of mind, and Truth rose, and I found it open in the Truth, that we should not be taken; the captain said, binding it with some asseverations, We shall certainly be taken. I said, No, we shall not, unless by our mismanagement. Alas, said he, you are such a man as I never met with. Do you not see the frigate, or *Salleemañ*, for so he called her, is just going to fire a broad-side at us, opening the gun-ports, and laying the ship broadside upon us, and levelling at her as well as they can? Although our captain was a stout man, he appeared very ghostly and dead hearted, and said to me in a tone which bespoke both affliction and trouble, Go into my cabin, or somewhere under the deck, for they will fire immediately; and where I walked I could hardly escape either the shot or the rigging falling upon me. I said, they will not fire; and desired him to be easy, for we should come to no damage by that ship. Well then, he asked, what they should do, for the enemy was just upon us. I said I would fetch them a bottle or two, or more of my best brandy, and they should take as much as might do them good, but have a care of more, and ply away awhile, and you will see they will fall back and we shall leave them. The captain said, although there was no human probability of escaping, yet, for my sake, they would try; and to work they went. I think I never saw men on board of any ship work like them for some hours, and we soon perceived that we outsailed them, and by the time it began to be dark, we had left them considerably.

Now all fire and light was forbidden, except what could not be avoided, and all noise, and a council was held, to consult what way to steer, whether the nearest or most common way for the island, or about; for it was reasonable to conclude the adversary would way-lay us, if he could, before we came to the island. The captain said, what I said in the case should be done; after some deliberation, I told him, I was most easy in steering the nearest course, which we did, and saw our adversary no more.

We came to the island next day in much joy, that we had escaped so imminent a danger, but I was very ill of a fever when I landed, which had been growing upon me for several days, this being the sixth day of the week, and 18th of the tenth month. I was so poorly, that several thought I must die;

but I stood resigned in the will of God, whether to die or live. The first-day being come, I went to the meeting, though with great difficulty, being very weak, where I sat under more than usual exercise, reasonings, and conflict of spirit for some time, about my present condition, which was weak and low, and in my own apprehension, unlikely to be of any service. Notwithstanding all the troubles and hazards of the sea, and robbers, and other jeopardies in coming here, I was now disabled and laid by as useless. These things occasioned me to consider, whether I had not missed my way in something or other. Many particulars were brought to my mind, whether I had discharged myself faithfully where I had been. When I looked back, and took a view of my travels and services in the work of the ministry and discipline of the church, my conduct and whole conversation, I saw nothing but that I was clear of the blood of all men; as also clear and well satisfied both as to the time and my coming to this island. There appeared yet two things in my way; first, if this place should be my grave, such as might not watch over me with the best eye may say, if he had gone at the Lord's command, no doubt he would have brought him back again; and secondly, as I had two little children in England, if I finished my course here, they would be left fatherless and motherless. And I said before the Lord, let not my end bring dishonour to thy great name, nor any blemish to the Truth which I have loved and laboured for the promotion of, from my childhood.

When I had thus appealed to the Lord, I felt great quietness and resignation of mind. As I sat, a Friend well thought of by several, began to speak in the meeting, and it opened in my mind, that he was not wholly redeemed from having some thoughts that elementary water had not yet ended its service; I mean in point of dipping. I would have shut it out, for the man appeared a wise, zealous man; and being altogether a stranger, I could not remember that I had heard his name, yet the matter continued, and I thought, for my own satisfaction, I might ask him the question. If he was a right spirited Friend, he would not be hurt; if he was not, he stood in need of help, or at least it was high time for Friends to have a more perfect knowledge of him.

During my sitting, as before, under much weakness of body, yet quiet in mind, the living virtue or heavenly power of Christ sprung up in my inward man like healing oil, which so effectually helped me every way, that I could say feelingly and experimentally, miracles are not ceased. I was raised beyond my own expectation, and all others who knew my weak state, to give testimony to the glorious

coming and manifestation of Christ in power, and spirit, for the help and salvation of all the children of men who receive, believe in, and obey his spiritual reproofs and heavenly calls in the soul, without any lessening to his humanity. Great cause have I, with all the living, to love, honour, and reverence the great and mighty name of Him who hath helped and healed, by sending his eternal word of living power into our hearts.

Returning with other Friends to my quarters from this good meeting, not to be forgotten by me, the before-mentioned Friend came to see me. Having, as I told him, a desire to speak privately with him, he replied, there were none there but his good friends, and I might speak my mind. I told him, what I had to say related chiefly to himself, and in such a matter as he might not be willing to have exposed; but he would not hear, and said I might speak it there. I desired he would not take offence at what I had to say, for I did suppose it to be a secret to all there but himself. Then I said, the matter is, when thou wast speaking in the meeting, it sounded in the ear of my soul as if one had said, this man, meaning thee, is not wholly redeemed out of a belief in John's ministration of water; as not having done its work. Now the matter is before thee, thou knowest whether what I received be true or false: in the first place I inquire for my own satisfaction. His answer, if it may be called one, was as follows: he said, The disciples of Christ, when they baptized with water, knew that it was the mind of their great Master that they should so baptize. I said, I know not that any of the apostles did ever say so much as thou wouldest insinuate; for both by what Peter and Paul say, it appears very natural to be the mind of Christ, only to condescend to so much as was done by the apostles in that of water, because of the people's weakness; and no question but the Jews were very much settled in the belief of John the Baptist's dispensation of water to repentance, and also of the circumcision, and purifying, and many other things used amongst that people. When the converts were grown stronger in the faith and in the grace of God, Peter told them, "It is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ;" and Paul, although he did once in condescension circumcise Timothy, yet told the people at another time, that "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature;" and that if they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing. He also thanks God, he baptized no more than Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanas;

besides these, he knew not that he had baptized any other, for Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. I said to the Friend, I am of the prophet's mind, when he said, The elements should melt as with fervent heat; if the Gospel power be not this fervent heat, I know not what is, nor what is able to melt away the elements. But I further said, if he was a Baptist, he should deal plainly and honestly with Friends, and tell them what he was, and not preach one thing, and keep such reserves to himself.

Friends admired, and said, they had not the least thought of any such thing respecting him; so he said he would not fall out with me. I told him, I was as much for peace as he was, but at the same time I would have us to mind that we were sound in the faith, and preachers of the Gospel, and not go back again to the beggarly elements, for what is all in comparison of the love of God in Christ Jesus?

I had good service and great satisfaction upon this island, although I found Truth so low, that it might then be truly said as formerly, By whom shall Jacob, or the true seed, arise, which is in our apprehension but small, and much pressed down with many things that are hurtful, especially by the love of money, pride, and forgetfulness of God?

I was invited on board a great transport ship, whereof one Reed was master, who remembered me when I was but young, and was travelling to or near Scarborough; he was loving to me, and several Friends who were with me, and I had good service on board.

There was also on board a French Protestant, now a captain of the English transport soldiers, bound for Jamaica. He lodged at John Groves', and was a very civil man, and said, if I would go with Captain Reed, who offered, if I was going, to carry me to Jamaica free, he would wait on me if I was sick, or ailed any thing; and would gladly have had my company. I acknowledged both their generosity and civility to me, and took leave of them, and of the noble Captain Salter, who I have had occasion both to mention and to love. He took his solid leave of me, wept like a child, and said openly in the hearing of many, that he never loved a man so well before, and though he did not want business, yet, for my sake, he would serve my friends what lay in his power; or nearly those words.

I find, as we live and walk in the Truth, there is an inward witness which God hath placed in the hearts of men that is reachable, except in such who have arrived to a great degree of hardness and insensibility, and so have little sense or perception of good, either in themselves or in others, which is a deplor-

able state. Oh, what grief of heart it hath been to me, to hear and see the wickedness of some! If such wickedness was as great a trouble to them who acted it, as it was to me, I have thought they would soon grow weary of it.

I embarked on board a ship, John Griffith master, bound for Bristol, in Old England, and went to sea with some East India ships that had put in at Barbadoes, having a ship of war or two for their convoy. After we were got to sea, they had so much drinking and carousing that we grew weary of staying with them, and after some consideration, the captain, who was a Friend, left them, and came safe to England.

In our passage we had some rough weather near the tropic, which I mentioned before, and the men and captain being much disordered with watching and hard labour, as I remember, for eight and forty hours night and day, a calm ensuing, the captain desired me to take his place for his watch, and mind the helmsman, and see that he made straight steerage; but he was so sleepy, that it was next to impossible to keep him awake. I walked on the deck, and had overmuch work to mind the compass and the helmsman too, for a fine breeze of wind came on, and all of a sudden a very unusual fear fell on me; I looked into the sea; and beheld it appeared to turn blue, and as far as I could discern to windward, I saw white caps, or the water-freckle; on seeing which, through fear, more than any great skill, I stamped with my foot as though I would have broke the deck. Out came the captain, but what with fear and sleep he could scarcely hit the door out of the cabin. When he got upon the deck, he stamped, and called out all his hands, and bid them lower and furl the sails with speed, or else we were all dead men, for here is a hurricane just upon us. No sooner was all made snug as well as could be, as the seamen phrase it, but the wind blew so, that we thought it would have turned the bottom of the ship upward: the like I never saw; and, as the captain said, we had not one minute to spare of being cast away, according to all human probability. As the seamen term it, it was such hurry-durry thick weather, that we could scarcely see any thing a hundred yards. It held for about an hour, in which time we drove by a vessel, and were so near her, that I thought I could have flung a stone aboard. Our ship's crew were sorely afraid, and looked upon her to be a robber; her rudder was lashed or tied up, and the men were all gone off the deck, but our mariners were so affrighted, that they thought they would set some sail and follow us. No sooner were we past this ship but the weather grew better, and

away we ran in hazard of bringing the masts by the board; but through the Divine Providence of him who is Lord over all, both sea and land, we escaped, and came safe into Cork in Ireland, where the master lived; we rode there some time, and then weighed for Bristol, intending for the Yearly Meeting there.

We had rough weather in crossing the channel, before we came into the Severn, where our sailors, afraid of being pressed, launched the boat, and ran away into Cornwall, leaving but four on board to bring the ship up the river. We saw a pinnace, having in it a lieutenant with a crew of pressed men, intending to press more if they could find them. Our master called on me, desired I would put on my best clothes, and come to him, which I did, and he set me on his right hand. By this time the lieutenant came up, and asked for my men, taking me for the master. I told him, they had launched the long-boat and were gone, and we could not hinder them, they being the strongest party; at which he appeared very much enraged, and seemed as though he would have struck at me. I told him calmly, he had more need to pity than be angry with us, for if there should be a gale of wind, we were in great danger of all perishing for want of hands. I showed him what force we had, viz: James Bates, whom I did not then call my companion, John Griffith captain, the cabin-boy and myself, who were all the men on board. He asked, what for a man that was who sat beside me? I told him, he was a man sufficiently secured against the press. Then the rough man fell, and said, I looked like an honest man, and he would take my word and not search for men.

I write not this as a thing I approved, but disliked; but being taken at unawares, had not time to shun it, unless I had exposed my friend, the master of the ship; although I neither said nor did, that I know of, any thing worse than what thou seest here written; I told the captain, I thought he was a great coward, and had exposed me to danger to save himself.

Wind and weather favoured us, and we came in due time to Bristol Yearly Meeting, where I met with William Edmundson, and was truly glad to see him, with many more at that place. My companion falling sick, I was made willing to leave him, and travelled to London with John Watson of Ireland, a sweet spirited man. We got to London Yearly Meeting, where I discharged myself of what I had upon my mind, and came away in peace, and in the feeling of the love of God.

John Haydock and I came from London together, and had meetings in our way to York Yearly Meeting, where I was glad to

see my home-friends, and to enjoy the love of God once more with them. This is our principal crown and kingdom, in this world, to enjoy the favourable countenance of the Lord, and one another in his living and internal presence. When I looked back upon all the mercies and deliverances I had received from the mighty God of heaven and earth, seas, and rivers of water, whose hand made all, and whose eye and watchful providence attends all, and is over all, my soul was filled with thanks and praises to the great and most excellent name of Him who lives for ever, and hath helped my-soul to overcome many strong temptations, and hath borne up my head under many deep afflictions and tribulations; renowned for ever be his holy name.

I came home the 18th of the fourth month, 1703, and found my children well; and now I was under a thoughtfulness how to walk and demean myself, so that I might be preserved near the Lord, and in reverence and true fear before him; that as I found there was something of holiness unto the Lord engraven upon the fleshly table of my heart, I might not lose the savour, relish and sensation of heavenly things, now when I was not so particularly and immediately concerned in the like daily travel on Truth's account. Some will read me here, in this short survey I have been taking of my thoughtfulness and present state, that if I could not make it better, I might not make it worse, either in doing or not doing any thing that would prove a hurt to me; for a vessel had better be laid by, if it can be spared, than used to its hurt. In this careful and watchful frame of mind, I have found preservation from time to time to this day, by retaining the salt of the kingdom in the soul or the inward man, which is of a preserving quality, with which the vessel is, and can only be kept fit for the Master's use; if we lose this, the creature soon grows unfit for his use. Read and consider these things in time, whilst thou hast the prize in thine hand, and time to do, and receive good at the hand of Him who is truly full of good, and is all good: to Him be the offerings of praise and renown now and for ever.

Whilst I remained at home, as my usual manner was, I attended first-day, week-day, Monthly, Quarterly, and other meetings, and visited many meetings in the country, and had much satisfaction in being given up to the service of Truth. I did not see it convenient, as my children were well placed, to settle to keep a family, until my way appeared clear to marry, which now drew on, and after I had been nearly seven years a widower, I married Anne Robinson, who descended of a substantial family at Hutton-in-the-Hole, in

the parish of Lestingham, not far from Kirby-  
moorside, in Yorkshire.

We had not been married much above two years, before my wife began to appear in the public work of the ministry, very acceptably to Friends; and she grew in understanding of the discipline of the church of Christ, and also in further knowledge in the work of the living ministry. About that time it came upon me to visit Friends in most parts of the northern counties in England; and a short time after my return, I had a concern to visit Friends in several parts of the southern counties. Thomas Beedal, being my companion, he grew in the Truth, and also in the ministry: and we had many good meetings in that journey, good service and great satisfaction, and I returned home in peace.

Now I may say with sorrow of heart, the time drew on apace when my virtuous wife and I must part, and be no longer meet-helps to one another, which we truly were, and never had either evil word or evil thought against each other, I am fully satisfied; but lived in peace and true love one with another, and were glad when we could serve Truth and Friends: therefore I find it on my mind, in this place, to insert the following relation concerning her, viz:

She was descended of an honest and considerable family of the Robinsons, and was convinced in her young years, and received the Truth in the love of it. It became precious to her above all things in this world; and through the blessed operation of the grace and Holy Spirit of God, she was weaned from the world's pleasures, vanities and recreations, and from taking any delight in them. Through the virtuous and most precious blood of Christ, she came to witness her heart sprinkled from an evil conscience, and in a good degree made able to serve the living God. She bore a faithful testimony against the needless and superfluous dresses and fashions of the world, as also against the corrupt language thereof. She came to be a great lover of virtue and purity, and had much satisfaction in being in Friends' company, and at meetings, and in retirement and waiting upon the Lord. In great mercy and condescension to the desire of his handmaid, he gave her a large share, not only of the enjoyment of his power and internal presence, but also a knowledge and clear sight into those things that appertain to life and salvation. After Truth thus prevailed over her, and brought every thought into the obedience of Christ, and subjected her will to the will of God, which is a great work, without which there is no regeneration; and without being born again, there is no entering into the kingdom of heaven; it was

evident through the remaining part of her time, that she was much preserved under the influence and guidance of the meek and quiet spirit of Jesus Christ, and grew daily more and more in the favour and love of God. She was much beloved of God's people, and of her relations, neighbours and acquaintance, who were not of her persuasion; and walked so wisely and prudently, that she sought not her own honour and interest, but the honour of the Lord, and peace with him, to which she had a regard in all her undertakings. Even such who sought for an occasion against Truth and the professors of it, had nothing to say against her, for she was generally beloved and spoken well of, and many were sorrowfully affected to part with her, both Friends and others; and not without cause. For she was a woman of an upright life, and exemplary conversation, and gave no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of Christ: charitable to the poor, a true sympathizer with such as were in affliction and distress, whether in body or in mind, which was manifested in her frequent visits to such, and by other means. She was endued with great patience, and with a quiet and serene mind, well qualified and fitted to her husband's circumstances, whose lot it was to be often abroad in the service of the Truth, an honourable and a faithful wife, willing to give up all for Christ and the Gospel's sake, counting nothing in this world too near or dear to part with for the glory of God, and advancement of the ever blessed Truth, the peace and salvation of her own soul, and the good of others.

One thing I insert as follows, that others in the like case may not barely imitate her, but feelingly come up in her heavenly practice and experience, under the influence, light and help of God's holy and blessed spirit, viz: When that worthy servant of Jesus Christ, John Bowstead, returned from London Yearly Meeting to York, and so home with me, not long before my wife was taken away; having some discourse with her, he asked her about her husband being so much from home; and she gave him this answer, that as she gave up her husband cheerfully and freely to serve the Lord, and to be serviceable to the church of Christ, she did not only sympathize and feel with him in his adverse and low state, but partook with him in his enjoyments, when the power of Truth prevailed over its enemies; although I am then far from him, yet I partake of the spoil, or the shedding abroad of the good things of God among his people, as my heart goes along with the work of the Lord, and such as are engaged in it; and in all my husband's afflictions I am afflicted with him: and one of my main concerns is, that

neither I, nor any thing in this world, may detain my husband from doing what the Lord calls for at his hand; for if any thing hurt him as to the Truth, what good can I expect of him? This John much admired, with the deep and weighty reasons she gave about the the Christian discipline of the church, and concerning the ministry. She was a woman of few words, and expressed much in a little compass.

She was very clear in her understanding, had a penetrating and discerning eye, a sense of the state of a meeting, as also of the several particular states in it. She was an affectionate and tender mother to her children, yet corrected them when occasion required, without passion, or the least appearance of disorder of mind, and had them in great subjection; at which I often admired, and thought, surely she is come, by the workings of the Holy Spirit, to a greater dominion over her own spirit than many who appeared to be her equals. She was a true Christian, a loving and dutiful child to her parents, a good neighbour, a faithful wife, tender-hearted toward her servants, and overcame them with love; and was much beloved and feared by them; and they were very unwilling to disoblige or offend her.

She behaved herself as became a sanctified vessel, that was in a good degree fitted for the great Master's use, and often appeared as one that had intercourse with Jesus Christ in spirit, where his glory had shone in her soul, not only because of the gravity of her countenance, but also the tenderness, humility and sweetness of her spirit, weightiness of her conversation, edification of her advice, and soundness of her judgment. Her heart was often filled with the love of God, and enabled to speak a word in season to states and conditions, whether in her own family, amongst her neighbours, or in the church of Christ, in testimony to matters relating to the worship of God, or to the discipline, especially in the meetings of her own sex. She had a great care upon her for the good education of our youth in plainness of habit and language, and that they might be preserved out of the corruptions of the world. Her watchful and solid sitting in our meetings for worship was remarkable, and her appearance in the ministry was with the wise, and in the language of the Holy Spirit; which was a clear demonstration that the work was the Lord's, and by his Spirit and power; which gave her a great place in the minds of faithful Friends and brethren. But she is gone in the prime and flower of her age!—which sets before us a memento, to show us the uncertainty of our time here, and to prepare for one certain to

come, that death may not overtake us at unawares, before we are prepared for it.

During the time of her long weakness, she was preserved in great patience, steadiness and resignation to the will of God, even to the end. She enjoyed much heavenly comfort and consolation to her immortal soul, in the presence of the Lord, so that when she was asked, whether she thought she might recover or not; she mildly replied, she was afraid to desire to live; because I believe if it please the Lord to take me away now, it will be well with me, for I find nothing lies as a burden upon my spirit. At another time she said, As to that little testimony I have been concerned in, this is my comfort and satisfaction, that I can truly say I did not kindle any strange fire, and therefore could not warm myself at the sparks thereof: but what I did in that matter was in the constrainings of the love of God; and when my cup was full, I a little emptied myself among the Lord's people, yet very sensible of my own weakness and poverty, and often thought myself unworthy of the least of the Lord's mercies.

She spoke many savoury expressions that were not written then, and therefore could not be remembered; having some hopes of her recovery, it rather caused an omission; although she was heard to say not long before her sickness, she thought her time would not be long in this world. I never heard an unbecoming or unsavoury word come from her, let the provocation thereto be what it would, no, not in the time of her health; and in her weakness, she was much swallowed up in the luminous and internal presence of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and often sang praises to his worthy name, and appeared as one wholly redeemed from this world, whose heart was set upon, and earnestly engaged in the pursuit after heaven and heavenly things. Blessed be the Lord, she had witnessed a part in the first resurrection, and over such the second death hath no power; no doubt she lived and believed in Jesus Christ, even to the end of her time, and passed away without any appearance of struggling or sorrow, I believe into a mansion of glory, where her soul shall sing hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb for ever, with all those who have overcome the world, the beast and false prophet, and every thing the Lord's controversy is with, and who have not loved their lives unto death, but given up that life they had in any wrong thing whatsoever.

She departed this life the 18th of twelfth month, 1711, aged about thirty-three years.

Not long after the departure of my wife, it came upon me to visit the southern parts of England, and some parts of Wales, and I had



good service and great satisfaction; I was also at London, John Adam being my companion, who was an innocent, clean spirited man.

Again, I found it required of me to visit the south-west parts of England, in the year 1717, and I travelled through the west part of Yorkshire, into Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, to Bristol, and as far as Cornwall, and had many good meetings; although I travelled alone, yet the Lord in whom I put my trust and depended upon, helped me, and bore up my head through and over all, renowned be his most honourable name now and for ever.

*An account of my visit to Friends in Ireland.*

In the year 1722, it was renewed upon me to go into Ireland; the thoughts of it had been long upon my mind, but the time seemed now to be fully come to pay the visit; and Joseph Bunting, of Cumberland, being my companion, we went from Kendal Yearly Meeting, which was a large and good meeting, passed along to Whitehaven, and took shipping for Dublin. We staid their Half-year's Meeting, which was large, and in which the living power and presence of the Lord was felt amongst us; exalted over all be the mighty name of the Lord, for those and all his mercies.

I had many good meetings, and also some hard ones, as is the lot of such who are called to this vocation, and the best way I have found, when I meet with such, is first to regard our call, then to mind the daily steps we take in that vocation into which we are called, and take special care to have along with us the company and counsel of Him that hath so called us. This is the way fully and truly to discharge ourselves of that trust the Lord hath reposed in us, to the comfort and edification of the churches of Christ, and to the peace and consolation of our own souls.

It is now with me to write the following remarks respecting Ireland, which will not be remote to the state of Friends in many other places. Where there is a sound living ministry preserved, and good discipline exercised, which mostly go together, Truth and Friends are kept in good esteem, and also thriving. But where these fail, especially the discipline, undue liberty, and the fashions of the world, with many corrupting things, creep in amongst the professors of Truth, to the reproach thereof, and the scandal of those who are so prevailed upon; and the hearty sorrow of such as feel the hurt of these things. Oh! what a hindrance this is to the progress of the ever blessed Truth in the earth; and it has impressed my mind, that the main work of our day is to search into the churches, and endea-

your to bring them to such a condition, that it may once more be said, Follow Christ as you have us for examples; not only here and there one, but the believers in general. It will be so, when we as a people all speak the same thing, as well in our practice, so often recommended, as in faith and doctrine; for I have ever understood example to be more prevalent than precept. But if any amongst Friends grow so insensible, as to prefer foolish fashions, which to me appear to be shameful and indecent, it is an evident demonstration that they are departed from the principles and practices of our worthy elders in the Truth; which I fear is the case of too many, both in that nation and in England.

Let not any say that I smite in the dark, and do not tell what I mean; some particulars I intend to mention for the ease of my mind. I have seen several changes of fashions in forty years time; our first Friends and promoters of Truth came out in the Lord's work and heavenly power, plain, and generally continued so for their time; but alas! how soon there appeared an alteration, in some men especially, when the weight of suffering was over. It then began to appear, and from time to time has continued to increase ever since, among some professing Truth with us, not only in extravagant wigs, with much powder in them, but also in cross-pockets, needless capes, and divers cuts and shapes in their clothing, in conformity to the prevailing fashions of the times, as well as in setting up their hats; all which appear to me more likely to lead those who follow them, into Egypt, or the world again, than into the heavenly country, or Canaan, which we profess to be pressing after, and hope to obtain in the end.

I well remember in my younger years, especially in great towns and cities, I have met with females who professed Truth with us, who had but very little covering on their heads, and others who had more set up at a considerable distance above their foreheads, and both these sorts perhaps bare-necked. When I have met with such, I have said, What a fair or beautiful daughter of Sion wouldest thou be, if thou wouldest put on Truth and Christ's righteousness, and put away all these foolish fashions? When I have asked some, what they could say for these dresses, and being so naked, both neck and shoulders, I received this answer, or something like it, that it was good for their health, to keep their temples cool, and to learn to be hardy, by exposing themselves thus to the air in their youth. But if that was the true reason, I added this caution to them; to consider duly, if religion did not, yet the modesty of their sex should reclaim them from it. Some-



times, with the dislike I showed to these things, I advised them, that they should cover their naked skin, and no more expose themselves to the vain speculation of the worst, and great trouble of their best friends; and worse than all, to the great hurt of themselves, and in a manner destroying all reasonable claim to Christ. For how can our love to, and faith in him be true and sound, when our practice is so reverse to the practice and example of Christ and his apostles, which they thus inculcated? "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God." "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price: for after this manner in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands." Alas! Woe is me, for the hurt of the daughter of Sion, when I consider with regret from whence such are fallen, if they were ever restored out of the fall.

If we as a people should follow such examples as I have touched upon, certainly we shall become an hissing and a by-word to all nations round about, who have heard of us, and what great things the Lord of hosts hath done for us since we became a people, as may be seen by the examples and writings of our faithful Friends and brethren, promulgators of truth and righteousness, in their unwearied labours, faith and sufferings for the cause and testimony of Jesus Christ; and what also was not less remarkable by their exemplary lives of plainness, humility, sincerity and self-denial, with works of charity.

Now thou that readest this, beware that thou dost not let in any wrong mind, and in that begin to judge me instead of judging thyself; for as far as I know, I have but done my duty: see first, that thou dost thine before thou begins to judge me. Bear this caution from thy friend, thou that God hast endued with his Spirit, and wait till this Holy Spirit of Truth is upon thee as a spirit of judgment. As thou abidest under these qualifications, thou art fit to sit in judgment, and judge wrong things in thyself first, next in thy family, and then in the church of Christ; and be unwearied in thy labours to preserve, as well as to restore, from all wrong ways and things, what thou art capable of in the church of Christ; for if corruption and slackness come in, and prevail over the leader, as well as over those

whom God hath raised thee up to be a help unto, then will the Lord deal with both thee and them some other way. I am satisfied the Lord will turn his hand upon his people in these days, as he did upon Israel formerly, saying by his prophet, he would purge away her dross, and take away all her tin; not only all gross evils, but also that which in appearance may be like Truth, but is not Truth: this was and will be the way to restore judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning. Oh! "then shall the Gentiles see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory," saith the prophet.

Although there is great occasion for an amendment in many, yet there is a bright and heavenly minded remnant in England, Ireland and many other parts of the world, against whom I find not any thing to press upon my mind to complain of. A word of encouragement springs in the life, in the love and good will of God, to press and persuade you to a steady perseverance in the true faith, and in an exemplary and pious life, and I never saw more need of this than now, according to my view of the state of things; that when the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall bring every work into judgment with every secret thing, these may be found clear of the blood of all men, seeing that they have warned them, when they have seen any danger, or an enemy approach nigh to them.

Here is work for those whom God hath set as watchmen over his people, to see that they do not go in by-ways, who profess Truth, and leave the way of Truth unoccupied. Here is work for the true judges, who have the spirit of judgment upon them; notwithstanding some here and there, who may be found in the faithful discharge of that trust the Lord hath reposed in them, may meet with opposition from the unfaithful, who are not willing to be bound by the Truth, no not so much as to an outward conformity to the plainness and decency, so frequently recommended by writings, public testimonies, and also in our meetings for discipline. It is a considerable branch of our meetings for discipline to inspect into, and take care that Friends walk orderly as becomes our holy profession; and where wrong ways are gone into, and liberty taken by any who profess with us, that such may be dealt with, and the evil, as also the bad consequence thereof, laid before them, and they be laboured with, and not left. Although it may be but a small appearance of a leprosy, which is apt to spread, unless proper applications, in due time too, be made in the wisdom and love of God; yet if any prefer their own wills, and so far love that life they have in those things, that are not only evil in themselves, but also

of evil consequence by their bad example, more than they love Truth and the unity of the brethren, such had better for Truth's sake and for the reputation of the testimony thereof, be dealt with, for the relief of the minds of the faithful, who suffer under the sense they frequently have of a cloud of darkness and oppression, wrong ways and wrong things.

It may not be amiss to give a hint here, at what door many have gone out into divers evils; first, by being brought by custom to love strong drink, and keeping loose company. Such have been a means to corrupt, and in time to draw away the mind from that simplicity and purity the Lord's people ought to live in, until a cloud has come over the understanding, and the sense of the virtue and heavenly savour of the precious Truth is lost. Then the old inhabitants of the land, figuratively speaking, crowd in again, as pride, passion, lust, envy, loose conversation, open drunkenness; nay some worse spirits than ever had possessed them before, have now entered their minds with the former, that were once measurably overcome and cast out; it is therefore certain, that the end of these will be miserable, except the Lord grants them a place of repentance while here.

Now my tender and well beloved friends, watch against, and strive to keep out the enemy that he enter not; for what way soever he enters and gets footing, he defiles God's temple. And before thou witnesses the Lord to destroy him and cast him out again, thou must have many a sore combat, and some warfare, perhaps more than thou art aware of, before thou gainest all the ground thou hast lost, by giving way to the adversary of thy soul. Therefore keep upon thy watch tower, and watch unto the end. Watch and pray continually, that ye enter not into temptation, said our great Lord to his followers. I have found by experience, that it is harder to gain what we have lost, than to keep it while we had it; and to improve our talents is not only the way to have them continued, but also to have them more abundantly added unto; but such as do not improve what is given unto them, even that with which they have been entrusted shall be taken from them. Oh how desolate and miserable such will be in the day of account, when Christ, like a great shepherd, divides the sheep from the goats,—between the slothful and the faithful servants,—between the wise and the foolish virgins, and between all those who adhered to, obeyed, and followed him according to the measure of light and knowledge received, and those who have rejected and disobeyed the strivings and convictions of God's holy light and blessed spirit, placed in the hearts of the

children of men to enlighten, instruct, reprove, comfort and guide, according to the state of every individual, as it is conformable or disobedient to inward convictions. So is this holy gift a witness for, or against, to accuse, or excuse in thy conscience, according as thy good or evil doings prevail in thy heart. This is a digression from the historical part of my travels, and as I mentioned my going into Ireland, I shall now say something more particularly thereof.

We journeyed from Dublin towards Cork, and had several meetings in our way, as at Ballicane, Cooladine, Wexford, Lambstown, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, Youghall, Cork, and staid their province meeting for Munster, which was a good and large meeting. I was much disordered here, by a fever and ague which held me several days, and was not without some reasonings for a time, at being out of my native country, but the Lord who is mighty in power, helped me and raised me again, and gave me ability to discharge myself of that service I was called to; honoured for ever be the great name of the Lord for this and all his mercies.

Next we came to Charleville, Limerick, Ross, and from thence to John Ashton's, Birr, James Hutchinson's, Monrath, Mountmelick, Henry Ridgway's, and from Balinakill to Monrath again, and were at their six-weeks' meeting, which was a heavenly and good meeting, there being a living remnant here: then we came to Kilconner, Carlow, Ballitore, John Stephenson's, Timahoe, Edenderry, and went to see my good friend Thomas Wilson, who was sorely troubled with the gravel. I was much afflicted, and truly sympathized with him in my spirit, and John Barcroft, that true man, and I, did what we could for our afflicted brother, and so left him and his family in the love of God, and went to Lismoiny, and many other meetings to the province meeting, which was held at Ballinderry, and so to Dublin, the 29th of the fifth month, 1722, and staid there some meetings. There is a living remnant in that city, but it is a rich place; the mighty God of heaven and earth keep his people low, and truly humble there and every where else, is the earnest desire of my soul to the Lord; for I know there is a considerable remnant, whose labour and daily travail is to have the church kept clean from all defilement both of flesh and spirit, so that she may be presented unto God the Father without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, in the day when she must appear before the great Judge of all the earth, who will do right unto every one, according as their works are found to be good or evil.

Being clear of Dublin and the whole nation, I took shipping for Whitehaven—had a

short passage but a very rough one, and had some meetings in my way home, to which I got on the 21st of the sixth month, 1722, and found my children recovered from the fever and ague in which I left them when I took my journey, which distemper had so far prevailed over them, that they were sometimes scarcely sensible. It had been upon them for a considerable time, and proved a trial for me to leave them in that very weak state; but one day as I sought the Lord in the fervency of my heart, to know whether I should leave these my two poor weak children or not, as also my house-keeper much in the same case, who were all my constant family, it sprang in my heart livingly, as though it had been spoken with a man's voice, Leave them, and I will take care of them: I said, Thou the Lord hast never failed me, I will leave them to thee; do what seemeth good in thy eye with them. I looked then no more behind me, neither at them nor any thing else I had left, but became as if I had not any thing in the world. For thus it behoveth all the servants of Christ to do, even the married as if they were not married; and those that buy any thing, as if they did not possess it. This liberty which many are strangers unto, is wrought by the finger of God; it is the work of God's heavenly power to loosen man thus from the things of this world: at the same time we are most bound unto Christ, yet enjoy a comfortable and heavenly freedom in our spirits in Christ, by our faith and obedience to him, in and through all trials, provings and adversities. Dear friends, the greater the cross, the greater is the crown and reward which all those possess, who do all things with a single mind and an upright heart to the Lord at all times.

Thus the children of the Bridegroom are or ought to be espoused or married to Christ, and truly devoted to him, that so they may stand, as much as may be, disentangled from all mutable things, and cleave to and follow him when and wheresoever he calls and leads, and be in subjection to him, as a virtuous wife is not only bound, but willingly subject to her virtuous husband. Thus we may know Christ to become our holy Head; and that we may hold unto him, and so walk and live, that he may take delight in his church, the body, to rule in and over it, as we have the state of the true church and Christ represented in the most excellent and sacred writings of the holy Scriptures. May we likewise know the marriage of the Lamb to be come, and as of old, make ourselves ready, put off the sins and corruptions of the world that are through lust, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ and his pure righteousness. This is the fine linen, the

righteousness of the saints; this is the wedding garment; without which preparations, and true Bride's attire, I cannot see how any can expect an admittance into the Bridegroom's chamber. Therefore I entreat all such as do not find themselves in preparation, and have not their peace assured to them, wanting the evidence of the Spirit of the Lord that they are his, not to slumber away their precious time until the midnight, lest unexpectedly the cry be heard to sound with terror in thy ears, Arise, trim thy lamp, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, who hath in times past exercised mercy and loving-kindness towards thee, and has sought divers ways to win thee to love him. He has at times reproved thee for evil, and at other times hath set before thee the comforts and happiness thou shouldest possess, if thou wouldest obey and follow him; nay, he hath wooed thee as a young man doth a virgin, and if thou hadst devoted thyself to him, he would have gathered and saved thee, and rejoiced over thee as a bridegroom doth over his bride. But if thou turnest thy back upon all his reproofs, entreaties and endearments, as in the parable of the five foolish virgins, in the time when he, the Bridegroom, calls to an account, he will not know thee otherwise than to shut thee out of his presence and favour, notwithstanding whatever thou mayest have heard, received or done, if thou continues to work wickedness, and art not reclaimed therefrom.

These things sprang in my mind as a warning for all, to flee from every destructive thing, before the Lord overtakes them, when they cannot escape his hand of justice; and also, that the faithful may be encouraged in well-doing, and to a faithful perseverance to the end. Amen.

Some things which have been omitted, I think proper to insert here, as worthy of observation. As I was travelling towards Lincoln, and passing through Brig, Friends gave me notice that there were two great disputants, a non-conformist minister, and a doctor of physic, who were likely to go all or most of the way with me, as the assizes were coming on, and would be at me with arguments about religion, which I soon found true. We no sooner got into a suitable way but they began with me, which I endeavoured to prevent by telling them, I did not look upon myself to be qualified for disputes; and observed, that sometimes disputants ended in a worse understanding one of another than when they began, except they minded well to keep good government; and now as we appeared free and friendly, how we might be when we had ended our dispute, was a question, therefore I had rather they would forbear. But they

turned the deaf ear to all I said, and nothing would do with them, but a dispute we must have. I then asked them, what they would say. They queried, whether all men were placed in a station capable of salvation, yea or nay. I replied, if I should give my positive thoughts to your question, we shall have occasion to go back to treat of the nature, not only of the upright state man was in before he fell, but also how he fell; and also in the fall, how he stands as in relation to his restoration, which brings us to the question. Although this be not the usual way of disputants, yet if you will submit to it, it will either answer your question, or set it in a clearer light for an answer. They asked, how could that be; I replied, if it did not, they might say so. They then so far condescended as to hear me. I said, first, we all agree in this, that man was made upright; secondly, that he fell from that uprightness; the question then is, How? Ans. By the offence or disobedience of the first man Adam, sin entered, and condemnation came upon all who have sinned. I then queried of the disputants, whether they believed that Adam's fall did affect all those who did not hear of it, as well as those who did; for, I said, there were some of opinion, that those who had not the explicit or outward knowledge of the promised seed or coming of Christ, had not the benefit of his coming; and except they would first allow, that all were affected or hurt by Adam's fall, then such as were not, remained in paradise to this day, except they would make the remedy less than the disease, the plaster less than the sore, and Christ's coming less extensive than Adam's fall. I argued, that upon the foot of reason, as well as what we had in plain Scripture, [the effect of] Christ's coming was as extensive as the fall of Adam, for, by the obedience of Christ, the gift of God came upon all unto justification.

Now I think, said I, your question is set in a clear light for an answer, or else answered; so take it at what end you will, laying aside all quibbling, I intend to join issue with you, and prove that all men are placed in a station capable of salvation; or otherwise you will leave a great part of the world in paradise, or make the coming of Christ less extensive than the fall of Adam. I then queried, what they said to all this; they answered, they never heard the like before, and they would not meddle with me, I was too great a scholar for them. I said, there was little of scholarship in it. I offered, I thought, nothing but plain Scripture and sound reason: and I told them, I had now as good as answered their question, and had given several reasons to back my answer, and as they appeared wise,

well-read men, and as far as I had gathered, had been principled against universal salvation and universal grace, for them now to drop the matter so slenderly, before me who appeared but like a child to them, was very surprising: but they replied, they would not meddle with me.

I commended them for their good temper and civility, for they were civil to me beyond what I could expect; and invited me to the burial of one of their deceased friends, but I could not go, for I was in haste to get to Lincoln, having some business there that hastened me. At parting with them, my soul magnified the Lord, under a sense of his goodness to me, in that he had opened my way, and helped me through this difficulty, with many other trials and afflictions I had met with.

I had at another time some reasonings with a Papist who was my neighbour, about their church and transubstantiation, with several other things. As to the first, I showed him, that the true church fled into the wilderness, where she was for times, time, and half a time; in this state we do not read she had any outward character as a visible church; and if they derived their descent, it was from some false church, and not through the true one. As to the other, they took too much upon them, more than they could justify from Scripture, or clearly demonstrate from Christ or his apostles; for Christ never gave any of them such a commission, as to convert bread and wine into real flesh and blood, and then to call it Christ. You, said I, by these notions, deceive yourselves and your adherents; for Christ spoke unto such as you by parables, because they were carnal, and did not understand the meaning of his sayings in this case any more than the Jews understood what Christ meant, when he spoke of destroying this temple, meaning his body, which they understood was of that temple at Jerusalem, which they made a great wonder at, and said, How can this be, that he can destroy this temple, and raise it up again in three days, when it was forty-eight years in building? Thus they reasoned carnally, as Nicodemus, though a ruler of the Jews, did concerning regeneration or the new birth; and as the woman of Samaria did, when she asked from whence Christ should have that living water, which he spoke of, that should be in man as a well of living water, springing up unto everlasting life; and as the Jews did, when Christ said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" they said, How can this be, that he can give us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink? But this is a spiritual eating and drinking; even as Christ said, "Out of the belly

of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living waters;" which he spake of the Spirit. In like manner it is said in the Revelation, "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open unto me, I will come in and sup with him, and he with me." Here is an union of spirit between Christ and his faithful children, and here is an inward eating and drinking of the heavenly, spiritual, and mystical flesh and blood of Christ, which carnal men cannot eat of, neither can the carnal eye discern Christ's spiritual body, which he feeds his living and spiritual church withal. When I had reasoned with the man to this effect, he went away seemingly not pleased, but would not from that time ever meddle with me any more.

I need not say much here about Christ's being come; having showed, in a conference in New England, how he is come to answer his eating and drinking the passover and last supper with his disciples, saying, He would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until he drank it new with them in his Father's kingdom. Now he that hath experienced what this eating and drinking is, is come beyond the outward eating and drinking, into the kingdom which is within, which comes not with outward observations, eating, drinking, or carnal ordinances, but the kingdom of heaven consists in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Read this thou that canst, and learn to understand between the thing that points, and the thing which is pointed at, and between the thing signifying, and the thing signified, and mistake not the shadow for the substance any longer; for it is possible a man may do all the outward parts, and yet be ignorant of the cross of Christ, and of the heavenly substance. But if he is come to the end of these outside things, to the Holy of Holies, such will know what it is to minister before the Lord in his temple, and to serve and wait at the holy altar, and live, and have that pure spiritual life preserved. We read not of any tithes that appertain to this spiritual priesthood, or Gospel ministry; and what their outward maintenance was to be, is showed by Christ, beyond contradiction, who sent them forth: where they were received, (mark that well,) they might eat such things as were set before them, but were not to take any thing from them by force, for that is out of the doctrine and practice of Christ and his apostles.

Why do people call the Scripture their rule of faith and manners, when at the same time they believe and act contrary thereto? When I had, some years before, a debate with the priest of our parish, we meeting at Sponton, being there upon some occasion, and several

people met together, the priest demanded my reasons, why I did not pay him his tithe. I used some persuasive arguments to put him off, not being willing at that time to enter into a debate with him; but the more I showed my unwillingness to it, the more urgent he was upon me. So when I could not see how to avoid entering into some close debate with him, I desired he would not be angry, and he said he would not. I then showed in several particulars, why I could not pay him tithes, because I believed if he was a minister of Jesus Christ, he ought not to claim any; for, as there was a change of the priesthood, there also must be of necessity a change of the law, as we see in Heb. vii. 12, and to pretend to draw any command or example from Christ or his apostles, out of the New Testament, for that purpose, appears to me weak and inconsistent.

We had some farther discourse upon the ground of his right to tithes, whether *jure divino*, as they used to be formerly claimed; or *jure humano*, that is, by human law, as most of the modern priests seem to choose to fix their title. I bid him fix his right for tithes on which claim he pleased, and I would endeavour to answer him as well as I could; but he seemed not to fix upon either. Whereupon I told him, there was no Scripture settlement of tithes upon Gospel ministers; and also offered to prove, that he was neither in the practice of the Levites, to whom tithes were directed to be paid, nor yet in the practice of those ministers whom Christ qualified, ordained and sent forth. First, not in the practice of the Levites; because the tithes due to them, were for their punctual performance of their part of the ceremonial law, Numb. xviii. 21, which if any now claimed, it seemed to me, that he subjected himself to the practice of burnt-offerings and sacrifices, circumcision, Jewish habits, washings, &c., besides which, the law which appointed the tithe to the Levites, expressly forbids them to have any share or inheritance in the land, as appears from Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24. and Deut. xviii. 1, 2; which the modern claimers of tithe would be loth to be compelled to practice; not to insist on the law of the third year's tithe, of which the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger within their gates, were to receive a considerable part as their allotted portion, Deut. xiv. 28, 29. Secondly, not in the practice of those ministers whom Christ qualified and sent forth; for these went out by an especial command from him, without gold, silver, or brass in their purses, and without two coats; and so intent were they to be in the execution of their great duty of preaching the Gospel, that they were to salute

no man by the way, but to go forward on the great errand they had received in commission: and when they returned to their Lord, he asked them, if they lacked any thing: and they said nothing. Not because they had forced a maintenance from any, but that the effect of their ministry among their hearers had been so prevalent, that those who had been convinced by their doctrine, and turned to the effectual power of Christ in themselves, had from thence known their hearts so opened, as to administer to all their immediate necessities; and these, thus sent, only eat such things as were set before them, as they were appointed; and where they had sown spirituals, had only reaped of the temporals of their converts for their immediate subsistence. But though thou sowest not to me of thy spirituals, nor do I believe thee to be one who hast any thing spiritual, which can be of any benefit to my spiritual part; and though thou esteemest me as an heathen man and a publican, and I am excommunicated and cut off from any church-fellowship with thee, not for any evil, but as far as I can understand, for not coming to what thou callest the church, yet thou expectest to reap of my temporals, because the law of the land has given thee that power; which disposition to reap where thou hast not sown, and to gather where thou hast not strewn, is far from manifesting a Christian spirit.

The priest farther urged some passages out of the New Testament, in vindication of the payment of tithes, alluding to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 7, about sowing of spiritual things unto us; that it was but a small thing if such received of our carnal things; and that of feeding a flock, and partaking of the milk of the flock; and of planting a vineyard, and eating the fruit thereof: all which I endeavoured to obviate, by showing, that he did not sow his spirituals to us, so that he might be entitled to our carnal things; neither were we of that flock which he should partake of the milk of; neither were we a vineyard which he had planted, that he might eat of the fruit thereof. Furthermore I said, I am a stranger, and an excommunicated person, and not of thy children; the apostles, if they wanted or were in any strait for necessaries, did not apply to strangers for help, but to such of their children in whom they had been instrumental in the hand of God to plant the true faith, and sow the seed of the kingdom. These who were thus convinced, and by the work of God's power converted, were such who knew spiritual things sown in them, who I believed were very free to distribute, where need was, of their temporal things, especially to such who had been instrumental in the Lord's hand

to their coming to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. But I showed the priest, that all this carried no analogy to what was between him and me, for I being excommunicated, was but to him as an heathen man and a publican, and as we never came to hear him, we could not owe him any acknowledgment, nor could he expect any thing as a free-will offering on that account.

The priest was a strong-spirited man, of considerable parts and learning; and a neighbouring justice of the peace told me, he was fearful would be very severe with me; yet to his commendation be it spoken, he was ever after this conference very loving, and never gave me any trouble for what he called his dues.

I may add one observation or two not mentioned in our debate, which were, that if the maintenance of the priests was to be wholly withdrawn, or left to the freedom and generosity of the people, many of them would come to poverty, and be forced to labour with their hands, which would distract, or at least impede their studies. I answered, that with such ministers as they were, this might be the case: but if all would come truly and rightly to wait on the great Teacher, the anointing in themselves, it would greatly tend to the advantage of Christendom. For the Almighty, who by his good Spirit is alone able to raise up and qualify Gospel ministers, as he knows the wants of his people, and their faith and trust in him, would no doubt raise up from among them faithful ministers; who, being humble, meek and low in heart, like him of whom they had learned, would be content to live in moderation on a little, and to labour in their respective callings, such as fishermen, collectors of customs, and like the apostle Paul, that great minister of the Gentiles, working with their hands that their ministry might not be chargeable. Their ministry being not their own, but received immediately from the great Shepherd of the sheep, would not require time and study to pen it down, but coming from the Spirit of Truth immediately moving upon the ministers' hearts, it would be more effectual to reach the witness of Truth in the hearts of their hearers, than all the laboured discourses of the most subtle priest, though the product of much pains and study. Neither have I found in all my travels, from any observation I have made, that ever the faithful ministers of Christ became any great burthen or charge to the churches; for I have seen the Divine Providence attend the Lord's faithful servants, who thereby have been enabled to order their affairs with discretion, so as to want little.



*An account of my second visit to Friends in America.*

HAVING had drawings in my mind for sometime, once more to visit Friends in several parts of America, and as I believed it was my duty, and what the Lord required me to give up to, I was resigned, after some reasonings about my age, and declining as to outward strength, concerning which I met with some inward conflicts and combatings, which brought me very low for a time. But the Lord helped me through these difficulties, and caused his Truth to spring comfortably in my heart, and I witnessed his heavenly presence at times to refresh my soul in these exercises unknown to many. The time being come for my preparing for the journey, on the 15th of the third month, 1731, I set forward from Hutton-in-the-Hole to Scarborough, where I took shipping with George Widget, for London, and came thither the first day of the Yearly Meeting, with which I was very well satisfied, and on the 25th day of the fourth month went on board of a vessel bound for Philadelphia, in America, John Wilcox master, who was very civil and kind to me.

On the 27th of the said month we set sail, and had a good passage in the main, excepting one very great storm, in which we were in danger of being lost; our bowsprit was broken, and the masts were in danger of coming down, yet we were preserved. In about eleven weeks, being the 12th of the seventh month, I landed near Philadelphia, to the great satisfaction of Friends as well as myself; renowned be the great name of the Lord for ever.

I have many times considered, that although it was my place to leave my very near and dear friends, children and relations, who were much concerned for me, and I for them, yet I met with many tender-hearted Friends in my travels, who were very near to me in the blessed Truth. This does not fail those who trust in the Lord, and are faithful, according to the ability and understanding which he gives to the children of men, and are devoted to follow the guidance of his Holy Spirit, and willing to bear the cross, burthen, or yoke, which he sees good to lay upon his servants and handmaids. I entreat all who are called to the Lord's great work, to give up cheerfully and not grudgingly, and not to look back at what is behind, so as to hasten or hinder themselves in that work they are called to, lest they fall short of the penny or crown, which the faithful will receive in the end of all their labour.

The Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia was nigh when we landed, which was large, and

a good meeting, many Friends from several parts being at it. Here I met with Henry Frankland, and we were truly glad to see each other, and went in company together southward towards Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and returned to Pennsylvania; and in a short time after we parted: he came for England, and I travelled for New England through the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island and Nantucket, having Richard Walne, of Pennsylvania, for my companion, an innocent good man; we passed through all, or the most part of the aforesaid provinces and islands, and had very large meetings, and great attention there was in many to hear the testimony of Truth, and an open door both of utterance, and in many places of entrance, for what was delivered; yet not without opposition in some places.

I had some discourse with a Baptist, a justice of peace, in one of the Jerseys, a man whom I truly loved; he told me, that some of his children went to our meetings, and he did not hinder them: he appeared a tender-spirited man, was of good repute in these parts where he lived, and very serviceable in his post. What we had most in debate, was touching water-baptism. I endeavoured to show him the use and end of all the shadowy things, all which were ended in Christ the substance, or antitype; and that such outward materials or elements pertained not to his kingdom, or inward and spiritual administration; nor could they take away the root or cause of sin, which is only effected by the Holy Ghost and fire, to the cleansing and purifying the hearts of the children of men, as is the nature of material fire to cleanse what it is properly applied unto.

I met with the same justice afterwards at Burlington, in West Jersey, he was glad to see me, and so was I to see him, for he was very loving and friendly. I likewise met with a man who was a school-master upon Long Island, that appeared offended at something I had said in a meeting where he had been, and he followed me to a Friend's house, and appeared so full of Scriptures in vindication, as he thought, of water-baptism, that what with his reading many passages in the Scriptures, and paraphrasing upon them, he would not hear me for some time. But when he was quiet, I said to him, Thou hast not treated me like a fair disputant, to run on so long and not to give me time to make my objections; if thou hadst pitched upon any particular Scripture, and given me liberty to have answered, it would have been civil and reasonable. He owned, he had not done fairly by me; but I desired to know what church he pretended to belong to? He answered to the Episcopal church. I



then requested he would answer me one question before we entered into any farther debate, and he promised he would if he understood it. I told him, I heard he was a scholar, and no doubt understood how to answer it, if he did but consider the matter; the query was this, Whether the sprinkling a little water in a child's face would bear the name baptism, yea or nay? He said it would not. I answered, thou hast made a great noise about little or nothing; for by thy own confession thy church has no baptism at all, for I know not of any other way they use but sprinkling. He would not enter into any farther discoursé about it, but made use of the words of Gamaliel, in favour of the work the apostles were concerned in, saying, If this work be of God it could not be overthrown, but if it was of man it would come to naught. I told him, I was of his mind; and the Lord hath supported me in this and the like work, now between forty and fifty years, and if I continued faithful, I had no doubt at all in my mind, but he would support and stand by me to the end. And when we parted, he said, The Lord of heaven and earth bless you, for I believe you are an honest man.

By this we may see, that Truth sometimes comes over men, the witness which God hath placed in men is reached, and Truth prevails many times beyond our expectation; therefore it is good to keep to the guidance of the Spirit of Truth, for it is a blessed remembrancer, instructor, and true comforter to all such as truly depend upon Him, who sent the Spirit of Truth into the hearts of the children of men, to guide them into all the necessary truths which we are to know and practise, and consequently out of all untruth.

When we had gone through this island, and visited Friends there, and in Rhode Island, and had some meetings in our way, we went to Nantucket, where we met with many innocent plain Friends; also on Rhode Island, and in many places in these parts of the country, we found great openness; in Boston, beyond expectation, and there was some conviction in that town. We travelled to Dover, and visited Friends thereabout, which are the most remote parts inhabited by Friends in that quarter of New England. Here I met with a Presbyterian priest; what his design was in coming to the Friend's house I know not, but thought it was to speak with me, for he soon began to ask me questions; first, whether I was not brought up a scholar, and had been in some of the colleges where I had my education? Also, whether I had not put on the canonical gown, and preached according to the manner of the church of England? I replied, I had not received my education in

any college, neither ever put on the canonical gown, nor preached after the manner of the church of England. He told me, I had been so represented to him: and said, he supposed I had been at some schools. I told him, I had been at several to learn when I was young; but I did not know that I had given occasion at any time, by what I had said, for any man to judge me to be a scholar. He understood I came from Old England, and asked several questions, as whether our Friends increased or decreased: I answered, I could not positively tell; I thought there was no great alteration in my time as to number, for their decrease in one part of the nation might be made up by their increase in another. He asked, how the Episcopal ministers dealt with us about their tithes; My answer was thus: As to that part called the Prædial tithes, they commonly either gather them themselves or family, or let them to tenants, who take care to fetch them away before us, knowing that we cannot be free to leave them on the ground, as hay and corn, &c. And as to small tithes, there is an \*act of parliament, called An Act for the more easy recovery of small tithes, for any sum not exceeding forty shillings, and ten shillings cost; which is by justices' warrants. This is mostly thought to be intended to prevent their procedure by Exchequer process, through which great havoc and spoil has been made of Friends' goods, and sometimes their bodies cast into prison, where some have lain a long time. He asked, how our Friends did in Scotland, if they increased there? I told him, I heard that they did not increase, but some of the Presbyterians in Scotland were kind to our Friends and would come to our meetings, especially if strangers were at them. I also told him, that persecution in our part of the world was become hateful amongst sober people. He said, it was very well; and likewise mentioned, that we were refined, and not the people we had been. I asked him, wherein he thought we were refined? He answered, in our principles. I desired him to name one: and he said, George Fox denied the resurrec-

\*The 7th and 8th of William III., chap. 6. is the Act for recovery of small tithes or offerings, &c. not amounting to above the yearly value of forty shillings, which is common for all people, the cost not exceeding ten shillings, before two or more justices of the peace, not to go back above two years.

The 7th and 8th of William III., chap. 34, which is our Affirmation Act, is the act for the recovery of tithes and church rates, for any sum not exceeding ten pounds from Quakers only, before two justices of the peace, without any limitation of time. And by the Statute of the 1st of George I., chap. 6, sect. 2., limited to ten shillings cost.—See the Statutes at large.

tion of the dead. I told him, George Fox did own a resurrection according to Scripture, as we do; but because he and our Friends thought it not safe to recede from plain Scripture; nor to comply with the way many people have of expressing it, which we think to be too gross and carnal, viz: that the same body shall rise, therefore they have asserted we deny the resurrection. The apostle saith, "That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, for it is sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown a natural, raised a spiritual body;" with much more that might be added: and how much such a change maketh a difference between the present and the future in the resurrection, between the natural and spiritual, corruption and incorruption, I know not of any finite creature that is able truly to determine; and therefore I think it is not consistent with charity, nor true wisdom, to differ about such things which exceed our comprehension. He allowed it to be better to let them alone.

We parted very friendly, and Friends were glad of the opportunity, he having the character of being a great scholar and a wise man; but from all that passed, they believed he gained no advantage; however he behaved well. Before we parted, I told him, I thought the greatest reason why some think us refined was this; formerly people were so prejudiced, that whatever was printed or said against us, our principles, practice or doctrines, was generally received and believed, though covered with such dresses as to render us more odious, and were by many taken for the standard of our belief and practice. Of late the light hath more appeared, many are grown better disposed towards us, and like wise men, not willing to be imposed upon, have searched for themselves into the state of the controversy between us and our opposers. Our writings, upon perusal, appearing so clear and different from what the books of those who opposed us charged upon us, caused many who read them with a good design and willingness to be set right, to say, we were reformed, and not the people we had been. The priest said, he thought there might be much owing to that. I told him, it was undeniable, that there must be a great difference between our principles, doctrines and conversations, truly stated and set forth in their proper light, and when they were misrepresented, sometimes with all the art and implacable malice that men were capable of: and this has been the way our adversaries have treated us, almost in every thing we have believed, said, or written; although it was very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We returned back to Salem, Lynn and Bos-

ton, and visited Friends in our way, and at Rhode Island, Long Island and New York; and had many good meetings and some large, in the Jerseys, where I had some discourse with a justice of the peace about water baptism, but he did not hold it long before he gave up. I had another at Allentown with a Presbyterian, which held for some hours, about water baptism, and concerning election and reprobation. He soon gave up the first; but when he began upon election and reprobation, I said I thought it was the most pernicious doctrine that was ever broached in the world, it so opposed the very nature of God, and his design of creating man, whom, with all his other works, he pronounced good and blessed; and that man, as the crown and glory of all his works which he had created, should be designed for the most miserable end, was unaccountable. I urged many Scriptures against that doctrine, as also the confusion they were in about it, as in their Westminster Confession of Faith they say, "The decree is so certain and definite, that one cannot be added to the number of the elect, or diminished from the number of the reprobate," and yet you tell us, that God has ordained the means to effect his ends. I then said, this supposition of a decree for the means, as well as the end, seems intended to make the priests and their service necessary; but yet if they cannot alter the decree, what benefit or advantage can there be to men by their services or performance? I hope none will think that it is a service to mankind, to strengthen or confirm the decree, if it were in their power to do it, which I am satisfied it is not; because no such decree was made, or is in being, the opposite appearing by plain Scripture, which he owned when I urged it, to wit, that the fall of Adam did affect all; and upon the parity of reason, the coming of Christ did reach as far; because, as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; he tasted death for every man, was a propitiation for the sins of all; and where then wilt thou find a people that is not included? But if thou canst find in, and prove by plain Scripture, that there is such a people not included in these general assertions, that Christ came to save, show me who they are. These and much more I urged against that doctrine, and he with many others appeared much satisfied, and we parted friendly. He came next day several miles to a meeting which I had appointed; the man was counted a wise and sober man, and was under some conviction, and behaved well.

From thence we went to Pennsylvania, and had many good meetings in that province, and being clear and willing to return, I took leave of Friends in a loving and tender frame of

spirit, and embarked on board a ship, whereof Samuel Flower was master, the 1st of the third month, 1733, at Philadelphia, and arrived at Bristol the 18th of the fourth month following, and was glad we got safe to England, having been seven weeks in our passage. I got home on the 6th of the sixth month, and was truly thankful to the Lord, who had preserved me in these long travels and labours of love, through many difficulties; but the Lord's power is sufficient to bear up and carry through all; renowned be his worthy name over all, now and for ever. Amen.

A remarkable deliverance which happened to me, being omitted in its proper place, I think fit to insert here, which was as follows:

In the year 1718, and the twelfth month, when John Dodgson was visiting Friends in our parts, he lodged with me, and I went with him and his brother-in-law, Peter Buck, to be their guide to Whitby. I staid their first-day's meeting, and second-day's Preparative Meeting; and on the third-day went on with Friends towards Scarborough, to have the better road home, there having fallen a great deal of snow while we were at Whitby, so that it was looked upon impracticable for me to return the same way home that I came, it being a moorish bad way. In our way back, within a mile or little more from Scarborough, we came to a brook, which by reason of the excessive rain and snow was higher than ever I had seen it, so that when we came to ride through it, Henry Levins, our guide, first adventured in, being mounted upon a very strong large horse, and got over with some difficulty, and I followed him; but when I came about the middle of the fording place, it took my mare off her feet, and something being in the way, it turned her upon her broadside, so that I was dismounted and carried away by the rapidity of the stream. There being a foot-bridge a little below, about knee-deep under water, and no rail either to be a guide or to lay a hand on, and the water reduced to a narrow compass, hurried me violently along, and drove me with my breast against the bridge with such force, that it very nearly knocked the breath out of me. Before I touched the bridge I happened to hold up my hand, and John Dodgson seeing the danger I was in, jumped off his horse, and ran at a venture, seeing the water ripple, to hit the bridge, and just caught hold of my fingers, and held my head above water, until Henry Levins, who had got over, came to his assist-  
ance.

By the weight of the water in my boots, they being large, and a nail in the timber under the bridge, catching hold of my great coat, which held me fast, it was impossible for one man to free me, and not without some difficulty for them both to get me out, the nail holding so fast that it tore out a great piece of my coat, lining and all. Upon Henry's dismounting, his horse ran away to Scarborough, and mine swam back to the company, and when they had got me out, Henry ran on foot to get his horse, and found him at the stable door where he used to stand, and in the mean time John Dodgson kept me in motion by dragging me along, having very little and sometimes no hopes of my recovery. When the horse returned, they got me back to Scarborough, but I was not sensible how, and they had me to Dorothy Jaques' house. When there, they could perceive my lips move, but could not hear what I said, until one laid an ear close to my mouth, and so understood that I said, if they gave me any thing that was strong, it would carry me off; which made them very cautious: however, they stripped me, changed my shirt, put me into a warm bed, and applied warm flannel to my feet for three hours together, which I knew nothing of, being then altogether senseless.

Isaac Skelton, who had been my companion in the service of the Truth, through several counties, hearing of this accident, came immediately and got into bed to me, and kept me close in his bosom, which many thought was a great means to preserve my life. John Dodgson, though he intended for the Monthly Meeting, expressed so great a concern for me, that he said, he would either see me in a way of recovery or die, before he left me. It pleased the Lord, of his infinite mercy, so wonderfully to raise me up again, as to enable me to be at the meeting next day, and also to bear some testimony, which was very acceptable and comfortable to Friends, as it was also beyond their expectation to see me there; but yet I was much troubled with pain, the fleshy part of my shoulder being rent by the violent hauling me out of the water.

In gratitude, my soul can do no less than praise and magnify the Lord for this great deliverance, and all his other mercies, who alone is worthy. And I cannot but take notice of Friends' kindness and good will to me, in doing whatsoever they could for me, but more especially my worthy friend John Dodgson, who hazarded his life to save mine.

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER OF CHRIST JESUS,  
CHARLES MARSHALL.

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PREFACE.

It is with some sadness that I remember the departure of so many of the Lord's worthies, as a little time hath deprived us of; but I have sometimes comforted myself in this, that the Lord intends to take his church more immediately under the care and ministry of his own blessed Spirit, whereby that loss would be more than repaired; and also yet to raise up more servants, and bestow upon them such measures of the Holy Ghost and power from on high, as to be thereby amply qualified to gather home the residue of the dispersed of Judah and scattered of Israel, to the hill and city of God: and though they should not attain to the first rank of the Lord's worthies, yet that they may deservedly be reckoned among those who served God and their King valiantly.

The person, the least part of whose works and labours follow, having abounded much more in a fervent ministry than in writing, was brought up among the most seeking and enlightened people of his time, in the city of Bristol; and therefore a prepared vessel to receive with joy, the glad tidings brought out of the North by those eminent servants of the Lord, John Audland and John Camm, at their first visits of the aforesaid city, with the testimony of light and salvation, and of the coming of the power and kingdom of Christ, to this age of the world; where his zeal and godly conversation, greatly recommended him to God's people. But not contented to eat his bread alone, being filled with love and a religious concern for the good of others, he found himself engaged in the name and power of God to visit the meetings of his people throughout the land of his nativity; in which capacity he continued a faithful labourer and minister in the vineyard of Christ to his end. As many were turned to righteousness by his travels

and labours, so divers were quickened in their gifts for the ministry: for he was not one that affected words or elegancy of speech, or leaned upon memory or former openings; but one that waited for the feeling of God's living and heavenly power, to carry him forth in his ministerial exercises, whereby, as a right Gospel minister, he often refreshed the family and heritage of God. He was adorned with love and zeal, meekness and affability, singular uprightness and simplicity; very compassionate and helpful; serious in his converse, and inoffensive in his freedoms: fervent against the troublers of Zion's peace, yet tender to the mistaken and relenting. He was naturally of a lively but kind and friendly temper, and where he professed a friendship, very faithful as well as affectionate. As the Lord had been with him from the beginning, and gave him an honourable place in the hearts of his people, that are Israelites indeed; so he continued his strengthening and comforting presence with him to his end. For visiting him with divers Friends but a day or two before his departure, as one filled with the love, life and power of Christ, he prayed after a very earnest manner, that the Lord would preserve his people, and carry on his work among them, and exalt his Truth; and even as in an agony of spirit saying, The eternal and everlasting God bless and prosper thee and all his people, and stand by you and carry you through all opposition: The eternal God and Majesty on high be with you; with much more in the same fervent manner; remembering his love to all his dear Friends as opportunity offered.

Thus the Lord carried him through the labours of his life, as well as weakness of his body, when he took leave of us and it, to receive an eternal mansion in the kingdom of glory. In this I write my knowledge of the author of the following book, upon an ancient, as well as very intimate acquaintance; his

friendship and society were always grateful to me, for the sake of that love, peace and piety that adorned his conversation; and I beseech Almighty God, his following works may be a seasonable and an effectual memorial of his personal labours, that were so beneficial and acceptable among the Lord's people.

If the reader peruses them in seriousness, they will demonstrate from what fountain they sprang, even heavenly love and zeal, for the stirring up of those that read them, to the fear, love and service of the everlasting God, and that Truth, unity, peace and concord may increase and be multiplied among the Lord's people where they come.

And I would add what I earnestly desire, viz: That the friends of God would be diligent in stirring up their children and family frequently to read the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of our ancient departed Friends, which are an eminent vindication of the Divine authority of that blessed book, upon the experience of those faithful ministers and servants of Christ. And that all who make profession of the holy and blessed Truth in the inward parts, would make the lives and labours of those worthies of the Lord their lively and constant examples in their known seriousness, retirement, silence, self-denial, temperance, humility, meekness, tenderness, brotherly kindness and sincerity to God and his people; that so there may be a succession in sobriety, righteousness and godliness, which is the very sum and substance of religion; and that one generation may become heirs in holiness to another, till days be no more, and time be swallowed up in eternity.

WILLIAM PENN.

*George Whitehead's Testimony concerning  
CHARLES MARSHALL, deceased.*

WHAT the Lord our God promised by holy prophets, of the pouring out of his spirit upon all flesh, and that sons and daughters should prophesy and declare his name in the earth, that when he gives his word, many become the publishers thereof, he has renewed and is fulfilling in our day. He hath been pleased to raise up a great cloud of witnesses in these latter days, and they have concurred in their testimony for the convincing, converting and confirming many in the faith of the everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein this our well-beloved brother, Charles Marshall, had a share and effectual service, through great labour, travels and exercises. To whose memory, with many other faithful servants of Christ Jesus, who are at rest in him, we owe

such tender and due respect, as truly to commemorate them for the name and power of the Lord our God, and his dear Son Jesus Christ, and to recommend the same to posterity; for the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance. I knew our deceased brother in his young years; wherein as the Lord was pleased to incline him to virtue, and to the knowledge and love of the blessed Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, in spirit, life and power, he received and retained it; and his love was sincere to Christ's ministers, who were instrumental for his information and good. The Lord was pleased to make him instrumental, as a minister of the Spirit and not of the letter, to turn people from the flesh to the Spirit, and from darkness, sin and satan, to Christ the true light, and from the barren and empty forms of religion, to the power of godliness. He was truly tender and zealous for the glory of God, and the honour of his holy name and Truth; and retained unfeigned love to his brethren in Christ, and regard to the lively and comfortable fellowship of the Holy Spirit, wherein we were often comforted together: he was not one that would turn aside from the flocks of the Lord's companions, whom Christ esteems as his own brethren. He often testified zealously against the spirit of division and separation, and against treacherous apostates and sowers of discord; and endeavoured to alarm and awaken the careless people out of the sleep of sin, carnal security, fleshly liberty and ease therein; for which end he laboured hard and took great pains, as one given up to spend and be spent in the Lord's work and service. I truly loved him as one who kept the faith, and retained the unfeigned love to all the faithful in Christ, even to his whole heritage.

As an ancient Friend declared at his funeral of his being then in paradise, I believe he is written in heaven, with all the faithful in Christ, the redeemed from the earth; who keep their integrity in the Truth to God, and their faith in Christ, even unto death; for whom the crown of life and glory is reserved in heaven.

London, the 15th of the Ninth  
month, 1703.

POSTSCRIPT.

With the foregoing testimony concerning our dear brother, Charles Marshall, deceased, his great labours and service in the Gospel of Christ, and his zeal for God and the spreading of the Truth, and his unfeigned love to his brethren, with his great regard for the preservation of God's people in the unity of the Spirit and bond of peace, we have true unity.

Having known him many years, and been witnesses of his labours, and laboured with him in the same work, in Christian respect to his memory, and in esteem for his faithful testimony, we do testify that he was an evangelical minister and faithful servant of Christ, and hath left many seals of his ministry; for the Lord greatly blessed his labours, and filled him with his Divine power, and attended him with his glorious presence, even unto the end; for he enabled him through all his exercises, to finish his course in peace: and we are fully satisfied, the Lord hath given him the crown of righteousness.

We doubt not that all who impartially read his writings, will find he was what we testify concerning him; a sincere man, of a tender spirit, full of love and zeal for God and his Truth; and laboured for the good of souls, in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and dominion for ever.

Signed at our second-day's morning meeting the 22nd of the ninth month, 1703.

*John Freame's Testimony concerning CHARLES MARSHALL.*

HE had a sense of his sickness before it came upon him; for a little before he was taken ill, he signified to me that his departure was at hand.

I was frequently with him, and observed his patience and sweet composed frame of spirit, resigned to the will of God. Although he grew very weak, yet he had still a care for the welfare of the church, and of the poor, as appears by the following expressions, spoken to some ministering Friends who came to visit him; and being present, I committed them to writing.

"I have loved the brotherhood; I have sought the unity and peace of the church for these forty years; and to my great comfort, never did any thing tending to the breach thereof.

"I have two things that lie upon me to Friends, which I desire may be communicated to them. The first is, that they gather down to the immortal Seed and word of life in themselves, and be exercised in it before the Lord; and duly prize the many outward and inward mercies, and blessings, and heavenly visitations, that the Lord has eminently bestowed upon them, since the morning of the day of his blessed visitation; then shall they grow, and be preserved in a living freshness to him; and the Lord will continue his mercies to them, and they shall not want his Divine refreshing presence in their meetings before him.

"The second thing is, that those Friends to

whom the Lord hath given great estates, ought to cast their bread upon the waters, and do good therewith in their life time; for those that are enjoyers of such things, should see that they are good stewards thereof. Oh! the many poor families that such persons might be a help to! How easily might they with a little, assist many a family to live in the world! And what a comfort would it be for such to see the fruits of their charity in their life time!"

After which he grew daily weaker and weaker, and departed in great stillness and quietness of mind, to enjoy an incorruptible inheritance that will never fade away.

London, the 25th of the Eighth month, 1703.

*John Whiting's Testimony concerning CHARLES MARSHALL.*

I KNEW him from his first coming into the county of Somerset, I being then but a youth; soon after he came forth in a public testimony to the everlasting Truth, of which he was an eminent minister and labourer in the Gospel of Christ. It was in great dread and power he came among us, and had many large meetings in our country, as at Portshead, Naylsey, Backwell and Clareham, at which last place, in the tenth month, 1674, he was pulled down while at prayer, by some justices; particularly Francis Pawlet, of Wells, laid violent hands on him, to pull him through the rail where Friends used to stand, grasping him so by the side, as caused him to spit blood, and haled him out of the meeting; which hurt he felt and complained of long after. Several of those persecuting justices soon after died with eating mushrooms in a drunken frolic, calling it manna: and not one of them, that I know of, has been remaining these many years. The dread and power of the Lord was manifest in the meetings he had hereaway; the tremblings, melting into tears, and brokenness I have seen, are fresh in my remembrance, and can never be forgotten by me. Though in his testimony he was dreadful to the rebellious and the disobedient, yet to the faithful he was a son of consolation, and his testimony as the dew upon the tender herb, and was a blessed instrument to many, and to me in particular, in my early days, when Truth began first to open my understanding, and dawn upon me as the light of the morning, which still lives with me, and is my crown of rejoicing; for which I greatly loved him, and was glad of his company.

London, the 9th of the Tenth month, 1703.



## DEAR FRIENDS,

It is a Christian obligation, as well as a commendable practice, to transmit to posterity something concerning such who have been exemplary in their lives, and whose death proves the church's loss, though their own eternal gain, these being of that righteous generation, whose memorial is never to be forgotten.

Amongst these, my dear deceased husband was one who yielded early obedience to the visitation and call of God, persevered in his fear, and finished in his love. The testimony he bore for the Lord and his blessed Truth, was in the authority of Divine life, which reached the witness of God in many hearts: he was zealous for God, tender of the good in all; terrible against the works and workers of iniquity; in the exercise of his gift, grave and reverent; his testimony full of reproof and conviction, but in that meekness which made the same truly edifying: his doctrine was sound, and sufficient to stop the mouths of gainsayers, flowing from that living Fountain and Divine Spring of light, life and heavenly wisdom, which the wisdom of this world can never comprehend.

In such travels as these did he spend the strength and prime of his years, whereby his outward man has often been weakened, such was his zeal for God and his love to mankind; and the Lord was pleased many times to answer the desire of his travelling soul, which he always thought a good recompense for the labours and sufferings he went through on that account.

My dear husband was a sympathizer with the afflicted, and with the mourners in spirit: he was a lover of the brethren and of the peace of the church, which he always preferred, and whose tranquillity he sought; and knew right well the body could be edified in nothing but love, often pressing the professors of Truth to keep to the precious unity of the Spirit, as the only bond of their peace. Nor did the tenderness with which he was wont to treat the weak, lead him into foolish pity to the wilful; for no man was more zealously concerned, when any went about to rend or divide; and few were more willing to reprove such; which he often did with success, it being in the authority given him of God over such spirits; continuing in that Christian temper that could forgive upon their repentance and return, which he often prayed for.

The heat of persecution did not hinder him from making a general visit to the churches through the nation, which he began in the year 1670; which was richly blessed: and the Lord so ordered it, that scarcely any Friend suffered loss of goods upon that ac-

count; and the meetings generally were quiet where he came, as may be more particularly seen in his following Journal. His work was great, but his faith and the power of God in which it stood, were greater than the power of the enemies of Truth: he was freely given up to expend substance, time and strength, when concerned to visit the churches of Christ.

The Lord was pleased in the riches of his love to make known his ancient way of Truth unto him; and he with many brethren, were made able ministers of the Gospel of salvation, and willing to run to and fro, that knowledge might be increased amongst the people, after a long night of error and apostacy, wherein the ancient path of Truth and life had been departed from, the world become as a wilderness, and the glory of the church obscured and eclipsed: many ran from one barren mountain of profession to another, seeking the living amongst the dead, and their bread in desolate places: and the Lord appeared and engaged a remnant, whom he had chosen and made vessels fit for his use, to testify in his name, that the teachers of the people had caused them to err; and that they were strangers to the true apostolical religion and ministry, feeding themselves, and not the flock, and seeking their gain from their quarter, instead of seeking the lost sheep. Such for conscience-sake could not pay for the support of such a ministry. For which testimony my husband suffered with cheerfulness, and valiantly bore the imprisonment of his body, the loss and spoil of goods, standing over the power of the oppressor, in the authority of Christ, whereby others were strengthened to be faithful, in keeping up their testimony against tithes. I pray God, the example of him in that and all other branches of his testimony, wherein he was kept faithful unto death, may be a motive to all to follow the Lord fully; then will God have his honour, and your souls the everlasting comfort.

He was a lover of the poor, and a friend to the rich, often putting the latter at their well furnished tables, in mind of the former, recommending self-denial and hospitality, instead of high living: nor was he wanting in example, often visiting poor families and inspecting their situation, sympathizing with them in tender compassion and true Christian charity; supplying the sick with advice and physic, the hungry with bread, and the naked with clothes, according to his ability.

He was a man of a self-denying life; not moved by abuses or injuries when offered, imputing them to ill-nature or ignorance, which he did not think worthy of possessing the mind. He approved himself long-suffering,



patient, meek and humble, as became a minister of Christ; always trusting in the goodness of God, to whom he delighted to pour out his supplications in full assurance of faith, that he would have regard to the oppressed, to the afflicted and bowed in spirit, and that he would bring them into the Divine bosom, where their souls should be filled with heavenly joy, to praise, magnify and bless his holy name.

He was a loving husband to me, and a tender father to his children, for whose welfare he travelled in spirit night and day.

It pleased the Lord after his return from visiting Friends of Bristol and the western parts, to afflict him with a long sickness; and notwithstanding his physicians had hopes of his recovery, yet he declared his distemper would prove mortal; which it did.

After about four months sickness he finished his course in sweetness and the enjoyment of

Divine life; in which long sickness, although attended with extreme pain, he had his senses continued to the last, and some of his expressions were very weighty. He said that he had not handled the word of the Lord deceitfully, nor done his work negligently; earnestly desiring that Friends might live in love, and keep in the unity of the Spirit, as the only bond of their peace. And signified, that though some might put the trying day he had seen and declared of, afar off; yet it would come, and on such as a thief in the night.

As his last moments drew near, he closed his eyes with his own hand, and with cheerfulness and composure, as one that had the sting of death taken away, resigned his soul to God, the 15th of the ninth month, 1698, in the sixty-second year of his age.

HANNAH MARSHALL.

London, the 1st of the Ninth  
month, 1703.

## JOURNAL OF CHARLES MARSHALL.

I WAS born in the city of Bristol, in the fourth month, 1637. My education and bringing up was after the strictest manner of religion, my parents being such as feared the Lord. I was kept much from the company of other children, and attained about the fifth and sixth years of my life to read the Scriptures of Truth, in which in a little time I took delight. In my very tender years I had an abhorrence to swearing and lying, and such like sins; and many times I felt desires and breathings to know God. About the eleventh and twelfth years of my life, I not only longed to know the true and living God, but also sought after him, and loved and esteemed sober honest people that feared the Lord, and went with my mother to the Independent meetings, in the days of those peoples' tenderness and sincerity; and sometimes I went to the Baptists' meeting, and to hear those men esteemed most zealous in their day. Among those people, and in those assemblies, there were awakenings inwardly, through the stirrings and strivings of the gift of God; through which, living pantings and breathings were raised in many of their souls, after the true and spiritual knowledge of God, who is a spirit; but they went out from that into a profession of the saints' words, works and enjoyments, and left this pure principle of light, life and Truth behind.

As I grew in years, I grew more and more

dissatisfied with lifeless empty professions and professors, feeling the burthen of the nature of sin, which lay on my soul; in the sense whereof I became solitary and mourned like a dove without a mate. And seeing I could not find the living among the dead professions, I spent much time alone in retirement in the fields and woods. In those days strong were my cries unto the Lord, and sometimes being retired into places free from passengers, to ease my heart, I cried aloud, because of disquietness of spirit. I had openings of the miserable fall and inexpressible degeneracy of mankind, and the bondage which my soul lay in; under the sense of which I cried out, O that my soul might be eased from this heavy burthen of death and darkness, that I might be saved out of this state of gross Egyptian darkness; and from the land of drought, of anguish, and of horrible darkness: O undeclarable fall! said my soul. Oh! inexpressible wall of partition and separation! a gulf unutterable! for the fallen and undone state of the sons and daughters of men was opened to me, beyond words to demonstrate. In those days, as I walked and beheld the creation of God Almighty, every thing testified against me; heaven and earth; the day and the night; the sun, moon and stars; yea, the water-courses and springs of the great deep, keeping in their respective places; the grass and flowers of the field;

the fish of the sea and fowls of the air, keeping their order; but man alone, the chief of the works of God's hand, degenerated. Then I cried out bitterly, man's state in the fall is worse than the beast that perisheth; for the ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but man, in this state, is ignorant of God his Maker, and become a stranger to him, walking in enmity and disobedience, serving and obeying the devil, who neither made nor created any thing, neither can preserve any living thing. And from the beginning his appearance against God hath been enmity, altogether evil; a destroyer and a murderer.

Such is the inexpressible thick darkness that is come over man, that he gives up himself in soul, body and spirit, to be led by the devil; whereby thick darkness is come over the families of the earth; and I could set my seal to the truth of that Scripture, "Darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people."

In a deep sense of man's miserable state, and particularly of my own captivity and share in this darkness, misery and sorrow, I fell on the ground, and cried unto God for deliverance and redemption out of this state. And although the witness of God thus stirred, and was the discoverer of this miserable state, yet I had not a clear knowledge of that which thus discovered it.

In those times, which was about the year 1654, many were seeking after the Lord; and there were a few of us that kept one day of the week in fasting and prayer. When this day came, we met together early in the morning, not tasting any thing, and sat down sometimes in silence; and as any found a concern on their spirits and inclination in their hearts, they kneeled down and sought the Lord; so that sometimes before the day ended, there might be twenty of us might pray, men and women, and sometimes children spoke a few words in prayer; and we were sometimes greatly bowed and broken before the Lord, in humility and tenderness. To one of these meetings in the year 1654, came dear John Audland and John Camm, messengers of the ever living God. And by John Audland's powerful ministry, committed to him by the Lord, I was reached and turned to the Spirit of God, which had discovered my state unto me, as before-mentioned; and the testimony that was borne by these messengers was readily received, and as I kept to this spirit, to which I was turned, I saw a separation made between light and darkness, the day and the night, the precious and the vile. And as my mind loved the light, judgment was set up in my heart, even laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; I was brought into great

dread, fear and awe of God, and had great esteem and regard to his messengers, who brought the acceptable tidings of life and salvation; and through whom doctrine dropped as the dew. As their words were gracious words, so was there a great fear in my heart of rebelling against any part of that counsel I received from them. I now saw a long travel through the administration of condemnation, which indeed was glorious in its time; and as I kept down to the judgment of the Lord in my heart, the operation whereof was as a sword, a fire and a hammer, the evil nature was in some measure overcome; and then something of Divine refreshment and love flowed in, which refreshed me in my travels. But now the old subtle enemy began to lay snares and hunt after my soul, which was in some measure rescued out of the jaws of death; so that when I had precious openings of the way of Truth, through which a secret hope and joy sprang, the enemy led me out from sinking down into a sweet enjoyment and treasuring up, to spend my own bread in disputes for Truth, against opposers; and to declare of it to those that had some love for it. And when I had thus spent the bread which was given me only to strengthen my own soul, when I came home and communed with my own heart, and came to stillness, I saw myself quite empty, having leaked out that which was given for my refreshment and consolation; and my Beloved was withdrawn. Then distress took hold of me beyond expression, and I was greatly bowed down; and having an understanding of the cause, was ready to promise that if I came to my former peace, refreshment and feeding again, I would not run out prodigally, nor spend my portion, through which that inward trouble and barrenness came over my spirit. And here the enemy, who in his transforming had thus led me out, subtilly worked in the day of my trouble, to bring great discouragements over my spirit, and unbelief.

My soul hath in remembrance the great anxiety of spirit, and sense of the withdrawals and hidings of the Lord's face, and the veil that came over. I was thus led out in a zeal, not according to knowledge, which the power gives in its leadings; and when I had promised and then broke covenant, I was pursued for a covenant breaker. But in time the Lord helped me over this exercise, and I came to stand as a fool, and to sit in silence before the Lord among his people, rather than to wrong my condition, and grieve the Spirit of God. When I thus kept obedient to wisdom's directings, a secret joy would spring, and pure peace and inward ease. But when I felt life and joy, so that the light of the Lord

shined on my tabernacle, for want of keeping low in humility, where the growth in the Truth is, the enemy wrought subtly again, to persuade that there was not that need of a severe watch and inward exercise, as formerly; through which he prevailed sometimes, to lead out into a liberty, inward and outward, that had a tendency to bring again into inward bondage. Through frequent refreshings, openings, prophecies and promises, I was ready to conclude my mountain was immovable; but soon I found a withdrawing of the Lord's presence; then I knew a winter again, and the storms of the enemy; and not having yet learned to be contented in want, as well as in abounding, I not only fell into a poor murmuring state, but also into great trouble, in a sense of this change; and fears and doubts were ready to enter. I toiled in this night, but could catch nothing which administered any comfort that was lasting; and here I was willing and running, and striving, being in great fear and sorrow; and the more I toiled, kindling sparks of my own, the more my sorrow was increased; for as yet I had not learned the state of resignation. And now being brought very low, and having mourned many days in the sense of the withdrawals of the presence, love and power of my God, being in deep distress and amazement, Israel's travels in the wilderness were opened to me, how the Lord tried them with want of bread and water; and that their happiness stood in being contented and resigned to the will of God, and in the belief of the Lord's faithfulness, to have endured the trial; but they murmured, and thereby grieved the Spirit of God; so did I. But through the loving kindness of God, the state of resignation was opened to me, in which man stood before he fell through transgression, into his own workings and willings; and when my understanding was thus opened, my soul cried unto the Lord my God, Oh! preserve me in pure patience and passiveness, and in living, acceptable obedience, and I will trust in thee.

As I believed in the light of the Lord, and therein was comprehended and resigned, God's pure power, love and life broke in as formerly, which greatly refreshed me; then the sun shone upon my tabernacle, and I bowed before the Lord, blessing and praising his holy glorious name. Then the Lord instructed me, and his pure Spirit and power opened in me the way of preservation, which was to centre down into true humility; and my soul began to be as the dove that found a place for the sole of her feet; yet the enemy continued to tempt by his allurements, and so laid his baits and snares, that if at any time I was drawn to look abroad, and went out to view, I was

in great danger of being defiled. For I found, if at any time I went out from this pure preserving power of God, that had wrought in my soul, through inexpressible travail, and let in the spirit of the world, and reasoned, and thereby beheld a beauty in any fruit, but what was brought forth by the tree of life, then came over me a wound, a stain and defilement. And if at any time the enemy prevailed in the inward ground, to cause a cleaving to his temptations, through the lusts of the flesh or the lust of the eye, then I was afraid, because of inward wrath; and the power of the Lord in love to my soul, wrought mightily, to sanctify and cleanse it again. I passed through this inward exercise, when no friend or intimate acquaintance knew of it. Oh! I remember the nights of bitter sorrow that I passed, when no defilement could be discerned by any, I walking blamelessly among men. For in the great love of God to my soul, in those days of inward travail and exercise, judgment followed presently upon the outgoing of my mind; and as I kept single to the Lord, and upright in heart, not joining to any iniquity, I found the Lord near at hand in many exercises that happened in our city and elsewhere, and through the working of the power of darkness in James Naylor, and the runnings forth of John Perrot and others. God let me, who was but a young lad, see through all those subtle workings and transformings, and by a secret hand preserved me. Of those trying times, I have not much upon me to leave in writing; those things are known unto the Lord as well as the ends, the causes and permission, and letting loose of the enemy. God hath willed the keeping low of his people in every generation; and he hath by his power secretly struck at every thing that hath a tendency to rob him of his honour. He delights in the humble, and dwells with the broken-hearted and contrite in Spirit; and in this state is safety and preservation to us in this age, and this will be their safety in succeeding ages. Through these exercises of which I have hinted, I have learned from the beginning of the work of restoration and redemption, that every one's preservation is in inward retiredness unto the Lord, and in his pure fear, awe and dread, to keep low, feeling after his soul-redeeming, preserving power, which quickens, enlivens, and as it is abode in, keeps alive in its own pure nature, over the world, its spirit and defilement.

I have a sense upon my spirit beyond utterance, of the potent workings of the enemy in the generations of mankind, to accomplish his end, viz: That after the Lord God Almighty hath appeared in any age, in the free dispensings of his love, and the breakings

forth of his power, and the making bare of his arm, in order to restore man into covenant with God; then hath the enemy appeared with all his power, subtilly, gradually and hiddenly, to undermine and frustrate the work of God. His great end has been by different snares to draw into a lessening of the estimation, in the visited people, of the power, appearance and manifestation of God in their day, and to draw out the mind by his transformings, into an esteem of the manifestation that hath been, or a strange affectation of what may or is to appear; leading the mind out of a due regard to the present manifestation, which alone works the eternal welfare of the creature. This was their case to whom it was said, "Oh! that you knew, even in this your day, the things that belong to your peace." This I have learned of the Lord, and therefore leave it both to Friends, to whom it may come in this age, and to God's people in the following generations of the world.

After many years travel in spirit, as before hinted, in the year 1670, and the thirty-third year of my age, God Almighty raised me up by his power, that had been working in my heart many years, to preach the everlasting Gospel of life and salvation. Then a fresh exercise began, for the enemy tempted me to withstand the Lord, to look to my own weakness of body and spirit, and insufficiency for such a great work; and such was the prevalence of the enemy of my soul, that had not the Lord God, in his inexpressible love stood by me, bore with me, and helped me, I had perished after all, through disobedience. For when the power of God fell upon me, and a few words were required of me to speak in the assemblies of the Lord's people in Bristol, I reasoned that they were a wise people, and how could it be I should add to them; that I might hurt myself; that imaginations might be the ground of such requirings; and that many wise men therein might look upon me as a forward lad, and so judge me; and I thus reasoned many times through some meetings, until I was in sore distress. When such meetings were over, wherein I had been disobedient, my burthen was great. Oh! then I was ready to engage and covenant with the Lord, that if I felt the requirings of his power again, I would faithfully give up in obedience to him; but when I was tried again, the same rebellious mind would be stirred by the power of the enemy. Then hath the Lord withdrawn the motion and the feeling of his power, and all refreshment with it, and hid his face; and I have been in great sorrow, having a sense of others feeding on the bread of life in our meetings, and drawing the water of life, but my soul was without, and great bars over, and as

it were a sealing down under darkness. I beheld the displeasure of the Lord, and was bowed down in great anguish; my soul cried to the Lord to try me again with the breaking in of his power, and to give me a clear knowledge of his requirings, and I would obey him: then the Lord God of life heard my cry again, and opened my heart that was fast shut. And when I began to feel the power of God to stir in my inward man, I was glad on the one hand, but very sorrowful on the other, fearing lest I should be rebellious again. So hard was it for me to open my mouth in those meetings of Bristol, that had not the Lord caused his power to be manifest in my heart, as new wine in a vessel that wanted vent, and so broke through forcibly many times, I might have perished; but the Lord had regard to my state, and knew the people's state among whom I was gathered, and first brought forth. But when, by the great love and power of my God, I had broken through, the enemy's snares were manifest; for which my soul praised the Lord God of my life; and I have been, and am often broken in the sense of his goodness to me when a child, nay as a worm. In the sense thereof, at this time, even in the fresh remembrance of thy love, I bless and magnify, and extol thy name, oh Lord! who art God, and doth good, and art worthy of all fear, obedience and reverence, and honour, for ever and ever.

After I had through the goodness, love and power of God, gotten dominion in a measure over that which did let, I faithfully gave up liberty, estate, relations, and all to my God, and was drawn forth in the assemblies of the Lord's people in the city of Bristol, and the places adjacent. As I gave up in obedience, I found my way made easier, and the enemy that would have hindered me, more and more conquered; so in the year 1670, I received this commission from God, Run through the nation, and visit my breathing bruised birth, which I begat among my people, in the day of their first tender visitation. Proclaim my acceptable year and day of perfect deliverance to my breathing tender birth, and my day of vengeance to come upon all that have bruised it; either among my people, or in the world. Then cried I unto the Lord, How shall I visit thy people in these times, when the rod of the wicked is upon their backs; and almost every where endeavouring, through violence, to scatter the assemblies of thy people? How shall I meet with them? And the Lord said, Go, I will prosper thy way; and this present exercise which is over my people, shall be as a morning cloud, and I will be to them as the tender dew, through the land. Then I bowed

before the Lord, and travelled in obedience to his command; and from the latter end of the tenth month, 1670, to the 20th of the twelfth month, 1672, I was at about four hundred meetings.

[During this long journey in the service of the Gospel, he visited most parts of England, was several times in London, and also at his own home for short periods; during one of which he was so ill that his life was despaired of, and at another he met with a close trial in the loss of his child; but he appears to have been remarkably preserved and supported by that Divine power in whom were his trust and confidence.]

The 21st of the twelfth month, 1672, I came home, where I was ill about thirteen days; and after visiting a few meetings in Wiltshire, I went to Bristol, where I was at several meetings, and in the country adjacent.

In my travels many were convinced, and the mouths of gainsayers stopped; and the Spirit of God fell on divers, who have now a testimony to bear for his name. I was many times brought very low in my body, even to the brink of the grave; yet God Almighty, in loving kindness, raised me up again; particularly twice, in a marvellous manner. Great were the trials, sorrows, difficulties and jeopardies, inwardly and outwardly, that I went through, which God Almighty only knows; and great were his deliverances many ways, viz: in Lancashire, near Margaret Fox's, I was wonderfully preserved, with four more; for being come down to the sea-shore, in order to cross the sands, two persons who lived on the other side informed us, we might go over safely, and nothing appeared to the contrary; but when I attempted to go, I was stopped in my mind, and waiting a season on the Lord, I was forbidden to go; and it was showed me, that if any attempted to go at that time, they would perish; which caused me to hinder passengers from going; and in about an hour the sea overflowed; so that if we had gone, in all likelihood we had perished; which when some who were there saw, they were greatly tendered, and magnified the name of the Lord.

In visiting the city of London, I left a paper, a copy whereof here followeth:

"A warning to the people that have lent their ear to the declaration of the Truth, and have not received it in the love of it.

"A warning to those convinced of the Truth, who have not subjected themselves thereto in pure living obedience.

"A warning to all that have begun in the Spirit, and set their faces Zionward, that they neither return back into Egypt, spiritually so called, nor sit down by the way.

"The dreadful day of God's vengeance proclaimed, in which all professors and professions shall be tried, the floor thoroughly purged, and the wheat fanned, and the gold tried, and the day of God upon all images and likenesses.

"A treading down of all that which is risen through a loss of the ancient eternal power.

"A day of calamity, misery, amazement and distress, to come upon the inhabitants of the city of London, and of sorrow upon the nation of England; and after this the day of gathering through the nations, of the dispersed of Israel, and the scattered of Jacob."

In the name and authority of God Almighty, I also cleared my conscience of the city of Bristol, and have not kept back the counsel of the Lord from them; but in the power and demonstration of his Spirit, in all plainness, declared the Truth as it is in Jesus, manifesting the many snares of the enemy that attend Friends of that city; and am clear of the blood of the inhabitants thereof, and of all professing Truth therein; and am assured, that a day of deep trial will come upon many of its inhabitants; and, as was my testimony to the city of London, so was it to the city of Bristol.

In my travels through the land, there were many attempts made for my imprisonment; but the Lord was with me, and his word was as a fire in my bones, to run through the land; and he helped me in spiritual battle with the enemy of the souls of men; and although the laws were then put in execution against dissenters, that empowered the magistrate to fine the owner of the house where a meeting was held, twenty pounds; and five shillings for every person present, with twenty pounds for the preacher; and those accounted able, were to pay the fines of the poor, and the informer to have a third part; yet, in this time of sore persecution, in my passage through cities, towns, and all the counties in England, no man was suffered to lay hands on me, to stop my way; neither did any man, that I know of, lose five pounds on my account, through the nation. Which I leave to posterity, not out of any glory to self, but to magnify and exalt the holy power of the Lord, and that many travellers, yet to be raised up, may be refreshed, and trust in the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength. Although he call to hard things, yet is he not an hard Master, for he gives power to all that believe and trust in him, whose right arm of salvation hath done glorious things in our day; unto whom be given everlasting, ever-living praises, honour, holy thanksgiving and renown, for ever and ever.

After this, I did not travel so constantly,

nor keep an account of many remarkable things and deliverances that I met with in my travels; but this I can say in truth, and in the presence of my God, that opened the door of people's hearts so effectually, that I believe thousands received the word of life, and many were added to the church in divers places. Some meetings were settled where there was never a Friend before; in one place, a whole meeting was convinced at one time; and I never heard that any of them turned back, but were faithful unto the Lord. The tenderness I have seen in many places through the land, and the watering showers of life that descended on the Lord's plantation, are beyond expression. Many that were apostatized and backslidden were effectually reached and brought back again; so that I may say, the Lord was with me, and made way for me, according to his word before I went forth; and I continued labouring, until John Story and John Wilkinson, with their adherents, opposed the order and discipline that was then set up in the churches of Christ.

This opposition was carried on eagerly, under a specious pretence of standing up against imposition; but it took its origin from some going into a singular spirit, and getting into undue liberty, endeavouring to lead others into the same; a fearful, slothful spirit, that turned from the power of the Lord, and a daily dependance on its fresh arising and quickening—retaining a ministry of the doctrinal part of Truth, in a dry and dead spirit, endeavouring to lay waste the Quarterly, Monthly, Yearly, and Women's meetings, by opposing the settled methods thereof; calling them forms and an idol; when indeed it was the same Divine power and wisdom which gathered us to be a people, that caused the setting up and settling good order and discipline amongst us; to take care of the poor, widows and fatherless, and for due proceeding in that great concern of marriage, and other things relating to the service of Truth and welfare of the church.

Great was the travel of our ancient and honourable Friend, George Fox, in this weighty concern, in the first breaking forth of Truth in this age; several other brethren were also deeply concerned in settling meetings in the said good order, and we found the Lord with us in our work and service.

The power of the Lord worked thus to settle us in a good order, that we might appear to the world to be guided by his wisdom; being found in the form of godliness, as it arose from the power of it inwardly in the soul. But the enemy, that would have had us a people in confusion, and a Babel instead of a Zion, wrought in the earthly, sensual wisdom of

some loose-spirited men, who had lost their sense of the leadings of the Almighty; and brought them into a false imagination, that we were going from the inward guidance of God's Spirit, to set up forms like other professions, thereby leaving the light of Christ Jesus, which was to be every man's guide in faith and practice. Hereupon they endeavoured, with all their strength, to break down and lay waste the meetings before-mentioned, crying, that imposition on conscience was the cause of their separation; when in truth it was an opposition by the power of darkness working in themselves, whereby they were quickly benighted; and many ran into their errors.

This spirit brought great affliction and travail upon some, in the beginning of its workings in Westmoreland, and in Bristol, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and some other places. Great were the disorders it made in Bristol and Wiltshire; because of which, the Lord concerned me, with other faithful brethren, in his name and power to make war against it, in great travail, tears and distress of spirit, for several years together, running in between the living and the dead, travelling in those counties, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Berkshire and London, for several years. I can say, the Lord God that guided me to travel in his name and dread through the land, was with me in this day of deep exercise; and I have cause, in great bowings of spirit, to magnify his glorious name, who preserved me faithful over all discouragement. My bow he made strong, and my quiver he daily replenished with arrows; my soul he caused to be as it were baptized for the dead, as one eating the bread of adversity, and drinking the water of affliction, sparing neither strength nor substance.

To a great height of opposition did this spirit of division rise in divers instruments. The clouds were so thick, and the mist of darkness so great, that many poor sheep were in danger of becoming a prey to the wolf and devourer. The honest-hearted were grieved and bowed down, and the rich in imagination exalted in rage; so that this separation came quickly to be spread in the sight of the world; and in several places they shut us out of our meeting-houses, exposing us in the streets to the view of others.

I very well remember the day that I received instruction of the Lord in a vision, concerning that people; wherein their work, end and downfall, was shown to me; so that it became a concern on my soul, to invite faithful Friends of Wiltshire to have a meeting on purpose to wait upon the Lord, in a deep exercise of soul, and cry to him to appear for his name-sake and his people.



Friends did readily answer my desire, and we agreed upon such a meeting; and the first was in the place where they designed to have laid waste the Quarterly Meeting of that county. When we were waiting upon the Lord, this was the cry of my soul amongst Friends and brethren: O Lord! what wilt thou do for thy great name, that is dishonoured? For thy heritage, whom the enemy and destroyer would now scatter, devour thy lambs, and spoil and trample down thy vineyard, &c. Thus we cried, in bowedness of spirit, before the Lord, who heard from heaven, his holy habitation; and his power broke forth in a wonderful manner, tendering his people before him; and his presence and heavenly wisdom comforted and confirmed his servants; and Friends were opened to speak well of the name of the Lord, and the greatness of his power and appearance.

This meeting was then concluded to be continued, which was the case for many years, in which our wrestling prevailed with the Lord, who attended us with his heavenly power and presence; and we saw from that day the blasting of that spirit in all its undertakings, and the confirming of his heritage and people.

The same power of God wrought a great travail in the city of Bristol, where the Lord many times signally caused a decision, in great assemblies, as at their fair-time, and disappointed the design of their great appearances; where many of those preachers of separation flocked together; David's sling and stone smote their Goliath that rose up against the armies of Israel; and the glory of the Lord shined over all, which many of those people must remember, if in a worthy sense of God's love. I cannot forget the many days, nights and years of sorrow I have gone through in that city; where I laboured in the power of the Most High, for settling the churches of Christ, in the city and adjacent counties, in peace and good order.

After which time the enemy filled the heart of the priest of the parish where I dwelt, who laboured many months to get me into prison, and take away my substance, and spared no cost, until he got me into the Fleet prison in London, where I was both before, and at the time of the great frost, whereby I came to be separated from my dear wife and children; and about a year's time after, my family removed up to London. In this imprisonment I suffered much in body, spirit and substance, known to the Lord who was with me, as his word was often to me in my travels.

About the space of two years after, the priest came to the prison, and caused the doors to be opened and brought me out, and sometime after he died. Then I settled with

my family near London, and for many years I laboured in the Gospel in that city, and was greatly concerned for the sick, and several services for God's church and people, and was frequently engaged with some in the government, on behalf of his suffering people, and the good of my native country. Before I conclude, I must say, for my last three years, I several times visited the city of Bristol, and adjacent counties; and God Almighty concerned me in a great travail in those visits which he gave me strength to go through; where his glory did shine over all, his river ran, his latter rain descended, the springs of the deep were broken up, and the mysteries of the kingdom and travels of spiritual Israel, abundantly opened. Oh! that they may be a worthy people, to the praise and renown of the name of the Lord, is my soul's cry to the God of my life on their behalf.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*A Testimony to the visitation of the love of God, to the city of Bristol and adjacent parts, and to the mighty power of the Lord, appearing in and with his two precious servants, JOHN CAMM and JOHN AUDLAND, who came to that city in the year 1654.*

AFTER the long and tedious night of apostacy and dismal darkness spread over the people, it pleased the Lord of heaven and earth to visit this island, and first the northern part thereof, with the morning of his ever blessed day; from whence came the aforesaid servants of the Lord Jesus; having received the everlasting Gospel, to preach in the demonstration of his mighty power; with which indeed they were filled. John Camm was an ancient man, full of zeal and fervency in the Gospel; endued with the precious gift of discerning and sound judgment—terrible to the man of sin, full of tenderness to the travailing soul, and friendly to the well-inclined to the way of righteousness, not sparing his weak body, which he offered up, even unto death, to serve the Lord God in his blessed work of gathering, which he saw in a plentiful manner, to his great satisfaction. His memory is blessed, and his place is among the living ancients in Jerusalem.

John Audland was a younger man, of a sweet and ruddy countenance, and of a cheerful spirit; one of the wise in heart, filled with the excellent power of the Lord, in which he appeared many times, and his voice was as thunder, dreadful in the strength of the Lord of hosts, against the man of sin and the workers of iniquity; but livingly tender to the sensible travellers and poor in spirit. Ah!



my soul hath a remembrance how the doctrine given him of Christ Jesus dropped as dew, and descended as the refreshing rain. He was a labourer night and day in the Gospel, in which he spent himself; and his frequent travels in and about Bristol, I am well satisfied, laid a foundation for wasting his natural life; which was offered up for the Truth, and in the work of it. He, with dear honourable John Camm, was instrumental in the hand of the Almighty to our gathering; and the spending their lives and strength was mostly in their labours amongst us, in the city and adjacent parts, of which I was an eye-witness, being with them frequently.

These two ministers of Christ Jesus, came to the city of Bristol in the fifth month, 1654, amongst a seeking people, who kept one day in the week in fasting and praying, waiting for and breathing in spirit after the visitation of God, and the day of redemption. Amongst us they spoke the powerful word of life, in the dread of his name that lives for ever; and we were smitten even to the heart; and that day overtook us, which we had longed and waited for; and we were turned from darkness to the marvellous light of the Lord. We had some meetings before the more general gathering in and about the city, which began on this wise.

On a first-day in the morning I went with these two servants of God, about a mile and a half from the city, to a little spring of water, where I had spent many solitary hours in my tender years, seeking the Lord; where we sat some time, and drank of the spring. After some hours of the morning were spent, I saw in them a great travail in spirit. John Audland said, trembling, Let us be going into the city; so we came to the street called Broadmead, to a house where were several people met together, inquiring after these two men of God. John Audland was under a great exercise of spirit, and said, Is here any one that has an interest in any field? An ancient man said, I have in a field pretty near. Notice being given to the people in the house, they came forth; and as we went along, people in the streets went also to the field, called Earlsmead, so that we became a pretty number; where some seats or stools were brought; dear John Camm began to speak tenderly, and in great zeal, directing to the heavenly grace of God, and testifying against sin and iniquity fervently, to which some were attentive. I perceived a great exercise on my dear friend and father in Christ Jesus, John Audland, who very much trembled. After dear John Camm had done, he stood up, full of dread in his countenance, lifted up his voice as a trumpet, and said, I proclaim spir-

itual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from God, and prophecy to the four winds of heaven; and his words dropped amongst the seed; and he went on in the mighty power of God, opening the way of life. But, ah! the seizings of soul, and prickings at heart, which attended that season! some fell on the ground, others cried out under the sense of their states, which gave experimental knowledge of what is recorded in Acts ii. 37. It was a notable day, worthy to be left on record, that our children may read, and tell to their children, and theirs to another generation, that the noble acts of God may be remembered through generations.

At this meeting many were effectually convinced, and turned from darkness to light; after which our meetings grew larger. They visited the meetings of the Independents and Baptists, testifying amongst them in great power, the things given them of God; directing the poor and needy in spirit, who saw their want of the Lord Jesus Christ, no longer to seek the living among the dead, but look from the mountains and hills, dead ways and worships, unto Christ Jesus the fountain of life and salvation; and there was added unto the gathering daily, and great dread was in our meetings, under the seasonings of the Holy Ghost. Oh! the tears, sighs and tremblings, and mournings, because of the middle wall of partition, that we saw in our awakened state, stood between us and the Lord. In the sense of our spiritual wants and necessities, Oh! the hungerings and thirstings of soul that attended daily, and great travail of spirit to obtain, through the working of the mighty power of God, dominion and spiritual victory over the enemy of our souls, who had led us in the paths of death and darkness. The visit of God's holy and ever-blessed day was signal; and in his fear and dread, we received the Gospel with a ready mind, and with broken hearts, and gave up to follow the Lord fully, casting off the weights and the sin that easily besets, and departed from the evil ways and vanities of this world: stripping of all needless apparel, and forsaking superfluities in meats and drinks; walking in the plain self-denying path, having the fear and dread of God on our souls, whom we were afraid of offending in word or deed. Our words were few and savoury, our apparel and houses plain, being stripped of superfluities; our countenances grave, and deportment weighty, amongst those we had to do with. Indeed we were a plain broken-hearted, contrite-spirited people; our souls being in an inexpressible travail, to do all things well-pleasing in the sight of God. Our concern night and day

was to obtain, through Jesus Christ, the great work of salvation, and thereby an assurance of the everlasting rest and sabbath of our God. Oh! the labour, travails, and spending of strength of these servants of the Most High God, in those days, in great assemblies in that city, and counties round about. Our meetings were so large, that we were forced to meet out of doors, and that in frost and snow; and in those meetings, the voices of these servants of God, reached over the multitudes, when several thousands have been assembled together. As the work of the Lord increased, so the enemy was at work in priests and people, who stirred up the youth of the city into a tumult, like the men of Ephesus; and once these two servants of the Lord were seized by the multitude, and were in great hazard.

But the Lord signally delivered them, as in days past he had done for his servants on such occasions, and all came to be quieted, and our meetings peaceable; and many grew in grace, and in the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, which is eternal life. In short, such was the effectual working of the almighty power of God, through those servants of the Most High, with the various trials and exercises which befell them and us, who were the fruits of their labour in the Lord, that my tongue cannot express what I was an eye and ear-witness of, and soul-sharer in. Therefore to the God of this day of our visitation, springs up, as in covenant with himself through Christ Jesus, holy, heavenly high praises; might, majesty and dominion are ascribed to the Lord God and the Lamb. So let it be, saith my spirit in fear and trembling, through ages and generations, for ever and ever more, Amen.

And now, dear Friends everywhere, but more particularly in and about the city of Bristol, who have seen the day of God break forth in our age, and by the Divine light thereof, have seen the darkness that covered the people expelled, in which darkness they were ignorant of the true and living God, and his precious work of salvation, and performed their worship in the same nature in which they sinned and rebelled, and grieved the good Spirit of God, to which all ought to be subject. It pleased the Divine Being, in his infinite love and tender compassion, to look down upon us, whilst in the land of Egypt, and house of bondage spiritually; and to send forth his light and Truth, to give us a sense of the deplorable state of our souls, in the deprivation of the enjoyments of the Lord, which sense begat in us living breathings, and a holy cry after the knowledge of him of whom we saw ourselves ignorant. And in the fulness of time he visited us, of which, dear Friends,

we were right glad; although, when the Lord discovered our states to us, he laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and gave us the cup of trembling, wherein was the wine of astonishment, which was in mercy to our poor souls, that could not be redeemed but by judgment, poured on the nature that had separated us from God, and on us, as joined thereto; and here, although sin revived, we began to die to it. O good day, and precious season! worthy, worthy to be remembered by us, and our offspring; for although it was the season of the ministration of condemnation, yet was it glorious. God, by his spiritual trumpet, sounded to us, that the end of his spiritual appearance was to root out, lay waste, and utterly destroy the nature of sin and iniquity, that had separated us from him, and hindered us from the good things of his heavenly power and kingdom. We were persuaded the set time was come for cleansing and sanctifying the temple, and fitting it for the pure immortal God; and we began inwardly, as in the day of Hezekiah, that the temple might be cleansed thoroughly in every part. For in the outward temple they cleansed first the inward part of the house of the Lord, and so came along to the porch, until the temple was thoroughly cleansed. In the morning of our precious day of visitation, the axe was laid to the root of the corrupt tree, and the hammer to the hard rocky heart, and the spiritual fire kindled in the stubble. Now, dear Friends, in the word of Truth I say unto you, search with the holy light of Christ Jesus, how this work has prospered in your souls; see whether you that knew a right beginning first in the inward part, have come along faithfully in the work of sanctifying the heart and the temple, from the inward part to the outside; see whether the root has not escaped the axe, the rocky heart the hammer, and the chaff the fire; for if it has, the cause is not in the Lord, nor in his power, but in your disobedience and negligence, going from the axe, hammer and fire, and so sparing the best, as disobedient Saul and Israel did; so the root of bitterness springs up against the work of God and his heavenly wisdom. To the holy plain-speaking witness of God I appeal, earnestly entreating all to have a single regard to that which will duly apply these things; and let all see whether that nature be alive, against which the holy power of the Lord did work in the beginning; and if so, see the cause, which being seen, will deeply humble the spirits of all concerned. Oh! what a day have we had! how has the good Husbandman been at work in his vineyard! how did he plant in a fruitful hill, the choicest vine! he digged, pruned it and gathered

out the stones, and hedged and walled it about; and after all, he looked for good fruit; but where the unspeakable mercy and loving kindness of the Lord has not been answered, behold sour grapes and wild fruit were brought forth; and what was the consequence of it? Was it not the taking away of the hedge, so that it was eaten up; and breaking down the wall thereof, and it was trodden down? Read, feel and consider; and the Lord God Almighty visit you in your habitations and secret chambers, with his holy dread, with his searching life and piercing word of power, who in his infinite love and mercy, and long-suffering to his seed and offspring visited us, to give all the sense of their states, as they are in his sight; from whom nothing can be hid. The hindrance of the work of the Lord, in the souls of any, hath not been from any cause in God, or deficiency in his light, power and wisdom, but from the creature's going out of a capacity of receiving and enjoying the power of God, in which salvation is worked out, by all that wait for it, join with it, and do not forsake it. I have learned of the Lord, through many exercises, that after the visitation of the Almighty to any soul, the Lord requires an inward, worthy receiving of his love, and a spiritual watch to be kept in his holy light, in which all the workings and approaches of the destroying adversary are discerned, and the enlightened and obedient mind is preserved. And through the spiritual sense, given in a tender waiting on the Lord in the inward part; supplications arise to the God of love and compassion, who beholding the want of the soul, reaches forth his helping hand to the broken and contrite-hearted, and lifts up the bowed down spirit, so that the temptations and assaults of the enemy are overcome, and the power of God is felt in those that receive it in humility; to be working on the evil root as an axe, and on the rocky nature as a hammer, and on the chaffy as a fire. Now, Friends, when there is an abatement of the spiritual care, and a gradual lessening of the inward watchfulness, the mind becomes unworthy and incapable of the enjoyment of the power of the Lord, that begun and carrieth on his work. Then the enemy comes in unseen, the mind being out of the holy watch in the light, the nature that was wounded comes to be healed again, and ease given to that which should be destroyed; and perceiving where the weakness is, he endeavours by all subtilty to lead by degrees out of a watchful state, and according to every digression, he brings over the once enlightened mind a proportion of darkness and deceivableness of understanding, and insensibility of spirit to his subtilty, that with the declining there may be a pro-

portionate benumbing of the inward senses, of seeing, hearing and feeling. Then again he has mankind in a state fit to work upon, by drawing them out to act and bring forth that which he sees them most capable of, and which there is the greatest inclination in their natures to go into. Hence schisms arise in judgment, which the wrathful part in man getting into, he works by the way of a fierce management, with a sort of zeal, but not according to knowledge; in which the power of the enemy works up at last into a schism, and he is never wanting to present matters to the mind, as just, for the creature to be blown up with, which ends in dishonouring the Lord and his precious Truth, and harming others, until the enemy has worked his end by such instruments, bringing them into an alienation from the life of God, and into a worse state than the tender day of God's visitation found them in; and if they are not humbled under the mighty hand of God, and do not return, they are exposed to shame, and so die away under the wrath of God.

Now, dear Friends, the enemy of Sion's prosperity works variously, according as he sees where he may get an entrance, by accommodating his snares to the inclinations of every one, as before hinted. Where he sees an inclination in any to be taken with earthly things, he works subtilty to captivate the mind, and draw it out of the watchful, tender, spiritual state, into a false liberty, both to the affections, in the things acted and possessed, and in the conversation amongst men; others into superfluities in meat, drink and apparel, on themselves and houses; and the comforts of such stand most in outward things, and by degrees they are swallowed up of them, and the pleasures, lust and delights below, and so they die to an inward life of watchfulness and freshness, which is preserved in fear and dread, in keeping the holy watch, and in the spiritual cross, which crucifies to the world, and the world to it. Dear Friends, here is our spiritual encouragement, viz: The same that through death to sin made us alive to God, as we abide under the leadings and teachings of it, keeps us alive to him, in a growing, increasing, flourishing state; for as we delight in his eternal law of life, we grow as willows by the water-courses of immortal refreshings, and travel faithfully on in our spiritual journey, until we come to Sion, the city of God, and then are enjoyers of the end of all our trials and tribulations; having overcome, we see an entrance administered, and that abundantly, into the eternal rest and sabbath of our God.

The Lord Almighty give all to enjoy this blessed portion and goodly inheritance, and

let all see in this age, and the ages to come, that which lets and hinders them taken out of the way, that the God of all our mercies, in whom are all our fresh springs, may have his honour and glory; and his church and people through every age, the comfort and consolation. Amen, Amen.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*Concerning the precious unity of the Spirit in Christ Jesus.*

THE unity of the Spirit is so precious a virtue, and glorious a qualification, in all the churches of Christ Jesus, that whilst the people of the Lord abode therein, in every age, they were in a flourishing, sweet and glorious station; for as long as they truly held the head Christ Jesus, and kept in unity with him, unity and amity were preserved amongst them in their several stations and services, as members of one body.

Of which unity, David speaketh precious and comprehensively; saying, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment on the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his garment: As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Sion; for there [mark] the Lord commanded the blessing, even life everlasting." This was the state into which the holy power of the great God gathered a people: for, concerning them, it is left upon record, they continued daily in fellowship, and that with one accord.

Now, dear Friends, we clearly saw, felt and understood, in the morning of our visitation, that the same ancient power of the Lord, wrought first to disunite us from the nature which separated us from God, and then to bring us up into unity and fellowship with himself, in his dear love, and therein one with another.

For here ever was and is, the foundation of the true unity, even that of the Spirit; in which love, the body edifies itself, and is increasing and building up a holy habitation for God, through the Spirit. So then, all abiding and growing up in the love of God, and walking with him in the Divine nature, unity increaseth amongst all the members and branches taken out of the wild olive, and planted into, and abiding in the vine of life, Christ Jesus, our head and law-giver; and here the church of Christ grows up, into a state of being clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet: blessed, sweet and glorious station! But did it always thus continue in the apostles' days?

Ah! No: the old serpent, the enemy of man's welfare, wrought powerfully and cunningly, first to draw forth from the root of life, and out of the holy love and spiritual subjection to this glorious power, that had gathered them to a daily inward walking with God, and to draw out of a spiritual exercise from under the spiritual cross and holy watch, as before has been demonstrated. And then fruit from another root was brought forth, as the reader may note in several epistles; and in John's testimony to the seven churches of Asia. Then the power of the Lord that had gathered them, moved to exhort to put away bitterness, wrath, anger and clamour; evil speakings and malice. Ephes. 4.

And now, dear Friends, with your lamps trimmed and burning, look inward, searching every corner of your hearts, that every one of your states may appear clear unto your own understandings, as it is in the sight of the pure all-seeing God, that so all the enemy's darkenings and veilings, and turnings aside, by what way or means soever, may be clearly, with the light of the Lamb, seen and discovered.

And, tender Friends, those that have seen the sweet, lovely, precious state of unity and concord, that the excellent power of the Lord God Almighty gathered into, and was gathering into, in the morning of our day, and the spiritual advantages, comforts, joys and refreshments, that attended the church of Christ in this true spiritual unity with our Lord Jesus Christ, and one with another; and also the anxious exercising consequences of the enemy's prevailing to break the unity, and the lamentable effects thereof; they cannot but on the one hand admire and esteem the precious unity, and on the other, greatly dread the turning aside, and going out of it. For those who have kept their habitation, and lived to God, as they have tasted the sweetness, and beheld the amiableness of this unity and amity, so they have felt the sorrows and anguish of the effects of the contrary; which have caused them to go many days and months with mournful souls, crying to Almighty God night and day, under the inexpressible weight thereof. And the God of love bowed his ear to the cry of the poor, and to the sighing of the needy; and has arisen in the might of his power, and his glorious presence hath relieved, and his holy arm has been made bare, through which he hath redeemed his darling from the dog, and his dear ones from the devourer; and still continues working to bring into this precious unity, in the holy light of life, with God in Christ Jesus, and one with another. And now, dear Friends everywhere, unto you, and to the generation coming after, I have this

warning and tender advice to leave, in the name of my God, who hath been with me in my travels, in his power, work and labour of the Gospel of life and salvation. Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; and let none give way to a prejudicing spirit, which leads into secret whisperings, backbitings, and such like evil and pernicious fruits, the working of which spirit is like a moth in a garment, dividing, destroying, spoiling and eating up; for indeed, Sion is a city with itself, under the seamless garment of Christ Jesus, and there all are well and safe, growing, increasing and flourishing; so when the spirit abovesaid prevails, to draw out of Sion's gates, and from within her walls of salvation, Oh! what deplorable work and havoc will it make in its growth and progress; working, as I said before of the moth, gradually and secretly first; but as it prevaileth and increaseth in strength, it will appear as a roaring, devouring lion, seeking whom it may devour and swallow up.

Here comes in pride and haughtiness of spirit, puffed up with the abundance of enjoyment of outward things, emulations, heart-risings, evil jealousies, bitter speakings, detractings; and abundance of evil fruits arise from this root of bitterness, which root and fruit is to be brought under the judgment of the Lord. And therefore, Friends, I say unto you, in the name of the Lord God, let none give strength, or any encouragement or nourishment, in any way, to this spirit in any of its workings, in any heart, but let it be looked on as a vagabond and fugitive in the earth; and, as it is kept out of the camp of God, and from Israel's dwellings, by the living power of God, it will perish under Truth's judgment set up in every soul, and the nature thereof, as well as its evil rending and dividing fruits, will be worn out and destroyed. And all keeping in the first love and pure fear, fearing to offend our God and Father, persevering in keeping the holy watch, and abiding in subjection and obedience to the spiritual cross, in staidness of mind, soundness of judgment, and clearness in understanding, you will see and fathom all the enemy's devices, temptations and snares; and the Lord God beholding you steadfast in obedience and spiritual tenderness before him, his power will descend in an increasing manner, and his glory will shine, his river of life will flow; yea, the spring of the great deep will be broken up, and the windows of heaven will be opened, that you may be abundantly filled with joy and thanksgivings, and songs of deliverance, and with spiritual high praises ascending to his throne, which will be as sweet incense, and a sacrifice acceptable to our God. And here you shall

spend the residue of your days in dominion over the snares of the enemy, attending prosperity and liberty, as well as adversity and persecution; seeing over all things that have their rise in mortality and time; feeling mortality swallowed up of life immortal, and so gathered to the general assembly, to the church of the first born, to the spirits of just men made perfect; yea, to the first and last, God the Judge of all, to whom be immortal high praises and holy renown, for ever and for ever more. If the wonderful blessings, tender mercies, and loving kindnesses that the Lord extends unto us in this age, be not duly, reverently and obediently taken notice of; but instead thereof, any shall forsake and be unmindful of the Lord's tender mercies, and embrace lying vanities, going into idleness, through which a spiritual slumber overtakes, and the lamp thereby be neglected, the spiritual watch and cross slighted, or not duly regarded, but the earth and earthly things take up the exercise of the mind and affections; then, instead of enjoying what is above expressed, tribulation and anguish will seize upon all such, and the dreadful judgment of God who lives for ever and ever, will overtake all such unfaithfulness. A dreadful cup ye shall drink of, from the hand of God, and the rebukes of the Lord shall distress you; and you shall be numbered amongst the people of his indignation, in his approaching day of signal pleadings with all flesh that have corrupted its way before him. Therefore hear, fear, and dread the holy name of the Lord; and whilst it is called to-day, bow before him, and speedily return unto him, lest your day pass over, and ye sleep the sleep of death, and be separated for ever from his refreshing presence, in which is life, and from the glory of his Divine power.

Dear Friends everywhere, retire inward, feel and understand the counsel of the Lord which-springs unto you; all retire in great humility before the Lord, that you may feel the blessed work of God begun, perfecting your inward man, growing in the root of life; and as you have professed the knowledge of a spiritual oracle before the nations, you may approve yourselves in the sight of God, following its instructions in all things, and go not without it. Lean upon the Lord, and cry to him to guide you with his eye, and lead you by his arm, in the way everlasting; and whilst you keep with him, he will be with you, never leaving nor forsaking you, if you do not leave and forsake him; his presence and glorious arm of salvation shall surround you, to the renown of his name, and consolation of his people. Amen, Amen.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*An Epistle to the flock of Christ Jesus.*

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,

WHEN we sat in darkness, and in the region of the shadow of death, when darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people, as well in this professing nation, as in others, in this long and tedious night of apostacy, wherein all flesh had corrupted its way, we were seeking the living among the dead, and our bread in desolate places, wounded by sin and iniquity, and greatly distressed for want of the knowledge of Sion's way to be cast up in our day; even then in the dispensation of love, did the God of heaven and earth visit us, with his day spring from on high. This was a day of love beyond all expression, which I am moved of the Lord to call into remembrance in the ears of his people; it is a day never to be forgotten: for if the day of outward Israel's visitation in Egypt, was to be kept in continual remembrance, how much more ought the day of our visitation in spiritual Egypt, in thralldom, under the spiritual task-masters.

You know what manner of entrance Truth made in its first appearance, in the day of our visitation; how it regarded not the empty profession of any, but broke in upon us, pricking us to the heart, bringing us to a true sense of our states and conditions before the Lord; where, notwithstanding all the fair shows of profession, we saw our souls in death, buried in the grave of sin, and the transgressing nature exalted above all that was called God in us. We had not only a sight of our deplorable state, but also of him whom we had pierced, whose countenance we saw marred more than any man's, and his visage more than the sons of men. Here many knew a day of mourning, tears, and drinking a cup of trembling from the hand of the Lord; for our awakened souls cried unto the Lord, to be eased from the load of iniquity; and the Lord bowed down his ear to the cry of these, and manifested his outstretched arm, which wrought in us mightily, killing and making alive, casting down and raising up. And because of the working of this glorious power, our bodies trembled, so that we became as signs and wonders to people; yea, to our acquaintance and relations; for we were as a people separated from all comforts and delights. And, although it was thus with many, yet it was a good day; for the judgments of the Lord being in the earth, many learned righteousness. And as this power was bowed unto and lived in, it brought forth the soul out of the horrible pit, which was an answer to the cries of the panting distressed heart.

As the Lord God began an effectual work

by his glorious power, he hath by the same been carrying it on these many years amongst us, notwithstanding the great opposition it hath met with by the power of darkness, in them that went from us, and from men without.

Ah! how hath Leviathan, that crooked serpent, wrought? Under how many disguises hath he appeared, to rend and devour? How many false spirits hath he appeared in? And what endeavour hath the old serpent made to bring the heritage of God into suffering? But blessed for ever be the name of the mighty God, who is laying waste that serpentine spirit's working, and will lay it waste, and tread it down for ever under the feet of his anointed; and will make all their skirts bare, who have called themselves Jews, and are not, but are of the synagogue of satan, who would have perverted the right way of the Lord, and would have risen up in the enmity of the old serpent against the servants and messengers of the everlasting God, whom they have caused to go with bowed souls before the Lord. Friends, against that spirit, in its root and branches, I have a certain testimony from God to bear, and woe to the vessels that are still polluted with that spirit.

And, not only have we received this mercy from the hand of the Lord, to wit, the treading down of the serpentine spirit, which is not one of the least of the kindnesses of our God; but as the Lord hath appeared wonderful in power for our inward deliverance, so hath he appeared wonderfully for our outward deliverance and preservation, from time to time, who hath bound the sea with swadling-bands, and hath said to the proud waves, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther:" magnified be the name of the Lord God for ever.

On every hand we are an engaged people unto the Lord, who hath been digging, dressing, pruning and watering us his vineyard, from day to day, from week to week, from assembly to assembly; and his power that began this good work amongst us, in the day of our first visitation, hath been carrying the same on to this day.

And now, dear Friends in every place, this to you is the message of the Lord, that I have received and am necessitated, both by word and writing, to sound in the ears of the people in this nation, which was the first that was visited in this his glorious day, that the Lord our righteousness doth require his people in every place, to keep stayed in that immortal light of life, unto which they were directed in the day of their visitation; in that to feel the virtue and power of Truth, to gird up the loins of every one's mind in the light of righteousness, daily to wait there to feel the manifestation and effectual working of the Lord's power;



that so thereby that good and holy work, which the Lord began in us, and hath been carrying on to this day, may be perfected; and the residue of that nature, against which his sword hath been furbished, might be utterly destroyed.

This is the work of this day, amongst the people of the Lord, and for this end doth the Lord spare many, and lengthens out the day of the tranquillity of this nation, with which he has a sore controversy, and which he will assuredly visit for its iniquities. Therefore Friends, let all prize their time, and the loving-kindness of the Lord that is now extended to his people, wherein he is laying his hand of love upon them, to pull them out of spiritual Sodom fully. And this is the voice to the unfaithful and disobedient amongst us, as it was of old, "Come out of Babylon, my people;" come out of all Babylon's abominations, touch no unclean thing; and be not partakers with her in her sin, that none may partake of her plagues. Nothing will now please the Lord, but a thorough work and real cleansing, sanctification throughout, in soul, body and spirit, being really translated out of the kingdom of satan, into the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

This perfect salvation is not attained, but as there is an abiding in the way of it, closing with and being comprehended into that light of righteousness, given to us to profit withal. In this, power is received, and the virtue of life known, which no mind is capable of, but that which sits at Jesus' feet, and stoops to the lowest appearance of Christ Jesus, where the mind is made low and little. Here is the entrance to the power of life that gives dominion; which many miss who come not down, so as to be nothing in the love of this world, nor in any created object; to be nothing in thoughts or imaginations that are evil, to have no beloved lust to be as the right hand, or as the right eye. Where the mind is in these things, it finds not the way of life perfectly, nor ability to stand over every defilement and temptation, of what nature soever; for the door of hope is found in the valley where man comes to be as nothing in his own eyes, before the Lord; there the spirit of life hath its free and perfect operation, to work the work of God effectually, until man throughout be leavened into the lump of life, and brought into the image of God. Every one must come to be as a child, yea, as a weaned child; and here the work of the Lord in the heart goes forward daily; for the Lord is weary of the outside professions, and they are before him as the fig-tree that was covered with leaves, but had no fruit, concerning which Christ Jesus said, "Never man gather fruit of thee,"

and it withered; so will it be with the false and hypocritical professors; for none shall be able to stand in the day of the Lord, that hastens, but such as come to stand in the possession of life itself.

So, dear Friends, may every one know the blood of sprinkling, that sprinkles the conscience from dead works to serve the living God in newness of life; for where the blood of Jesus is despised and trodden under foot, there will the destroying angel enter, in the day of his passing through; for the whirlwind of his wrath will be revealed, to sweep away the wicked, and the sword of the Lord is bathed in heaven against the ungodly. Therefore prize your time, waiting daily on the Lord, that the nature of transgression may be wholly taken away in us, for which the mighty God hath a controversy with the nations; there will be no hiding-place for any, but the clean in heart, in the day of the dreadful pleadings and rebukes of the Lord God of heaven and earth.

It is upon me to leave this, as the counsel of the Lord, to all the families of the Lord's people through this nation, as may be concerned, that all heads of families, or any that have the tuition of youth, always in their families wait to feel the daily arising of God's immortal power, in that to labour, according to their power, to keep down all sin and iniquity in their families, and in that to feel ability to reach the witness of God in their children and servants; that so no sin may be in the families of the Lord's people, but that all be kept pure and savoury before the Lord, in his fear and awe, out of all needless discourses, vain words and foolish jestings. Let your words be few, ministering grace to the hearers; that so when the people of the world come to your houses, to have converse or commerce with you, all being in the fear of the Lord, in the sweet, savoury, chaste life, the witness of God will arise, and make them acknowledge, you are the people of the Lord, and that he is with you. Here every one in their respective places will be preachers of righteousness, and in this pure harmless life we must overcome; and this doth the Lord God, in whose hand is the breath of all living, require of all the families of his people. And where any walk in a contrary life, he will visit with the rod of affliction.

It is likewise upon me to warn all, to be careful that neither you nor your families run into superfluities in meats, or in drinks, or in apparel; or into the proud offensive garbs of the world, but in all these things let us all keep in our first fear, that no provision may be made for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

And all beware of trusting to, or having a life



in, uncertain riches, or in any external thing; and keep out of many and needless words, in dealing, and in all your converse and commerce with the world. For there is a great hurt sustained in a multitude of words; the mind is drawn forth, and the spirit of the world let in, through which the continued sense of the presence of the Lord is lost, and our testimony weakened against the world; and also the opportunity is lost of reaching the witness of God in their hearts.

And I beseech all in the love of God, that in your dealings you be equal, just and upright; and do not be drawn forth in many words, in answering that mind that is out of the fear of the Lord; but after you have put a price on your commodities, which is equal, and as you can sell them, then if the persons you are dealing with, multiply words, stand you silent in the fear of God, and this will answer the witness of God in them you are dealing with. If this should not please people at first, yet you will see it will overcome; so in your dealings keep out of the spirit of the world, out of all covetousness, overreaching and craftiness, in the harmless life, seeking the kingdom daily, and let other things come as additions. So all being diligent in the pure fear of the Lord, abiding in the love of God, and seeking the kingdom that is not of this world, you will see great opportunity in your dealings of reaching unto people, who thereby may be convinced and brought to the Truth.

And, all Friends, be watchful over your own hearts, in the fear of the Lord, in the first moving cause of marriage, and if by bringing it to the light, it be found not wrought in God, but in the spirit of this world, it is easily broken; but if it still continue, and way is given to it, then the mind is so far drawn out into the affectionate part, that it becomes darkened, and the thing seems right in the consideration, although it be the working of the enemy. And here stands the ground of the running out of the affections of such as profess the Truth, to marry men and women of the world; who, for want of keeping the first motion out, lose the sense of the Truth, and so persevere therein, to the ruining their condition in the Truth, displeasing the Lord and gratifying the world; of which practice I warn all in the fear of the Lord God, to beware; and all such things will be avoided, as heed is taken to the first thought of any such thing.

If any see that a single condition is not best for them, let them wait to be guided in the Truth, in changing their conditions, and not run as the world's people do many times, from place to place, and from person to per-

son, having their affections one while on one object, and another time on another, and it may be on many; which is a wrong thing; but proceed in the pure fear of the Lord, that keepeth the heart clean, seeing their way clear and plain in the sense of Truth, out of all the world's bargainings and folly, that attend the management of such things.

And masters and mistresses, and heads of families, are to stand in their places, in the exercise of a pure, meek spirit, to their servants and children; not in the merciless spirit of the world, which would require of their servants more than they have ability to perform comfortably; but let all keep out of that in the love of God, waiting on him for wisdom, that every one may know their places.

And all servants are to stand in the subject diligent state, in meekness; and I warn all servants professing Truth, to keep low in the fear of the Lord, out of high-mindedness and pride, and out of all eye-service, waiting on the Lord to know your places in all things; and herein you will adorn the profession of Truth.

And also it is upon me, in the fear and counsel of the Lord, to warn all of that thing against which Joseph warned his brethren, viz. Of falling out by the way; that there be no way given to the least appearance of that which would make a rent, schism or division; for every person that shall set up that spirit that thirsteth to envy, that spirit which hurries into passions, that will backbite and whisper in secret, through which breaches come; the hand of God Almighty is against every such instrument. The dread of the Lord of hosts, as a consuming fire, will break out against all that continue in any such spirit; for the Spirit of Truth brings forth the very contrary fruits where it lives and reigns, and rules. Their life is peace, and they are peace-makers; such cannot rest or be contented while any thing stands between them and a brother or sister, if they be concerned therein. Such a one, seeing any iniquity in his brother or sister, will in tender love, go to his brother or his sister, and say, my brother, or my sister, do not offend or grieve our tender Father, who hath dealt so tenderly with us; and so in the heart-breaking love he will labour with his brother, or with his sister; and if not received, will let no prejudice nor anger arise, nor shut out his brother; but if there be no reception, there will be a single standing in the love and simplicity of Truth; and he or she, that shall not so receive, shuts him or herself out.

If there be a controversy between any, where the life of Truth is known, if there be but the least sliding, yet the most innocent will be ready to acknowledge first, that with

the love of God he may break down and overcome the mountain in his brother; and this spirit ruling, which is the spirit of the Saviour of the world, no rent, schism or division can live, or have an existence among the people of the Lord. Against this spirit, that causes division, the hand of the Lord is; and woe from God to all whose hearts do not subject to that which speaks peace, and delights in no other thing; the living God requires this of all his people; and if there be the least of the contrary in any heart, I beseech all such in love, that they would presently put it away, and flee from it, as from the devourer of God's heritage, lest that day overtake, wherein they would be glad of an opportunity so to do. So that, dear Friends, all may dwell together in the unity of the one eternal spirit of life and peace, in which to feel your hearts united; for he or she that loveth not their brother, how dwelleth the love of God in them? And so, as the apostle well said, "Mark them that cause division;" and keep out of their divisions.

And, dear Friends, wherever any thing of division or distance remains in any heart, I earnestly beseech you seek speedily to put an end to it; for God's controversy is against all things of this nature, and the wrath of the Lord is and will be revealed against all such things. Therefore, O Israel! put away this accursed thing where it is found, and let every soul desire and press into the lively state of brethren, dwelling together in unity; and here the blessing of the life and virtue of the endless fountain of goodness will flow over all, and all will be knit together as by joints and bands, holding the head, and knowing their places in the body. One member will not say to another, I have no need of thee; but all will see need one of another; here no stop will be put to the current of life, but through all it will run, even from vessel to vessel; in which state God Almighty preserve us all for ever and ever.

And, all Friends everywhere, quench not the Spirit of the Lord in yourselves, nor in one another; nor let any resist or judge the power of the Lord God, although in a tender babe, that cannot yet speak plain; for where any do thus hurt the lambs of Christ's fold, and stop the bubblings up of life, it brings a barrenness over their own souls, and over the assemblies they belong to.

And, dear Friends, as there may be, and hath been, a false forward birth, that hath, or may run before, to the burthening and grieving God's heritage, which birth the Lord will destroy, so there hath been a stopping and quenching, and resisting the requirings of the power, to the hurt of many, and to the hin-

dering of the growth of many, and the prosperity of Truth in the general. For some in the sight, and under the grief of the false untimely birth in others, have resisted the motion of God's Holy Spirit in themselves, whereby two evils have proceeded at once, viz: The exaltation of the false, and the suppressing of the true birth; so that my eye seeth some men to whom God hath given gifts, and upon whose spirit the requirings of God have been felt; and through their reasonings and looking out, have hurt the birth of God's begetting, bringing darkness and heaviness over themselves, and hindering their growth. Therefore, as on the one hand the false forward birth is to be kept down, whose end is always either to be great, or looked at, or to have ease or prosperity in the flesh, and also, that it may have its way in the lusts thereof; for all such births centre in those things, notwithstanding all fair and fine appearances at times, so on the other hand, the true birth is to come up. And therefore, in the name, strength and power of God arise, thou child of the covenant, come forth and show thyself, and work in thy Father's vineyard; break through, thou breathing panting birth, and in thy Father's strength break every bond and chain, that hath held thee under: arise and shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is arisen upon thee.

Arise Sion, and thresh the mountains, and beat the lofty hills to dust; for into thy hand hath, and will the mighty God, the great Jehovah, put a sharp threshing instrument. And so, in this thing let every one be careful, to walk in the even path of life eternal; in which path every eye will be single, and the whole body will be full of light. Here every one will see and know the time when to speak, and when to be silent; for the true birth's life is in the will and power of the Lord, and at his time and requiring brings forth such sacrifice, not to their own nets, nor will they seek an interest of their own amongst any, but honour God alone, and be as worms before the Lord. But it is not so with the false birth, its life is not in meekness, but it is in the contrary; so here all may know the motions of the one from the other. Where the true motion of life is, there it lives; the more the mind is brought into stillness to wait on the Lord, and there the will of God comes to be sealed to the understanding.

And, all Friends everywhere, keep diligently your meetings; for our meetings were set up by the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in his counsel they now stand; and and the Lord requires his people now to meet as boldly, as constantly, as diligently as ever, without any regard to what man can do unto

you, because we know we meet not in refractoriness to any man, but purely in obedience to the living God, who doth require it of his people; and whatever draws from meetings, in part, or wholly, draws from God, and is an antichristian spirit, let it appear when and where, and in what vessel soever; and God's power will tread that spirit down for ever. Therefore, dear Friends, let none forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some was in the apostles' days, and also in our days; and if any do thus for fear, or for saving their estates or worldly goods, and so fear to come forth to confess the name of the Lord before men, that will prove an evil snare to as many as go into it; for this is a way to bring a curse upon themselves, and all they have. Where any depart from meetings to save an outward estate, and do not give up to the power of God, to divide them from that spirit, the outward, for which they have left the Lord, may be rent from them, or they from it; and then, when such a one shall lose that, and his peace with God also, what a miserable state will that be; which will be the state of all them that sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. And Friends, this I know, and therefore in the name of the Lord declare it, God doth and will appear mightily in the assemblies of his people, and arise in them in his eternal power, to the astonishment of the heathen that know not God, and to the gathering many lost sheep.

And these are the ends of our meetings, to wit, our daily edification, through the manifestation and working of his power in our hearts, in our assemblies, and therein we give a testimony for God against all the false professions and false worships in the whole world; and stand as a city set upon a hill, to gather to the Lord the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Jacob. And at the report of the Holy Ghost descending in our assemblies, as in ages past, shall many gather to them, and be pricked to the heart, and be turned from the evil of their ways, and be brought to the mountain of God's holiness, now to be exalted in and over the tops of all mountains.

And Friends, where any have been visited with God's everlasting day-spring from on high, and have made open profession and confession of his Truth, and have erred from the holy commandment, through which they have made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and thereby have gone into the evil spirit, or into any iniquity in their dealings and commerce, or into any evil whatsoever, and have cast a stumbling-block in the way of the weak, or caused the dear and honourable name of the Lord to be blasphemed,

or his Truth and people to be reflected upon; to all such I say in the name of the Lord, return to the holy light of righteousness, from which you have erred, and wait for the arising of the power of God to heal your backslidings, that ye may know the free love of God to come over all again, and feel a testimony arise in you against any thing you have committed, that hath caused his dear name to be blasphemed, and his Truth and people to be reproached, and the hearts of any to be hardened; which testimony you are to bear as publicly as the transgression has been. According to the nature of the offence, so must the testimony go against it in the fear of the Lord, and in brokenness of spirit before him. Where the backslider doth not thus return, the day hastens wherein the hand of the Lord will find such out, and they shall be made an astonishment to themselves and to others; for God hath determined to clear the innocency of his Truth and people. And where such do not return to a sense of their backsliding, and do not declare against themselves, to the clearing of Truth, then it is the duty of the people of the Lord, who keep their garments unspotted, after they have dealt with such tenderly, according to the order of the Gospel of peace, to give a testimony against them and their practices; which is to go forth according to the nature of the offence, that the house may be cleansed, and kept pure and sweet, and all may be clear of the iniquity, and of the blood of all men. And in the light of righteousness let us all keep our habitations in a continual watchful state, in which we shall grow as the willows by the water-courses, and be preserved out of all the snares and wiles of the enemy, in the light of righteousness; in which the arm of the Lord preserve us all to the end of our days, that every day we may perfect holiness in his fear, which will be to the glory of the Most High, and comfort of every faithful follower of the Lord.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*Another Epistle to the flock of Christ Jesus.*

ALL tender Friends, whose faces are turned from the world Sionward, love the dawning of the day of light in your souls, and take heed to the sure word; let it be as a lamp to your feet, then will it guide you, and translate you out of the nature of sin and darkness, into the Divine nature, which is light, so to dwell in it, as to go no more forth, but to be as pillars in the house of the Lord for ever. This work is carried on and accomplished in no other way, but through a daily persevering in obeying the light in all its leadings, which

expels the darkness, and leads the soul up to be comprehended into itself.

And you that are not only turned Sionwards, but are travellers in the way, who have ardent desires to dwell in the house of the Lord, that ye might see his glory, who hath immortality, and dwells in the light, I have this message of glad tidings to sound in your ears; the Lord God hath heard your cries, and your breathings and pantings are come up before him: give up self, deny your wills, take up the daily precious cross of Christ Jesus, come out of your own thoughts, willings and running, and close in with the light of the Lamb. Give ye that nature that hath slain the Lamb, to be slain by the Lamb; so shall your salvation be wrought by him, and you for ever united to him, bearing his image, who is the express image of his Father's substance. Here all souls can again, without rebuke, approach to the Father by him, who is the Fountain of light; and all profession of the Father and the Son, of light and Truth, and the kingdom of it, without the knowledge of this work, begun and carried on by the Alpha and Omega, will wither and be blasted; and God Almighty accounts it as stubble for his fire of vengeance. Under the conduct of this light and spirit, you will bring forth the fruits of it in all your conversation; and it brings a care one over another, and a universal care in all your assemblies, that all may be kept sweet, and that nothing may be wanting, but all may be as one family. This universal light of Christ in its increasing manifestation, hath drawn many in this nation and others, to meet together for that end, to serve the Lord and one another, to counsel and strengthen each other, to relieve the poor, impotent and needy, to see that all things which we act as a people, may be as becomes the Gospel.

To all those who discourage this work, and lift up the heel against it, I have this to say in the counsel of the Lord, The Lord will debase them, and pour contempt upon them, and confound their tower and rend their double wall, and the righteous generation shall see it, and shall see the more cause to dread the Almighty, because of his signal judgments, and shall fear to rebel against him, and rise against his peace and the work of it. The Judas in spirit is discovered, and will be more and more, that doth betray with a kiss; and under the profession of the light, draws from it; and under the profession of the Truth, endeavours to destroy the work of it, which the inward tender waiter in the light shall see, beholding and feeling the wolf under the sheep's clothing, and be preserved.

And now, all you that call on the name of the Lord, and profess the light of Israel, that

shall be as a flame amongst the stubble, love, esteem, and in fear and dread give up to the saving arm of the mighty God, that you may be gathered by it, who are not yet gathered into the universal Divine light. And this is the counsel of the Lord, let it be your habitation and dwelling-place. This is his requiring, that as you profess the light before the nations, you may all dwell and walk in it, and therein shall you know his being with you, making his abode with you, who hath immortality, and dwells in the light. And to you that dwell in this habitation, will the Lord God gather the nations, and sweetly assemble the people, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, amongst whom the name of the Lord shall become great.

But woe unto all that have long made a profession of the holy light of the Lamb of God, whilst you are in darkness; the dreadful day of God Almighty's pleading with all such, hastens. Therefore you that hold the Truth in unrighteousness, be ye warned in the name and authority of the God of the whole earth, that none offend nor displease the Lord any longer in this thing, namely, of professing his pure light, and walking in darkness, lest his anger break forth like devouring fire, and he consume you thereby, and appoint your portion amongst the hypocrites, who are gone into everlasting burning, under the vengeance of eternal fire.

Let a search pass through all, and where any have continued unto this day, displeasing the Lord and working the destruction of their own souls, I say unto all such, haste, haste out of the darkness; give ear, the trumpet of the Lord giveth a certain sound; therefore obey from the heart, that before your day go over, you may be translated out of the kingdom of satan, which is darkness, into the kingdom of light and of the dear Son of God, Christ Jesus, the Lord.

And all Friends everywhere, that have the sealing of God's Spirit, that have obeyed from the heart, and are come to this habitation of light, in the sense of the unutterable loving kindness of the Lord, and the work of his gathering arm, continue and keep your habitations, for the angels that kept not their habitations, are reserved under chains of darkness, to the judgment of the great day.

And Friends, in all the hurryings of men and nations, look ye not out, but dwell in this habitation; and in times of distress and amazement, in the fulfilling of the word of the Lord, this is a word of counsel to you all, be still, and know that I am God, saith the Lord; stir not out of my counsel in any thing, nor take counsel of your own heart; keep the eye of your minds to the heavenly spiritual oracle of

wisdom, and you shall have counsel from the Lord to your satisfaction; but if ye look out, ye will be darkened, and may fall with them that fall.

And all assemblies and families of the Lord's people everywhere, watch unto prayer, that ye may feel the spirit of prayer and supplication poured forth upon you; and as drawn thereto, sit before the Lord in a deep sense of the great work of the destroyer, who is stirring up the nations to destroy and devour one another; and is seeking an entrance, as a roaring lion, to destroy some of the Lord's people, who were called in the morning of the day of his love. Oh! cry mightily unto the Lord for yourselves, your friends and your enemies, and for the land of our nativity, which is heavily laden with the iniquities of the inhabitants, over whom the piercing eye of the Almighty looks in great displeasure; and let your supplications be, that the Lord would arise in his great strength, and so judge amongst the nations, that their swords may be beaten into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, that they may learn war no more; and that this expedient for universal peace may be to set him up in the hearts of princes and people; that all might leave

off warring with and destroying one another, and come into the spiritual warfare in their own hearts, with spiritual weapons, against the common enemy of mankind, the devil, that all might experience the end of Christ Jesus' coming; namely, to destroy in every man, the works of the great destroyer—and that the living God would be pleased to hasten his great work, of putting an end to the sin and iniquity of this generation, and bring in everlasting righteousness, to flow as a mighty river, that this poor land, with others, might enjoy its sabbaths; that he who is King of Salem, Prince of peace, may rule in the hearts of princes and people; so that God may have his honour and all people their comfort, in the sweet enjoyment of his presence, and the blessing of sitting under their own vine and fig-tree. So shall all fear be removed but the fear of the Lord God Almighty, which would make rulers and people happy, both in this world and that which is to come. Amen, Amen, Amen, saith the tribulated travelling soul of your friend and brother,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

Titherton, the 13th of the  
Twelfth month, 1678.

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THE

## WAY OF LIFE REVEALED,

AND THE

## WAY OF DEATH DISCOVERED:

WHEREIN IS DECLARED, MAN'S HAPPY ESTATE BEFORE THE FALL, HIS MISERABLE ESTATE IN THE FALL, AND THE WAY OF RESTORATION OUT OF THE FALL, INTO THE IMAGE OF GOD AGAIN, IN WHICH MAN WAS BEFORE THE FALL.

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TO THE READER.

BE serious when thou takest in hand to read this treatise, and have a single regard to the state of thy immortal soul; and let thy spirit bow down to the measure of the Spirit of God given thee to profit withal, that by it the eye of thy understanding may be opened, so will thou see the things herein contained, which

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concern thy own eternal welfare. And let not thy own thoughts and imaginations, in the wisdom from below, which is sensual and earthly, be judge therein; but stand still, out of thy own comprehendings; and let a true and diligent regard be had to the word in thy heart and mouth, placed there that thou mayest obey it and do it; so will thy heart be truly opened to read with delight the things opened

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by the Spirit of Truth, which searches all things, yea, the deep things of God, and the travail in spirit, which is for opening the eyes of the blind, and unstopping the ears of the deaf, will be answered, and the Lord God Almighty will have his honour from his own workmanship, and thou the benefit; which is the desire and breathings of him, who is a labourer for Sion's perfect deliverance.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

Bristol, the 2nd of the Seventh month,  
in the year 1673.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; and after he had made all things on the earth, he made man in his own image, formed him of the dust of the ground, and breathed into him the breath of life, and man became a living soul. And the Lord planted a garden in Eden, and there he placed the man whom he had formed; and out of the ground the Lord God made every tree pleasant to the sight, and good for food, to grow; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And he that made man in this estate, gave him a law to preserve him therein, as the Scripture of Truth witnesseth, saying, "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou mayest not eat; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." Now God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good; the tree of knowledge of good and evil was good, but not for food: and man was endued with that Divine wisdom, that when the Lord God brought every beast of the field and fowl of the air, to Adam, he gave names unto them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. Man's station was in the image of God, a living soul, a noble plant, wholly a right seed, filled with Divine wisdom and virtue, clothed with innocence and glory, adorned with celestial beauty, in the continual enjoyment of the love and favour of God, having his daily conversation with him that made him; no death, no darkness, no sorrow, no occasion of tears, no transgression, no knowledge of evil, dwelling in the innocent life itself, placed in the garden, into which came the river out of Eden that watered it. Oh blessed state! Oh happy condition! Oh inexpressible enjoyment, beauty and glory! It is beyond the tongue of man to declare fully that blessed, happy estate of joy, peace, holiness, righteousness and fruition of life, which man was in before he transgressed the royal law of God.

*Man's miserable estate in the fall.*

BUT now he, who kept not his first habitation, neither abode in the Truth, envied man's happiness in the Truth, and therefore, as a serpent, more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God hath made, came to the woman and said, "Yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? The woman said, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." And the serpent said to the woman, "Ye shall not surely die; for God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil:" and here the serpent got an entrance. When the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit, and did eat, and gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat, and the eyes of them both were opened. Here the God of the world prevailed, so as to open an eye that saw evil pleasant, and to blind the eye in these children of disobedience, that they should no longer behold the glory of God. And here they lost the robe of righteousness and garment of innocence; and they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the cool of the day, and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God. And the Lord God called unto Adam, saying, "Where art thou?" And the man said, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself." And the Lord God said, "Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?" He began to excuse himself, saying, "The woman thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." And the Lord God said to the woman, "What is this that thou hast done?" And the woman said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." And the Lord God said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; on thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." So the Lord sent man forth from the garden to till the ground, and placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubims and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life.

Oh deplorable change! Oh lamentable, un-

done condition, and inexpressible fall! He that was in the image of the incorruptible Being, a living soul, inhabiting the garden of the Lord, where the tree of life was, and the glory of the Divine Being was known and enjoyed, driven from all into the earth, and not only so but the cherubims and flaming sword, that turneth every way, placed to keep the way of the tree of life! Be astonished oh heavens at this, and be horribly afraid oh earth! The Lord God brought up children, and they rebelled against him.

Now, what was the cause and ground of this change, that brought man into this deplorable state and condition? Was it not disobedience to the righteous law of God? Did not sin enter into the world through disobedience, and death by sin? And is not sin continued in the world through disobedience? Is there any other way by which sin enters now, than it did then, and death by sin, which has reigned, and reigns over all who are in the fallen estate from God, even over them that have not sinned according to the similitude of Adam's transgression? For all have not sinned according to his similitude, who was deceived with an expectation of an higher estate than that in which the Lord God had placed him. But all iniquity, of what kind soever, is one in the ground, and separates man from his God. So the ground of all iniquity and transgression, is man's disobeying the righteous law of God, disobedience whereunto bringeth death.

But what was that which in Adam died? and what was the death; seeing that the Lord said, "In the day thou eatest of the tree, thou shalt surely die;" and yet, though he did eat thereof, he lived outwardly, and had children?

It was the inward man that died, which was so made by the living breath of the Almighty. For man going out of the counsel of the Lord, by his disobedience came to be alienated from the life of God, and so became insensible of that life in which he was wholly a right seed, and a noble plant. In his degeneration he became inwardly dead; the inward senses of the inward man were lost; the inward ear was stopped; the inward eye was blinded; the inward sense of tasting how good the Lord is; the inward feeling after his Divine virtue, who is all power, life, love and joy, the inward sense of smelling, were all lost; and instead thereof, an ear opened, that bearkened to the voice of the stranger; and an eye opened, that saw the forbidden fruit pleasant and desirable; the heavenly clothing of innocency, meekness and resignation was lost; and thus he came to be without God in the world. In this state man was altogether out of a capacity of abiding in the garden, or partaking of the heavenly tree of life, that was in the midst

thereof; and in this state are all the unconverted sons and daughters of men, notwithstanding all fig-leaf coverings of professions.

But as the law of the spirit of life breaketh forth in its manifestation, and the sons and daughters of men come with it to be awakened, they will have the sight and true sense of their inward state and condition, which will indeed cause a cry to arise in the soul, Oh wretched state! Oh miserable condition! Here the entrance of sin comes to be seen, which hath brought death; for the wages of sin is death, which was the death that came over Adam, and over all since that have disobeyed the righteous spiritual law of God, which is just, holy and good, and was before transgression, which law bringeth to Christ, the promised Seed, the gift of God, which is eternal life.

Man being thus departed out of that nature, image and seed in which he had his being before transgression, is become the degenerate plant of a strange vine before the Lord God. And from the sons and daughters of men, as they stand joined to this nature and seed of the serpent, which hath defiled man in soul, body and spirit, proceed the branches and fruits of iniquity.

Man having fallen into this miserable deplorable state, God in his boundless loving-kindness, hath opened a way by which he might be restored up to himself again; which way is the promised Seed, concerning whom he said to the serpent, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Herein was the tender mercy of God extended unto mankind, in giving the Seed, to wit, Christ Jesus; else all would have been as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah, which God destroyed with fire in his wrath. This is that one Seed, on whom he hath laid help, who is mighty to save, who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, in which image man was before the transgression, who was glorified with the Father before the world began. This is he of whom I give testimony, that he is the way of life and salvation; and that there is no other name by which any man can be saved, than by him who was, and is, and is to come; who was from everlasting to everlasting, the Rock of ages, which followed Israel, and was in the church in the wilderness, as Stephen testified before he was stoned to death. This is he, who is without beginning of days, or end of life; who in the fulness of time was manifest, taking on him not the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, for whom there was a body prepared to do the will of his Father; who, after he had accomplished it, ascended where he was



before, far above all heavens, that he might fill all. This is the Emmanuel, God with us; Jesus, the Saviour; Christ, the Anointed; who hath been called by several names, and spoken of under several appellations, through the mouths of his servants the prophets and apostles in ages and generations past: this is the only beloved of the ransomed, and this is our friend.

And now he is arisen and arising, who is the Ancient of days, in the might of his power, and is revealing the good old way and path of life, whose out-goings have been from everlasting; in which way Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the servants, prophets, apostles and saints of the Most High God walked, through all ages and generations. This way was before all the invented ways and worships, which have been set up in the will and time of man; for all the holy men of God, and saints of the Most High, worshipped God in the spirit of holiness, in which they were accepted of him, who is the God of the spirits of all flesh; and no outward performance was any farther acceptable unto the Lord, but as performed in this spirit.

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*The way of restoration out of the fall, into the image of God, in which man was before the fall.*

BUT how salvation comes to be wrought by him, and how mankind may be brought again into him, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and brought from under the power and dominion of the seed of the serpent, in which by nature all have been the children of wrath, is indeed the thing that lieth on my spirit weightily to demonstrate, having obtained mercy to see this way of life and salvation revealed and opened; and not only so, but a necessity is upon me to preach the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and declare the way of life and salvation to my countrymen, through this island of England; and now a necessity is also upon my spirit, to leave a testimony of the same on record.

This is generally confessed, that in the first Adam all died, and in the second Adam, Christ the Lord, all come to be made alive again. But how mankind come out of this state of death, in the first Adam, into this state of life in the second Adam, is that which the wisdom of this world never knew nor comprehended rightly. Man by that wisdom hath only imagined and conceived something in the carnal mind concerning this great mystery, and therein hath set up many inventions of the way of life and salvation. And into these many ways of man's invention and imagination, set up in

the fallen wisdom of man, there have been the several calls, Lo here, lo there; but the day is dawned, and now breaking forth more and more; magnified and praised be the name of Almighty God, wherein all invented ways, set up in the will and wisdom of man, that is earthly, sensual and devilish, shall come to an end.

And now, in the name of the mighty God, all the graven images, the work of men's hands, and earthly wisdom shall be broken to pieces and ground to powder; the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it, who will perform it by the might of his arm.

And therefore, tremble all ye image-makers of all sorts, who have been making likenesses of the way of life and salvation, in your fallen wisdom and corrupt wills, and have made gods thereof, and have bowed down to, and worshipped them; so that it may be said of Christendom, so called, as it was once said of Israel, "As are thy cities, so are thy gods, O Israel!"

But now is the fulness of time coming, wherein the ancient way of holiness, in which the righteous walked, through all ages and generations, is cast up and manifesting; which way is Christ Jesus, the gift of the Father's love unto the sons and daughters of men, who hath, as before-mentioned, been declared of by his prophets and apostles, under several appellations, according as he was pleased to manifest himself to them, and as his Spirit gave them utterance. Amongst many other appellations, he hath been declared a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck; the Rock that followed Israel, who was in the church in the wilderness; a King, a Lawgiver, Wonderful, Counsellor, Prince of peace, a Branch, a Light to lighten the Gentiles; the Arm of God's salvation; a Covenant, Messiah, a Leader, a Commander, a Captain; the Horn of God's anointed; a Stone of stumbling; a Foundation laid in Zion; the Cornerstone; the Word of God; the Word that was in the beginning; the True Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; the Truth, the Way and the Life; King of kings; Lord of lords; Christ; Emmanuel; Jesus; the Beginning of the creation of God; the First-born of every creature; the First-begotten from the dead; the Faithful Witness; Alpha and Omega; Bright and Morning-star; the Image of the invisible God; the Offspring of David. Under these and other names hath he been spoken of, who still hath a name that no man knoweth but himself, who is that one Eternal Fountain of blessedness, and the one precious Saviour; and there is no other besides him.

And now, by the power of the holy, ever-

lasting God, is he preached under the denomination of Light, in this island of the Gentiles, according as was prophesied of old, by Isaiah, who said, "Is it a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel? I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth;" which is one with the testimony of John, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God; all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made; In him was life, and the life [mark] was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John; the same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light: that was the true light, which lighteth every man that comes into the world." And to this agrees the testimony of just Simeon, who came by the Spirit into the temple, and took the child Jesus in his arms, and said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel." This is he of whom we testify, whose light is the way to life: "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; for every one [mark] that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved; but he that doth Truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God."

Now this light, which the servants of the Most High testified of, is that which hath been spoken of under several names. For this manifestation of God in man is sometimes called the Word, the Spirit, the Law, the Grace of God; and the Word, Light, Grace, Law, Spirit, are all one in nature, although diversely named. Moses called it the Word, and directed to this Word in the heart and in the mouth; which Paul, that illuminated man, rehearsing, saith, "Say not in thy heart [mark] who shall ascend into heaven, that is to bring Christ down from above, or who shall descend into the deep, that is, to bring Christ up from the dead;" but what saith it? "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith that we preach." This is the sure word of prophecy unto which

Peter directs to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in the heart.

This light is the law of the Spirit of life, wherewith Paul was acquainted, that warred against the law of sin and death, which was in his members. It is the law in the heart, and the spirit in the inward parts, the new covenant of God Almighty; this is that which converts the soul, which law Paul delighted in, according to the inward man; of which the Scriptures of Truth plentifully testify. This is that grace that Paul declared brings salvation; which hath in measures appeared to all men, as God's talents, teaching all that are led and guided by it, to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts; and to live soberly, godly and righteously in this present world. This is that grace which the Lord, the giver thereof, said to Paul, was sufficient for him to deliver him from the temptation, the thorn in the flesh. The same apostle said unto the Ephesians, "By grace ye are saved," &c. And this is the manifestation of the Spirit, which is given to every man to profit withal. This is that good Spirit of the Lord given to Israel, who rebelled against it, as the old world did, unto whom the Lord said, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man;" this is given to be the leader and guide of mankind out of sin and death, and darkness, into which man fell through disobeying the righteous law of God, as the holy Scriptures give clear and full testimony. But now, that which is ready to arise, as an objection in some, whose understandings are not opened, and whose searchings to comprehend, and inquiries after the way of man's salvation stand in that wisdom that is from below, and in the will and reason of man degenerated from the life of God, is, whether the preaching up this Spirit and grace of God manifest within, hath not a tendency to make Christ Jesus' appearance in the flesh, his sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension to be invalid? Unto which I answer, nay; for no persons ever did, or can truly discern, or enjoy the benefit of Christ Jesus' manifestation in the flesh, but as their hearts are opened, and their understandings illuminated by the light, which is a measure of the Divine fulness that dwelt in him, and is communicated to the immortal soul, as the universal love of God, extended in the Son of his love to all the families of the earth, as the revealer and discoverer of the will of him from whose Divine fulness it comes; for the Scripture thus witnesseth, that "No man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him; even so the things of God knows no man but the Spirit of God."

The hearts of the Jews not being seasoned

with this grace of God, and ignorant of the gift of God, which is eternal life, they neither discerned, loved nor received Christ Jesus, when manifested in that outward bodily appearance, but rejected him; notwithstanding they professed honour and regard to the prophets, and were in expectation of the fulfilling of their prophecies of the coming of the Messiah, who in due time came, and yet they did not receive him, but instead thereof set themselves against him, taking counsel from time to time how they might slay him, though in words they professed an earnest waiting for him. So in this day, there are many, who by their words do profess they believe his coming in the flesh and his sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension; but yet, their faith consisting in outward notions, and having no inward experience of the end of his coming, nor of the virtue of his sufferings, death, resurrection, &c., they are enemies in their minds to his second appearance and coming, without sin unto salvation. So there is a necessity for all men to come to, and obey this Divine spiritual principle, which is placed in their consciences by the living God, that thereby the eye may be opened, which through disobedience, hath been blinded by the god of the world; for, until this in some measure be effected, the mystery of godliness, which is great, can neither be seen nor understood. Therefore Christ said, finding the woman of Samaria ignorant of himself, who was and is that great mystery, and the gift of the Father's love, "If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water."

The travail in spirit of the messengers and servants of the Most High in ages past, was the same as it is now, viz: "To turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of the living God;" thereby in no wise invalidating Christ Jesus his manifestation in that bodily appearance, neither his sufferings, death, resurrection nor ascension; but it brings all people, guided thereby, unto that which will open the eyes of their understandings, whereby they come to such a condition and spiritual understanding, as to see and know their benefit by that appearance of the Saviour of the world; for this we testify, by that one Offering all are perfected that are sanctified. But here ariseth another objection by some, who may come so far as to own and confess that there is a principle or light in man, that discovereth sin, and teacheth man to do justly and equally, which some call morality, but that this light or principle in man is of a saving property, and of the nature and quality of the Divine Being, many

for want of understanding do deny, and so are found opposers of Truth itself, and stumble at the Corner-stone, which indeed in all generations hath been to many men a stone of stumbling and rock of offence, which thousands, giving themselves up to be guided by their own wisdom and prudence, reject; yea, those accounted the wise master-builders, professors of God and Christ, being ignorant of the root and offspring of David, reject this Corner-stone.

Now, for the sake of all who desire the true and saving knowledge of Christ Jesus, it is on my spirit yet further to open the nature and property of this principle and light; whose fountain is the Eternal Being and everlasting ocean of Divine fulness, and its nature and quality is one with this Fountain from which it comes. John testified, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God," &c. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." He also testified, that he was not that light, but came for a witness, to bear witness, that that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world: so the original of this light, is Christ Jesus, the Word.

But some may query thus, -Is Christ the light in every man?

To which I answer, Christ doth appear by his light in every man; and the light which comes from Christ, is in every man: as is clearly demonstrated from the Scriptures of Truth. And, though I account it unnecessary to answer the curious inquiries of such, who seeking to know much, do not walk answerable to what they know; yet for the sake of such, whose understandings are not opened, and yet are inquiring the way to Sion, I add this similitude: The natural sun is placed by the Creator to lighten the outward world, and doth extend from its body a measure of its light and natural property, shining on the just and the unjust, and so doth daily give forth of that virtue which is inherent in itself. When the sun shineth on any object whatsoever, we sometimes say, the sun there appears; and other times we say, there is the sun; the propriety of either of which expressions, I suppose none will question; for light in that appearance is seen, and virtue is felt, penetrating to the refreshment of our natural bodies; and this light and heat are inseparable from the fulness; and notwithstanding it daily shineth and displays its virtuous life into, and over all the earth and its inhabitants; yet its body is not any way exhausted or altered through ages and generations. And so, I say, that Christ, the universal fountain of life, the Sun of righteousness, the ocean and fulness of spiritual light, life and virtue, from whom is communicated a measure of his nature, pro-

erty and quality, is given of the Father, to enlighten all the sons and daughters of men, who accordingly are all enlightened with his spiritual appearance; and though this appearance cannot be called the fulness, yet being a measure of that fulness, it is one in nature and property with, and inseparable from the fulness. And though through its virtue, life is daily communicated unto the sons of men, who wait for the appearance thereof, as for the morning light, and cannot live unto God without it, yet doth he admit of no diminution or change; but all fulness of Divine light, life and glory, doth and shall, through every age and generation, remain with him. And although the veil of darkness hath overshadowed the hearts of some, so that when we give testimony to the universal appearance of the Sun of righteousness in the hearts of all the sons and daughters of men, they are ready to say, such a testimony leads to the diminishing of that glory and honour which belongs unto him, as he is the fulness, and sitting at the right hand of the Father; inferring, as if, whilst we testify to his appearance in our hearts, we exclude his presence elsewhere. Yet this inference is as irrational as it would be for any to conclude, that because we say of the shining and appearance of the sun, there is the sun; or the sun there appears; therefore we exclude the being of the sun elsewhere. For its virtue is communicated to our natural bodies, every one having in measure some enjoyment of the virtue or light of the natural sun, which is light to the eye of the natural body; and those whose spiritual senses are quickened by the virtue which proceeds from the eternal Sun of righteousness, do thereby discern that these things are according to the clear manifestation of Truth in their inward parts; and from a sense thereof, can of a truth give this testimony, that Christ, the Lord, by his holy quickening Spirit, hath appeared in them, to the quickening of their immortal souls; and that through believing in the light, and obedience to his appearance, being come out of that state which is reprobated by the Lord, they can of certain experimental knowledge say, Christ is in us, the hope of glory.

And so, when we direct people to this Word, Light, Law, Grace and Spirit, we do not thereby intend, that Christ Jesus, the light of the world and gift of God, is not the true Saviour, Redeemer and Reconciler of mankind unto God.

Now this light and spirit, doth lead the souls of all such as obey it, up to God, the fountain, from whom it comes; and no man sees its nature, but they who are led by it; for in the light of the Lord alone man cometh to see

light, and to have an understanding. Before this be fully seen or understood, the mind of man must be brought down, out of all its own willings and runnings, comprehendings and searchings, to the light, therein to see a death to his own will, and be comprehended in this light; and so man comes to have an understanding to know him that is true, and to be in him that is true.

Now, as any are convinced and converted by this heavenly principle, which is placed in the conscience, to be a guide and leader to mankind, they are led out of darkness, wherein they have been, while yet the light shone in darkness, in which darkness no man ever comprehended this light or heavenly grace. It sometimes moves through the darkness, on man's understanding, reproving and discovering the darkness, and causing man to hear its small still voice; and so daily continues reproving man whilst he remains in rebellion and disobedience, all the time of his visitation, and approving and giving peace to man, when he is obedient.

Although man may change and go from it, and rebel against it, and thereby become one of them of whom Job speaks, that rebel against the light, and thereby know not the way of it; but give way to the working of the god of the world, to be drawn out into fading, perishing things; yet it remains immutable in itself, being of and from the unchangeable Being, and remains with man until it be taken from him, and he be cast into utter darkness.

The first operation of this heavenly light, in those who are convinced by, and turned to it, the gift of the Father, which Christ Jesus, in his parable to the Jews, compared to a grain of mustard-seed, and to a little leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole came to be leavened, is to show man his inward state and condition. The first step in the way of life is, to be turned to this holy principle, that teacheth the obedient to know God savingly; and when man comes to have a true sense of his fallen estate, and sees how he hath transgressed against that eternal Being that gave him life and breath, who waiteth long to be gracious, and knocketh at the door of the heart, and hath striven by his Divine light, the sense hereof will break the heart, and tender the spirit before the Lord. And under the weight of the great burthen of sin and iniquity, there will be a crying out, My sins they are too heavy for me to bear, and mine iniquities are gone over mine head; saying, as Paul did, "Oh wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Here the eye comes to be opened that

sees him, whom man in his disobedience hath pierced afresh and put to open shame; and then there will be days of mourning and wailing, because of him; and this is truly the day of Jacob's trouble. In the sense of this deplorable fallen estate, and the long-suffering of the Lord, and the long-striving of his Spirit, thou wilt see, that in the justice of God, eternal death might be thy portion; but that which brings into this sense, begets a secret cry in the soul, after a Deliverer and Saviour, and will also give a true sight, that there is no way for thy soul to be ransomed, but in and through the tender mercies of the Lord Jesus Christ; which thou wilt see can no other way be effectually begun in thee, but in the way of the judgments of the Lord; for it is through judgment that Zion is redeemed, and her converts with righteousness. And here also thou wilt see that the measure of the sufferings of Christ yet behind must be filled up in thee; for no other way can any man pass unto life, peace and joy, with the Father of spirits, but the way the Captain of salvation passed, which was through death; and here thou wilt begin to arm thyself with the same mind. For none cease from sin any further than as they suffer in the flesh the crucifying of the affections and lusts thereof; and here the end of the Gospel's preaching comes to be known and witnessed, which is, that all men might be judged as men in the flesh, that so they might live according to God in the spirit. And in this inward exercise, the Lord God Almighty will bow down his ear, and answer the cries of thy awakened soul, and manifest his word of power, which all in this state will know to be sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing, to the dividing asunder of thy immortal soul, from the spirit and nature of transgression and its daily working, as subjection and obedience are yielded unto it, making a separation between joints and marrow, and giving thee a discerning of the thoughts and intents of thy heart.

As the soul gives up in love to God, freely to follow him in the way of his judgments, and gives up to the sword of the Lord, that which is for the sword, and that which is for destruction, to be destroyed, the precious work of the Lord will prosper. And although this be a time of sorrow, of trouble and anguish, yet it is a good day. Therefore strive not to get from under it, neither to make haste; for the true godly sorrow worketh the true repentance, which is never to be repented of. After the true repentance, follows the true knowledge of remission and forgiveness; and so thy iniquities, by the judgments of the Lord, come to be blotted out; and then the

times of refreshment come from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

As there is a faithful abiding in inward watchfulness, and continual obedience to this heavenly light, in which the beginning of the work of God was known, there will be a going on from step to step in the footsteps of the flock of Christ Jesus, and a growing from strength to strength, over sin and the nature thereof, and from one degree of grace to another; and the eye of the understanding will be single; and here every thing which doth let, will be seen, and the soul will not start aside from an inward travail, until that which hindereth be taken out of the way, and until all the rule and authority of the enemy be subdued under the feet of the Lord's anointed, and the government in the soul be upon his shoulders, whose right it is to reign over all.

And here salvation, redemption and restoration is effectually enjoyed, through faith and the effectual working of the Almighty power of God, unto whom be the glory of his own work for ever; and here will be a growing and increasing, until there is a coming into that precious state and image, in which man was before he fell.

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*The by-paths, crooked ways, wiles and snares of the enemy discovered.*

Now when the mind is turned to this Divine heavenly principle, and the work of the Lord is begun, the same destroyer that brought man into bondage at first, and hath kept him in bondage, will begin to work cunningly, and endeavour to destroy the work of God begun in the soul; and that he may accomplish his end, he will go about every way, seeking an entrance, and will lay his temptations suitable to the propensity or inclinations of the creature.

If the heart be bowed under a weighty sense of iniquity and many transgressions, through which sorrow and bitterness is great, the enemy will work in his transformings, and in appearance like the light, yet in nature contrary thereto. For, though the light gives the certain understanding of the inward state, and brings sorrow because of sin, and shows the mountain of iniquity, yet it begets a secret hope of overcoming by the Lord's strength.

But when the enemy sees the soul bowed down, he often afflicts and brings it into unbelief of ever overcoming, thereby endeavouring to sink it into despair; knowing, if he overcomes, he still keeps under his power, although in another appearance. But all who are thus exercised, waiting on the Lord singly, with the mind stayed in the light, will disco-

ver this snare; for, as I said, although the true appearance of God's heavenly light and grace brings a day of trouble, sorrow and anguish, yet that sorrow is not a sorrow without hope; but the enemy's working is to bring into a sorrow without hope, and to draw down the spirit into the chambers of darkness.

When the enemy is discovered in this, and the soul through the love and power of God is comforted and refreshed, and raised up in a measure of living hope, then he endeavours to lead from the inward daily travail, that judgment may not be brought forth into victory; and so draw the mind into a false persuasion of obedience and diligence, when there is not an abiding in that which gives a true sense of its state. And as he would have before destroyed the hope that is an anchor sure and steadfast, so now he would beget a false hope and confidence, and bring out of the daily cross, through which the nature that hath alienated from God, should be destroyed.

If the enemy be seen and overcome in both these snares, and the work prospers even until much be subjected, and through daily obedience to the heavenly power, much is slain, and the heart comes in good measure to be cleansed, and a good progress is made through the administration of condemnation, that is glorious in its time; and something of pure peace and heavenly joy arises in the heart; here again the enemy will be subtilly at work, to betray, in persuading to sit down now, as if all were done; and thus lead from feeding on the tree of life, to feed on the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and to break the commandment of the Lord. At first he subtilly draws the mind out to take a little liberty, and from that diligent watchfulness and fear it was in before. And if he can but prevail he will lead out of the innocent life, and by degrees open an eye that may see something in outward things that may affect the mind; and as he prevails gradually and hiddenly, the eye that was opened comes again, through disobedience, to be in some measure blinded; and here loss is sustained, even before the unwatchful is aware. And the working of the enemy is first, to cause such to make shipwreck of faith in a little measure; that is not to have the daily belief to stand in the power; the daily enjoyment of which, coming to be left by degrees, there will then be a turning from the power of godliness, into the form thereof. And although at times the power of the Lord may be felt in this state, yet there not being a daily feeling after it, the enjoyment thereof, as to true refreshment and consolation, is lost, and an image comes up in its place; and the enemy presents some objects to take up the mind, so that by degrees he

may enter and defile it, and draw it from it; true guide, so as to make shipwreck of a good conscience.

If the enemy be discovered before he can so effect his work, as to bring death and darkness over again, and the power of the Lord breaks his snares, and gives a true sense thereof, through which trouble and anguish of spirit comes, here he will again transform and work as in the beginning, like the condemning power of the Lord, endeavouring to lead the mind into despair of ever recovering its former condition; and to draw it to look at him that hath stung, that so the remedy, the soul-ransoming power of the Lord, may not be felt after, nor looked at. But as there is a true regard to the Lord, and a waiting upon him in the way of his judgments, having the faith and confidence to stand in his power, the backsliding will be healed; and returning and diligently keeping in the light, the power of the Lord God will work over that which has endeavoured like a roaring lion to destroy, and so lead on in the way again.

But when deliverance is known from this deadly snare, and the work again goes on prosperously until the house be swept and garnished, and there is a passing from death unto life, and the ministration of condemnation being gone through, and the spirit that ruled in the disobedient state cast out, and the openings of that which doth exceed in glory, the administration of the Spirit, is known; the enemy will again transform himself as an angel of light, and with all his power and strength, work by temptation on the right hand and on the left. For when there are openings to the understanding, and prophecies, and through the working of the eternal power joy springs in the heart, then the enemy will work secretly, to draw the mind out of the valley of humility; and if he prevail he will endeavour to lead into extremes, thereby to destroy the true birth, which is bringing forth, and so bewilder the mind, and hurry it through imaginary notions, to dishonour the name of the living God, and to destroy his work, which through sorrow and travail hath been brought forth.

If he cannot prevail here, but the light of the Lord discovereth him, then will he be at work, to draw the mind from watchfulness and daily fear, and the liberty of the sons of God, which liberty is only to serve the Lord. For dominion being felt in some measure, comfort and consolation enjoyed, and praises raised in the heart to him that hath visited and redeemed, the enemy will be ready to draw the mind out of the stayed estate of meek and constant watchfulness in the light, thereby causing the creature prodigally to spend the



portion, and to lavish out the enjoyment by running before the leadings and movings of the power of the Lord, to speak of the enjoyment, the prophecyings and openings, not being led thereto by that power that first opened the heart; and here is an untimely birth brought forth, that will wither and come to nothing.

Where the enemy cannot prevail by these snares and temptations, he will not cease, "who goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," and how he may again get entrance; but lays his temptations according to the spirit, growth, capacities and inclinations of every one. After the good work of God has been begun, and the arm of his salvation hath been wonderfully revealed, to bring out of Egypt's darkness spiritually, and hath given many signal deliverances from the destroying enemy, and has often fed with the heavenly food, and caused the rock to yield water for the thirsty, and many turnings aside in the passage through the wilderness have been seen, the backslidings from a sense of the eternal power, have been discovered, and that there is a coming through the river of judgment, and the mighty power of God drives out the enemy that hath inhabited, where only Abraham's Seed is to inhabit, and the war in great measure ceaseth, and part of the good land is possessed and enjoyed, even the land that floweth with spiritual milk and honey, and the fruit of the vine drunk of; here also will the crooked, subtle enemy be working, as he did with outward Israel, causing Jeshurun to wax fat, and then kick against the power, leading the mind through the enjoyment of that which in its place is good, into ease, and to forget the Lord that formed man, and brought him into the land of rest, and lightly to esteem the Rock of salvation. Thus he leads the mind into a state of ease, and from the inward enjoyment of virtue, to set up idols in the heart, and to serve gods of silver and gold, and a profession without life and possession. And into this condition the old enemy prevailed to lead a people, who in many ages had seen the mighty works of the Lord, and his arm stretched out and magnified in the sight of their enemies for them; nevertheless, they departed from the Lord, and from the inward sense of his power. Now the spirit that was cast out, and wandered in dry places, takes to it seven worse spirits, and returns, tempts, prevails and enters, and the latter end is worse than the beginning. For in the beginning, although the enemy had his power and rule, yet there was a sense thereof, and the heart was humbled, tender, and brought into true poverty, and

there was a mourning before the Lord for want of the dominion; and this state of humiliation and brokenness of heart, in which the Lord takes delight, in his boundless loving-kindness he visited and caused his redeeming, saving power to be revealed. But now in this other estate, the mind is high, the heart fat and full, and at ease, and gone into the love of the world and the things thereof, through which there is an unmindfulness of the Lord, who in the beginning was every day sought after, and diligently waited for; and the Rock, the Power, is lightly esteemed; for the estimation is of another thing. Here two great evils are committed at once, viz: The fountain of living mercies is forsaken, and broken cisterns hewn out, even a profession, that will hold no water, no durable refreshment, no durable joy, no durable peace nor consolation.

The enemy hath thus prevailed through many ages, to bring thousands from their enjoyment of God in the pure, tender and upright-spirited state, which he effects through his workings and subtilty, and that gradually. His first step hereunto is, to bring out of the constant, daily watchfulness, and causing a little liberty to be taken to the carnal mind, and as it were imperceptibly, a certain enjoyment of sweetness therein, whereby a darkening of the sight comes over the mind, and so they are allured into more liberty. Sometimes his beginnings are to draw out of obedience in those things that were required in the day of small things; sometimes into many words, no more to be as a "door-keeper in the house of the Lord," and so the enemy works to cause such things to seem small and indifferent, and thereby cause the offence of the cross to cease. Then the mind runs forth to make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lust thereof, either in meats, drinks, apparel, or such like, which the Truth in time past had made manifest, and the power of God, the cross of Christ, had crossed, and in measure lead out of, into watchfulness and pure fear, not making provision for the flesh in any respect, to fulfil the lusts thereof; but drawing in practice, as well as in principle, into plainness, and out of all superfluities, admitting the creature to refresh nature, but not to feed the lusts.

But yet the enemy works by degrees, subtilly and covertly to lead out of the liberty of the cross of Christ Jesus, the power of God unto salvation, into the liberty of the flesh, and hereby gets a farther entrance; working to draw the mind into many words in dealing, in commerce or converse, and into the love of the world, and though many times the



power of God may be felt in some measure, to draw out of the snare, yet the god of this world having by this time much blinded the eye, and darkened the understanding, there is not a sense of the power of the Lord in its workings, nor of the subtilty of the enemy. For the outward profession and conformity may be in a great measure kept to, under which the enemy may work undiscovered by the unwatchful, and so step by step, lead out of the power of godliness, until he hath slain the birth, which in the first days of tender visitation was begotten. Now there will be a growing high, and such will call the operation of God's power extremes and imaginations, and Jeshurun-like, will kick, and turn against the power of God, for such are best contented with a likeness and image. Such love smooth things in the wisdom of the gifted man, that has lost his way, through erring from the power, not waiting on all occasions to be guided thereby. So here is the itching ear, and heaping up teachers to please self, and Jezebel is upheld; which error crept into the church of Thyatira; and in all ages they that went from the broken, tender estate, into the conditions before discovered, suffered and nurtured this Jezebel, who must be cast on the bed of torments, and all her children killed with death. All the working of the enemy, under every guise, is to slay that which was quickened, and to bring in a contentedness with an outside profession of the way of the Truth, light and life of Christ Jesus, the power of God unto salvation, whilst the heart has gone from the Lord, and embraced other lovers. Where the enemy thus prevails, in process of time he leads again into the world, from whence the arm of the Lord gathered; and the latter end of such is worse than the beginning. For having made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, the second death comes over, and such become twice dead, and as salt which has lost its savour, and are good for nothing, but to be cast forth, and trodden under foot of men. The preservation out of these by-paths, crooked ways, wiles, snares and temptations of the enemy, is only in the true waiting and sincere abiding in the light, gift and grace of God, in which the daily revelations and manifestations of God's eternal power are known, and preservation in the daily acquaintance and experience thereof, which keep all truly low and tender, wherein ariseth an inward breathing and panting after the daily enjoyment of the life, power, and blessed refreshing virtue, which alone renew and increase the strength of the inward man; in which God Almighty preserve all the travellers Zionward to the end.

*The utter end, and final destruction of all false professions, which have had their rise in the night of apostacy.*

AFTER the glorious breaking forth of the day of God amongst the apostles, the enemy wrought mightily against that appearance, both in his instruments, by whom he raised up persecution, and by those apostates, in whom he got an entrance, amongst the churches, and so prevailed, that a great night of darkness and apostacy hath been some hundred of years over the nations of the earth; in which the old subtle serpent, in his many transformings, wrought mightily, to alienate man from God. Oh! the ways and inventions that have been set up in the wisdom which is from below, which is earthly, sensual and devilish, under pretence of religion, obedience, and the worship of God! What rending, devouring, murdering and destroying, has there been for many hundred years about religion? First, the great dragon of persecution appeared to devour the man-child, and destroy the woman, but both were preserved; then he made war with the remnant of her seed; and after came in another appearance, which John saw rise as a beast out of the sea, which had seven heads and ten horns; and on his horns, crowns; and upon his heads, the name of blasphemy; and one of his heads had a deadly wound by the sword, but this deadly wound was healed; and all the world wondered after the beast, saying, Who is like the beast? And who is able to make war with him? And all on the earth worshipped the beast, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. And after this, a second beast appeared, that came out of the earth; and this beast had two horns like a lamb, but spake like a dragon: And John saw that he exercised all the power of the first beast, which received his power and authority from the dragon, like unto which this second beast spake, and caused the earth, and them that dwelt therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed; and he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads. And here the power and spirit of darkness hath exalted himself, sitting in the temple of God, as god and ruler. But, blessed for ever be the name of God, the great red dragon and the beast that arose out of the sea, and the beast that arose out of the earth, and Mystery Babylon, are and shall be manifest. The wisdom that is pure and peaceable, numbers these appearances; and judgment is come and

coming upon Mystery Babylon; for now the angel of God's presence is come down from heaven, having great power, who lightens the earth with his glory, and the cry is now going over the earth, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and become the habitation of devils." All nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her abominations, and the merchants of the earth have waxed rich, through the abundance of her delicacies; "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye partake not of her plagues; for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities." The day is dawning wherein her plagues, mourning and famine will come, and she shall be burned with the fire of God's jealousy, for strong is the Lord God who judges her. And now I prophesy of the perpetual destruction of the religions, inventions, ways, worships, prescriptions, orders, decrees and imitations, that have been setting up these many hundreds of years, but not by the power of the living God, nor the directions and leadings of his quickening spirit, that led and guided the apostles in their day. The whole fabric of the Babylonish building shall be consumed, and all the worshippers of the beast and his image, shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured forth, without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and these worshippers shall be tormented, and have no rest night nor day, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receive the mark of his name.

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*A call in the love of God, to all the scattered sheep.*

**HEARKEN** and give ear, ye scattered ones, upon the barren mountains of profession, who having lost the living sense that was on many of your spirits years ago, are now seeking the living amongst the dead professions, and your bread in desolate places: Remember the years past; call to mind the days of your tenderness, when the light of God so shined on your tabernacle, that by it you saw yourselves in darkness, and in separation from the enjoyment of your Creator; which sense brought a day of mourning and bitter lamentation on you, and was the cause of your fasting, praying, and earnest seeking after the Lord, with sighs and tears. This caused you to set many times to meet together to pour forth your souls in seeking the living God, for his breaking forth by his eternal power, and for the revealing of his arm of salvation. In that day how did many of you retire into your closets and secret places, to mourn before the Lord? How did your cries and pant-

ings after the Lord, prevent the morning-watches? And in that day, was it not the substance itself that you sought after, even the revealing of the Son of God's love in your souls? Let me expostulate with you in the name of the mighty God, even with you, amongst all professions, that have any tenderness or breathings after the Lord remaining in you. What was it that stirred up your hearts, many years since, thus to seek after the Lord? that gave you the sense of your own inward conditions? and that made sin appear exceeding sinful? What was it you felt in your minds that warred against the law of sin and death in your members? that in some measure opened the eye of your understanding to see idolatry and superstition? that drew your hearts out of the world, and made those things of light esteem, in comparison of that which your awakened souls sought after? What was it that inwardly upheld you in sufferings? that your minds retired unto, when the wicked raged as the waves of the sea, when you were mocked for the plainness of your apparel, and for your strictness in your families? Remember your many signal deliverances. How did the Lord answer you in the day of your tenderness? What was it that exercised you, moving on your spirits for a reformation? Was it not the free grace of God? Was it not that light which shined on your tabernacle? Did not this shine in your hearts, and move your spirits Godwards, and began the work of the Lord in you? Why did you start aside from following on to know the Lord in the way of his judgments, when a little prosperity attended you? Why did you seek to get from under the judgment, before it was brought forth into victory? Be awakened, and come back, you that have thus turned aside for a thing of nought, and wandered from one mountain of profession and of imagination to another, until you have spent all your portion, and are in nature returned to Babylon, the city of confusion, out of which the Lord thus calls you; "Hasten, hasten to come forth, and partake no longer with her in her sins, lest ye partake with her in her plagues, which are hastening to come upon her, and upon all that shall be found within her borders." Open your eyes, and behold where you turned aside, through which your foolish hearts are darkened. For the enemy that "goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," wrought in you to turn you from this Divine principle that awakened you, and began to work the work of God in you, into a profession of the words and conditions whereof the saints wrote, who attained thereto, through passing from death to life, in obedience to the grace of God,

that is given to every man to profit withal, who knew the holy war, and fought the good fight, and so obtained the victory. Through its effectual workings they obtained it, and not through mere notions, upon the words of their brethren the prophets; of which victory, through faith and obedience unto, and in, the eternal spirit of holiness, they were made partakers. Thus it was they came to put off the old man, which is indeed a work, and to put on the new man, which is a real change and translation out of satan's kingdom, and from under his power, into the kingdom of the dear Son of the living God, and so to be under his power. But the enemy of your souls turned you from this free grace of God, which wrought in you in your day of tenderness, by drawing your minds into an airy notional profession of this grace, and that by it you were saved; not considering that the immortal souls of such lie in bondage, whose faith stands in notions, and not in the power of God; or whose faith is no other than a belief of what is done for them without, not coming experimentally to know the work of God in themselves, and the obedience of faith which purifies the conscience, and makes alive unto God. And such was the soaring into imagination, of some called gifted men for the ministry, that they presumed to teach and hold forth the free grace of God after such a manner, that the understandings of many were confounded, and thereby defiled and corrupted, by admitting a liberty to the fleshly nature, and avoiding the cross of Christ, contrary to that holy liberty, which through the operation of the grace of God is known. For though it is true, as the apostle saith, "By grace we are saved;" yet whosoever holds forth this grace, so as to raise a belief in any, that they are thereby saved from condemnation, while they are found transgressors against the righteous law of God; such, I say, divide not the word of God aright, but teach for doctrine, the conceptions of their own brain. For it is not a bare belief or assent of the mind, to the power of the grace, that can give satisfaction to the immortal soul, or true assurance of eternal peace with God; but there must be also a conformity in the inward man, to the power thereof; and so man comes to be created in Christ Jesus unto good works, to be sanctified throughout, both in body, soul and spirit. And I have found, that instead of preaching up conformity to the power of the grace, they have not only preached up free grace, which indeed is an expression in itself, proper enough to be held forth, for the grace of God is freely extended unto all, but also therewith they have preached up a justification

of sinful and unsanctified persons, by imputed righteousness; even in such a manner, as many have, from thence, concluded themselves in a state of salvation, while sin had its reign in their mortal bodies; which I cannot but testify, is as great an error, and as contrary to the Gospel ministration, and the end for which Christ was manifest in the flesh, which was, to save people from their sins so as to live no longer therein, as the error of the scribes and pharisees was, when they were seeking and believing justification by the works of the law, without the righteousness of faith.

And thus has it been, that many have turned the grace of God into wantonness, or turned from the grace of God, into wantonness; so that in a little time, many professors grew light and vain, and ran with the very profane into the same excess of riot, and being lifted up in the flesh, came to be much in show, but little and light in the balance! And here, you professors of all sorts, that have gone from the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus within, into a profession of the saints' conditions and performances, without the leadings of the same Spirit and power, have lost your way, and gone out from your guide, which would have led you up to the substance, Christ Jesus. Thousands of ignorant people have been led, through the cunning slights of men, into an empty profession; and when the manifestation of the Spirit of God, which is given to every man to profit withal, hath stirred in the heart to draw the mind out of the ways, spirit and nature of the world, then the transforming enemy has lain near to deceive and betray, directing people into this profession or the other, or to take up this outward performance, or the other shadow, under the specious pretence of the ordinances of God and Christ. Hereby the subtle enemy, that will admit of people being in the practice of outward things, while he can have his throne in the heart, has led thousands aside out of the straight way of salvation, by drawing them from the true inward guide, "the grace of God that brings salvation, that has appeared unto all men," into outward observations. And here the fear of thousands towards God, is taught by the precepts of men, who know not the leadings of the Spirit and power of God; and so have healed the hurt of the daughter of Zion deceitfully, and have daubed with the untempered mortar.

And now, all you scattered ones upon the barren mountains, hear the counsel and call of the Lord: turn, you prodigals, who have spent your portions and lost much of your sincerity and tenderness, and that secret en-

joyment you had of the Lord inwardly, years ago, and who for a long season have endeavoured to fill yourselves with husks, and the profession of the saints' enjoyments, my heart yearns towards you, and my soul is often bowed down in the sense of your states; my heart is often pained within me, when I behold you wandering up and down, seeking rest and finding none, but what is polluted, and your souls are lean for want of the fatness of God's house, and the enjoyment of it. My soul cries unto him night and day, to visit you with an outstretched arm: Return, return, unto that which will show you all that ever you have done, and will hasten you to the Father's house, where the bread of life is; and no longer spend your money, precious time and labour, for that which is not the bread of life, but a profession, a talk of bread, and which cannot truly satisfy your souls.

And now behold! I sound the trumpet of the Lord in your ears; prepare, prepare, to meet the Lord Jehovah in the valley of decision; and all you who have any tenderness in your hearts, and breathings after the Lord, amongst all professions, Come out, come out of Babylon, and be you separate; touch not any longer the unclean, that the Lord may receive you, who stands ready to receive all that come in Truth and righteousness unto him; who will mark all that mourn because of the sins of the people, which are great, and the measure thereof filling up; and the time is hastening, of the pouring out of the fury and indignation of God, who lives for ever and ever. Therefore flee for your lives, out of Sodom's nature, and stick not in the mere profession, the ground of which doth not spring from the immediate work of God, and daily operation of his eternal power in thy heart; but come down into obedience to the pure still voice of the Spirit, and gift of God in thy own heart, which will, as thy inward ear is attentive, direct thee in the narrow way of life eternal, in which thou shouldest walk. Here you come to that which moved in the hearts of many, years since, Godwards, which wrought many into the tenderness before spoken of; herein walk and be faithful, and it will lead to the Fountain of blessedness, from which it came, and unto the horn of God's anointed; and to Shiloh shall be the gathering of thousands through the nations, tongues and people; and the mountain of the Lord's house shall be exalted, through this great day of trial, tribulation and anguish, upon the top of all the mountains.

The Lord God Almighty reach all hearts that have any breathing desires after him, amongst all professions, and pull many as

brands out of the fire. So breathes my soul, who am a traveller for the universal visitation and deliverance of the seed of Jacob.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*A warning to the people of England.*

In the tender love of God, to those whose ears the misrepresentations or aspersions underwritten, have or may come. Give ear, you inhabitants of these northern islands. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in this latter age of the world is arising, and causing his ancient horn of salvation to be revealed; of whom all the holy men, prophets and servants of God gave testimony, through ages and generations, to be that holy One, on whom he hath laid help, who is mighty to save, Christ Jesus the Lord. Of his spiritual appearance and coming, we are witnesses this day; and by the arm of his power are raised up to declare him unto these islands of the Gentiles, as their light to lighten them, according to the prophets' testimony of John, old Simeon, Christ Jesus, the apostles and messengers of God, through ages and generations, of which many testimonies in the demonstration of the Spirit and power of Christ Jesus, have been, and are daily borne, both by word and writing. Against these testimonies, men of corrupt minds have risen up, and by lies, slanders and misrepresentations, have endeavoured to veil this testimony; which work of theirs, God hath beheld, and hath determined to blast, because in their right hand hath been found a lie, and the poison of asps is under their tongues, to vilify and misrepresent the servants and people of God, under odious disguises, that they might thereby, as much as in them lies, effect such a work, as the old heathens did on the Christians; namely, by putting lion skins and bear skins on them, that thereby they might cause the dogs to take hold of them. So hath there been an endeavour in our day, to misrepresent the servants and people of the Lord, as deniers of salvation by Jesus Christ; making his birth in Bethlehem of Judea, his travails, sufferings, blood, death, resurrection and ascension of no value; deniers of the Scriptures of Truth; and instead thereof, preaching up salvation by meritorious works of our own; and in short, representing us as enemies to Christianity. Concerning these charges, in every particular, clear and full answers have been given, to which I refer all dissatisfied persons. That which lies on my spirit at this time, is, to declare in the presence and power of God, that these things spoken and written of us, are as false as the accusations

of the pharisees concerning Christ Jesus, and as false as the accusations of the Jews, concerning the apostles.

For, first, we declare to all nations, tongues and languages, that we believe in the one, holy, everlasting God.

We believe concerning him, that he is a Spirit; and concerning his worship, that it is in spirit and spiritual.

We believe, preach, and publish salvation in, and by no other name, but by and through him, of whom all the prophets gave testimony, the apostles preached, the primitive saints believed and received, namely, Jesus Christ.

We declare we are so far from denying or having any light esteem of that holy, honourable record, the Scriptures of Truth, that we are often greatly bowed and tendered in spirit, in the sense of the great mercy and love of our God; that although the wicked have been suffered to persecute, revile and evilly to represent the way of life and salvation believed and preached by them, and also have proceeded to kill the bodies of the prophets of God, of Christ Jesus our Lord, his apostles and faithful servants; yet such hath been his great and inexpressible love, to preserve their precious testimonies unto our age.

And now in the universal love of the God of the spirits of all flesh, I warn you, that as any thing comes to your ears of us, contrary to this our faith and belief in God, that you be so noble, as to do that which is just and equal for you to do, viz: to keep an ear for the accused, and to hear without partiality. Let none be like those ignoble people of Thessalonica, who being moved with envy, refused to hear the apostles' doctrine; but be like those worthy Bereans, whose nobility is recorded, because they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, to see whether those things were so or no.

This ye rulers and people, will hinder you from having groundless prejudices against an innocent people, and from running on to persecute them, having not heard nor known their principles, but from the misrepresentation of others. This thing hath brought an insupportable burthen on some; and I am glad that the unfruitfulness of coercion is in any measure seen; but sorry that some men should make so ill use of their liberty, as to improve it to calumniate those who in spirit are travailing after the Lord.

And this know, that there are thousands in this land, that are the visited of the Lord. For having bowed down his ear to the cries of spiritual oppressed Israel, and seen the thralldom of sin and iniquity, their groanings

for deliverance from the house of bondage and darkness, are come up before him; and for the sake of the poor, and cry of the needy, that have no helper on the earth, he hath risen, and is making bare his arm in the sight of the nations, to carry on his great work of destroying sin and finishing transgression, and bringing in everlasting righteousness.

Therefore, as you desire to prosper, let none endeavour to hinder this work of the Lord; for all that shall presume so to do, his heavy hand will be upon them. Let all the prejudices and resentments that have been received in the minds of any, through the enmity or ignorance of men, be dispossessed; and hear for yourselves, and try all things, and hold fast that which is good; for sorrow comes on many daily, who have received false reports of an innocent people, and thereby have been prejudiced, so as to speak evil of that way they have not known nor proved. As the apostle said, so can we say, in the way accounted heresy, by some in our day, as in ages past, we worship God, believing what is written in the law and the prophets, and of Christ Jesus, by the apostles.

So the Lord Almighty in his infinite love, open the understandings of all that have desires after the knowledge of the Lord, rightly to discern the stumbling-blocks, and to see them removed, that the subtle enemy of mankind, through his instruments, hath laid in the way: and may he reach with his hand of love, to gather those who have some desires after the Lord, and yet are led by the craftiness of men, to seek the living among the dead, and to wander on the barren mountains of profession; the Lord open their understandings everywhere, and bring them to the blessed sheepfold of Christ Jesus, is the desire of him, who is a traveller in body and spirit for the outcasts of Israel, and scattered of Jacob, that they may be gathered.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*An exhortation to the Quarterly, Monthly, and other meetings, for transacting the affairs of Truth.*

Dearly beloved Friends,

THIS exhortation ariseth in my heart, in the motion of God's Spirit, unto all concerned in these meetings, that before you begin to speak to the matters before you, you all take time to wait on the Lord, to have your minds gathered to the heavenly light of righteousness, to feel the pure spring of wisdom, which is from above, pure and peaceable, in which every one may see and know their places in

the body. As every one is here centered, waiting in contritedness of spirit upon the Lord, the sensual wisdom being under foot, and self made of no reputation, but humbled to the death of the cross, all seek the prosperity and welfare of the body, in the universal spirit of life and love. When a matter is spoken of, all will weigh the thing in the heavenly peaceable wisdom of God; and as things are opened in the understanding, there will be a pertinent speaking to the subject, one by one: and here, in the unity of the Spirit of life and peace, things will be soon despatched; for they will be seen through, as the inward eye and sense is opened, and attentive to the heavenly oracle.

And, dear Friends, as your concerns in such meetings are managed in the meek spirit of Christ Jesus, the Saviour of the world, you will be refreshed, and go away from them comforted, being seasoned by the grace of God amongst you; and as you return to your respective places, the savour in which you come from the meetings, will refresh and encourage your brethren and sisters.

But where there is not a waiting thus to be guided, so that all know their places in the body, for every member is not an eye, a hand, or a foot, there will be confusion. If the earthly, sensual wisdom, in which is the ground for rents, contentious passions, haste and heat, gets up to order there, the fruit will follow; and then the heritage of the Lord is grieved and burthened; and this leaven will leaven others. As the right management of these meetings would be inexpressibly profitable to the body in the general, so the wrong management cannot but cause great hurt to the body. The Lord God of wisdom and strength, cause this to weigh on all hearts concerned herein, that so he may have his honour, and we all the comfort thereof.

And, dear Friends, God is jealous for his name and honour, and will not give it to another; and nothing must rule amongst his people, but his Spirit and those who are guided by it.

Having in some measure cleared myself, in the counsel of the Lord, and desiring that eye may be opened in all, and kept open, that will see the weight of this matter, I remain in a travail to see Sion perfectly delivered, and brought into the perfection of the beauty of holiness, which was the righteous end of the Lord God in visiting us with his holy glorious day-spring from on high;

Your dear brother, in the measure of the grace of God received.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

Sutton-Underbrales, the 14th of the  
Eleventh month, 1671.

*A salutation to the men and women's meetings  
about the city of Bristol.*

Dear Friends,

In the ever-blessed Truth which endures for ever, I tenderly salute you, desiring greatly your prosperity and growth therein, to serve your generation according to the will of God; in which you will have peace for ever. Now the God of heaven hath not only called you to watch and take care of your own hearts and families, but also over the flock and family of God where you live; therefore be careful and diligent in your meetings, and in a faithful discharge, as before the Lord, to answer the service effectually; and to that end I exhort you, to wait diligently upon the Lord, to feel his sweet opening power and spring of Divine wisdom, that you may see your several places in the body, and your service in that place faithfully performed.

For some time it hath lain before me, in the name of the Lord, to stir you up to an increase of love; and you that have families, sons and daughters; stir them up often to come to meetings, and into the service with you, in answering to the Lord's requiring—that when you are taken away, they may serve the Lord, being thereby trained up in his way. Therefore I charge all young men and women, in the sight of him who shall judge righteously, who hath put you in some measure in a capacity to serve the Lord, in the men and women's meetings, that you neglect not your care herein, lest the Lord exercise you with various trials, unthought of by the careless mind; for if ye do love, and give up to serve the Lord, and bring of your substance to serve the poor, as the Lord hath commanded, you will find a reward in your bosoms, and a satisfaction by being in your duty and service.

And, dear Friends, lift up your heads in the light of the Lord, to feel his eternal arm to gather you into a growing state, in the holy root of life, that therein you may be able to stand in the day of his vengeance, that breaks over a sinful people, for the humbling of thousands to the dust. Arise, shake yourselves in the strength of the Lord from the dust of the earth; put on strength and heavenly zeal, for his name and his sweet counsel, with your minds gathered to see the fulfilling of the words of the Lord. The God of our tender mercies incline you all to take his counsel, that you may serve him in all faithfulness; and as living travellers, journey on to come to Zion, the city of the heavenly king, where his glory shines, his love flows, his mercy extends, and the joy of the Lord springs up, to furnish man with living high praises to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb



for ever more; and that you may have your lot and portion in that city, hath been the travail of soul, and ardent desires of your

Tender friend and brother,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*An Epistle to Friends.*

Dear Friends and brethren,

THAT are suffering for your meeting together, in answer to the requirings of the Spirit of Jesus; my love in the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ salutes you, breathing to the God of the spirits of all flesh for you, that the grace that brings salvation, the mercy that comforts, the peace that is as a refreshing river, may be multiplied in you, and amongst you, to your satisfaction and rejoicing in the Lord. Lift up your heads in the light of the Lord, behold and livingly remember what the Lord, the jealous God, hath done for you these many years; who hath in unutterable kindness visited you with his day-spring from on high, and with his excellent, powerful arm hath saved and wrought for us, time after time; and beyond all expression hath wonderfully turned back the enemy of our souls. He hath indeed bound the seas as with swaddling bands, and said to the proud waves of persecution, hitherto shall you come and no further; whose arm hath brought out of bonds and set at liberty, and hath rebuked, as in the midst of a storm, and brought a sweet calm; we have seen what his power hath done, and have been deeply engaged unto him, and bowed in the sense of his unspeakable love.

And now, dear friends and brethren, keep your meetings in the name, power, and authority of the living God, and let all be gathered into the name of Jesus, the immaculate Lamb of God, who will then be known to be in the midst of you. Wait diligently with the loins of your minds girded with the Truth, in the fear and awe of the mighty Jehovah, whose fear will keep out the fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and his life every moment at the disposal of the great Creator. Let none reason with flesh and blood, nor take counsel of him that moved to say, Master save thyself; but overcome all such reasonings of the earthly wisdom, and walk in the Seed immortal, whose life will make all your meetings sweet and refreshing, and terrible to the workers of iniquity. So, dear friends, in the weighty sense of the honour and dignity of the precious Truth, which you are concerned in, before the eyes of many that are upon you, let the increase of it have weight with you over all your interests, and eye the Lord, who can give and take away,

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whose are the cattle on a thousand hills. Look not at the things that are seen, which are carnal, but at those which are not seen with the visible eye, which are eternal, and no more suffering shall come on you who keep resigned to the Lord and his counsel, than shall be to his honour, and in the end over all, you shall be comforted and filled with joy, when your enemies shall feel the tribulation and anguish which the Lord is rendering to the workers of iniquity. So, into his arm do I commit you, and to the word of his patience that keeps in the hour of temptation; and may the Lord arise among you in the glory of his own power, and in the excellency of his own brightness, to the astonishment of the wicked, and to the refreshing and comforting of you all; in whose name I send this counsel amongst you, who am,

Your brother in labour and travail in the Gospel of life and salvation,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

Titherton, the 20th of the  
Second month, 1677.

*An Epistle to Friends coming forth in the ministry.*

Dearly beloved Friends,

WHO in your assemblies sometimes feel a testimony for the Lord to spring in your hearts, keep your watch in the light, that so none stay behind, nor run before; but let all that open their mouths in the assemblies of the Lord's people, do it as the oracle of God, in the arising of the eternal power; for nothing can beget to God, but what comes from the word of life, that lives and abides for ever; and nothing can refresh, strengthen or comfort that which is begotten by the word of life, but what springs from the same. Therefore, dear Friends, whom this concerns, wait diligently, not only to know and savour every motion, but also to know the appointed time when the motion should be brought forth; so shall what is ministered, if it be but few words, reach, and do its service. For this I have learned, that though there may be a true motion of the power of the Lord, and a true operation thereof, yet where there is not a waiting for the perfecting of what is to be brought forth, but instead thereof, coming forth before the time, there is an untimely birth; which hurts the vessel through which it comes, and the hearers are burthened; and the life which first moved comes to be oppressed. As long as any are found walking in this by-path, although they may find the power of God moving in them, yet they never come to be skillful, nor to divide the word aright; and such do not truly grow, but sometimes bring forth a mixture, sowing the field



with two sorts of grain, and wearing a linen and woollen garment.

Friends, this lieth upon my spirit to all who feel the beginning of a testimony spring in your hearts, wait diligently in that light, low, in stillness and passiveness of spirit, and you will come to feel the counsel of the Lord sealed to your understandings, and see the time when to speak, and when to be silent, and here will be a right increase of your testimony. When that which is sealed to the understanding is offered, retire inward and sink down into stillness, and keep in the valley; and let all know, that no ministration, save that which comes from the life itself, from the fresh arisings of the pure power of the Lord, availeth any thing; and all ministering out of this will fade and come to an end, in the approaching day of trial.

And, dear Friends, as the will of the Lord is made manifest, yield sincere obedience thereto, if the requiring be but a few words; for I have seen it a dangerous thing to resist the motions of God's power, and have known many hours of sorrow for it. In the beginning of a testimony for the Lord, even in the upright heart, great will be the opposition of the enemy every way, and where he cannot lead to an untimely birth, he will endeavour to shut up the heart in disobedience or rebellion, or raise up many fears and doubts, if possible to bewilder the soul. Here I had perished, if it had not been for the love and tender mercy of the Lord. And so, dear Friends, for whose sake I am moved thus to write, when a motion is felt, and openings are in the heart, sink down in that in which no vain thought can be hidden, and stand single and passive. The more still, humble and passive thou art, who art thus exercised, the motion of life will the more show itself, and the power will arise and clear thy understanding; and then, in that which warmeth thy heart, and moveth on thy spirit, enter into thy service; and when that is done, add not, but sit in the still habitation, and in humility and passiveness, and thou wilt feel the reward of obedience, and grow in experience and knowledge, and be more and more furnished to every good word and work.

And may the Lord preserve all who are thus exercised in this even path, in which they will feel strengthened with might in the inward man, and furnished to serve the Lord.

And, Friends, when any through want of experience err, in running before the power, be very tender; and although there may be a savour and judgment in yourselves, and you may be burthened, yet beware how you speak to ease yourselves, but wait on the Lord therein, to be guided by his counsel; for

some having such a sense, and not discerning wherein the miscarriage lay, have run forth in judgment, and have sometimes hurt, and even destroyed, or at least have become a stumbling-block to such an exercised Friend, and have also much hurt themselves. So that not having a true discerning, between the first moving cause, which is the power, and that which led forth before the power, they have judged both, and so have brought a hurt over their own souls, through judging the power of the Lord; and this sometimes may extend to hurt others. Out of which snare God Almighty preserve all, that so one may be a strength to another, taking one another by the hand, and saying, "Let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob;" who will teach us more and more of his ways; and here, in God's holy mountain, is neither hurting nor destroying.

Given forth through your dear brother,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

*A copy of an Epistle to the women's Half-year Meeting, 1677.*

Dear Friends,

KEEP your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and wait for the arising of his power amongst you, to open your hearts; so will wisdom instruct you, and none will be without the adorning of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. And all keep to the teaching of the grace which comes by Christ Jesus, in which male and female are one, being members of one holy body, Christ Jesus, the head, from whom virtue floweth and love aboundeth, which will season all your words and deportment, and make them savoury.

And, dear Friends, be swift to hear the heavenly oracle, but slow to speak; so shall order in the harmonious love and life be among you. And let no discouragement be upon any of your spirits, the Lord hath owned your meetings with a testimony from heaven; and I am now constrained to remind you, how the Lord broke in upon you, in your last meeting; wherein you were refreshed and stirred up to your several services in your respective meetings and families, according to the leadings of his Spirit, that no guilt may be on any, when they come on their dying beds: but all in the strength of the Lord's power, live and walk, and serve your generation according to the will of God. My soul desireth that his love and life may plentifully spring amongst you. Farewell in the Lord.

I am your tender friend, in the labour of the Gospel of peace,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

## TENDER VISITATION

IN THE LOVE OF GOD TO ALL PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY THE INHABITANTS OF WILTSHIRE,  
GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND BRISTOL.

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And unto this people thou shalt say, thus saith the Lord, behold I set before you the way of life, and the way of death. *Jer. xxi. 8.*

For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light, and the reproofs of instruction are the way of life. *Prov. vi. 23.*

Take fast hold of instruction, let her not go, keep her, for she is thy life. *Prov. iv. 13.*

For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad; knowing therefore the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men, &c. *2 Cor. v. 10, 11.*

Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God. *Rom. ii. 9, 10.*

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Friends, neighbours and countrymen,

AMONGST whom I have had my conversation, in times past, in the fear of the Lord, and now being a sufferer in this prison for Jesus Christ's sake, I am constrained in his tender love to visit you by these lines, stirring you up to a serious and tender examination, what way you are walking in; seeing there are but two ways, as Christ Jesus saith; "Enter ye in at the straight gate, for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat; because straight is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." Now commune with your own hearts and be truly still, and say to your souls, what way are we walking in? For Christ Jesus takes no notice here of the many ways and professions of religion, among Jews and Gentiles, but plainly concludes all walking in one of these ways, namely, the wide gate and broad way, or the straight gate and narrow way. It is true, there are many ways and professions of religion in this age of the world; but now, as then, they are all concluded under these two, the way of life, and the way of sin and death. As these two ways are contrary to one another, so are the fruits different that are brought forth by men and women walking in these ways. All that are walking in the broad way, are bringing forth the fruits of the broad way, which are wrath,

murder, evil thoughts, adulteries, thefts, false witnesses, blasphemies, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, sedition, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revelling, and such like, and they who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God: these are the fruits of the broad way, and of those walking therein. And this way is called broad, because men walk in their sins, in the pleasure and vanities of their minds; and the gate is wide to receive all that spend their precious time, both morning and evening of their day, and not in the fear and awe of the holy God. The multitude walk in this way; for the devil cares not what men profess in words, of God, of Christ, the kingdom of heaven, religion and worship, while they continue walking in the broad way, which leads to his kingdom of darkness. Hence it was that the great God by his servants, the prophets and apostles, testified against their worship and performances, and that of several things, which were once commanded: and why? Ye may see it was because they had forsaken the right way of the Lord, and were performing their worship in the same nature, spirit and way in which they were sinning against God; their hearts were corrupt, and consciences defiled. And he complains by Isaiah, "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious and gainsaying people, which walk in a way that is

not good, after their own hearts." This way that was not good, was the broad way, in which they were, as many now are walking in, notwithstanding all their outside profession of religion: as saith the Lord by his prophet Isaiah, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord? I am full of burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of the he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no vain oblations, incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting; your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth, they are a trouble unto me, I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood. Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, plead for the widow," &c. So you may see, that no performances of worship, or service, were any longer acceptable in the sight of God, than they were performed by men and women walking in the way of the Lord, denying themselves, and cleaving to the good Spirit of God, which the prophet said God gave to instruct and guide them, but they rebelled against it. This is the broad way Adam and Eve, through disobedience went into, when they disobeyed God, and transgressed his righteous law and commandment. This is the broad way that Cain walked in, when he slew his innocent brother Abel. This is the way that the old world walked in, when they had, through disobedience, turned aside, so that the Lord said, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man;" and it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. This is the broad way in which Israel walked when they had forsaken the Lord, the fountain of their living mercies, and provoked him to anger both in the wilderness, and through several generations, as you may read in the prophets, whom the Lord sent to testify against them. This is the broad way the scribes and pharisees were walking in, notwithstanding all their great professions of religion, who killed the Lord of life and glory, Christ Jesus. This broad way is that in which the apostatizing Christians walked, and are walking, whom Jude pronounced woe against, because they walked in the way of Cain. It was going out of the narrow way of obedience, and walking into the broad way of disobedience,

that brought the judgments, plagues and calamities, miseries and depopulations of nations and kingdoms, from Adam's day to this day. It was going out of the narrow way of obedience into the broad way of disobedience, that brought misery on Adam, the curse on Cain, destruction by a flood on the old world, judgment on the children of Israel in the wilderness, and sore plagues and calamities through several generations, as you may read all along in the prophets; and then what befel Jerusalem and that people, and since through the ages and generations to this day?

Now having in short said something of the broad way and wide gate, and of the walkers therein, I am to say something of the narrow way and straight gate, which Christ Jesus saith, few find. This is the way called in Scripture the ancient way of holiness, and is called narrow, and the gate straight, because no double-minded man can walk therein. All who come to walk in this way, must leave their iniquities behind; for there is no coming out of the broad into the narrow, but by putting off, as the apostle saith, the old man with his deeds; and this is effected by joining to, and obeying the grace that came by Christ Jesus; which the apostle saith, bringeth salvation, teaching to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; and not only so, but leads to live godly, righteously and soberly, in this present world. This makes manifest the broad way, gives a sense of the destruction it leads to, and leads out of it into the narrow way. Although this way is narrow, and the gate straight to man in the fall and alienation from God, walking in the broad way, and laden with sins, yet as men and women come out of the broad way, and from delighting in unrighteousness, and come to delight in following the Lamb of God, Christ Jesus, by his Spirit, who leads the obedient in the blessed work of regeneration, they will see that the way of the Lord is a pleasant way, and the just man's path a shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day, and so shall drink of the brook of comfort and consolation by the way, and say with Solomon, "In the way of righteousness is life, and in the path-way thereof there is no death:" [mark] life to the soul, is death to sin; here the ransomed by the precious blood of Christ Jesus return to Sion, with everlasting joy upon their heads.

But all that come to walk in the straight way, and enter in at the straight gate, must take up the cross of Christ Jesus daily, and deny themselves; and in the strength received by the grace of God, resist and withstand all the temptations of the devil, who tempts most to that sin and iniquity which he knows man is

most prone to. But when he comes to tempt, and thy mind is exercised in the light of Christ Jesus, thou seest his temptations, and thy soul's desires and supplications ascend to the Lord God of strength, for the lifting up of his spiritual standard in thy soul against the temptations and power of the enemy, in every evil thought and inclination, in which the enemy worketh. In Matthew xv. verse 18., thou mayest read, Christ Jesus put evil thoughts first, before wrath, murder and adultery, &c., for there is a time of sin's conceiving, before it is finished; which the apostle observing, saith, "When it is finished, it brings forth death; for the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Now the holy light and saving grace of God gives the sight, and makes a discovery of sin in its first arising, even when the power of the enemy worketh to tempt and allure man, and draw him aside; but now while it is only in the temptation, and man in the spirit of his mind not joined to the temptation, it is not charged as sin; but when man gives up and closeth with the temptation, so as to obey it, then is sin finished, and brings forth death. His servants ye are, saith the apostle, whom ye obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of righteousness unto life.

Now how far reacheth your experience in this narrow way, where men and women with their sins cannot walk? For this is the holy and Divine path, that man finds in his coming out of sin, and departing from all iniquity. But some will be ready to say, "If we should hearken to this counsel, and obey the grace of God, thou art directing to, which brings salvation, which the apostle says teacheth to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts; and not only so, but brings to live soberly, godly and righteously in this present world, and so teacheth to forsake the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this evil world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, which many have promised in their baptism; and so have our whole conversation changed, and become other men, not walking in the way most of our country, town or village walk in; we fear we shall become a by-word and a scorn of our neighbours and acquaintance; nay, we doubt our kindred and near relations would forsake us, and we should become as strangers to them, and lose their respect, and it may be lose our employ and trade, and endanger a disappointment on ourselves of the expectation we had from some relations. And should we go to markets and fairs, and use but few words in our dealing, as the fear of the Lord teacheth, and refuse to drink to excess, and not be vainly merry, as

in times past we were, we should be a derision and a by-word, and scorned by such who have been our companions in those things. And this might be very hard to bear, not only to us, but also some near relations."

To which I answer: If any should meet with such exercises as these, for turning from sin and evil, and ceasing to walk in the broad way, there is no cause to be discouraged. Those, saith the Scripture, that depart from iniquity make themselves a prey; and the servants of the Lord were the song of the drunkard. And the apostle saith, "Wherein they think it strange that you run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you; who shall give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and dead." So overlook all the reproaches you meet with for righteousness sake; for ye may remember how Christ Jesus the Lord was reproached, for following whom ye may be reproached. But after ye are exercised in the narrow way, taking up the cross of Christ Jesus, despising the shame, you will feel that soul-satisfaction, peace and Divine consolation, that will administer heavenly content, that will out-balance all exercises and trials of this nature. You will often have cause to magnify the Lord, and to say, he is good, and abounding in love and tender mercies over the workmanship of his hand, who hath visited our souls when we were posting on in the broad way of destruction, and had only a profession, by the hearing of the ear, of God, Christ and his kingdom, the Scriptures, and of religion; once a week confessing we were miserable sinners, erring and straying from the right way of the Lord, but knew not the true repentance, which is always accompanied with a true forsaking of sin and iniquity. But the God of the Hebrews hath met with us, who beheld us as bond-slaves in spiritual Egypt, and he hath visited our souls with his heavenly light, by which we have seen our sinful ways and life, and vain worships, which were so far from being performed in the Spirit, that we were some of that number in our parish who despised the Spirit, and mocked them that worship in it, which is the ancient worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, as ye may read. Jesus said unto the woman, "The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth." So we now see, that all worship not performed in the Spirit and Truth, hath no acceptance with the holy, and righteous God, through whose favour we contemn all reproaches for his name sake, rather choosing

to suffer with a people truly fearing God, and eschewing evil, than to live in the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, and then end in torments, pains, miseries and astonishment beyond all description of words. Now where any poor travelling souls are thus exercised in coming out of the broad way into the narrow way of life eternal, and inwardly waiting on the Lord, receiving the instruction of his heavenly gift, such will understand more of the straight gate and narrow way, and it will be daily more easy and delightful to the obedient; and they will experience what Christ Jesus saith, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light." The yoke and burthen of Christ Jesus are indeed easy, when the mind is subjected to the saving grace of God, which teacheth what to deny, and how to walk, so as thou mayst have an answer of peace, in pleasing God the fountain of all our mercies. And when any mock or scoff, thou wilt remember, thou wast walking once in Ishmael's way of scoffing, as they are, and thou wilt pity them, and thy soul will be concerned for thy relations and acquaintance; crying to the Lord, that as he has visited thy soul through his grace, that brings salvation, and showed thee kindness, so he would do for thy neighbours. This leads into the Christian nature and spirit, not to render evil for evil, anger for anger, scoffing and reproaching for the same; but good for evil, love for hatred; praying for them as Christ Jesus did; "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

So following this meek Lamb of God, the Saviour of mankind, thou wilt have an increased sight of the difference between a Christian in name, and a Christian in nature. A Christian in name, is such that have only an outside profession of Christianity, God, Christ, the Scriptures and religion; drawing near to the Lord with the lips, and honouring him with the mouth, whilst the heart is going after sin and vanity, and is far from righteousness. A Christian in name, and profession only, is a talker of the narrow way and straight gate, but is a walker in the broad way; having a name to live, but is dead in sins and trespasses. But a true Christian in the Divine nature is circumcised inwardly, and is a Jew inward, one that is born again, without which, Christ Jesus saith, there cannot be an entering into the kingdom of heaven. He is changed in nature, cut off from the wild olive, and planted into the true vine, the Divine nature, from whence fruits of Christianity are brought forth; here the circumcision is not of the flesh, but that of the

spirit. A Christian in the Divine nature, is one that hath followed the Lamb in the regeneration, and hath put off the evil corrupt nature, and now appears amongst men in simplicity, bringing forth the fruits of the spirit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, mercy and good-will to mankind. Persevering in the way of the Lord, thy experience will increase in the knowledge of the footsteps of the flock of Christ Jesus; seeing first how thou wast turned from darkness unto the marvellous light of God's holy day, with which thy heart was searched, and sin became exceedingly sinful, and inexpressibly burthensome. Then thy soul cried out in distress to the Lord God for deliverance, who heard the cry of the poor in spirit, and the sighing of the needy, and made bare his delivering arm, and in due time gave remission of sin, and a blotting out of transgression. Times of refreshment came from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, that wrought effectually for the cutting off from the wild olive, and brought thee out of the broad way, and planted thee in the heavenly vine of life, which is the way, and made thee a branch of the vine, daily receiving sap and Divine virtue from it, and then let thee see thy daily spiritual incumbent duty, which is, to abide in the vine, Christ Jesus. For as the natural branch cannot bring forth fruit, except it abide in the natural vine, no more can any bring forth fruit to God (acceptable) except they abide in the heavenly vine, Christ Jesus.

Thus coming out of the broad way of sin and iniquity, and walking in the narrow way of righteousness and holiness, following the Lamb of God, Christ Jesus, in the regeneration, ye are fitted for his glorious kingdom; and they are indeed blessed who are come to that state, who can in truth say, For them to live is Christ, and to die, gain. Surely these have put off the sins of the flesh, the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, who is created after God in righteousness and holiness. For our life here is very uncertain and momentary, so that when we lie down in the evening, we are uncertain of rising in the morning; and when we rise in the morning, we are not certain we shall live until the evening; as the servants of God said, Our life is like water spilt upon the ground, that cannot be gathered up again; it is like unto a weaver's shuttle, quickly displayed and cut off; and like the trace of a bird through the air.

Well therefore, since our life is so uncertain, and death so certain, dear countrymen and neighbours, in the tender bowels of Christ Jesus, I beseech you, for your own soul's sake, whilst you have time, a very little time,

so to number your days, and remember your latter end, as to apply your hearts to that heavenly wisdom, which teacheth and instructeth to walk in the narrow way of self-denial, which leads to life eternal. That when the messenger of death comes, the king of terrors to all evil doers, it may meet with you walking in the way of life that endures for ever, which will be the comfort, joy and satisfaction of all who have prized their precious time, that God hath given them in the riches of his infinite love, to obtain the heavenly translation out of the kingdom of darkness, into the kingdom of his dear Son, Christ Jesus, and thereby are fitted for that hour. Then when nothing but death is expected every moment, your breath withdrawing, your relations, friends and acquaintances are about your death-bed, mourning and lamenting, you can comfort them with telling your spiritual experience, that you are passed from death unto life spiritually; and are assured, when this earthly tabernacle is dissolved, you have an house made without hands, eternal in the heavens, a mansion of joy and blessedness; that having fought the good fight, overcome sin, death, hell and the grave, through him that hath loved and redeemed you with his precious blood, Christ Jesus, the king of eternal glory, the seal of God's favour, and the joy of his salvation are upon your spirits: call to your neighbours who are ignorant of this precious work; "Oh, neighbours! do not content yourselves with the pleasures of sin which are but for a season, a little season indeed, and lose your own souls, and be shut out of the paradise of God: Oh! redeem your time, spend no more of it in sin and iniquity, in vain and foolish discourses; but prize every hour, walking in the narrow way, that ye may enter in at the straight gate into the kingdom of joy and immortal glory, where the redeemed enjoy endless blessings of peace, and unspeakable consolations, in beholding the celestial beauty of him who sits at the table of Divine love, saying, Eat and drink, O friends, of the bread and water of life, and let your souls be satisfied with the fatness of the house of God." Here, in this kingdom, is an end of all pain, sorrow, tears, conflict, cruelty of wicked men, and an end of inhuman ungodly imprisonments. Here the redeemed of the Lord are out of the reach of all cruel hard-hearted men; the weary are at rest in an immortal sabbath, beholding him who is a fountain of gardens, and the well of living waters and Divine streams. Here the new song is sung before the throne of God in the springing up of endless increasing joy, and Divine refreshments, in which arise blessings and glory, wisdom and thanksgivings;

honour, power and might be unto our God for ever and evermore, Amen.

Friends, neighbours and countrymen, who may have any doubt which are true prophets, ministers or teachers of Christ Jesus, and which are false prophets, the ministers and teachers of anti-christ, since there have been both through many ages of the world; unto all such, I make this friendly and Christian proposition, namely, To do like the noble Bereans, who were desirous of truth; search the Scriptures from Genesis the first, to Revelations the last, and mark in what way they walked, and what fruits they brought forth, that were true prophets, ministers or teachers, both under the law and prophets. And, on the other hand, what way they walked in, and what fruits they brought forth, who manifestly were declared to be the false prophets, ministers and teachers, by the true prophets, Christ Jesus, and his apostles; so may ye safely conclude, those that walk in the way of the true, and bring forth the fruits of true ministers of Christ Jesus, to be now true; and those false now, that walk in the way and footsteps of the false prophets and ministers of anti-christ. So search the Scriptures, in the Spirit of Truth that leads into all truth, and receive Christ Jesus's precept, Matt. xvii. 13, 14. about the straight gate and narrow way, of which I have in his love treated before; and in verse 15, following, he saith, Beware of false prophets, &c. (v. 16.) Ye shall know them by their fruits, &c.

Oh! thou holy Most High God of mercy and tender compassion, look down with an eye of pity on the inhabitants of the earth, and send forth thy light and truth more and more, to guide the people out of the broad way of destruction into thy narrow way of life, which leads to thy holy mountain, where there is no hurting nor destroying: O! that through the glorious out-stretched arm of thy salvation, sin may be finished, and iniquity brought to an end, that the righteousness of Christ Jesus, the dear Son of thy love, may cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Ah! for thy name's sake hear the cry of the poor, and sighing of the needy, and stretch forth thy arm and deliver thy oppressed out of their distresses, that thy creation, O Lord, may be eased, and thy great name, and the noble acts of thy Almighty arm and Divine power may be renowned gloriously through all the lands, Amen, Amen.

*An Epistle to Friends, &c.*

Dear Friends,

AND all professing the precious truth of our God, unto whom the redeeming arm of the



Lord hath reached to redeem out of the nature of sin, into the Divine nature; your mercies herein have been inexpressible.

It hath pressed on my spirit, day and night, for some time, to visit you with a few lines in tender love, to call you, in the name of the Lord to a spiritual communing with your own hearts, before the Lord, with his heavenly light, inquiring how far you have answered his heavenly call; whether you have made your calling sure, by persevering in an inward hearkening thereto; and whether you have made your election sure, by coming out of the reprobate nature, obeying and closing in spirit with that heavenly power, that translates out of the kingdom of satan, into the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

The Lord Almighty is drawing near to judgment, and will judge in righteousness, according to the root in which every one grows, and the fruit they bring forth. All the worshippers in the outward court will be trodden down under his judgments and made desolate. Therefore, in his name that lives for ever, I say unto you every where, be inward, haste inward into the Divine nature, in which alone will be a safe abiding place, in the dreadful day that comes on apace. In his name I warn all, who have gone from the obedience to the daily cross of Christ Jesus, and abide not in the holy watch, and thereby have got into a false liberty, in their ways, words, conversations, meats, drink and apparel, to return speedily, under the operation of the spiritual circumcising knife, that all which offends the Lord, and grieves his good Spirit given to profit withal, may be effectually removed, and you brought into your first fear, awe, and holy watchfulness in the light of the Lamb. So will the Lord be with you in the day of the dreadful overthrow, when both the sandy foundations, and the buildings thereon will fall together. Therefore, in the name of Almighty God, and in the sense of the majesty of his glorious presence; I cry to you, To the rock, To the rock, To the rock, so will the Lord favour you, and compass you, and make you sing of his praise; here is safety, food and water, heavenly and never-failing.

And unto you, young men, and women, and children of the people of the Lord, I say, fear and dread the living God, and bear the yoke of the Lord Jesus in your youth, and love his heavenly cross, that crosseth all your inclinations to vanity and vain pleasures. Abstain from all hurtful company, beware of your desires, that go out to pleasures, meats, drinks, and apparel, out of the fear of God; let your words be few and savoury, and your conversation in all places be in solidity and gravity,

in the heavenly awe of the omnipresent God, feeling after the enjoyment of his Divine consolations. Read the Scriptures of Truth in seriousness as oft as you can, with your minds turned to that heavenly wisdom, that will open them unto you; so will your youth preach forth the honour of truth, and you will be blessed of God, and be a joy and comfort to your tender parents. But, if you grow up in another nature, namely, that which is evil, that leads into vanity, God Almighty will cut off many of you from the land of the living; for he can raise up seed to Abraham even of the stones. Hear, fear and tremble before him, who hath beheld you with an eye of jealousy; bow before him, and let none of your enjoyments puff you up in pride and stout-heartedness, vanity and a loose life. God Almighty incline your hearts, and put his fear in your inward parts, that ye may see beyond all terrestrial riches, glories, pleasures and vanities, and be taken up in fervent love and delight in the heavenly treasures and enjoyments that never fade away, Amen, Amen.

And all you tender-hearted babes that love the sincere milk of the word of life, keep you near the source of Divine consolation, and let nothing come between it and you; so will your growth be daily from one degree of strength and stature to another in the light, beholding the snares and temptations of the enemy, and abiding in a living inward diligence, out of the foolish virgins' state, where through spiritual idleness, comes spiritual slumber, to the losing the oil, and so the lamp goes out. But abiding in a daily subjection to the heavenly cross, in the holy watch, growing up to the young man's state, wherein ye become strong, and the word of God abides in you; and you abiding in it, overcome the wicked one; and ye escape the high-way, stony and thorny ground; and so the increase of riches, or any terrestrial enjoyment, will not harm you, for you feed on another life, and behold clearly another glory, even that which is eternal and celestial; and so grow up into the state of fathers, eating of the tree of life. For you see him who is from the beginning, and in whose Almighty power is preservation out of Jeshurun's state, walking in wisdom, and in the valley of humility, where Shiloh's brook runs and flows, by whose water ye are washed, and by the holy blood and life of the Lamb sprinkled inwardly, and with his holy oil anointed, and so come within the veil, into the holy of holies, where the glory of the Ancient of Days is beheld on the mercy-seat of infinite loving kindness. And in the enjoyment of his smiles and Divine favour, being overcome with the majesty of his presence, offer up, in the



strength of his love, might, majesty and dominion, to the Lord God and the Lamb, with heavenly praises which ascend to his throne, who is over all, God blessed for ever and ever. Amen, Amen.

From your tender friend and brother in the labour and travail of the Gospel,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

Fifth month, 1689.

*A general Epistle to Friends.*

Dear Friends and brethren,

Who with a high and heavenly calling have been called out of darkness, and all the ways and works thereof, to walk in the marvellous light of the glorious day of God, that hath precious dawned; grace, mercy and peace be multiplied in and amongst you.

Friends, the great Husbandman of the whole earth, having, in the riches of his love, planted a vineyard with the choicest vine, in a fruitful hill, in this age of the world, which he hath pruned, dressed, and plentifully watered, is coming to take a view thereof, to see what fruit it bringeth forth; and therefore it weightily concerns you to see with the light of the Lord, how you have answered his great and inexpressible love, which for many years hath been abundantly extended unto you, and prize your time whilst you have it, and it is called a day of mercy. Oh! have a care that you give no room to the spirit of the world, that blinds the eye of the mind, and subjects the affections to things below, and raiseth up the old love to the world again. Beware of going out of the simplicity of the Gospel, and let there be a tender inward care to watch against all thoughts, that darken you, and grieve the Spirit of the Lord, and let your words be few and seasoned with heavenly grace. Go not out of the exercise of the precious cross of Christ Jesus, into any excess in meats, drinks or apparel, which are superfluous, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof; let not your gold or silver, lands or livings, furniture or apparel, any way ensnare you, or entangle, or overcharge you.

For oh, Friends, the enemy of Sion's prosperity hath laid deep snares in the spirit of the world in those things, to draw out the mind from the pure innocent life, obtained and enjoyed through the spiritual exercise of the cross of Christ Jesus, which crucifies us to the world and the world unto us; but if the mind goes out of the fear of the Lord, and the holy cross and heavenly watch, into a false liberty, then you will live to the world and the world to you; and here is the way that death comes over again.

Therefore, dear Friends, this is the word of

Truth to all the professors thereof, Abide in the spiritual watch tower, where you will receive manifold spiritual advantages, and will see the approaches of your soul's enemy, when, where, how, and in what, he works; and here you see clearly how sin is conceived in the thoughts, and when it is finished it brings forth death, and so you receive an understanding how sin is strengthened and how overcome, and how it is finished and brought to an end, and the everlasting righteousness of Jesus Christ brought in, and how the knowledge of God increases and comes to cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea, and so shall your peace flow as a river. And, dear Friends, keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and grow up in it, for whilst the churches kept in the purity, they were in the greatest unity; here they were with one accord, and great grace was upon them, under the dominion and beauty of the glorious power of the Lord; for Sion is a city at unity with itself, and the body edifies itself with love. But when the enemy prevailed to draw out of the love of Christ Jesus, where all the members that hold the Head are knit together as with joints and bands, then other fruits appeared. Now, dear Friends, as the pure unity of the churches is in the Spirit, where all have unity with God, who is a Spirit, and with one another in his Spirit, which is increased as all grow up in the nature of Christ Jesus, who is meek and lowly, so here all are preserved in the dominion of the edifying love of God, and in unity one with another, let there be ever so many thousands; but when the enemy prevailed to draw out of the quickening Spirit of the second Adam, and out of his nature, wherein all can follow his blessed example in washing one another's feet, and led into another spirit and wisdom which is from beneath, therein arose those bitter fruits mentioned in the Scriptures of Truth.

Therefore, dear Friends, everywhere, keep in the name and pure fear of the Most High, and grow up in the sweet nature and wisdom of the Ancient of Days, and watch against the least appearance of that which would break your unity; and if any thing of this nature hath broken in anywhere, in the name of the Lord God let it be driven out of the camp, it being one of the greatest enemies of Sion's peace and growth; for unity is our strength, and keeping our ranks here, all the enemy's endeavours without, will not be able to prevail. Friends, dwell in the spirit of meekness, which keeps in a sound judgment and spiritual discerning, where no wrath, fleshly passion, envyings or emulation can have any place; for as all grow up in the Divine nature, in the faith of Abraham, no strife and division

can have room. He said to Lot, "Let there be no strife between us, for we are brethren; if thou wilt take the right hand, I will take the left; and if thou wilt go to the left, I will go to the right." And here all controversies are ended and shut out. And now, dear Friends, with the light of God's holy day search, and see how it is with you, that so if the enemy of Zion's prosperity hath gotten any entrance, to impede or hinder the precious work of the Lord, from prospering in your souls, by turning aside into any by-path, or setting down by the way, or taking up a false rest, with the glorious light of the Lamb you may see and discern it, and speedily retire inward to hear the voice of the good Shepherd, that by him you may be led out of all the enemy's snares. And now, Friends! make use of your time and day, and all keep in your spiritual tents, in the sweet valley of humility, where you will not only see all the devices and snares of the unwearied enemy of your souls, but will also enjoy the descendings of the glory of God, in the daily opening of his Divine hand, which is full of blessings. Here you will be tenderly concerned in spirit, to cry fervently to him for yourselves and families, and for a people that have not hearts to seek nor cry to God for themselves, that in tender compassion he would open their hearts, that they might see and be sensible of the mercies of a long-suffering and long-provoked God, who hath often shaken his hand, and threatened his terrible judgments, and on the other hand, largely and wonderfully extended his mercies. In this tender exercise of spirit, you will approve yourselves the true friends of your neighbours, and you will have a hiding-place in the day of his consuming judgments, which he will

assuredly bring to pass upon all the professors of Christianity, that are out of the nature thereof, unless they repent.

And now, Oh Friends! let a true silence and sweet stillness come on all your spirits, so shall your inward ear be opened to his heavenly counsel, and you will be ready, in true bowedness of spirit to say, what the Lord hath commanded and required, that will we do, through his Divine strength; and you will be preserved in all the various exercises of the day, and out of the hurries of the people, in this season of fulfilling what was said in many of your ears, many years ago, disappointment upon disappointment, sorrow upon sorrow, exercise upon exercise, and distress upon distress; and as you are inwardly staid upon the Lord, in his eternal light, you will feel help from him in all your straits. Gather to the munition of rocks, where your bread shall be sure, and waters never fail. Be faithful in the Lord's work, and keep your meetings as the Lord requires, and that diligently, week-days as well as first-days, and the Lord will appear in the brightness of his power, and the glory of his presence you shall enjoy more and more. And, dear Friends, you that God hath blessed with outward substance, feel the opening love of Christ Jesus, who offered himself up for us, to open your hearts, and give you wisdom to take effectual care of the poor and needy, according to your ability. So to God Almighty I commit you; and having done his will, I rest in my Father's love, your tender friend and brother, in the labour and travail of the Gospel,

CHARLES MARSHALL.

London, the 25th of the  
Second month, 1697.

MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE AND TRAVELS

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL, OF

SARAH STEPHENSON.

PREFACE.

It seems desirable that the following accounts, left by Sarah Stephenson, of her life and religious engagements, showing the sufficiency of that grace, by which she was what she was, may tend to the encouragement of others to walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing, namely, the revelation of the Divine will. Conducive to this is that waiting on the Most High, to which belongs the promise of a renewal of strength, of running without weariness, of walking without being faint; which was much the experience of this beloved Friend. And though many and deep were the baptisms, on her own and others' account, in order that Truth might be exalted in the earth, yet the sweet and frequent enjoyment of Divine peace was her abundant reward.

May the perusal of these memoirs so affect the youth, into whose hands they may fall, with the love and admiration of Christian virtue, as to raise a heart-felt petition, similar to that which Sarah herself, when a child, was engaged to put up, when she was reading the lives, and happy conclusions of the faithful: "Often," said she, "have I been led to make a pause, and crave of my heavenly Father, Be thou pleased to make me like unto these thy servants, whatever my sufferings in this life may be. If thou wilt be with me in the way that I go, give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, thou shalt be my God, and I will serve thee." Thus making and keeping covenant in early life, she witnessed the declaration to be fulfilled, "Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Frequently in the decline of life, when engaged to speak of the goodness of Israel's Shepherd, she had encouragingly to testify

that he had not only graciously fed and clothed her, but had been with her through all her life; and she earnestly desired that others, for themselves, might taste and see that the Lord is good.

As many of those to whom she has expressed this desire, will probably peruse her fragments, and thereby afresh recollect her labours of Gospel love towards them, it may be profitable for such to examine how far the designed purpose has been answered, as it respects each of them,—whether, unhappily, the visitation of heavenly kindness hath been only as a morning cloud, and as the early dew, that goeth away; or whether it has been abode under and improved, so that an account of it, and of other favours, may be finally given up with joy and thankfulness to the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

These memoirs were left in detached pieces, and consequently, though each might be valuable, they did not form a satisfactory whole. This deficiency is attempted to be supplied by private information, by searching the records of meetings and by other means, and the editor has sometimes taken the liberty of a little varying the phrase of the parts, where the narration runs in the first person; and now and then of supplying a few words.

8th of the First month, 1807.

CHAPTER I.

*Her birth—early preservation and visitation—removal to Worcester—visit of E. Ashbridge and S. Worrall—removed to the Isle of Man—her exercises there—returns to England—decease of her father—settles awhile at Lancaster—first appears in the ministry at Worcester.—Welch Yearly Meeting—settles in Wiltshire.*

SARAH STEPHENSON, some of the occurrences of whose life are related in the follow-

ing pages, was born at Whitehaven, in Cumberland, in the year 1738. Her parents were Daniel and Sarah Stephenson, of whom she was the elder daughter. Her mother was the daughter of Joseph Storrs, of Chesterfield, Derbyshire. Of events which were her lot in childhood and youth, of her conflicts and consolations, and her preservation from harm and evil, at those stages of life, the subsequent account is nearly in her own words.

“The remembrance of the great love and tender care of the Shepherd of Israel, who sleepeth not by day nor slumbereth by night, from my infant days to the present time, is cause of deep admiration, reverence, and abasement of soul.

“When I was about six years of age, I had a narrow escape of being burned to death, by falling on the fire when no one else was in the room. This preservation, as also another, by which my soul was signally rescued from the jaws of the devourer, in very early life, I attribute only to Him, who hath, in the course of my pilgrimage, succoured me in many deep and proving seasons; and hath borne up my head above the mighty waters, even when the waves have risen so high as to appear likely to overwhelm me. O, my soul, mayest thou never be unmindful of the Lord’s unutterable goodness, but walk humbly and reverently before him, who is abundant in mercy and great loving kindness!

“It may not be improper to mention, that my father carried on a very considerable business in the mercantile way, and had gained much property. This, and living in what is called a genteel style, and being introduced into company of high rank when very young, so pleased my natural disposition, that I began to take steps in the paths of vanity. But, whilst I was thus pursuing with eagerness, what are called by some innocent diversions, the good Shepherd, who seeketh after those that are gone astray, looked down upon me in love, and so enamoured my soul with his beauty, that I loved to be alone with him. O, how sweet was his presence! But this lasted not long; for the enemy painted the glory of this delusive world in such pleasing colours, that I forsook the Prince of peace, and proceeded still further in the paths of vanity.

“My father, as I have mentioned, was trading largely; and he so extended his business that he could not himself have the oversight of it. This was attended with losses and many disappointments; and at length occasioned the separation of the family. My uncle, William Storrs, of Chesterfield, took me to Worcester, to my mother’s sister, and there, being afresh favoured with a precious

visitation, I was mercifully prevailed on to close in with it.

“After I had been in that city a few months, those worthy servants of the Lord, Elizabeth Ashbridge and Sarah Worrall, from America, came to my uncle’s house, and, I think, staid some days. One evening, during this time, Elizabeth, in a very weighty manner, addressed me in the language of unspeakable love; remarking also, ‘What a pity that child should have a ribbon on her head.’ Her words were piercing, and deeply affected my mind. I do not know that I closed my eyes to sleep, that night; and in the morning, not daring to put on my ribbon, I came down without it. Yet I had many fears, expecting to be censured by one of the family, as having left it off to get the favour of the Friends, and from this unjust ground, the enemy caused many seasons of sorrow. This was coming a little to the gate of stripping, which work went gradually forward; but great were my trials, both from within and without. Indeed my conflicts were so great, that I might say, ‘I ate my bread with mourning, and mingled my drink with tears;’—but then, O, what precious meetings I had at times! my spirit was so broken, that I could scarcely contain myself. Here were also divers weighty valuable friends, whose sympathy with me was great, and was a comfort to me. It likewise pleased Divine Wisdom, while I remained at Worcester, to permit me to be attacked with a slow fever, which reduced me to such a state of weakness, that it seemed not unlikely I might sink under it. But that did not prove to be the design of unerring Wisdom; but rather to make it preparatory to fresh exercise and trial of faith. In this time of great weakness and reduction of will, my mind was sweetly supported, and, at seasons, favoured with the overshadowing of Divine love, under which my soul humbly and thankfully rejoiced.

“When I was a little recovered from this illness, a trial of a close nature was my portion. I received a letter from my father, who, in a pressing manner, requested my going home to live with my dear parents, whom I had not seen for seven years. In my absence, they had removed, together with my sister and my youngest brother, to Douglas, in the Isle of Man, at which place were no others of our Society, and the inhabitants were much strangers to it. Great were the struggles and fears that attended my poor mind, and prayer was begotten that by obeying my natural parent, I might not offend my heavenly Father, who had so richly visited my soul. But the Lord was pleased so to open my way, that it appeared right to go; yet O, the fear that

covered my mind, lest I should bring a reproach on the Truth. My humble cries were put up unto him for preservation, and he was mercifully pleased to hear, and measurably to answer, my petitions. In this humbled state I left Worcester, being favoured with the love and sympathy of many worthy Friends. Catherine Payton, who then lived at Dudley, was one: she wrote a sweet consolatory letter to a Friend, which was given to me to peruse, in which she said, 'If she must go, let her take some Friends' books with her; and may she be preserved, like Lot in Sodom, a preacher of righteousness.'

"I went on horseback to Liverpool, where I was kindly received by an agent of my father, to whom he had written to procure me a passage; and his wife, being a tender-spirited religious woman, was like a mother to me. She was not of our Society. I staid at Liverpool about two weeks before I could get a conveyance, in which time many Friends took kind notice of me, and I contracted a near affection for some of them. I believe their minds were drawn in true love to me; and, being grounded, I trust, on that foundation that is not to be shaken, it has stood many years, and, I hope, will remain. But this favour was the great Master's kindness, for which, with multiplied mercies vouchsafed to me, a poor worm, may my soul reverently and devotedly follow him.

"I went on board one of the packets, with my mind humbly turned to the great Preserver of men, whose ways are in the deep, and beheld in the mighty waters; but, though it was quiet, I was soon sick and went to bed, the sea being rough and the vessel leaky; and in the night there was such a storm, that it seemed likely we should be lost. The poor seamen were in great confusion, and I in the cabin alone, not expecting to see the light of another day. But O, the unutterable love of Christ, who, in this time of great danger was pleased to be near, and kept my mind in a sweet calm, so that had he been pleased to permit the sea to be my grave that night, I believe my spirit would have been mercifully received into everlasting rest. O my soul, mayest thou never be unmindful of his manifold mercies and deliverances, and walk in fear and humble obedience all the remainder of thy days, that when the close approaches, thou mayest be ready to enter, with the glorious Bridegroom, into the marriage chamber.

"The storm abating, we were favoured to arrive next day at our intended port; where I was received by my near relations with affection; but my new situation opened new trials. Here I was as one alone, and viewed myself like a sparrow upon the house-top, a

pelican in the wilderness, or an owl in the desert. O, the many exercises I passed through! the Lord only knows them; but my prayers being strong to him for preservation, he was pleased to hear my cry and at seasons to feed and comfort my needy soul. I found my safety to depend on keeping much inward, and not mixing with the people; though some of the genteeler sort showed me marks of respect, and invited me to their houses; but I declined going, for their company was burdensome to me. I used to walk in the fields alone, and can feelingly sympathise with honest minds, who are remotely situated and placed as alone. I wish to encourage them singly and steadily to lean upon and trust in the God of Israel, who will not leave nor forsake his poor wrestling seed, but will work deliverance for them in the way that is best.

"Hearing that two women were come to the island, who were said to be Quakers, I went to see them, in hopes of having in them companions in the right way; but, to my painful disappointment, I found them playing at cards: so I visited them no more.

"Though many were the trials, yet I have cause to believe that my going to the island was right. One of these trials, which came very near to me, was this. My dear father, whom I tenderly loved, and who loved me much, requested me to do something which I felt was opposite to the cross of Christ, and there were present at the time one or two of those called gentlemen; but, not daring to offend the precious Witness, I declined compliance, though it was a great trial to offend my dear father. None but those alike circumstanced can tell how great is the trial in such a case. My dear parent was so displeased that I should disobey him, that it was a considerable time before he was reconciled. I endeavoured by watchful attention and obedience, to evince from what motive the refusal arose; and after a time his love not only returned, but I think was greater than before: what abundant cause there is to trust in the Lord Jehovah, who has a right to be loved, honoured and obeyed above all.

"When I had been on the island about a year and a half, my dear mother one day asked me if I would like to go and see my friends in England that summer. I then made but little answer to her kind offer; but, being deeply humbled and very desirous to be rightly directed, a great fear came over my mind, lest, by being gratified in what was so very desirable, the company of valuable friends, I should be going away from that suffering, which possibly, was my proper allotment; and so, instead of being strengthened and comforted, should suffer loss. In this deeply tried state

I remained several days; for thus in wisdom it pleased my heavenly Father to prove me, whether I would move without his counsel or not. I supplicated him in prostration of mind, and sometimes of my body also; and in his own time, he was pleased to break in upon my soul, and utter the language, Go, and I will be with thee. Then, O, the reverent thanksgiving that flowed from my poor suppliant spirit! It may be best conceived by those who have trodden a like path. I believed with my whole heart, and can say that all the promises of adorable Goodness are indeed yea and amen for ever!

"After being thus favoured, I informed my dear parents, that as they were so kind as to propose my having the pleasure of visiting my friends, I should be glad to accept of it. My dear father then went with me to a vessel which was ready to sail for Liverpool, and putting me under the care of a captain of another ship who was a passenger, we parted, and I never saw my dear parent more, for he died before I returned. Had I gone without feeling the approbation of the Redeemer of mankind, I think the trial would have been much greater than it was, though it was indeed a close one.

"I arrived at Liverpool, and was kindly received by my friends, and thence went to the Northern Yearly Meeting held that year, (namely, 1762) at Bolton, in company with William Rathbone and his sister.

"There was Catherine Payton, also Samuel Fothergill, and others of the Lord's faithful servants, many of whom were affectionately kind to me. From Bolton I went to Chesterfield and to Worcester, and into Wiltshire. After having visited my relations in these places, I returned into the North, to Lancaster, where I had a letter informing me that my dear father was ill, and I set off in hopes of seeing him, but he was dead and buried before I could reach home: which was not a small trial; but in this I have had to trace deep and hidden wisdom.

"To return to my first going home; I had cause to believe it was in right ordering, and that it was of some use to my dear sister, who was quite in the gaiety of the world, though there was no evident effect till after my father's decease. The winter coming on, we concluded to remain on the island until spring, and then we all removed to Liverpool. My youngest brother, who was, I think, about ten or eleven years old, was sent to school; my sister, after a few months, went to Birmingham; and my mother and I were left. After awhile, my mother inclined to give up housekeeping, and to have an apartment in the house of a valuable Friend. When she was settled there,

much to her own satisfaction, I went to Lancaster, to my cousin William Dillworth, who had written to request that I would come to be as one of his own children. Indeed he was a most tender father, and his daughters as my own sisters. The families also of my cousins Thomas Dillworth and John Bradford, were such families of love, that they also seemed like so many fathers and mothers to me.

"I may now mention that while I was at Liverpool I had a prospect of the awful service of the ministry; and after being awhile at Lancaster, my cousin John Bradford had a sense of it, and mentioned it in a private opportunity. But, I saw myself such a poor creature, and the work so awfully great, that I did not give up to it during the two years I was there, nor until sore trials made me willing; though I was once so near obeying the heavenly call, that my hand was put on the seat before me, to help myself upon my feet. But O, the fears which kept me back, and the bitter cups which they occasioned! I believe they would never have been my portion, had I simply followed Him who had been my support in many seasons of deep distress, and my sweet comforter in the day of trouble.

"During this exercise, a further trial attended me. I received information from Liverpool, that my dear mother was so very poorly, that it was needful for me to come speedily to her. I hastened thither accordingly, though it was pinching to me to leave my dear relations at Lancaster, and finding her very unwell, I staid with her a considerable time; and as her complaints rather increased, my mind was exercised beyond what I can well express. About this time we received a letter from our relations in Wiltshire, inviting us to go there, hoping a journey might be of service. As my mother was willing to try, we set out and got to Worcester, where we made a little stay. Here my gracious Lord and law-giver was pleased to lay a concern weightily upon me, to enter on that great work of the ministry; and in one of the meetings, in which were two valuable ministers, who had something very weighty to drop, and who had a sense of my state, the power of Truth was such, that I dared no longer to delay; and in awful fear stood up, having these expressions given to me, 'Cry aloud, spare not. Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins.' I was then sweetly comforted, and being favoured with the unity of the Lord's faithful servants, it was very strengthening to my doubting mind.

"After staying a week or two at Worces-

ter, my dear mother gradually getting better, we set out for Wilts, and remaining a few weeks there, I left my mother finely recovered at my uncle John Fry's, and went to see my relations in Bristol. Here, as well as when in Wiltshire, I was at times engaged to appear in a short testimony, which seemed acceptable to Friends, and the solid part took a kind notice of me. While at Bristol, my mind was engaged under a sense of duty, to attend the Welch Yearly Meeting, to be held at Bulth, in Brecknockshire, the 5th of the fifth month, 1767. Being young, and knowing of no Friends going thither, I was much sunk; but on making my state of mind known to one or two Friends, my way, as to the outward, was made easy. Catherine Payton, Rachel Wilson, and divers others who were there, were as nursing mothers to me; but what was above all, was the presence of my dear Redeemer, enabling me to do what little service he was pleased to require: with which, I had reason to believe Friends had good unity. This was cause of humble thankfulness to the God of my life, who continues to regard the dust of Zion, and to satisfy her poor with bread. O my soul, mayst thou ever fear, and walk reverently before Him who is the dread of nations!

"I returned pretty directly from this meeting to Bristol, with the reward of sweet peace for this little service. After staying there some months, I had a letter from my uncle John Fry, requesting I would come to Sutton, where he resided, which I did."

## CHAPTER II.

*Visits Cumberland—Western counties—first engaged in a family visit—goes to the men's meeting at Lavington—exercises and relief, with reflections—death of a young child, a relation—account of meetings in Wiltshire.*

It appears by the foregoing relation, that Sarah Stephenson first appeared as a public minister in Worcester in the year 1767, and in the twenty-ninth year of her age. She was then a member of the Monthly Meeting of Hardshaw, in Lancashire, of which Liverpool meeting forms a part; but she was recommended the same year, by a certificate of removal, with her mother, to the Monthly Meeting of Chippenham, in Wiltshire, in the compass of which was Sutton Benger, the residence of her uncle John Fry. Of this Monthly Meeting she had not been long a member, before she applied for its concurrence in a service which lay before her. This was doubtless her first application of the kind,

and the meeting, adverting to what may be called the infancy of her ministry, certified that she had lately appeared in a short but lively testimony; that she was in good unity, and that her life and conversation corresponded with her appearance and profession. The certificate, which was granted in the third month, 1768, was addressed to Friends of Worcester, or elsewhere, yet she has not left an account of her visit to them, but relates the other part of her errand, nearly in the following words:

"In the spring, 1768, my mind was strongly impressed with a sense of duty, to visit the meetings in Cumberland, my native county. Accordingly I set forward and got safe to Lancaster, and thence to Carlisle, where the Yearly Meeting, for the Northern counties, was held. I had the company of my dear cousin William Dillworth, Sarah Taylor of Manchester, and Esther Tuke of York. The latter intended after the Yearly Meeting was over, to visit the meetings in the county; and, being informed of my prospect, kindly took me under her wing, and was indeed a tender mother in the truth. After her return home, she wrote me an instructive and affectionate letter, signifying she felt the want of my company after I had left her. This tended to strengthen my mind in humble hope that my moving was in His counsel, who leaveth not his little striplings, as they confide in him alone, and keep under his holy government. I returned pretty directly home, with sweet peace of mind."

In the year 1769, she attended the Yearly Meeting, and visited meetings in Essex. She met there with tender sympathizing Friends; but says, the greatest of all favours was that of having the company of the Ancient of Days, who was mercifully near to help, and afforded strength to answer his own requirements.

"In 1770, I visited, she continues, the counties of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. One night I slept in a damp bed, which much affected my health. When we got to Kingsbridge, (for it seems she had a companion,) I was very poorly; but being at the house of William Prideaux, his wife, who I believe was a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, was affectionately kind, and, being dipped into the low and closely exercised state of my mind, was made a messenger of consolation to me. She was one of those who sat much at her dear Lord and Master's feet. With him, she was frequently permitted to sup, and I believe he many times supped with her, supporting her exercised and deeply proved spirit. In this journey, He who openeth and none can shut, was many times near, to support and abili-



tate to do what he was pleased to require, for which and his abundant goodness many ways, may my spirit ever love, fear, and obey him, for He is worthy for ever."

For this journey, she had the certificate of Chippenham Monthly Meeting, which was granted in the eighth month, and returned in the twelfth. The year 1771 must therefore be assigned for her first employment in a service in which she was during the remainder of her life so much engaged, namely, the visiting of Friends in their families. The origin of this, she describes nearly as follows :

"A very close exercise came now on my mind in a line in which I had not been engaged. He who is pleased, in descending love, to open to the understandings of his children, his blessed will, through the Spirit of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Advocate, was pleased to lay a concern on me to visit the families of Friends at Melksham, a line of service then so new, and particularly so in this country, that I apprehend few, if any, could remember a visit of this kind having been paid in it. From a view of being such a poor, weak, and contemptible instrument, I frequently adopted the language of Gideon, 'I am the least in my Father's house;' and from an apprehension of great unfitness, was very desirous of being excused, endeavouring to persuade myself that the Lord would remove the concern from me; till, in compassionate regard, he was pleased to administer sickness, and to suffer distress of mind to attend. In this time I was brought very low, and, in my own apprehension, had every symptom of a decline, except a cough; so that I looked for the messenger of death, with a desire to pay the debt due to my friends, by a sacrifice of life. But, oh, when I looked up with desire of beholding the gates of mercy open for my reception, it seemed clear to me, that if I did not obey the discovery that had been made, it would remain, as I then saw it, a total obstruction to my soul's entering into the blessed kingdom of eternal rest. This awful distressing prospect reduced all within me into resignation to his blessed will; and then the smiles of his favour arose upon my spirit, and strengthened me to move under the influence of his love. I laid my concern before Friends, and way was opened for my moving in this weighty work; which the Lord graciously owned by his blessed Spirit, from family to family: and I may thankfully acknowledge that the minds of Friends were generally open to receive what I had to communicate; so that I had cause to bless and praise the holy name of Him who lives for ever.

"This was the beginning of a work in

which my good Master has since been pleased often to employ me, which has been very arduous, through deaths often and deep baptisms: I think scarcely any service so much so; but he leadeth down to the bottom of Jordan, in order to qualify to feel the different states of individuals in families, and in this abased state to speak as the Spirit giveth utterance. And, for these humiliating labours the reward is sure, and preciously sweet; though not always given in our own time, but in the blessed Messiah's, which is the best and right time.

"In the morning, 28th of the second month, 1771, as I was musing, a state of dejection covered my mind, so that I was fearful I should become a prey to the enemy of my soul; and was deeply humbled, and an ardent prayer was raised to the Father and Fountain of strength and wisdom for preservation. And He was pleased in love and great condescension, to convey to my soul the sweet overshadowing power of his love, for which may all within me bow, and in fear and reverence, bless his holy Name."

"The men's Monthly Meeting (for at this time we had no women's) being to be held at Lavington, the 6th of the twelfth month, 1771, a weight rested with me for some days, with an apprehension that I must attend it; but a clear sight of its being the requiring of heaven, and the overshadowing of the Divine presence and love, were withheld. Though I sought with fervency of spirit, for Divine direction, it was still withheld; I believe, to try whether, like Saul, I would go forth without it; which I dared not do, so I concluded to stay at home. But about an hour before the time of setting out, it pleased Infinite Goodness, in great condescension, to cover my spirit with his love, and with indubitable certainty of its being his requiring, to which all within me was subject; and gratitude overspread my soul, humble praises ascending from my lips."

The reader may now perceive that a connected narration is not to be expected. Probably the author of the memorandums, which are offered to his perusal, might, in making them, intend them rather as helps to her own recollection of past instances of Divine support, than as materials for a journal. The want of exactness in arrangement cannot now be supplied, and the following remarks are here introduced without the certainty of their being placed in due order of time.

"My spirit hath been, for a considerable length of time, baptized, and in much pain and distress, by day and also by night, and that sweet calm which I had before often felt when I awoke, was withdrawn; a serenity in

which my mind felt and understood that declaration, 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.' Instead of this, pain was now administered; in this trying season, all comfort was withdrawn; the stone was heavy on the well's mouth, and I was sensible of but little strength to roll it away. Language fails me to express the painful feelings of my mind; but, O! the invisible Power, who was pleased to permit me to be thus tried, gave me to behold the unsafety of drawing my comfort from visible things; and the secret manifestation of help was mercifully afforded, to apply with a broken heart and a contrited spirit, to Him who holds the winds in his hands, and causeth them to blow where it pleaseth him. In this state was brought to my remembrance that text, 'The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.' My mind was led deeply to consider an awful eternity, and the purity that is necessary for the inhabitants of the new Jerusalem. These considerations, with indisposition of body, greatly humbled my mind, with this attendant thought, perhaps kind Providence is opening the eye of my soul more clearly into things of this nature, that I may be prepared for my final change.

"Second month, 1772. My cousin Jefferys' daughter Catherine was taken ill, and remained so several days. She was a child uncommonly ripe for her age. [Probably not more than four years old.] The sweetness of her disposition was extraordinary, and her patience in sickness, very instructive. I waited much upon her, esteeming it a favour, because of the sweet covering that attended, and particularly so when her innocent spirit departed. I think I never experienced any thing to equal it, on a similar occasion. She died on my lap; at which time Divine love, in an uncommon manner, covered my spirit, and boundless Goodness gave me to feel beyond what I can or dare express, being permitted to behold her rest, and taste her joy, in unutterable bliss; which reverently bowed all within me in awful prostration and thanksgiving before Him who is glorious in holiness, and fearful in praises, and doeth wonders."

### CHAPTER III.

*Visit to Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, &c.—to Dorset, Hants, London, &c.—Dorset and Somerset—Circular Meeting—London—family visit in Wilts—Devonshire and Cornwall—indisposition and exercise—family visits in London—in Bristol.*

In the fifth month, 1772, Sarah Stephenson obtained the certificate of her Monthly

Meeting, for the purpose of paying a religious visit to Friends in Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, and some adjacent counties. In the course of it, she was again employed in the weighty service of visiting the families at Lancaster, and her relation William Dilworth of that town, a Friend in the ministry already mentioned, bore her company in that engagement. She returned her certificate in the eleventh month of the same year, and acknowledged that she had been favoured with Divine regard in the visit, and that she had peace and satisfaction in giving herself up to the service.

The next year there are no traces of her having been exercised in travelling, until the eighth month; when she laid before her Monthly Meeting her concern to visit Friends in Dorset, Hants, London, Essex, and adjacent places. Having obtained the concurrence of the meeting, she set forward and was soon engaged in a family visit among Friends at Shaftsbury, Dorset. Her engagements of this kind did not finish here; she was alike employed at Witham and Colchester, in Essex, and at Norwich; and she visited meetings in Dorset, part of Hants, Essex, Norfolk, and part of Suffolk. She returned by London, and through a part of Oxfordshire; and on giving up her certificate in the third month, 1774, expressed her great satisfaction.

In 1774, she accompanied Jane Shipley, a Friend in the ministry, of Ashmore, Dorsetshire, in a visit to Somersetshire, and part of Dorset. In the early part of 1775, she was unwell; but on reviewing her late engagements in the discharge of apprehended duty, she felt comfort and peace; of which she gives the following account.

"Felt some bodily complaints, which in my apprehension seemed alarming; but the covering of inexpressible sweetness was spread over my mind, with a sense of its being a taste of the reward which the Lord will give for faithfulness. Encouragement thus sprung in my soul, with hope or belief that my late engagements relative to the church met with Divine approbation. This, succeeded with tender love to the whole race of mankind, sweetly consoled my drooping spirit. Under this Divine influence, if consistent with the will of my heavenly Father, it would have been comfortable to have quietly departed; but if it is his pleasure to continue my stay here a little longer, I humbly hope he will be pleased to condescend to direct my steps; and then I ask no more but, at last, a sweet admission into rest."

In the ninth month, this year, she had a certificate to attend the Circular Meeting, to be held at Coleshill, in Warwickshire. The

meetings thus denominated were annually held in one of the seven counties of Warwick, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. They were chiefly large public meetings for worship, attended by persons of other religious professions, and also drew together no small concourse of Friends. They have since been discontinued by direction of the Yearly Meeting, and the last of them was that at Gloucester in 1786.

In 1776 she again yielded to a concern to visit the meetings of Friends in the metropolis, and was at the Yearly Meeting. In London she had for a companion Esther Marshall, of Leeds, in Yorkshire; but here they parted, and Sarah, going into Essex, visited the families of the Monthly Meetings of Coggeshall and Felsted. She then returned to London, and afterwards visited the meetings in Hampshire; in which county she was joined by Mary Powell, of Nursted, near Devizes. About this time Elizabeth Merryweather, of Rumsey, Hants, daughter of Samuel and Deborah Waring, of Alton, was concerned to visit the families of Friends at Fordingbridge and Ringwood, in that county, and at Poole in Dorset. Sarah found her mind engaged to join her in this visit; which she accordingly did, and afterwards returned home by way of Shaftsbury. The certificate which she had obtained for this visit, had been addressed to Friends in London and parts adjacent. On her return in the tenth month, she gave an account of the different parts which she had visited, and though some of them must have appeared to be rather beyond what might be called adjacent, her account was satisfactory to the meeting.

The year 1777 was a busy one with our industrious friend. In the first month she laid before her Monthly Meeting a concern, which although it was one of those she esteemed arduous, did not occasion a long journey. It was a family visit to Friends in Wilts, the county of her residence. In the third month she informed the meeting, the concurrence of which she had, that she had paid the visit pretty generally; and that, though the task had been laborious, it had been accompanied with a good degree of satisfaction. These are her words; and they form a phrase not uncommon among us. The critic may cavil, and call in question their accuracy; but the humble diffident servant of the Lord will thankfully receive whatever degree of joy he may be pleased to afford, as the reward of service, and say it is enough.

Our friend had no sooner given in her report of this visit, than she spread before the meeting a prospect of another, which had for some time engaged her mind. This was

to visit Friends in Devonshire, and the families of Friends at Plymouth, adding that she apprehended this service would be succeeded by an engagement of duty to visit Friends in Cornwall. The meeting concurred, and she visited in her way most of the meetings in Dorset. Arriving in Devonshire, she had Ann Byrd, of Uffcolme, for a companion, and they visited the meetings and most of the families in that county. She also had the company of this Friend to the families of two of the three Monthly Meetings in Cornwall; and in one of these, that of Catherine Phillips, of Redruth, already mentioned in this narrative by the name of Catherine Payton, of Dudley. In the other Monthly Meeting, she went generally alone, as to an outward companion; yet, on returning her certificate in the tenth month, she reverently confessed that she was not destitute of Divine help, which was sufficiently afforded to enable her to pass through the laborious service.

On this journey she was favoured with the views and feelings related in the following account.

“1st of eighth month, 1777. This morning poorly in health, and feeling myself very unwell, was led to look towards an everlasting abode. Under this view my spirit was greatly broken and tendered with the love of God, so that I felt a willingness to leave this world, if he was graciously pleased to prepare me for his holy rest: and the view of being taken off, though far from my dear relations, did not seem hard, provided I might be received by Divine mercy. But though, under this awful heavenly covering, there appeared some of the true gold or right weight, in me, yet I saw there needed more of the consuming fire of God. This caused a fear, lest, when I was brought to the balance of the sanctuary I should be found wanting. But my spirit was so enclosed in Divine sweetness, that, with brokenness of heart, I was enabled to adore my Maker, and pray for the continuance of his mercy and judgment, that thereby my soul might become so refined, that when it pleased him to say, Time here to thee must be no longer, I may not be found wanting; but, through the deep in-working of his holy Spirit, and the abounding of his mercy, forgiveness and great loving-kindness, through the mediation of our dear Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I may be favoured with admission into his holy kingdom, there to sing the song of the redeemed.”

In the two following years we again find her occupied in the engagement of visiting families. Early in 1778, she set out for London, having first obtained the certificate of her Monthly Meeting, and visited the fami-

lies of the Monthly Meetings of Gracechurch street and Ratcliff. Esther Marshall was her companion in these visits, and at least in the former, Deborah Townsend of London. She acknowledged on her return, that through the daily renewal of Divine help, they were enabled to perform that laborious work; although she hinted at the deep baptisms, which fell to the lot of such as were engaged to visit the Seed, because it lies low, and is much oppressed.

In the first month, 1779, she informed her Monthly Meeting of a concern to visit the families of Friends in the large meeting of the city of Bristol. Her account at giving back her certificate was, that they were enabled through Divine help, to perform the service to their own peace; and she added that, if they had obtained any crowns they cast them down, with humble adoration, at the throne of the Almighty; to whom belongs, said she, the power, thanksgiving, and praise, now and for ever.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Visits Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire—families at Sheffield—Ackworth school—ill at Leeds—visits families there, and at Lancaster—Thomas Gauthorp—Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Scotland—families there—and at Newcastle, Shields and Sunderland—Mabel Wigham—visits Durham—families at Kendal—and a second time at Lancaster—Coalbrookdale and North Wales—a meeting in a grave-yard, Builth—three of her written memorandums.*

EARLY in the spring of 1780, Sarah Stephenson set out, with due credentials, according to the good order of the Society, on a long journey, which took up not only the remainder of that year, but much of the next. The relation of it, for the most part in her own words, is as follows:

“I left Melksham the 14th of the fourth month, 1780, accompanied by Jane Shipley, and went by way of Cirencester, Odington, Stow, Shipston, and Warwick, where, and at some other places, we had meetings, and reached Coventry the 24th. Next day we had a meeting there, in which Truth arose, and different states were spoken to, in a good degree of authority. In an opportunity after dinner, heavenly goodness broke in, and we had a sweet open time together, under the renewings of life, in which we parted. We went that afternoon to Hinkley, had a meeting there, and reached Leicester on the 26th. My mind was low, and dipped under the feeling of the oppression of the pure Seed, through

the prevalence of a wordly spirit. The 27th, in a meeting there, I had very close labour, but a little life arose; and after dinner, many Friends being present, we had a tendering opportunity, which a little relieved my mournful spirit. The 28th we had a meeting at Loughborough, and afterwards rode to Castle Donington, to see our dear friend, Ruth Follows. Then we went to Nottingham, and were at the two meetings there, on first-day the 30th. In the afternoon Truth spread. We also had a tendering opportunity at John Leaver’s, in the evening. The next day we went to see the widow Coulson, who seemed in a sweet tender frame, and not far from her last and safe home. Oh, how comfortable it is to see greenness in advanced age! We had also other opportunities in Friends’ families to satisfaction; and in the afternoon we rode to Mansfield, twelve miles, in a very heavy rain. The 2nd of the fifth month we had a meeting there, rather a healing comfortable season, after which we went to Chesterfield, and had a meeting on the 3d; a few not of our Society attended, and considerable tenderness appeared. The 6th, we went to Highfield, about one mile from Sheffield.

“I had, for a considerable time, had a concern to visit families at Sheffield; and the weight of it increasing, I found it best to open my concern to the elders, my companion being free to accompany me in this service. It was united with by Friends, and we began the weighty undertaking on first-day, the 8th, after the two meetings there. We had upwards of eighty sittings, besides the usual meetings, in less than three weeks. The labour was great and the baptisms many, on account of the low state of some, and the rebellious disposition of others. Yet there is a faithful living remnant preserved amongst them, with whom we were at seasons refreshed, and had humbly to rejoice in the Lord’s house of prayer. The visit was accomplished under the covering of Divine love, and we left Sheffield peaceably. May my soul ever be clothed with humble thankfulness to the God of my life, who hath mercifully regarded so poor a creature; unto him belongeth all praise, and unto us abasement and contrition.

“From Sheffield we went to Thorn; and staid a few days to rest at the house of my companion’s brother. Whilst there, there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning, and the largest hail-stones I ever saw. It was thought some measured three inches round. The 3d of the sixth month we went to Pontefract, and on first-day morning were at meeting there, in which much close searching labour was bestowed on a revolting people. We left them under a belief of having faithfully

discharged our duty, and went to Ackworth. We were at the afternoon and evening meetings there, owned by Him who uttered the language, 'Suffer little children to come unto me.' There was a beautiful flock of children, near two hundred, in very pretty order. My spirit was much concerned for their preservation, and humble cries arose to the Fountain of living mercies, to favour them with the blessing of life for evermore. The 5th, in the morning we attended the committee at Ackworth school, and in the afternoon went to Barnsley, and on the 6th to Burton, where many of the neighbours came to the meeting, and it was an open favoured time. The burial-ground there is said to be the first that was in the possession of Friends; and to have been given by a sober man, who was moved with pity, on seeing a corpse indecently treated. The 7th we went to Wakefield; the meeting there was a low wading time; but I hope the states of the people were fully spoken to: in the afternoon we went to Gildersome. On the 8th, was a silent meeting; but I hope not an unprofitable one. We had the company of our dear friend Robert Walker. In the afternoon we went to John Hustler's, near Bradford, and on the 9th had a meeting at Bradford, in which Truth arose, and we parted under a degree of the Father's love. The 10th we went to Leeds, and lodged at my cousin Gervas Storr's, where I received many marks of kind attention. I was seized with a violent attack of a complaint in my stomach, which held many hours; and had not kind Providence been pleased to give a little ease, it seemed unlikely that I could have continued long; but He whose ways are ways of wonder, and unsearchable, has a right to use such means as will most effectually answer the purpose he has in view. My indisposition brought me very low and weak, in which state I was made submissive to the requiring I felt from him to visit the families at Leeds. This service was entered upon, under the humble sense of the Master being near; who giveth to his little dependent children, a degree of that faith by which mountains are removed, and hope and confidence increased. My dear companion and myself went to the families without any other company, and in the various sittings had to travail deep, by which various states were measurably opened; and He, who remains to be the good Samaritan, was pleased to convey, through his poor unworthy instruments, the searching wine; giving to declare to some that, if they would sufficiently bear his cleansing power, the healing oil would certainly be administered.

"We had to feel for some, who, resting in

their moral righteousness, were in that mournful state of luke-warmness, which is hard to reach; yet I hope some of these were aroused, at least for the present. May they not again sink into supineness. I should not omit mentioning, that, though we had to be deeply baptized for the dead, there is a faithful remnant, with whom our spirits were refreshed, being favoured to drink together of that stream that makes glad the city and heritage of God.

"We left Leeds the 10th of the seventh month, under a thankful sense of having been in the way of our duty, enjoying that sweet reward of peace, which encourages poor travellers to journey on. We took divers meetings in our way to Lancaster; and in most or all of them we had deep travail of spirit, under a sense of luke-warmness, and a worldly spirit. But blessed be that Name who yet supports his depending children, who cry to him, feeling that they have no might of their own, and that without Him they can do nothing. In some of these meetings his power raised the dead, and gave us afresh humbly to bless his holy name.

"We reached Lancaster on the 20th. On the next day was the week-day meeting, in which my spirit was dipped as to the very bottom of Jordan. Under this baptism, it was clearly opened to me that I must visit families in this place. O! how great was the exercise. My dear companion was made sensible that a fresh engagement had taken hold of my mind, but I suffered the discourager to come in, and gave Friends leave to appoint some meetings forward, thinking if the concern respecting Lancaster continued, we might return. We staid the meetings at Lancaster on first-day, in which we had an open time. Divers states were opened before me, and I was enabled to deliver what was given me, with strength, and I trust, with life. The next day, we went to Yelland, and had close labour there; then to Height. In the meeting there, but little light was to be felt: my spirit mourns for the lapsed state of the church! Thence we went to Ulverstone, and the next day had a meeting at Swarthmore, which was a season of deep baptism; but the power of Truth arose, and divers states were visited, the sincere-hearted encouraged, the idle warned, and an affectionate invitation given to the wandering prodigals. It was a season of favour. The next morning we went to Hawkshead, and had a meeting. It was a low time, my mind being much depressed and under an increasing concern to visit the families at Lancaster.

"We, however, went on to Kendal, and thence I wrote to my cousin William Dil-

worth, informing him that we could not proceed without returning to visit the families. He acquainted the elders with it, and they expressed their unity; and on first-day he mentioned it at the close of the morning meeting; which, as we were told, so affected the minds of Friends as to bring a great solemnity over them. We staid the meetings at Kendal on first-day, which were low baptizing seasons, on second-day went to Lancaster, and on third-day morning entered on the arduous service before us. Deep were the baptisms, and close the labour that were attendant, in passing along; but under all discouragements, we were helped to deal plainly, and to warn faithfully, as required. This, through Divine favour, was often attended with that power which not only chained down opposing spirits, but broke some of the visited into tears; for which we were humbly thankful to Him who has the hearts of all men in his hand. There is also a precious remnant in that place, with whom our spirits were sweetly refreshed, and from whom we received encouragement. Having had about seventy sittings we closed the service, and took leave of them at their week-day meeting, the day following, under the tendering influence of Divine love.

“We next went again to Kendal, calling by the way to see our ancient friend, Thomas Gawthorp, who was confined to his bed, by an accident. We sat by him to satisfaction. The heavenly frame of his spirit was to me truly comfortable, and a belief was fixed with me, that he would soon be removed from works to a joyful reward. We afterwards heard that he remained about two months and then sweetly departed.

“On sixth-day the — of eighth month, we were at the week-day meeting at Kendal, in which strength was given to point out the danger of a worldly spirit, even amongst the well-minded, if not guarded against. Next day we went to Moreland, and had a meeting, in which we were led into close labour, and to give an awakening call to the lukewarm. Thence we proceeded to Penrith, Terril, Mosedale, Coldbeck and Wigton, having a meeting at each place, the latter a favoured one, in which Truth reigned. O, how gracious and good is the Most High, to own, with his life-giving presence, in order to gather and convince that he delights not in the death of those that die; but that he would have all to be saved! My mind was often mournful on account of the state of the church, and the secret language of my soul was, ‘By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small.’ We went on to Holm, Kirkbride, Moorhouse, Carlisle, Sikeside and Solport, in which places we had meetings.

“The 4th of the ninth month, we set out

for Scotland, and on the 6th reached Kelso, where we had an appointed meeting on the 7th, a season owned by the Master of our assemblies, who graciously blessed the bread, and handed it forth, to the tendering of the spirits of most present before Him who can bless the provision of Zion, and satisfy her poor with bread, giving them afresh to trust in his holy name. Thence we went to Edinburgh, and were at the meetings there on first-day, a close searching time. The next morning we set off for the north. Having crossed Queen’s ferry, which is about two miles over, we travelled ninety miles, and got safe to Montrose, and thence to Stonehaven, where we had a favoured meeting. We had afterwards an opportunity with two youths, to whom it seemed a day of visitation; and indeed we were all tendered together, so that the current of life ran sweetly, and warning, and caution were also given. It was a season that I hope will not soon be forgotten. We parted under the baptizing power of Truth, our own spirits being sweetly refreshed. We then went to Aberdeen and Old Meldrum. The two meetings at the latter place were large and satisfactory, many of the town’s people being there. I felt a concern to visit the families belonging to that meeting, with so much weight and clearness, that I dared not omit opening the matter to Friends, who readily made way; and my dear companion and myself, accompanied by James Anderson of Kelso, entered on that service. The number of families was about twenty, part of them scattered about the country. I think our good Master was pleased to give us an evidence that the engagement was right, and was near, in his condescending love, to open the states of the different families. I was led to deal with them in much plainness, under the covering of that gathering love, which I felt mercifully extended to them. O, may the labour of the Lord’s servants, many of whom have of late been sent amongst them, be as bread cast upon the waters, and profitably found after many days. I believe the good Seed is sown in many parts hereaway. Whether it may visibly flourish, I leave; but I believe the veil of prejudice is rent in many minds. We finished the family visit and returned to Aberdeen with the evidence of peace, Almighty Goodness having been mercifully near, in a manner that reduced all within me into nothingness before him, and led into humble adoration and silent thanksgiving. May my soul ever live under a lively sense of his greatness, goodness and mercy, and of my own weakness.

“After having an appointed meeting at Aberdeen, a season owned by the Master of our assemblies, we went to Ury, the place where



Robert Barclay, the apologist, formerly lived. His grandson, Robert Barclay, and his wife, not members of our religious Society, treated us with much respect. Then we proceeded to Montrose. The road was hilly, and the wind high and cold, which made travelling fatiguing, but I could not think it hard, for as I rode along my cup sweetly overflowed, so that I was thankful I was there. May my soul never forget such seasons of favour; but ever dwell where the Most High condescends to instruct his servants, namely, in the humble paths of obedience; that so a happy admittance into rest, through the mercy of our dear Redeemer, may be granted, when time to me here shall be no more.

“On first-day we had two public meetings at Montrose, to which many of the town’s people came, and behaved well. In the morning, my spirit was deeply centered and awfully abstracted, when, after a time of solemn silence, I felt Truth lead forth to public service; and, I think, if ever Divine Goodness caused the stream of the ministry to flow through me, it did so that day. The afternoon meeting was also a season favoured by Him, who continues to own, of every nation, tongue and people, those that fear him and work righteousness. It was a day that called for humble thankfulness to the Lord, who yet regards the dust of Zion, and satisfies her poor with bread.

“The next morning we set out for Edinburgh. In our way thither we crossed three ferries, one of them about seven miles over. We had an old leaky boat, contrary winds, and a rough sea; so that our passage was attended with some danger; but through the preserving power of Him who formerly uttered the language of ‘Peace, be still,’ we were favoured to get safely on shore after a passage of about three hours and a half. My dear companion and John Rutty, (a lad who rode before Sarah Stephenson,) were very sick, so that they were not so sensible of the danger as I was. Some of the waves were so great that it seemed as if we should be swallowed up in them. In this season of danger, an inquiry took place respecting the state of my mind, and after a little time I felt a sweet covering, which centered my spirit in resignation to the Divine will, under which I could do no less than bless and adore his holy name.

“We arrived at Edinburgh on an afternoon, the next day were at the week-day meeting, and the following day visited the families. We had close, painful labour, as there was in some a sorrowful departure from ancient purity. Next day we reached Kelso, forty-one miles, and staid the meetings on first-day: on second-

day set off for Newcastle, and got there on third-day afternoon, about sixty-four miles. We were about a month and two days in Scotland, having travelled about five hundred miles, visited the six meetings, and about twenty-six families.

A concern to visit the families of Newcastle Monthly Meeting came so heavily upon me, that we laid it before Friends at their Monthly Meeting, which was held that time at Shields; and we there entered on the service. Our gracious Father was pleased to furnish with strength from day to day, so that we got through there in less than a week, and left them under the feeling of peace, the evidence of having been in the way of duty. We next visited Newcastle, where are some valuable Friends, with whom our spirits were many times much refreshed, and we had some favoured meetings there. The good hand is at work among the youth, and I think, fitting some for service. May the good Shepherd preserve them, and not suffer the destroyer to mar the work; but may it go forward to his praise, and to the edification of the church; that so judges may be restored as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning. There are about forty families. Our dear friend Mabel Wigham, who then lived at Newcastle, told us, that when she heard of our coming, her prayer, with tears, was that we might be engaged to visit families in their Monthly Meeting. She is a noble warrior in the Lamb’s warfare, and seems to be more constantly dwelling with her Master than most. From Newcastle, we went to Sunderland, where we were deeply baptized for the dead, and, thereby I trust, fitted to labour and deal plainly; but we found a remnant, who retain their integrity. May they be preserved. There were upwards of twenty families. From Sunderland, we visited the meetings in the county of Durham. We were at one at \*\*\*\*\*, in which the lukewarm were warned, and those, in whose minds tender desires were raised, were encouraged to press after the further knowledge of God, whom to know, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, is life eternal. Then we went to \*\*\*\*\*, where we had a close laborious meeting: but there are a few who are contending for the faith. May they be preserved steady. We had also a meeting at \*\*\*\*\*, where some of the professors of Truth seemed hurt, by giving way to a worldly spirit. O, what can rouse some from their lethargic state. May our gracious Leader be pleased to utter an effectual call, even that power by which Lazarus was raised from the dead; that they may not sleep the sleep of death. How can those who, through Divine mercy, have been favoured to taste of



the word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, do less than mourn and pray for such, when admitted to the throne of grace.

“At this time the roads were bad, some bogs in the way, and much snow, which made travelling difficult, and trying to tender constitutions; but we were enabled to bear it beyond what we could expect, and got safe to Kendal. Here I felt a necessity to open to Friends a concern that had long dwelt with me, and many times greatly bowed my mind under that power which baptized it into obedience to the requiring, of visiting the families of that large meeting. In low, doubting seasons, discouragements prevailed; but as I humbly kept to the gift, and trusted in the giver, strength arose, and measurably dispersed the difficulties; so, in simple obedience we proceeded in that weighty service. Our gracious Father, being near, favoured with renewed help from day to day, and under many deep baptisms, supported our spirits, enabling us to minister what was opened in the deeps. We had more than eighty opportunities, some of which, I trust, neither the visitors nor the visited will soon forget. May the Lord be praised, who yet condescends to make use of clay. There is a number of valuable Friends, and some of the youth are promising.

“We went on to Lancaster and Preston, and at the last meeting had the company of our friends William Rathbone of Liverpool, and William Dilworth; and there I felt an engagement to visit the families, under the influence of that love, which enableth to search the camp, and to deal plainly. Hence, visiting some other meetings in our way, we went to Liverpool. My mind was dipped very low, and, under deep baptisms, we visited the families there, in which service Divine help was near, and so we left that place peacefully; yet with a mournful feeling of the state of things being more painful than some years before.

“We proceeded to Warrington, Frandley, Morley, Macclesfield and Leek. At Morley we had a large exercising meeting; but I was favoured with strength to discharge my duty honestly. At Leek I parted with my companion Jane Shipley; and was joined by Martha Routh, of Manchester, in a visit to the families of Crawshawbooth, &c. Hence Martha Routh went home, to prepare for a journey with me through Wales. William Rathbone went with me to Coalbrookdale, and as I was under a concern to visit the families of that Monthly Meeting, he felt his mind drawn to join in it. At the close of that service Martha Routh came, and we went through Wales; and felt our minds drawn to visit the

families of Friends in the Northern part of the principality. I reached home, by way of Bristol, in the fifth month, 1781.”

It does not appear that our friend kept any exact account of her journey through Wales; yet the following is probably a relation of all the occurrences in it, which she thought proper to note.

“From the New Dale we went to Welch Pool, but I was very poorly in health, having laboured hard, and taken but little rest. I had also a violent cough, and my mind was dipped very low; but it was kept in much patience, though the prospect of going among the Welch mountains, in so poor a state of health, was discouraging. Martha Routh was also poorly.”

It appears to have been the time of some Quarterly Meeting, held that year at Welch Pool, for she says, that on the 28th of the third month, the Select Meeting began at nine o'clock, in which some close advice was dropped. At eleven o'clock was the meeting for worship, in which Truth arose, the Gospel spring being comfortably opened, by which the Seed was visited, humble minds encouraged, and the lukewarm warned, in the awful power of Truth. At one o'clock was the meeting for business, and at four o'clock, a public meeting in the town-hall.

“The 24th we rode twenty-four miles, and visited one family; the 30th to Tyddiny-gareg, eleven miles, and visited three families, then went to Dolgelly, and had a public meeting in the evening in the town-hall. In this meeting Truth arose, but my mind was not clear of the people, but felt that we must have another meeting, which was a close exercise, as my companions expressed no concern of that sort. Before I gave up to mention it, I was quite ill; when on my telling the cause, they readily consented to stay, and another meeting was appointed to begin at nine o'clock on first-day morning. We had a very solid, favoured meeting, after which my mind was much relieved. This town is nearly surrounded by mountains, one of which, I was told, is four miles to the top.”

This must be spoken of the ascending road from Dolgelly. The mountain in question is probably Cader Idris, the perpendicular height of which is about two thousand eight hundred feet from the level of the sea. The last named places are in Merionethshire.

“Those who have not been in a mountainous country,” continues Sarah, “I think, can scarcely conceive the awful appearance which these prodigious hills make. To think of our fellow-creatures being scattered among them, led me to contemplate on the greatness and goodness of God, who careth for the work-

manship of his holy hand, not only giving them food, but contentment, and visiting with his life-giving presence, the greatest of all blessings.

"After dinner we rode to Llwyn du, on the coast, where a meeting was appointed to begin at five o'clock. The people collected soon after we got there, and life seemed to spread on our sitting down; so that I hope it was to many a time of advantage. The 3d of the fourth month we went to Machynlleth, where we were desirous of having a meeting, though no Friends lived there, and accordingly one was appointed for the next morning at nine o'clock, to which many people came. It was a time, in which, I think, the Gospel power was felt, and we left the place very peaceful. We rode that afternoon to Esgair goch, and visited the few families belonging to that meeting, and had also a public meeting with them to satisfaction. It was here that that worthy servant and minister of Jesus Christ, John Goodwin, lived; but now the state of things in that principality is very low. We did nearly sympathize with the few concerned ones, for they labour under many disadvantages.

"At Esgair goch a cloud of distress covered my spirit, but the cause why I thus partook of the wormwood and the gall, was hidden from me. In this deep baptism, I felt it was a taste of what our Lord drank so very deeply of, and I found him near in this suffering state; not to take the cup from me, but to make my spirit more willing to drink it. O, my soul, mayest thou love it; for herein standeth thy fellowship with God, pure obedience in all things.

"We next rode eight miles to Llanidloes, where my dear companion was so ill that her recovery seemed very doubtful. She was not at all anxious respecting it; but to me the prospect of losing her in that lonely spot, seemed a closer trial than that of laying down my own life. But one morning, as I sat greatly exercised before Him who raised Lazarus from the grave, I was led into an awful heavenly sweetness, in which I saw, in that light that is unchangeable, that she would recover, which greatly consoled my distressed spirit."

The three last named places are in Montgomeryshire. From Llanidloes to Builth, in Brecknockshire, the distance is not more than an easy day's journey; and the latter town about seventy miles from Bristol, a journey of a few days might bring her into the neighbourhood of her own habitation. William Rathbone had kept them company as far as Llanidloes; and it does not appear that they visited any meeting in South Wales.

That at Builth was a public appointed one, of which Sarah gives nearly the following account:

"The 6th of the fifth month we had a meeting at Builth, not in a meeting-house, but in a very convenient grave-yard. Notice having been given in the neighbourhood some days before, many well-behaved people came. The ground was smooth, and of a gradual descent. At the upper end was a stone seat all the way along, and about the middle of it hung ivy like a canopy, under which we sat. On both sides were stone seats, which were filled by some of the people; while others sat on the grass. The weather was very favourable, and beholding the gravity of the people, and the feeling of solemnity that covered the assembly, bowed our spirits, and led humbly to implore Him that had compassion on the multitude formerly, and would not send them empty away, that he would be pleased to break the bread of life amongst us, and bless it.

"A season of favour it was, for the Lord, who hears the cry of his suppliant children, was graciously pleased to answer our request; for which our spirits were awfully bowed, and blessed his holy name, who is worthy for ever. When the meeting was over, a solid elderly man came to us and said—This has been a glorious day. Indeed the minds of many of them were affected. We recommended them carefully and quietly to attend to what they felt. May it please the Lord, in the aboundings of his love and mercy, so to leaven them into his nature, that they may be sanctified throughout, in body, soul and spirit."

She delivered up her certificate in the sixth month, 1781, when, as she had done on a former occasion, she acknowledged the support which she had experienced, and described the services in which she had been engaged. She particularly remarked, that she firmly believed the Seed of God was sown in Scotland, and said that her returning through Wales, and visiting Friends in their cottages among the mountains, were as a cordial in her remembrance.

It was probably soon after her return from this long journey, that she wrote the following memorandum:

"1781.—As my soul was led into awful stillness and gathered into abasement, I was favoured to feel that in the quiet attentive state, the Lord is pleased to prepare the soul to hear the language which was proclaimed by the angel, 'Worship God;'—awfully leading under the covering of the Holy Spirit, to adore and worship Him, whose glory the heaven of heavens cannot contain."

The two following pieces will close all that

remains to be added, respecting the exercises of this devoted servant, in the year 1781.

“Eleventh month, 1781. My mind was stripped, and dipped exceedingly low for many days, so that all Divine comfort seemed to have left me. Under this proving dispensation I was tempted to believe that I was cast off; and as this belief prevailed, the clouds of darkness and distress increased. I then thought I should be thankful to be removed, if I might but die like the beasts of the field. But whilst under this distress, sitting still one evening, the Lord was pleased to cause a perfect calm to cover my mind, and brought before me his wonderful preservations and deliverances, one after another, from my childhood to the present time, as clearly as if written in large characters: at the beholding of which my soul was humbled, and faith in the mercy, goodness and forgiveness of God, began to spring up in my soul, and mercifully caused the clouds of despair to disperse. I believe my being thus led to feel a state wholly stripped of hope in the mercy of God, was in order to lead me into tender sympathy with poor souls thus tried.

“Twelfth month, 1781. O, that pure stream which is clear as crystal, proceeding from the throne of God, which impregnates the soul with its precious virtue, by which it becomes heavenly, and, in time, like the king’s daughter, ‘all glorious within!’ Thus the soul, being espoused to Christ, how glorious the union! Happy in time, and unspeakably glorious in eternity, where the heavenly host sing, glory and honour, riches and power, to the Lord God and the Lamb, for evermore, world without end!”

## CHAPTER V.

*Visits families at Worcester, and in her own Monthly Meeting—visits Ireland with Hannah Bevington—decease of Isaac Gray—meets with Thomas Cash, John Pemberton and Thomas Ross—various family visits, particularly at Cork.*

THE occurrences of the years 1782 and 1783, of which any account is preserved, are few. Early in the former year, our friend visited the families of Friends in Worcester, and was afterwards engaged in a like service to those of her own Monthly Meeting. In the latter she had Mary Powel for a companion: who was also with her in 1783, on the same service, in some other parts of Wiltshire, particularly at Salisbury. The same year, she paid a similar visit to the Friends of some meetings in Somersetshire and Gloucester-

shire. In these visits she had the company of her sister, Hannah Stephenson.

Hitherto, the travels of Sarah Stephenson, though extensive, had been confined to Great Britain; unless we except her residence, while young, in the Isle of Man, which was not on an errand similar to those which occupied her riper years. But in the spring of 1784, she crossed the sea, and entered on a visit to Friends in Ireland. Of this visit she has left an account, which is given to the reader in the following pages, nearly in her own words.

“On the 9th of the second month, 1784, I laid before Friends, at our Monthly Meeting at Melksham, a concern which I felt for going to Ireland; which being united with, a certificate was prepared and signed at the following Monthly Meeting, held at Devizes, and also at the Quarterly Meeting the 22nd of the third month.

“I left Melksham the 14th of the fourth month, and went by way of Hampton, Tewksbury, Worcester and Shrewsbury, having favoured, tendering opportunities at divers of these places, and reached Holyhead the 23d. I felt many discouragements and buffetings at times, but my gracious Preserver rebuked the destroyer, or I fear I should have been over-set. The 24th, the wind being contrary, no packets sailed to-day. I have remembered the great attainment of the apostle, respecting his being in all states content. May my mind be centered in the Divine will, and in that quietly rest.

“My companion, Hannah Bevington, feeling a desire to have an opportunity with the inhabitants, and knowing of no convenient place in the town, we walked to the steeple-house yard; and when the people came out, we stood by the market-cross, a spot that commanded them in general as they passed, and I think the power of Truth was sensibly felt to be extended towards them. As soon as we felt ourselves at liberty, we withdrew, and returned to our inn. The wind soon became favourable, and we sailed about three o’clock in the afternoon, and had a fine passage, but I was very sick, yet favoured with quiet resignation. The tide did not serve for the packet to go over the bar; so we got into a wherry to go up the river, about five miles. It rained very hard, and I was very wet, and took a severe cold, which confined me several days. We arrived at Dublin the 26th, after a passage of about twenty-three hours. I was confined by indisposition until the 2nd of the fifth month, at the house of my kind friend Joseph Williams, and then went to meeting at Sycamore-alley, and felt strength to deliver what seemed my duty. I think it was a fa-

voured meeting. The Half-year's Meeting began on the 3d, and I attended the different sittings, which concluded on the 6th, and on the 7th, we set off for the north, and arrived on the 8th at Rathfriland, fifty-seven Irish miles. On the 9th, was at meeting in the morning, in which the states of some were opened and spoken to: and another meeting in the afternoon, a season in which Truth spread, for which my soul doth bless His holy name who is worthy for ever. The 11th we had a wading meeting at Moyallen, but were enabled to leave with the people what seemed our duty. On the 12th I was so unwell, that my companion went without me to a meeting appointed at Lurgan. I believe my indisposition was permitted in best wisdom, for I was not clear of Moyallen; and the 13th being the week-day meeting there, we attended it. It was large and a favoured time, in which I was set at liberty and felt very peaceful. We had also other opportunities more select, and one at our lodgings, in which condescending ancient goodness covered our spirits, and we were favoured with the droppings of celestial rain. The 16th we proceeded to Lurgan, and had a meeting there, and so on to Ballyhagen, Lisburne, and other places in that quarter. On the 20th, at a meeting at Lisburne, my mind was led into an earnest travail, and it was mercifully regarded by our gracious Master, who moved my spirit in his love, to stand up with the language of Christ to his immediate followers, 'Children have ye any meat?' Truth spread, and led to deliver close things, but under the tenders of softening love, which seemed to melt many minds, and much contrited my spirit before Him who condescends to make use of mean and contemptible instruments. We went to Hillsborough, Antrim and Ballymena, and had a meeting in each place, besides other opportunities, in which best help was near, enabling us to discharge our duty. As we were on the way to Ballinacree, we were met by a Friend, who came to inform us of the death of our dear friend Isaac Gray, from England, whom we had met at Lisburne on the 18th. The sudden removal of this our dear Friend, greatly affected my companion and myself. He was to be buried the next day at Charlemount. The morning of the day on which he died, he complained of feeling unwell, with pain in his breast or stomach, for which something being given him, he desired his companion and Friends to go to meeting. The Friend who staid to wait on him, observing him lie still, supposed he was asleep, and his companion, for fear of waking him, did not go immediately into the room after meeting, but took a little walk into the fields. On his return, he was

met by a Friend who told him that dear Isaac was dead, and it was supposed, had been so for some time.

"On the 27th, we rode to Coleraine, and had a meeting there; and on the 28th to Toberhead, where was a large meeting, mostly of other societies. It was an open time, and I hope satisfactory. We were at our valuable friend Gervas Johnson's, where Isaac Gray had died the second-day before. The being there so soon after his death afresh affected our minds; may we learn, under proving dispensations to say, Not our wills, but thine, O Lord, be done. We afterwards went to Dungannon, and from thence to Ballyhagen. Thomas Cash of Morley, in Cheshire, who had been Isaac Gray's companion, was with us there at meeting, a season owned by the Master.

"The 1st of the sixth month, my mind was very low. May I profit by every dispensation permitted to attend; for indeed varied and deep are the provings of the poor servants in this day of deep degeneracy. After meetings in some other places, we attended the province meeting held at Ballyhagen. My mind at this time was much impressed with a sense of its being required of us to visit the families of Friends belonging to Grange meeting; but I was desirous to weigh it still further. So we went to some other meetings, but I could not be easy to proceed far, any other way; therefore returned to Grange. We attended the week-day meeting on the 9th, at the close of which our concern was mentioned, and way was made for accomplishing the visit. We began the arduous service on the 10th, and I was favoured with an evidence of being in the way of my duty. O, holy Father, keep my soul stayed on thee, and permit nothing to draw my attention from thee, but be pleased to enable me to obey every manifestation of duty. And O, my soul, mayest thou be instructed, and whilst endeavouring to dress the vineyards of others, not to leave thy own undressed. The 13th, sweetly refreshed in solemn silence. The 14th, to-day have had several seasons of close labour and deep exercise, under which my spirit mourns for the whole, unsafe state of some, and the insensibility of others, desiring that all self-righteousness may be stripped off, and their minds brought into that state of self-abasement, with which the Most High is well pleased: that so sweet life in him may be experienced. The 20th, first-day, a very solemn meeting held in silence. My mind was opened to view the beauty, necessity, and excellency of knowing every thought brought into the obedience of Christ.

"At Dungannon we visited families, and

left it with humble thankfulness, believing we had been enabled to get safely through that arduous service, under which we had many close baptisms, but were favoured to feel peace as the reward of obedience in discharging that duty which we believed our gracious Leader required of us. We then went to Oldcastle, Moat and Ballymurry.

“The 4th of the seventh month, and the first-day of the week, at meeting this morning, my spirit centered in awful prostration and travail for the people, and I felt the gentle descendings of best love, accompanied with a draft to stand upon my feet: and as Truth opened my way, I spoke, and matter was given, under the guidance of that Spirit which not only leads safely forth, but also back to the tent, with the reward of peace. O, my God, be pleased to continue the guidance of thy holy Spirit, and keep me as in the hollow of thy hand, that I may be preserved in the way of thy requirings. The 6th, I was at a meeting at Moat, where we had the company of our dear friends, John Pemberton, from Philadelphia, and Thomas Cash. It was a season owned by our gracious Leader. The 8th, at a meeting at Rathangan. Part of the time there was a painful sensation occasioned by the desire of some after words. It tended to close our way, but after awhile I felt the moving of Truth to public labour, and in simplicity stood up. After speaking a few words, the power arose beyond what I have often known, through me, a poor creature. The 9th, was at meeting at Timahoe, and visited some families, and on the 11th, attended a meeting at Edenderry, a season of deep travail; but life arose, and for a time dispelled the clouds, and many were much broken. Close things were spoken under the covering of Gospel love, and I hope it was a good meeting. From thence we went to Ballitore. As I rode along, my mind was greatly stripped, and very poor; and feeling the low state of things, was much dejected by it. But O, my gracious Father, be pleased not to leave me, nor permit me to grow weary of suffering; but enable me to follow thee in the way of regeneration. We lodged at Richard Shackleton’s, and my mind became impressed with its being our duty to visit the families; which we were enabled to enter upon under an awful sweet covering of our heavenly Father’s love, and in a humbling sense of our own weakness. We had some painful laborious sittings; but there is a remnant who are sighing and mourning for the state of backsliders, and are also contending for the faith. With these our spirits were refreshed. We visited the meeting at Castledermot, and attended a burial at Ballitore; also were at another meeting there.

I had to caution against being anxious after words, believing that, had it not been the case at that time, we should have been much more favoured with the company of Christ. From Ballitore, we went to two or three other meetings, in one of which, I had very painful feelings, the pure Seed being greatly oppressed. O, how did my spirit mourn, adopting the language of that deeply tried prophet, when he said, ‘O, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.’<sup>7</sup> We were enabled to deliver what appeared our duty; and in the afternoon, a little consolation was given to the few mourners in Zion.

“In the next meeting we attended, my spirit was led into a deep travail, and feeling it my place to stand up, I was helped to speak to divers states under the flowing of best love; my companion also had a favoured time, and my spirit was engaged to supplicate the Almighty vocally; which service is to me very weighty; but I hope we may humbly acknowledge that our gracious Leader was with us to the contriving of our minds.

“At a meeting at \*\*\*\*\*, I felt the motion of Truth to stand up, though in weakness; but Truth arose, and matter opened far beyond my expectation; so that many minds were much tendered, and my spirit humbled before Him who condescends to make use of mean and contemptible instruments. In the evening was at a meeting at \*\*\*\*\*. The forepart was low, but life arose, and in some degree of best authority, the backsliders were warned, and in a manner that, I believe, reached the witness. May they not sink into a state of sorrowful self-gratification, and have to call to the hills and mountains for shelter, when the dread hand-writing may be seen on the wall. The few mourners and sorrowful spirits were sympathized with and encouraged, the slothful were called to arouse from their false ease, and I hope it was a favoured meeting. The 23d my way was closed up at Mountmelick meeting, by feeling a strong desire in the people for words, and at the close I felt it my place to tell them that I believed they had prevented the handing forth of spiritual bread, by not attending to the language that saluted my mind early in that meeting; which was, study to be quiet, and mind thy own business: to which I had endeavoured to attend.

“The 29th, we went to Moat, and the 30th, entered on the weighty service of visiting families there. Some seasons were much owned by our gracious Leader, tending to encourage us, and to confirm the belief of being in the way of our dear Master’s requirings.

From Moat we went to some adjacent meetings and back again, and visited some families at Athlone and Ballymurry. We sat with several persons who had been disunited for misconduct. After one opportunity, one of the family informed us how his mind had been visited in a very extraordinary manner, and he was thoughtful whether it might not be best to tell the people, thinking it might be of service; but it seemed clear to me that this was an artifice of the enemy, in order to draw him from his own work, and proper business; and I strongly advised him to keep in the stillness, and feel deeply for the pure life, that therein he might grow. He received the advice in love, in which we parted. The province meeting began on the 14th, at Moat, in which my mind was much exercised, and it was a favoured time; but I was weightily impressed with a requiring to return to Oldcastle, and visit the few families there, of which I had informed my dear companion some days before. Some Friends were going that way, with whom we concluded to go, but my mind was dipped very low under discouragement. A valuable Friend who was there, understanding the concern I was under, came and saluted me with these words: 'I am glad that thou art willing to do whatever thy Master biddeth thee.' He was a man of sound judgment and deep in spirit, and there was such weight and sweetness accompanying the words, that they entered my soul, and were as a cordial. We set out on the 15th, and were that evening at an inn, with several Friends in company. While supper was preparing, our spirits became deeply centered and baptised in sweet silence, under such a covering of the Father's uniting love, as very much contrited us, and made us near to each other in the covenant of love and life. The next morning we went to Oldcastle, and had cause to believe that our return was in the ordering of Divine wisdom, whose right it is to dispose of his servants, as it pleaseth him. We afterwards returned to Moat, and at a week-day meeting, I took a solemn leave of Friends there, reviving in their remembrance that they had been invited, some of them in the most persuasive language, to quit the paths of error, and to obey Christ; but observing that, if such would not be prevailed on, their blood would be upon their own heads. It was a tendering season to some minds present.

"We sat a considerable time in silence, at Kilconnermore, on the 20th, and in great poverty. Yet it seemed my place to stand up, though in so much weakness that I thought I had hardly strength sufficient to do so; but I obeyed the secret motion of Truth; and when on my feet had to speak on the advan-

tage of knowing Jerusalem to be a quiet habitation, a place of succour in the day of storm, when we should be searched, as with candles: and though pretty close things opened, yet it was under the power of love, so that, if I felt aright, Truth arose into a good degree of dominion, and great tenderness was in the meeting. O, my soul, thou hadst indeed much cause to believe in the sufficiency of His power, who is the resurrection and the life. We went to see five children that were orphans. They were so tendered in the opportunity we had with them, that they could not forbear weeping aloud. The dear children were recommended to read the Scriptures, and the blessing attendant on obedience [to the Lord's will] was set forth to them. O, may the visitors and visited remember and profit by such condescending goodness, such favour from adorable Mercy. The 25th, I was at a meeting at Knock, where I stood up in much fear and awful dread, under the feeling of different states, and of a spirit that, like Goliath, defied the armies of Israel's God; but gracious Goodness clothed me with strength to attack it, and by his power it seemed, for the present, brought under, for an awful covering was over the meeting.

"The 27th we went to Limerick. The 29th being first-day, we sat two meetings there. My spirit was sunk very low, and stripped; but much exercised under an apprehension of its being required of me to visit the families. I informed my companion how it was with me, of which she had a sense from the dipped state of my mind. The 31st being the day of the Monthly Meeting, we imparted the concern to Friends, and as they united with it, we proceeded on the visit, and by the next second-day accomplished it. There were about twenty-four families. My spirit was much exercised in this service; but renewed ability to labour was afforded, and different states I hope were rightly opened. On the seventh-day came Thomas Ross from America, and we had his company on first-day, at the two meetings, also at one in the evening at Thomas Mark's. He is a sweet-spirited man, much devoted to his Master's service. We left Limerick the 6th of the ninth month, in company with him, and took one meeting in the way to Clonmel, in which my mind was bent, in near affection, towards the dear youth. At a meeting at Clonmel, dear Thomas Ross was much favoured in public. My mouth was not opened, but I was led to visit many in silence; and a humbling prospect was afresh opened, respecting visiting the families there, of which I had a view when at home; but as the time of the Quarterly Meeting at Waterford was nigh, we went thither;



where also were John Pemberton, Thomas Cash, and Thomas Ross.

“Though the Lord at this time was pleased to employ me in public, and also in more select companies, yet deep were the conflicts of my spirit, both on the road to Waterford, and when there, until I gave up to mention a concern, which I had felt when at my own home, to visit Friends in their families at that place. Afterwards my spirit, though awfully bowed under it, was clothed with a sweet calm.

“We left Waterford the 15th, and had the company of our valuable Friends John Pemberton and Thomas Cash, on the way to Clonmel. The 16th, was a meeting, in which they both spoke, myself employed in profitable silence. The 18th, we entered on the laborious service of visiting families at Clonmel. In divers of the sittings I had cause humbly to believe it was a right engagement, our dear Master being graciously near, and opening different states in a remarkable manner. May such seasons of condescending goodness remain to be cause of fresh humiliation, and lead my soul to a firm trust in His holy name, who has been pleased thus to employ me, not only in this place, but in several others in this province of Munster, which had been very closely fixed on my mind before I left home. O, my soul, mayst thou be more and more centered in humble devotedness to the requirements of thy God, who is worthy for ever, to be served, worshipped, and adored!

“We have now gone through great part of the families, and have cause to say, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. Indeed he has enabled me to deal plainly, and honestly to discharge my duty; and I hope we have left an open door for such as may come after us. We also visited the families at Garryrone, to our satisfaction, and were at some other meetings; thence returned to Waterford, and the 9th of the tenth month began the arduous service of visiting families there; my soul being dipped as into the bottom of Jordan. May all within me be so entirely submissive, as that the Lord’s voice may be deeply attended to, and wholly obeyed in simplicity; that his blessed will may be done by me on earth, as it is done in heaven.

“On first-day, the 10th, sat two meetings in humble, and I hope profitable silence: after the second, paid two visits. We pursued the engagement diligently, and were enabled, I hope under a good degree of right authority, even the covering of the wing of ancient Goodness, to speak to different states. Some of the opportunities were memorable seasons, to the comfort of both visited and visitors. Tendering invitations were extended to some of the youth, but close matter handed to others.

O, may the slothful be awakened to diligence, before the awful midnight cry be heard, that so their language may not be, ‘Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out.’ I have kept no written accounts of many of the visits; but some as is above-mentioned, were favoured opportunities; in others the life was exceedingly low; and to some a lively visitation was renewed, and received with much tenderness. O, may it please the God of all mercies to fix his gracious renewed call, that it may be like a nail in a sure place. May the inhabitants of this land be awakend to their proper business, and so work in the vineyards of their own hearts, that if calamities should overtake them, they may be sheltered under the Almighty’s wing.

“The 22nd.—I have been very poorly with a violent cold and soreness in my chest, so that I was much weakened, and was led to look towards my everlasting home: and I should, I believe, have been well content to lay down my natural life, had it been my dear Master’s will.

“We finished our laborious service at Waterford, the 29th of the tenth month, through the renewed help of gracious Goodness, whose condescension was great in opening states, and giving ability to speak to them in his love, so that I hope many were led to view their undone condition without a Saviour. May it prove lastingly profitable to their poor never-dying souls.

“We went to Clonmel the 30th, and the next day the province meeting began: the sitting in the morning was much favoured. The 1st of the eleventh month, at the close of the meeting for worship, began that for business. My mind was much impressed and awfully covered, and as matter opened I was led to express it, pressing some who had entered into covenant with God, to keep their covenants. The meeting was much broken, and a solemn covering over it. When the business was finished, my spirit was led to supplicate the Almighty, and the meeting ended in a solemn, tender manner.

“The 5th of the eleventh month, we came to Cork, the 6th was the week-day meeting, and the 9th, we began the arduous service of visiting families in this city; sat with five, and I hope we may humbly acknowledge that our good Master was pleased to give us the earnest-penny. One of the visits was a memorable opportunity; the descending of Divine love did so cover and baptize, under which a renewed visitation was extended. May it be closed in with; for if such seasons are slighted, in which Divine mercy is so bountifully bestowed, surely it must add to the weight of distress in a day that is hastening.



"The 16th.—We have sat with twenty-four families, and have had humble cause to admire the Lord's goodness, who has been pleased to be near, strengthening to labour, to deal very plainly with the lukewarm, and to warn the disobedient, also to comfort some poor mournful travellers. I was one evening so fatigued, and had taken so little proper nourishment, that I was very faint, and seemed as if I was going home; but my spirit was clothed with such a heavenly sweetness, that I believe all would have been well with me. O, my soul, mayest thou keep near to thy dear Redeemer; that when the time, the solemn time, doth come, thou mayest be centered with him in everlasting rest.

"26th. We have had forty-six sittings, very close labour, and many deep baptisms; but may thankfully acknowledge our heavenly Father has been mercifully near, opening the states of many, and renewing a gracious invitation to divers. Some, I hope, will close in with it. O, may his offers of love be as bread cast on the waters, that may be found after many days.

"At Cork, Youghal and Bandon together, we had about two hundred sittings; but what swelled the number was, that I was not easy without visiting those who might be termed the outcasts; for when reduced very low, I received this command, Gather the scattered, in a manner that deeply contrited my spirit: and we may with reverence acknowledge, that the gathering arm of Divine love was wonderfully manifested, to the tendering of many of their minds, so that great contrition appeared.

"We left Cork the 9th of the second month, 1785, and came on the 10th to Clonmel, where was Mehetabel Jenkins from Berwick, in the state of Massachusetts, North America. We went with her to a meeting, appointed for the town's people at Cashel; which was a solid time. After some other religious engagements, we went to Waterford. My spirit was much affected at a first-day meeting there as I sat in silence, in viewing some whose minds had been tenderly visited, but who had not made that improvement that could have been wished.

"The Quarterly Meeting began the 26th, at which were Thomas Ross and John Pemberton. At the week-day meeting on the 1st of the third month, my mind was set at liberty. The 2nd paid several visits and was engaged in close labour; and the next day left Waterford in company with Thomas Ross and John Pemberton, and went to Ross, where we had a meeting with the town's people, a time, I hope of profit to divers. We had also several other religious opportunities there. Then we attended a public meeting on the way to

Hoare-town, and from thence went to Forrest and Cooladine. At a meeting held at the last place, different states were visited under the influence of Divine love, and it was a favoured season: blessed be the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who remains to be with his Israel, and at times causeth the shout of a king to be heard in the camp.

"This morning [the date and place are omitted] I awoke with the precious feeling of the sweetness of Divine love, which remained some time without alloy; and under this covering had an opening of fresh service in this quarter, which brought my spirit under close exercise. It was to visit the families. The 12th, went to Ballinclair, and was the next day at the first-day meeting; a searching, laborious time.

"We went the 15th to Ballydarton, and the 17th entered on a family visit to the meeting at Kilconner, accompanied by Richard Shackleton. Some of the visits were seasons of favour, in which Divine goodness administered his visitations of love in an extraordinary manner. May the visited keep under the tendering power of Truth, and then, I believe, some of them will be brought into usefulness in the Lord's family.

"The 22nd.—This morning closed the family visit under the fresh renewings of the baptizing power of Truth; and in the evening reached Cooladine. O, may our minds bow, and reverently worship that awful Being, who continues to be near his poor little depending children. 29th. Finished the family visit here, not without having had some deep and painful labour, though there is a little remnant in whom I believe the true birth is begotten. May nothing be permitted to wound, or hinder its increase. I may remark, that my heavenly Father was pleased to own, in a week-day meeting, with the comforts of his holy Spirit, which I silently enjoyed, to a greater degree than I have many times known: in which, under the flowing of the sweet streams of humbling consolation, I was led to make fresh covenant that, through the aid of his holy Spirit, I would willingly keep with my dear crucified Lord, though in a state of continued suffering, while the Seed was there, not desiring a release; if he would be pleased to sustain and keep in the patience, to the end. O, may my spirit be so entirely weaned, as only to desire to be what, and where, best pleases my gracious Lord and Master.

"The first-day meeting was very laborious, my spirit travelling as under the mountains; but I felt engaged to stand up under an awful covering, and the power of Truth spread, to the baptizing of the meeting; and I believe I

closed while life was at the highest, and the sweet savour of it remained on my mind for sometime after. The 13th of the fourth month, we finished the family visit within the compass of Forrest meeting. Here Richard Shackleton left us. He had been dipped into those baptisms that fit us for service, and our spirits were nearly united.

“The 14th we had a public meeting at Wexford, then went to Ballintore, where we visited the families. We attended a Monthly Meeting at Enniscorthy, and went back to Ballintore; where at a week-day meeting were divers not of our Society. Truth owned, and I was led to open how it had been with me, respecting my concern to come to that land, that we had no outward gain for preaching, and that I felt the ‘woe’ was ‘unto me if I preached not:’ I enlarged on the purity that vessels thus employed should be brought into, that the wine and oil might pass without mixture. I also had to treat on the advantage of silent worship. It was a season of favour, for which, may all within me bless and praise Him to whom praise belongs.

“We visited the families of Friends generally in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and felt peace in the review, though deep was our wading, and close the labour, with renewed baptisms.

“We reached Dublin the 29th of the fourth month. The Half-year’s meeting began the 30th, and concluded the 4th of the fifth month. I was strengthened to perform what appeared my duty, to the peace of my own mind. On the 4th, under the sweet savour of uniting love, we parted with dear Mehetabel Jenkins, Richard Shackleton and some other Friends, who were going the next morning for England: soon after, my dear companion was seized with a violent suffocation, so that if she had not been speedily relieved, it appeared likely that she would have been soon removed by it.

“After this, we were at Mountmelick, and paid a family visit there, having about fifty sittings, some of them close searching seasons. Dear Mary Ridgway belonged to that meeting, to whom my spirit was nearly united. We returned by Ballintore and Baltibois to Dublin, and were at several meetings.

“On the 7th of the sixth month, my spirit bowed, and was bound up in dark deep silence; and my mind was greatly affected lest I had offended my God, and I humbly desired to understand in what; but I was awfully and sweetly answered thus, I am in the thick darkness, as well as in the light. The next day we left Dublin.”

It may be added, that when she delivered up her certificate to her Monthly Meeting,

which was in the eighth month, she bore testimony with reverent thankfulness, to the mercy and goodness of the Almighty; by which, she said, her companion and herself, through many deep probations, had been endued with help and strength, to discharge their duty to his praise, and to their own peace.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Visits Hampshire, Kent, Surry, Somerset, Devon, Dorset, Cornwall—a written soliloquy—visits the Northern and Midland counties—extract of a letter—visits families in Hants, Eastern, Northern, and Midland counties—second family visit at Sheffield, and at Kendal—family visit at Birmingham.*

SARAH STEPHENSON does not appear to have travelled much during the remainder of the year in which she closed her engagements in Ireland. In the year 1786, she had a certificate for the purpose of visiting Friends in Hampshire, Kent, Surry, and parts adjacent, with the families in some places. In the course of this journey, she attended the Yearly Meeting, and had Mehetabel Jenkins for a companion through Kent, and the adjacent county of Sussex.

In 1787 she travelled twice with certificate. The first journey was chiefly in Somersetshire, and in divers places the visit was extended to families. The other engagement was in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Dorsetshire. In this visit also, she was concerned at times to go from house to house, and Ann Byrd, already mentioned, bore her company in the three counties.

The year 1788 was marked with more extensive travels; but, previously, her mind had been much stripped of consolation, and enveloped in dismay. Such an event would naturally tend to keep it humble, and to prepare her for further service. The following notice of it, penned the 21st of the second month, shows, in some degree, for words paint feelings but feebly, the depth of her distress, her continued patience, and the administration of help in the needful time.

“My mind having been for some time deeply led, as in the valley and shadow of death, so that I much feared I had some way or other greatly offended my good Master, many were my searches; but Oh! I could not say with David, ‘When I go through the valley and shadow of death, I will fear no evil;’ for many were my fears, and the greatest was, lest I should never again experience the lifting up of the light and life of his glorious countenance upon me. But this morning,

being gathered into solemn stillness, my soul felt these words, 'My words, they are spirit, and they are life;' and they proved so to my poor spirit, which was then permitted in some degree, to see the usefulness of these baptisms, not only to myself, but in order to feel with and speak to others who may be alike proved; and who may hear in this valley the roaring of the beasts of prey. These are deep felt truths, to the poor in spirit."

In the sixth month, she received her Monthly Meeting's certificate to visit Friends in the Northern and Midland counties, also in Scotland; and it had the addition so usual in those lately granted to her, of her view of visiting in some places the families of Friends.

She has left a very short account of this long journey; and indeed she performed it, comparatively, in a very short time; for she was at home in the eleventh month. Her former companion, Ann Byrd, went with her as far as York; and then Esther Brady (already mentioned by the name of Esther Marshall) joined her, and they went together through Scotland.

A short extract from a letter, written at Edinburgh, on this journey, will show her humble disposition, and in the scarcity of information relating to this engagement, may be acceptable to the reader.

"I have had renewedly hitherto, on this journey, to admire His love and great condescension in helping me along, so as to leave the places in general peaceful: a favour beyond the expression of words. Indeed, I cannot but humbly admire his goodness afresh, being often led to feel that, 'My father's family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.'"

When she attended the Monthly Meeting on her return, and gave back her certificate, she informed her friends that in the course of her visit, from meeting to meeting, she had been led to trust in that Power, which appeared at first like a grain of mustard-seed, but which enabled her fully to discharge her duty. She also expressed her compassion for the low circumstances of many Friends in Scotland, and her belief of the need of thankfulness on the part of those who were in more easy situations.

Two religious engagements employed a part of the year 1789; in which she had the accustomed certificates of the concurrence of Friends. First, accompanied by Ann Byrd, she attended the Welch Yearly Meeting held that year at Breckon. Then returning through Herefordshire, they visited the families of Friends at Leominster; and after calling at Worcester, and visiting several meetings in Gloucestershire, she arrived at home after an

absence of about two months. Her other engagement was a visit to most of the families of Friends in Hampshire; and Mary Merryweather, a promising young woman in the ministry, since deceased, was her companion.

She was at the Yearly Meeting both in 1790 and 1791; but previously to that in the latter year, she had obtained a certificate to visit some families of Friends in Wales. Her own short memorandum of the journey only mentions those of Pontypool, Monmouthshire; after which service she went to the Welch Yearly Meeting, held that year at Builth, in Brecknockshire.

A longer journey was now to be accomplished, though the season of the year might seem ill adapted to the frame of a tender female. It seems however, that the clear call of religious duty silenced subordinate considerations, and our friend had long been endeavouring in simplicity to follow that holy Leader, who can make hard things easy. In the tenth month she obtained a certificate to visit Friends in some of the Eastern, Northern, and Midland counties, and the families in some spots. Her own words, with little variation, may relate the accomplishment of the undertaking.

"I left home the 21st of the tenth month, 1791, with my beloved companion Ann Byrd, and got to Marlborough. The 22nd, after an opportunity with a widow Friend there, we rode to Hungerford, at which place we had a sitting with two Friends, and then went to Newbury. First-day, the 23d, was at a favoured meeting, and a sitting at a Friend's. In the afternoon we rode to Reading. The 24th, we went to Staines, and the next day were at a meeting there, owned by the Master; also had two opportunities in Friends' families. The same evening we went to Brentford. The 26th, we were at a meeting there, the forepart of which was very exercising, but it ended comfortably. Afterwards we rode to Islington, and lodged at Mary Sterry's. On the 27th we had a humbling tendering opportunity; the next day rode to Stansted Mountfichet in Essex, and were the day following at a meeting held in silence, and deeply exercising; but we had two opportunities in the Friends' families, which much relieved our minds, and then we went to Saffron Walden. The 30th, being first-day, we were at the two meetings, and three opportunities in Friends' families. The 31st we were at a meeting at Thaxted, very close and exercising; but I was enabled, under the authority of Truth, to clear my mind, and felt comfortable. After dinner, we had a baptizing time, to the tendering of all present, and then rode to Dunmow.

“The 1st of the eleventh month, we had a meeting at Felsted, and on the 2nd one at Stebbing, attended with deep travail of spirit, under the feeling of a lukewarm disposition, inattentive to the business of salvation; and for the awakening of such, we were enabled to labour closely under the influence of that love, which desires that all may be gathered. After dinner, we were favoured with the extendings of heavenly goodness, under which we parted, and rode to Bardfield, where George Gibson and Susanna Day, from Walden, came to us on the 3d, and we had a favoured meeting. They accompanied us in paying two or three family visits. The 5th, we dined at a Friend’s house, where we had a searching opportunity, then rode to J. M’s. and spent seventh-day with them. On first-day, we went to Chelmsford, and sat the two meetings, which were laborious and exercising; but we had one or two opportunities in Friends’ families which were relieving to our minds, so that we left the place easy.

“The 8th, we arose early, and went to Boreham to breakfast, where we had a comfortable but closely baptising opportunity, and then went to an appointed meeting at Witham, very deeply exercising: more humility and spiritual labour were wanting; but Truth arose, and we felt humble thankfulness. The 9th, we had an appointed meeting at Malden, where many Friends met us, and several of the town’s people came, and the scholars of a girls’ boarding school. It was a memorable day. The blessed Truth reigned, both at meeting and in an opportunity at the inn, where twenty or more Friends were present. It was a day that called for reverent thanksgiving to the Author of all good, unto whom all praise belongs, and unto poor mortals, abstracted from heavenly goodness, only blushing and confusion of face. The 10th, at Kelvedon, we had a sweet, silent meeting, also some family sittings; and the next day a meeting attended with close labour, under the feeling of a lukewarm spirit being too prevalent. On the 12th, was a meeting at Coggeshall, large and mercifully owned by our great and good Master. It ended with solemn supplication. We had also several other favoured opportunities, and left the place peaceful.

“The 13th, we went to Colchester, where we found dear John Kendal weak and poorly; but I believe sweetly alive in the immortal life. The next day we were at the two meetings, which were deeply exercising, and did not tend much to the relief of our minds. The next morning we had a sweet opportunity at a girls’ boarding school, and went forwards. On the 16th, we were at a meeting at Colne, a time of deep exercise. Here our beloved

friend Mary Brightwen, of Coggeshall, met us, whose company we also had at some other places. She is one who lives near that pure fountain, which preserves us fresh and living in the best life. We had two favoured opportunities, and then rode to Halsted; and on the 17th, were at a meeting there, and at several family opportunities, in which the offer of holy help was extended. The 18th we went to Haverill, and the next day in a meeting there, had deep wading, but Truth arose, and it ended with thanksgiving and praises to Him who is for ever worthy.

[Being now in Suffolk] “we went on the 20th, to Sudbury, and the next day attended the two meetings. At the afternoon one was a burial, and they were both owned, as also were several opportunities. Samuel Alexander, of Needham, in this county, met us here, and his company was truly acceptable. On the 22nd, he accompanied us to Ipswich, where we rested the next day, and had a tendering opportunity with some Friends in the evening. The 24th, we were at meeting, and a time of renewed favour it was. My mind was deeply baptized, and I had sensibly to perceive that there was a renewed visitation to a man Friend there, on whose head I thought I could lay my hand. It was a day to be remembered. The individual above alluded to was much tendered. I hope it will be made profitable to him, and that he may make covenant, and keep it. After meeting we had a sweet tendering opportunity at our lodgings, where several Friends were present; and in the afternoon we went home with Samuel Alexander to Needham. The 25th we went into the country to visit an infirm woman, and in the afternoon to see William Crotch and his family, where we had an uniting season, not soon to be forgotten. The following day we were at the meeting, in which a little bread was handed to the poor and needy, of which number there were some almost ready to faint. The passage respecting the poor widow, who was gathering two sticks, to bake a cake before she and her son died was revived, as applicable to a state, or states, then present; and I believe it was made a season of encouragement to some. We had some uniting opportunities at that place, I hope not soon to be forgotten.

“On the 27th, accompanied by Samuel Alexander, we set out for Brandon, and were the next day at a laborious and deeply exercising meeting. Here some Friends from Bury met us. The 29th, we rode to Wareham in Norfolk, and had a comfortable baptizing season in a Friend’s family there. That evening we went to Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire. About seven miles of the road was, I think, one con-

tinued mire, so that our horse was in danger of being set fast, but we were favoured to get safely through it. We went the same evening to Gedney, in Lincolnshire, where our kind friend Samuel Alexander left us. The 30th we were at meeting there, which was a season of encouragement to the few who belonged to it; we also had a tendering cementing time, before we left the place, and then rode to Spalding. On the 1st of the twelfth month, we were at a meeting there, pretty large, and for a time very exercising; but the covering of Ancient Goodness gradually spread over us, and it was an encouraging time, as well as a close one. On the 2nd and 3d, we were riding to Broughton, and the meeting the next day was small, owing to the inclemency of the weather: it was silent and deeply exercising; but an opportunity which we had in a family, tended much to the relief of our minds, and I believe to the comfort of some, whom we left under the precious feeling of the Father's love. That afternoon we rode to Newark in Nottinghamshire, eight miles, the weather being very cold and snowy, and the next day, over the forest, to Mansfield. The snow was so deep, that we had much difficulty in getting along; but through the goodness of our gracious Helper, we came safely. The 6th, we were at a meeting at Mansfield, I trust to satisfaction, and afterwards rode to Chesterfield. We had a meeting there on the 9th, comfortable and refreshing to our spirits, and I hope to others.

"The 10th we went to Sheffield, and the next day entered on the close and laborious service of visiting families. We had above one hundred sittings and casual opportunities. The number was increased by extending the visit to those that were disunited, and to such as attended meetings, though not joined in membership with the Society. I think we might thankfully acknowledge that gracious Goodness afforded help from day to day, and covered our spirits with his gathering love; so that when close things were spoken, they did not seem to be spurned at.

"We closed the service on the 9th of the first month, 1792, and left Sheffield the 11th, in near unity, I believe, with the truly living among them. On the 12th, we reached Stockport in Cheshire, and the meeting there was a baptizing season. The 15th we attended a meeting at Newton, which is a small one, on the forest, and in a very cold exposed situation, and no house near. Our minds were dipped into sympathy with the few Friends belonging to it. May such as are differently situated prize their privileges, and not neglect the attendance of meetings through small matters, or slight indisposition. From thence we

went to Sutton, where the meeting was rather small, but owned by the Master by the extendings of holy help, in order to strengthen the little that remains that is almost ready to die. Next day was a meeting at Frandley, pretty large, a low and wading time, but I hope not without profit to some present. After meeting we went to Warrington, in Lancashire, and on the 17th, attended a marriage. In the afternoon we had a favoured opportunity, in which a precious visitation was renewed to divers present. The next day we had a meeting with Friends, a time of favour, and of tender visitation to backsliders. On the 19th, was a meeting at Ashton, a time of deep wading, but it ended under the feeling of life; and on the 20th, one at Langton, I hope to profit. The 21st, we were at a meeting at Preston, deeply exercising; but some select opportunities were to satisfaction. The 22nd we went to Lancaster, and rested a few days at my dear cousin Sarah Dilworth's, with whom and her daughter, we were refreshed with the descendings of celestial dew, from Him who regards the dust of Zion, and satisfies her poor with bread. We also attended the week-day meeting, which was exercising, there being but few deeply travailing baptized minds, but many revolvers who are laying the reins as on the neck, and going whither they list, and others in a lukewarm state; so that when Jerusalem is searched as with candles, what must be the portion of these?

"From Lancaster we went to Kendal, my mind being under close baptism, having long had a prospect of again visiting families there; and this appeared to be the right time. With the unity of Friends there, we entered on that weighty service, and though deep wading and frequent baptisms were our portion, yet, we had thankfully to experience the arm of sure help to be near for our support, and to supply for the service of each day. To Him praise and thanksgiving belong, now and for ever! Thus, through the renewings of holy help, we were enabled to go through the service, under the covering of that love which seeketh to save, and also to bring back those that are gone astray. I think we had about ninety sittings; and parted with the living among them, under the sweet feeling of that unity, aptly compared to the ointment poured on the head of Aaron, that ran down the beard and to the skirts of the garment. There is a precious remnant of the living upright hearted in that place, and they have a mournful allotment. From Kendal, we went to Yelland, Wray and Settle, and were at first-day meeting at the last named place. The prevalence of a lukewarm spirit was painfully to be felt; but there is a remnant, who I trust are like

the few in Sardis, whose garments were unspotted. May the humble diffident minds be strengthened. [We had now entered Yorkshire] and proceeded from Settle to Ayrton, and Skipton, where formerly lived that honourable man in his day, David Hall. We had a searching time there; but an invitation to the Fountain of purification was given, and some consolation to the poor travellers Zionward, was handed forth. From Skipton, taking one meeting by the way, we went to Rawden; and had deep wading at the meeting on first-day, but after a considerable time of starving that thirst for vocal ministry which is painful to rightly exercised ministers, Truth arose. We went the same evening to dear Christiana Hustler's, near Bradford, and rested two days, as both of us were poorly in health. It was comfortable being with Christiana and her daughters; and several Friends came to see us, with whom we had some favoured opportunities. We afterwards took meetings in our way to Chesterfield, and from that place proceeded pretty directly to the Quarterly Meeting held at Birmingham. We also visited the families in that place, from which I returned home, and reached Melksham the 23d of the tenth month, 1792."

#### CHAPTER VII.

*Two memorandums—visits the North again—Ackworth school—Esther Tuke—Edinburgh—John Wigham—Glasgow, Cornwood, and Allandale—meetings in Durham and Yorkshire—families at Whitby and Scarborough—York Quarterly Meeting—Deborah Townsend—families at Pickering and Hull, &c.—a third time at Lancaster—families at Liverpool—Esther Tuke near her close—families at Mansfield—Coalbrookdale—Ann Summerland—extract of a letter—visits families in some Southern and Western counties—a visit to part of the Eastern and Southern counties—families at Norwich—at Lynn and Yarmouth—at Colchester.*

WE have no account of further travels during the remainder of the year 1792, nor of many in the following year; except that our friend was at the Welch Yearly Meeting, held at Carmarthen; also at the Essex Quarterly Meeting held at Colchester, and at some others on her return homewards.

The two following memorandums belong to this year, 1793.

"21st of sixth month. Being at Wanborough, I awoke this morning with the sweet impression of these words; As a tender Shepherd, doth He care for his sheep.

"Twelfth month. At a meeting on a public occasion, my mind was much exercised, travelling after a deep centre and lowly waiting, to get where the counsel of God is opened, either for ourselves, for the people, or for both; but my exercise being, as I thought, quite unavailing, my spirit sunk into dejection. But near the close of the meeting, when mourning as a dove without its mate, a language was uttered in the secret of my soul, after this manner; Thou art precious unto me. I have graven thee on the palms of my hands. Thy walls are continually before me."

Early in the year 1794, she again obtained a certificate for visiting the North; which journey may be related with small variation in her own words.

"The 15th of the third month, I set out for the North, in company with my dear friend Mary Jefferys, jun., of Melksham, intending to be at the Half-year's Meeting in Scotland. We left Melksham in the morning, after having been favoured together with the sweet over-shadowings of love, and after reverent solemn supplication to the Father of all sure mercies; under which our spirits were united, and an humble trust raised in the ever worthy name of the all-saving Helper. We went by way of Hampton, Nailsworth, &c., a Friend of Melksham accompanying us as far as Worcester. The 18th, we attended a meeting there, which was a season owned by the Master. In the afternoon paid a comfortable satisfactory visit to George Becket and his wife. He was confined by illness. In this opportunity, we were favoured to drink together of the brook by the way, which truly refreshes the poor weary travellers. The next day we went to Stourbridge, and the 20th were at meeting there, in which my mind was led into searching labour, but also in gathering love; and at the close, solemn supplication arose. The same afternoon we rode to Dudley. Next day, we were at a meeting there, in which gracious help was administered, and some close labour extended under the tender covering of love, and the honest-hearted were encouraged, humbly to persevere. At the close, the covering of the spirit of solemn supplication was felt, under which prayer was put up to the blessed Preserver of men.

"We proceeded to Birmingham, Tamworth, Chesterfield, Sheffield, Warnsworth, Thorn, and Doncaster, having one or more meetings at each place; and I was favoured with help to discharge my duty. At Tamworth, we visited the few Friends in their families. The 4th of the fourth month, we reached Ackworth, and staid there some days, attending



the meetings on first-day, and the week-day meeting; and I felt my mind drawn to have separate sittings with different parts of the family. Some of them were to sweet satisfaction, particularly that in the girls' school, where was a general tenderness. Oh! there are some, yea, many sweet children! May they be preserved, is the fervent desire of my spirit! We also went to the Monthly Meeting at Pontefract, in which my mind was much exercised in deep travail, and enabled to labour in a very close manner; but under that covering that desires all may be gathered, and the dead in spirit raised from their graves of earthly mindedness, before the solemn language be uttered, Remove the candlesticks out of their places. For this, my soul prays. My spirit felt easy in having faithfully warned them.

"We then went to York, and were kindly received by dear Esther Tuke and her family. We attended the two meetings there, on first-day, and in the evening had a select sitting with the scholars [of the girls' school] in which Esther appeared sweetly in testimony. From York we went to Thirsk, Stockton and Newcastle. After we had been at meeting there, being accompanied by two Friends of that town, we proceeded for Scotland.

"The 22nd of the fourth month, we got to Kelso, and had a meeting there, owned by the Master; and the 25th, reached Edinburgh. In the evening the meeting of ministers and elders was held, and the next day, the adjourned Monthly Meeting. On the following day, being first-day, were two pretty large public meetings, both owned of the Master; and many of the inhabitants came in. In the morning I was engaged both in testimony and supplication; and in the afternoon in testimony. John Wigham was there, and engaged in public labour in both meetings. He was preparing to go on a religious visit to America; and under this awful prospect, my mind was led into near sympathy with him.

"On the 28th, was the Half-year's Meeting: first one for worship, then one for business, and in the evening the meeting for ministers and elders, all in degree owned. We had also, after supper, a heart tendering opportunity with the Friends out of the North, to whom I felt, or at least to some of them, the flowings of Gospel love, sweetly cementing our spirits. We afterwards sat with the different families belonging to Edinburgh meeting, and were also at their week-day meeting, and the 2nd of the fifth month, set out for Glasgow. We arrived there the next day, in the afternoon, and the rude rabble followed our chaise, as we rode along the streets, be-

having very unhandsomely, of which our singular appearance might be the occasion.

"The 4th we had a meeting with a few who are in part convinced, and some other persons. It was a season owned by the Master with his good presence, so that we had cause afresh to bless and praise His holy name. The 7th, we reached Carlisle, one hundred miles from Glasgow, and the meeting there next day was a close searching time, but I felt best help to enable me to discharge what appeared my duty, and was peaceful. The 9th, we set out for Cornwood and stopped at Haltwhistle to dine, where a Friend met us, and led our horse in such roads, as seemed almost impassable for a chaise, on account of bogs; but we were favoured to get safely to Thomas Wigham's that evening. The next day we rested, and the following day, being first-day, were at meeting, a time in which I believe many felt something of the power of Truth. The 12th, we went to Allandale, and though the distance is but twelve miles, we were four hours or more in going. The road was so very bad two miles of the way that we rode in Thomas Wigham's cart. One Friend led the horse, and another walked by our side, and often held the cart, to prevent us from being overturned; but the day was fine, and my mind peaceful, so that I have seldom had a more comfortable ride. The 13th, we had a meeting at Allandale, in which different states were opened and spoken to, I believe under the power of Truth, as it was a favoured season. The 14th, we went to Newcastle, and the 15th was the week-day meeting, a season of sweet refreshment, I believe, to the humble travellers, tending to unite the spirits of some of us. In the afternoon we rode to Durham; at which place we had a meeting, exercising and very laborious, among a few who are robbed and spoiled. We went the same day to Darlington, and on the 18th, being first-day, were at the meeting there, in which the gathering love of the Great Shepherd was, I believe, sensibly perceived by many. On the 20th, was the Monthly Meeting, which we attended, a low wading season. On the 21st, we had a favoured meeting at Yarm, and in the afternoon went to Ayton, where the next day we had a meeting, in which my mind was much enlarged, I trust, under right authority. The 23d, we went to Whitby, where on first-day, I went to meeting under a weighty exercise, having long had a prospect of visiting the families of Friends; and sitting under deep baptism, after a time I felt it my place to stand up, and was engaged in testimony; in the course of which I had to



inform Friends of my prospect of visiting families. When we returned from meeting, I received a letter giving an account of the death of a dearly beloved child, my cousin, Edward Jefferys, jun., whom I had cared for as a child of my own. This information deeply affected my natural feelings, but, under the conflict, a sweetness not to be fully expressed covered my mind, with a language as though uttered by him, Weep not for me, for I am glorified in heaven. Thus my spirit was bowed in thankfulness, with tears of humble rejoicing. My mind was so strengthened, that I went to meeting in the afternoon, and in the evening entered on the arduous service of visiting families, through the condescending goodness of Him who helpeth with his blessed Spirit to tread as on scorpions, giving a degree of that harmless nature of the dove which makes way amongst high and opposing spirits, and by which, at least for the present, some were brought down. We also met with some who, like scattered sheep, were very insensible of their loss; but these were invited home to the true Shepherd's fold. We also met with a small mournful remnant, who I fear may weaken themselves by unprofitable bemoaning. We had nearly seventy sittings, besides attending first-day and week-day meetings. It was a deeply exercising engagement; but through adorable kindness, we were favoured to close peacefully, and took leave of them at the last meeting under the renewed extendings of gathering love.

"We next went to Scarborough, where we were engaged in the like arduous service. When we had gone about half through the visit, the Quarterly Meeting at York came on, and we attended it. It was very large, and measurably owned by the Master; but the exercise and depression of my poor spirit was not small, though I was helped to relieve myself by uttering what seemed my duty to deliver. Dear Esther Tuke, a mother in Israel, was affectionately kind.

"At this Quarterly Meeting were Deborah Townsend of London, and her companion Mercy Ransom of Hitchin, in their way to Scotland. Dear Deborah's state of health was such, that according to human probability, she was not likely again to see her own habitation; but her mind evinced a state of resignation and preparation for what her good Master might see best, either life or death. They travelled on, though with difficulty, as far as Edinburgh, and there Deborah peacefully closed the scene of life.

"When the Quarterly Meeting was over, we returned to Scarborough, to finish the family visit there, in the course of which we

had some tendering opportunities with divers who attended our meetings, though not joined to the Society; and those who were so, but whose dwellings were not within the precious enclosure, were called and invited no longer to remain without it, but to return with speed, whilst the day of merciful visitation was extended, before the door was shut. There was also a travelling remnant, which was, I trust, a little strengthened; and we parted under the feeling of the precious love of Him, from whom all good cometh, and to whom belongeth blessing and honour, salvation and praise; but from the servants the acknowledgment remains to be due, 'We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which it was our duty to do.'

"We visited the few families belonging to Pickering, about fifteen, and also attended their Monthly Meeting, and then went to Bridlington, and sat with the few there; also attended the meeting on first-day. Some sober neighbours came in, whose minds seemed in a seeking state, and who were, I believe, glad of the opportunity. Surely the Lord's table will be filled, and the descendants of the faithful shut out, if they turn not in time to Him, who hath so loudly called, 'Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die, O house of Israel?' From Pickering we went to Beverly; some miles of the way on the sand, close by the sea. As the weather was fine, and I had the feeling of that peace which is an evidence of our being in the way we should go, it made the ride pleasant. We had a meeting at Beverly the next day, exercising and laborious. Thence we went to Hull, where being joined by Christiana Hustler, we entered pretty directly on the arduous service of visiting families; and though the baptisms were many, and the labour deep, yet merciful help was graciously near, so that I trust some minds were benefitted. We finished the engagement on a sixth-day evening, had an appointed meeting the next day for all the visited, and in the afternoon went to Cave. We were at the meeting there on first-day, in which very close doctrine was delivered, for the arousing of the lukewarm careless professors, to awake lest they sleep the sleep of death. After this we parted with Christiana Hustler, and went to York, where at the week-day meeting, a season owned by the Master, and the next day went to Selby. M. Anderson of Kelso, who was at York, went with us, also Elizabeth Tuke. Their company was pleasant, and the meeting at Selby favoured with the descendings of heavenly good. The next day we went to Leeds, and on first-day attended both the meetings there. A little strength was given to throw off my burthen, and to leave

it with them. The next meeting was Skipton, in which was deep wading and close labour; but Truth arose, and I trust some minds were strengthened; and to others, their states opened and the way set forth how and where to apply for saving help: also the danger of delay. After meeting we went to Settle, and had a meeting appointed there, in which strength was given to labour, I hope faithfully. We also had some more private opportunities to a good degree of satisfaction. We went to Bentham on a seventh-day, and on first-day were at meeting there, a close searching time, but favoured. In the afternoon we went to Lancaster, under the prospect of the arduous service of visiting the families of Friends there, which was performed; and Oh, the deep baptisms, through which my soul passed while so engaged, the Master only knoweth. We had upwards of ninety sittings, besides attending their first-day and week-day meetings. There are many in this place, who have 'waxed fat and kicked,' and forsaken the Rock of their salvation; unto whom the offers of mercy were afresh extended, on the terms of true repentance. There are a few who see the disordered state of things, but sink under discouragement. May He who was with little David enable them to put on strength in his eternal name, to search and cleanse the camp.

"Having, I trust, been enabled to divide the word aright, we left Lancaster peaceful, and went to Preston. We had a meeting with the few Friends there. The spring of life seemed low, though I believe there is a little exercised remnant. From Preston we went to Liverpool, with a prospect of engaging in the service of visiting families; and the Quarterly Meeting to be held there approaching, I had a strong desire to get as far through the visit as possible with propriety, before it came on; and feeling the blessed Helper near, I too much forgot my own feeble frame, which was much worn down; so I was at last obliged to lie by, just as the Quarterly Meeting came on; and I was confined to my chamber, which occasioned considerable delay in that part of the engagement which was unfinished. I however, moved a little in it before I was quite recovered, and was helped to get through the visit; though my weakness continued, and many and deep were the attendant baptisms; but adorable kindness bore up, and in some degree gave to drink, with a little living remnant, of 'the brook by the way,' and to praise the name of Him who liveth for ever. Whilst we were here, Esther Tuke came to Liverpool, though in a very infirm state, feeling a desire to be at that meeting and a few others. It was a little debt which she felt unpaid, and she was desirous of finishing the day's work

before the close came, which seemed near. She was favoured to finish the service which she had a prospect of, and returned home peaceful, like a faithful and good servant, and I believe was ready to receive the invitation—'Come, thou blessed of my Father:' and in a very short space of time she was gathered, I doubt not, to an everlasting mansion of peace.

"But the concern with which I left home was not yet accomplished, so when I was a little recruited, being desirous not to lose time, of which I think I cannot justly charge myself, being too apt to err on the other hand, we left Liverpool for Manchester, and Sarah Benson, of Liverpool, felt a concern to join us in a visit to the families of Friends there.

"We attended the Monthly Meeting on a third-day, and on fourth-day entered on the weighty service, for weighty it is, as there is at seasons occasion to bring matters home, like Nathan did to David. But the Ancient of days was near, and was pleased to renew a gracious visitation to many, and in particular to the strayed sheep of the house of Israel, that they might return to the Father's house in deep humiliation, contrition and abasement, and then they would have bread enough and to spare. In many of these opportunities, great brokenness was witnessed. We found in this place, a precious exercised remnant, unto whom we were nearly united; and at the close of the visit parted under the sweet covering of that love which is the badge of discipleship. We had one hundred and twelve sittings, besides the first-day and week-day meetings, in twenty-eight days. My poor frame was much worn down, but that felt of little consequence to me, though, from the feeling of weakness, I was induced to question whether I might reach home.

"From Manchester we went to Warrington, and attended their first-day meetings; which were graciously owned by the Master, without whom the poor servants can do nothing. We were also favoured in the evening with a precious opportunity at our lodgings, many Friends being there. The next day we went to Chester, and sat with a few in their families, with whom we felt sympathy, much desiring that the little that remains may be strengthened. From Chester we went to Shrewsbury and had a meeting, also went to see a Friend on his death-bed, which was a tendering opportunity. He was soon after removed, I trust into that rest where sorrow is not known, and all tears are wiped away, for ever to unite in hallelujahs with the redeemed. The same afternoon we went to Coalbrookdale; and attended two meetings on a first-day to satisfaction. In them, and in an opportunity in the evening, consolation was

administered to the mournful tried hidden ones. Dear Ann Summerland was at both meetings, and also present in the evening. How beautiful, to behold greenness in old age! On second-day we went to Bewdley, and parted with dear Sarah Benson. We had a meeting there the next day, and went afterwards to Worcester, and thence home, taking only one meeting in our way. I was favoured to reach Melksham the 6th of the twelfth month, 1794, without any material accident; and though with a feeble body, with a mind favoured with an evidence of having been moving in the humble, and I trust faithful discharge of that duty, which was required of me by Him, who is for ever worthy to be served, worshipped and adored."

The following short extract of a letter written soon after her return from this journey, may be a pleasant supplement.

"It is matter of humble thankfulness, that, on looking back it affords peace, and that I reverently feel a belief of having cleared the way; not left undone what I ought to have done. But notwithstanding, this language has been much the companion of my mind, I am but an unprofitable servant. Indeed I feel nothing whereof to boast, save infirmities, and I hope a little in the cross of Christ."

In 1795, she was at London at the Yearly Meeting, and in the following winter visited the families of Friends at Exeter, Shaftsbury, Poole and Fordingbridge, having a certificate addressed to Friends in the respective counties, and in Somersetshire. She returned early in 1796, with an acknowledgment of Divine help; and in that year came again to the Yearly Meeting. As winter approached she began to prepare for another journey, and obtained a certificate. Her late companion, Mary Jefferys, jun., had also the Monthly Meeting's concurrence in bearing her company. A prospect of visiting families was also before her in this journey; and it may be remarked that though she had now been long accustomed to such visits, and was a sort of veteran in the service, it still appeared to her to be awful and arduous.

The following is very slightly varied from her own memorandums:

"The 18th of the eleventh month, I left home, under no small weight of exercise, having in prospect a visit to Friends in part of the eastern and southern counties, also to the families of Friends at Norwich, and some other places: my dear cousin, Mary Jefferys, jun. being my companion. We took Cirencester in our way, proceeding through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, into Suffolk and Norfolk, going pretty direct to Norwich, and taking meetings as we passed along:

but the weight of the service of visiting families closely tried me. We got to that city on seventh-day. First-day we went to meeting, and near the close of it my way opened to some service, and I was helped through to the ease of my own mind. Next morning, by request, the ministers and elders met together to give me an opportunity of spreading before them my prospect. I also gave them my certificate to read, and a solemn opportunity it was, the precious wing of Divine love being measurably spread over us, in which unity and sympathy were fully expressed, and a willingness to afford any assistance in their power. It was given with great readiness to the close of the visit; and indeed we had a remarkably open door nearly through the whole; but this was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in my eyes. O, blessed be his holy name, who was mercifully near, renewing gracious help, and opening fresh matter to the various states, from family to family, under the precious tendering power of gathering love. It was a time of renewed visitation to many. O may the favours of heaven be rightly received and improved, to the present and lasting advantage of their immortal spirits. The baptisms through which my soul passed, are only known to the full by Him who weighs the hills in a scale, and the mountains in a balance; but the close was peaceful, and the remembrance has caused humble thanksgiving.

"We left Norwich the 23d of the first month, 1797, parting with some there in precious nearness. The 24th, was at a meeting at Wymondham, in which ability was given to labour closely and faithfully, under that covering which covets to seek and save that none might be lost. The 25th we rode to Swaffham, twenty-five miles, and the next day had a meeting owned by Him who is the light and life of his poor exercised children. The 27th, we had a precious opportunity before we set off for Lynn. In the way there, we called on a sick Friend with whom we had a tendering time. Next day being seventh-day, we rested at Lynn; and on first-day, after the second meeting, we entered on a family visit. We had twenty-four sittings, including visits to those who attended our meetings, though not in membership. The opportunities with some of these sober people were to solid satisfaction. We also visited the girls of a charity-school, and had a tendering time. I think I never saw more general tenderness amongst children; and their mistress was also affected. I do believe the feet of the Lord's messengers will be turned to look after children who are not of this fold. What abundant labour and care has been be-

stowed on the children of our Society, and how have some of them cast it behind their backs!

“From Lynn we went to Wells, and were at a Monthly Meeting there, a time of deep exercise, and sat with the few families. Then we went to Holt, and on, by way of Norwich, to Yarmouth, where also we visited the families of Friends. We had thirty-seven sittings, in which gracious help was mercifully vouchsafed, so that we were helped through the visit to the peace of our own minds, and I humbly trust the seed was visited, the pure life a little strengthened, and some afresh animated to press forward for the prize that is at the end of the race. The lukewarm were warned of their danger, and the rebellious invited to flee from the wrath to come. The repeated close engagements, accompanied by daily baptisms, with exposure to the cold air after being in warm rooms, much affected my feeble frame; yet I did not feel myself at liberty to lie by to recruit, but trusted in the holy Arm for help of body as well as of mind, so pressed forward, and was mercifully supported. When the visit was finished, we set off the following morning for Pakefield, where we had a meeting in the evening, a humbling opportunity.

“At this place, and in different places on the coast, the people seemed under a fearful apprehension of an invasion by the French. At many places, particularly Yarmouth, there were a great number of military and naval men, whom it was affecting to see. When will the desirable day approach, when the swords will be beaten into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks, and the people learn war no more. When I was on the Norfolk and Suffolk coast, the feeling of a warlike spirit deeply affected my mind, as being that to which the Lord Jesus came to put an end.

“We had meetings at Beccles, Leystone and Woodbridge, and so on to Colchester, where we visited the families and were mercifully helped; but pressing on beyond my bodily strength, I was very ill when we got to Kelvedon, and lay by some days.

“We went from thence to the Essex Quarterly Meeting, held at Coggeshall, and returned to Kelvedon, attended the week-day meeting there, after which rode on to Chelmsford, and the next day to [the house of my relation William Storrs Fry, at] Plashett; where I was poorly, but got to Barking meeting on first-day, and to the Monthly Meeting there on third-day; also to a public meeting held by desire of Sarah Harrison of Philadelphia, which was a favoured season. On fifth-day we attended a burial; and going the next day to London, and resting there the day

following, we were at Wandsworth meeting in Surry, on first-day.

“We left it in the afternoon for Esher, visited the families there, had a meeting at Kingston, and another at Croydon, and saw the Friends of two or three other meetings in our way to the Quarterly Meeting of Surry, held at Godalming, which we attended to satisfaction. We were also at a burial at Guildford, and calling at Wanborough, near that town, went thence home in two days, arriving at Melksham the 8th of the fourth month, 1797.”

#### CHAPTER VIII.

*Two memorandums—journey to Wales—extract of a letter—Yearly Meeting—three memorandums—visits Ireland again—her letter relative to that subject—short account of the journey—letter from Cork—from Castilebank—from Rathfriland—extracts from others—paper found without date.*

DURING the interval between the eastern journey related in the foregoing chapter, and one taken in the same year in nearly an opposite direction, our friend was favoured with the experience related in the two following memorandums:

“Melksham, 16th of Sixth month, 1797.

“This morning, when alone, my soul was sweetly, unutterably so, overshadowed with the love and precious presence of the Beloved of my soul; who was pleased to break in upon it with the effusion of adorable kindness; under which I was enabled to supplicate the King of kings, through the medium of the pure Spirit of his Son, the Lamb immaculate, for preservation and ability to such a poor despicable worm, to do whatsoever he might be pleased to employ me in; and humbly to crave preservation through this vale of tears; and at the close of time, that my poor spirit, through his adorable mercy, might be granted admittance, where for ever I might worship Him, with the Lord Jesus. Amen.—This, after a time of deep baptism.”

“1st of Eighth month, 1797.

“This morning, sweetly opened into the Divine mystery of the coming of the adorable Son of the Highest, with the salutation of the angel to the mother of our dear Lord, attended with the precious feeling of his pure redeeming love to mankind, in order to purify, so as to make meet for union and communion with Him while here, and everlastingly to dwell with Him in a glorious eternity. O, my soul, mayest thou ever reverently worship and adore, with awful fear, the King of kings

and Lord of lords, who is for ever worthy, and is still permitting babes and sucklings to bless and praise his holy name."

Her next journey was into Wales, and Mary Jefferys was again her companion. North Wales was a principal object; but the families of Friends of Worcester, and a few meetings in Warwickshire, were included in the prospect.

The following extract of a letter written at Pontypool, will show her feelings at the outset.

"30th of Ninth month, 1797.

"My spirit rejoices at being favoured with the unity of the brethren. It is a great strength in low dipping seasons, which are often my portion. We have now entered the principality,\* cousin Mary Jefferys and myself; and our kind friend Joseph Naish, of Congersbury, in Somerseshire, has, I think, freely given up to accompany us into North Wales. The prospect of this mountainous country, the season of the year, for my poor creaking tabernacle, is not without discouragement; but I endeavour to look from them, and as much as possible, humbly lean on Him who is strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a true helper in the needful time, to the poor little ones, that trust in him, and [have] not in all the earth, any thing that they desire in comparison of him."

In the twelfth month, she had accomplished her visit, and intimated to her Monthly Meeting that she had been divinely helped to pursue the prospects before her. The lonely situation of Friends in North Wales, seems to have excited her sympathy, as was the case on a former visit, and she reminded her friends at home of their superior accommodations, as a cause for gratitude on their part.

She attended the Yearly Meeting in 1798, which is the only journey of which there is any account: but the following are interesting memorandums of that year.

"10th of second month, 1798. My mind was sweetly consoled, after a season of deep hidden conflict, only known to Him, who sees his poor, mournful, stripped ones. But for ever blessed be his holy name, who continues to be, to the wrestling mind, a refuge-tower, a place of defence, where, in the appointed season, bread is given, and water is sure.

\* There may be thought to be here an inaccuracy, Monmouthshire being called an English county—that is as to the judges' circuit. But the Welch language and manners prevail there as much as in some other Welch counties; and it is esteemed Welch so far as our meetings are concerned.

"28th of second month. This morning hope was comfortably renewed, in the continuation of the heavenly Father's all-sustaining, protecting, directing power, after a time of close trial both of body and mind. In unutterable condescension, I was also given to taste of the sweetness, of which the safely landed are in the full possession; and an humble hope was raised that, through adorable mercy, I shall, when my conflicts are ended, be permitted to live in his holy presence for ever.

"22nd of tenth month, 1798. Yesterday I was sixty years old. O, that the few days that may be added to my exercised allotment, may be spent, according to my small measure, to the honour of my blessed Lord and Master, who hath graciously been near for my help and support, from my infant years to the present day; that gratitude and humble dedication, may be the constant companions of my tried mind; that I may not in seasons of close besetment, when fiery trials may surround, let go the anchor of hope and confidence in Him who hath been near in six troubles; and that a grain of living faith in his adorable mercy may be granted, that he will support in the seventh. Thus, O Lord, be pleased to keep to the end, that at the end, through thy adorable mercy, my spirit may be admitted within the gates of thy holy city, for ever to live in thy presence. Thus, O Lord, be pleased to do for me, one of the least."

In the second month, 1799, she applied for a certificate for the purpose of again visiting Ireland. Ireland was then the scene of civil war, which rendered the prospect of travelling in it alarming to her natural fears. The following letter to her relation, Joseph Storrs, of Chesterfield, will show the manner in which it affected her.

"Melksham, 21st of Second month, 1799.

"My beloved cousin,

"I received thy truly acceptable lines. Indeed I think it a favour to be remembered by my beloved friends; and it is particularly so in low proving seasons, when the billows seem ready to overwhelm: which has been, and is yet at times the case with me, under the present prospect of what I apprehend is required duty. It is to visit the nation of Ireland, a prospect truly awful, as well as hazardous in various respects, under which nature shudders; but may He who has an undoubted right to send by whom it pleaseth him, keep my eye and heart mercifully stayed upon him in simple faith, love and obedience; so that if unmerciful men should be permitted to inflict hardships or death, if

but the best life is preserved, it will be an unspeakable favour.

"I have had this prospect many years, and for the last twelve months, I did not expect so long a suspension; but of late time [the concern] came so heavy, with a belief that I must no longer delay, that, at our last Monthly Meeting, I spread my prospect before Friends: under which, I believe many minds were brought into near sympathy. As going out of the nation requires the approbation of the Quarterly Meeting, should no obstruction arise, and my feeble frame be enabled to move, it cannot be before the latter end of next month. My beloved relations, I have no doubt of having your tender sympathy; and I also crave your prayers for the preservation of my best life; and that the cause of Truth and righteousness may not in any wise suffer through me—not, if the mighty ocean should prove my grave.

"I remain your nearly affectionate, exercised cousin,

SARAH STEPHENSON, Jr."

She received in the third month, a certificate of the full concurrence of Friends of her Monthly Meeting; yet solicitude for her personal safety engaged the minds of many. She was herself also not wholly free from apprehension. It was therefore thought not unsuitable that some Friends should meet and have a serious conference, in order to consider the right time for her to set forward on her journey; which, as has been said, wore an aspect of some peril. They met accordingly, but the result of their deliberation was a belief that it was best to commit her to the protecting care of the Lord, who had thus called her forth into religious service; and whose tender mercies are over all his works.

The account which she has left of this journey is short, and except as to the voyage, far from being so circumstantial as the interest which the reader may probably feel, would induce him to desire.

"The 10th of the fourth month, 1799, I left home with my former dear companion, Mary Jefferys, jun., under the awful prospect of paying a religious visit to the nation of Ireland, if the way should open, and it should appear practicable in the perilous state of things in that land. In the way there, we attended a Quarterly Meeting at Shrewsbury, to a good degree of satisfaction. We proceeded the same day, and the 20th, reached Holyhead to dinner; and about nine o'clock the same evening went aboard a packet for Ireland. A little before we left the inn an awful but sweet covering spread over us, under which we were baptised, so that fear

was much taken away, and more than usual strength seemed afforded in the needful time. It is thou, Almighty Father, who art the supporter and preserver of thy poor depending children, under the shadow of whose wing is safety in every time of danger. -

"We had rather a slack side-wind, so that the vessel made but little speed, but rolled much, and we were also becalmed about two hours, when I was affected with sickness, yet not to so great a degree as at some times. But He in whose hand the winds are, was mercifully pleased to keep my mind in such a state of calmness as calls for reverential thankfulness. About eight o'clock, on second-day morning, the 22nd, we landed at Dublin, attended the Yearly Meeting there, which began the 27th, afterwards visited the different meetings of Friends, also families at Cork, Limerick, Youghal, Moat, Dublin, and Enniscorthy, staid the Yearly Meeting in Dublin, in 1800; and then accompanied by our kind friend Joseph Williams of Dublin, the 8th of the fifth month, went to Waterford. Next evening we embarked for Milford, where, after a trying passage, the wind being unfavourable, we landed about nine o'clock on first-day morning, the 11th, and had a meeting with the few Friends there in the evening. Next day, we had an appointed meeting at Haverfordwest, and then proceeded directly homeward, and reached Melksham the 15th, after a laborious and perilous journey."

Here is the account of a year's labour despatched in a few lines; but though our friend has been thus brief in description, the chasm may be well supplied by some letters to her relations, written during the journey.

The first extract is from one to her cousin, Joseph Storrs.

"Cork, 18th of Seventh month, 1799.

"For some weeks past, we have been closely engaged in visiting families here; but as my beloved relations, I know, are much interested in our welfare, I shall endeavour to give a little account of our movements since leaving Dublin. We attended the Yearly Meeting, a time of deep exercise; but gracious help was mercifully granted, for a simple discharge of duty; but to relate some things respecting this land would not be best until we may be favoured to meet, if so in the ordering of best Wisdom. We left Dublin on the fifth-day, after the close of the Yearly Meeting, went that day to Ballitore, and the next morning to the Monthly Meeting at Carlow; a place thronged with military men, and where much blood had been shed; from thence to Kilconner, and so to Enniscorthy,



where grievous devastation has been made. We lodged at a Friend's house at the foot of Vinegar Hill, where such numbers of lives were lost; and the Friend had been taken up the hill by the insurgents, after having taken leave of his wife and family, expecting to be shot: but they were not permitted to do him any personal injury. We went from thence to Ballintore, to Cooladine and Forrest, where Friends had suffered very greatly in their property, and had expected to lose their lives. At one Friend's house at Forrest, about eight men came with full purpose to murder, as was believed, and they queried one of another why they did not begin, saying, what did they come for. But as the Friend and the family were with them in the kitchen, such a calm came over them that it was like a solemn meeting, so that the men seemed to be chained by a power that they could not account for, and went away without doing the family any personal injury. Many women were waiting in the court; ready, as was believed, to plunder when the men had murdered. These women seemed much disappointed at loosing the booty.

"Many other affecting accounts we had in passing from place to place through the county of Wexford. In one place we passed near a barn in which one hundred and seventy protestants were burned alive; and we saw hundreds of houses in ruins in passing along. Though the accounts in England were affecting, (Youghal, 23d) I think they did not by far come up to what we have heard from Friends here. The last place we were at in the county of Wexford was Ross, where the wonderful interposition of Providence was such, that General Johnson, who was chief in command, said, as I was informed, that that day's work must not be attributed to man, but to the Almighty. Ross is about eight miles from Waterford.

"Before I drop this moving subject, it seems right to mention the wonderful protecting arm of the Most High round the members of our Society, so that none, except one who left the house and fled to arms for protection, lost their lives in these violent commotions; though many other innocent Protestants were cruelly murdered. I have repeatedly had to say, that the singular protection of Providence ought to be written as with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond on the hearts of Friends, never to be erased.

"Our kind friend Robert Fowler [her townsman, who had gone over with her] accompanied us, through the county of Wexford to Waterford, where he left us; and where we staid nearly two weeks, and made many calls, like visiting families, as far as it went. The

next place was Clonmel, where we staid about a week, and were employed in a like manner, though not in a regular one. The next place was the meeting at Garryrone, and so to Youghal, where we staid six days, and were not wholly idle. The next place was Cork, where a partial visit would not be accepted; and though the prospect was deeply affecting, yet as it appeared the way to peace, we entered on the arduous service in humble fear, and went through about eighty visits; but the Quarterly Meeting for Munster coming on, to be held at Youghal, it seemed right to attend it, and we have left the rest of the families until our return.

"Being now at Youghal and the Quarterly Meeting over, I think we may thankfully say, that the Master graciously condescended to own, with his good presence, in this day of danger and dismay. The children's safety depends, on all occasions, on their going down to the valley and choosing the smooth stones for their slings, and then waiting for holy direction and power to convey them. O, may I be preserved through the perilous day in this land, and every future day of my life, if many days are allotted me by Divine Wisdom; though that does not seem very likely, for my frame seems considerably shaken since I came into this land."

The following extract of a letter written on the way from Cork to Limerick, and at the latter place, gives an account of the completion of the family visit, and of her final farewell to the Friends of Cork.

"Castlebank, 9th of Eighth month, 1799.

"My beloved cousin,

"I now sit down to salute you by a line after the close of an arduous visit to the families at Cork, which was much extended by taking in all who attended our meetings, whether in membership or not.

"We have been closely engaged, and through the renewed daily help of the Shepherd of Israel, were enabled to finish, the evening before the last; and yesterday attended their meeting, in which we had to take a sweet and solemn leave."

After some further narration not material to insert, she adds, "may all within us bless his holy name, thankfully acknowledging that hitherto the Lord hath helped us; and humbly beg that he will be pleased to continue near to preserve us, and direct all our movements, that so they may meet with holy acceptance, and our spirits be favoured with that peace, which the world can neither give nor take away.

"Limerick, 11th. We were favoured to get



here on seventh-day evening safely, though a good deal fatigued. Yesterday we attended both the meetings, and to-morrow is the Monthly Meeting, after which, I apprehend, we shall not find ourselves excused without sitting in the families, which is fresh cause of abasement and reduction to the natural will, that so much desires to look towards a release, in order again to meet our beloved friends in our native land. But as we came not in our own wills, but I humbly trust, in the Master's, may it be done in and by us through time; and then, the various cups assigned us being drunk (which at times may seem mingled very bitter,) we may hope that adorable mercy will permit our spirits to rest for ever with him, in his blessed kingdom, where no alloy is known. This will be an ample reward for every season of conflict."

The following breathes the true language of consolation, and shows that a mind closely engaged in fulfilling its own share of religious duty, is still open to sympathy for the distresses of others; its insertion may please and benefit the reader.

"Rathfriland, 19th of Eleventh month, 1799.

"I find it a task to address my beloved cousin, after an event that so nearly affects her, and in which I am a large sharer. But resignation to the Divine will is our duty, under the consoling evidence, that my beloved friend and relation is taken from a scene of pain and trial, to a place in that glorious kingdom where no alloy is known, for ever to rest with him whose glory the heaven of heavens cannot contain. These considerations forbid [us] to mourn; though to feel when such tender ties are broken, I trust, is not displeasing to him who wept over Lazarus, especially when [we are] enabled reverently to say, thy will, O gracious Father, be done. May these dispensations of unerring wisdom, be a means of more closely uniting our spirits to Him, who is the way, the truth, and the life; that so we may more feelingly know that our 'Redeemer liveth;' and that because he liveth we live. May I think nothing hard that my gracious God may be pleased to order for me in this wilderness and vale of tears, that so, when my measure of suffering is filled up, my exercised spirit may rest with Him who has been near in six troubles, and I humbly hope will not leave in the seventh; and may his ever blessed arm of help and tender succour be near, for thy preservation and support."

The remaining extracts are from letters to Joseph Storrs. They conduct the reader through much of the remainder of the journey, and show the state of her devoted mind

at its close, when safely returned to her own habitation. The letter which first occurs has several dates. It was begun in Ulster province, and finished at Dublin.

"My dear cousin's truly acceptable lines have lain much longer unanswered than has felt easy to me; but the frequent and deep baptisms that have been my portion in this land and particularly in this province [Ulster] have rendered my mind unfit for saluting my beloved friends in a manner that I would desire to do; though I think they were never more dear to me than since leaving my native land. I desire not to utter the language of complaint with regard to my sufferings; but for the cause, and them that make it suffer, I mourn. I desire I may patiently drink what further cups may be assigned to me, and be willing to suffer with the Seed, which is indeed sorely oppressed. But under all, my dear cousin, the Good Shepherd has been pleased to be mercifully near, to enable in a good degree to discharge what has appeared to be required duty; though my passing along has been as under the mountains, and fears have at times so taken hold of my poor mind, as to doubt of living through: and indeed my frame is weakened considerably since being here; but with this I am not dismayed, if the best life is but preserved. The Quarterly Meeting for Ulster is coming on, after which I hope we may soon feel a release from this province, and go to Dublin, which is in the province of Leinster, where are four meetings unvisited. I hope we may look towards our own dear land, with a belief that we have endeavoured to do what we could, and if it be the blessed Master's will to bring us over the great deep in safety, that all within us will be enabled to bless his holy name. But I dare not build upon, or much please myself with, the hope of a speedy release, though not without a little or faint expectation of it.

"My beloved cousins, you are near to me, and I do believe I am favoured to have a place in your remembrance with desires for my preservation every way. May the God of all grace be with you and yours, and with us poor pilgrims; and if he see meet to favour us to meet in mutability, I humbly hope it will be with thanksgiving and praise to his holy name.

"Dear Charity Cook [of South Carolina] is confined here with the small pox. They have been out three days, and not a large burden, and at present no unfavourable symptoms appear.

"Stranmore, 29th of eleventh month, five miles from Lurgan, where we intended to go to-morrow, to attend the Quarterly Meeting.—

We are returned from the Quarterly Meeting and found dear Charity very ill, the doctor doubting her getting over that night, but yesterday and to-day the disorder seems more favourable.

"6th of twelfth month. The attendance of the Quarterly Meeting, with some other meetings there, was closely exercising; but I trust we were in our right places, as on my return I felt peacefulness; and as to great things I do not expect them, being one of the little ones, but desire to be faithful to what the Master may be pleased to require, though through very deep baptisms, which indeed has been the case in the attendance of this Quarterly Meeting.

"Dublin, 11th of twelfth month, 1799. We got here last evening much fatigued. We left Charity Cook with the appearance of a favourable recovery."

"Enniscorthy, 4th of Fourth month, 1800.

"The cause of my not writing arose from a hope of a more speedy release from this land; and though the detention has been long, and much increased by the large field of labour in Dublin, yet I dare not question the propriety of it; as I had painfully to taste what the consequence of omission would have been. The service was very arduous, extending to comers to meeting, and disowned persons, so that with these and the members we had more than two hundred and thirty sittings; which were not finished before sixth-day week in the evening; and we left Dublin next morning for the county of Wicklow, where we had not been. There are but few of our Society. We are now in the county of Wexford, on a family visit at Enniscorthy. I had a view of it when we were here before, but that did not seem to be the time. I expect we shall get through this, and I hope some other little service, so as to get up to Dublin, to the Yearly Meeting; after which I humbly hope and expect we shall set our faces homewards, which is truly desirable; but above all things that He who hath mercifully been with us hitherto, will be pleased to continue with us to the end of our labours here, and accompany us with his good presence to our native land; that his preserving power may keep us to the end of our pilgrimage, and that when time ends, our spirits may for ever rest, in joyful peace and holy consolation.

"My beloved cousins, if in the ordering of best wisdom, we should meet in mutability, it seems very desirable; but at times I feel an increasing desire for a greater degree of resignation of my own will, that the great Master's will may be more perfectly done in and

by me. I feel little ability for writing; but on looking over our travels in this land, which seem now to be winding up, and how our gracious holy Helper has been near to preserve and give ability to perform what little services he was pleased to require of me, it humbles all within me, and leads reverently to bless his holy name: breathing in humble fear at the footstool of his awful Majesty, this language, I am but an unprofitable servant. Farewell my beloved relations. May the God of all grace be with and keep you and us while on earth, and cause us to meet again in uninterrupted peace, joy, and holy consolation, is the humble breathing of your nearly affectionate, exercised cousin,

"SARAH STEPHENSON."

The following was written from Melksham in the fifth month.

"I have thankfully to commemorate the goodness of adorable mercy, in carrying us through so arduous a journey, I hope safely in all respects; and have now to look back with a peaceful evidence of having been in the line of required duty. But though I trust this is the case, I know I am one of the weaklings of the flock, and have nothing whereof to boast. And indeed I have often wondered that such an one as I, should be called forth; and when I look around, and see many whose abilities are so great, it sinks my mind into admiration of condescending goodness to make use of me. May I, during the few fleeting days that are yet behind, be enabled so to steer, that my poor little bark may arrive at the haven of rest."

The materials collected afford nothing for the remainder of the year, but the following:

"28th of the eighth month, 1800. This morning sweetly refreshed with the precious streams of pure consoling love, strengthening and encouraging my drooping, exercised mind, to an increasing trust in that mercy and power that hath in many seasons borne up my head, when the waves of deep baptism and sore conflict seemed ready to overwhelm, and made way amidst opposing spirits, that seemed ready to defy the armies of Israel's God."

As the reader is now advancing towards an end of the relation of the various exercises of this dedicated Friend, in her native land, the following paper, found without a date, may in this place engage his perusal with acceptance.

"I went to the funeral of a beautiful young plant in a neighbouring county. She was about eighteen years of age. My mind was much impressed in the meeting with this language, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the

Lord, &c., and with it I stood up. Life mercifully attended, to the tendering of many minds, and to the peace of my own. I felt a desire to stop a few days with the family, and had some satisfactory opportunities. On first-day, I felt some movings on my mind to be at a meeting a few miles distant; and the father and one of the sisters of the deceased accompanied me. As I rode along my mind was drawn into an abstracted state, so that I felt an entire detachment from visibles, and as though I had no connections on earth; and I was much absorbed in Divine love, in which my spirit humbly rejoiced. Under these heavenly feelings, I rode a considerable way; but of this sweet enjoyment, I felt an abatement, and was gradually centered in a state of great poverty, in which I went to meeting. And as I sat, though in great weakness, the state of the meeting was opened before me, and I had to see the states of many individuals; but for a considerable time felt no commission to move, until a Friend, who did not belong to that meeting, appeared. I then felt the movings of life, and when he sat down, it seemed my place to stand up; and utterance was given, and the baptizing power of Truth was felt, to the melting of many spirits present; and to the great abasement of my own before Him, to whom belongs all praise, thanksgiving and honour, who is for ever worthy."

#### CHAPTER IX.

*Visit to America—letters—leaves home—embarks—the voyage—New York—family visit there—yellow fever—Long Island—various services—quits New York—journey to Philadelphia—family visit in Pine Street meeting—laid up—goes to Germantown—soon returns to the city—confined to the chamber—visit of Mehetabel Jenkins—state of mind, and expressions near the close—her decease—abstract of a testimony, &c.—conclusion.*

WE are now drawing towards the last travels of this indefatigable labourer. We have seen the early arisings in her heart of Divine love. We have remarked its increase, and have had occasion to observe how she became willing to be the instrument of conveying to others some portion of that bread, on which she delighted to feed. In pursuit of this object, and at the call of duty, we have beheld her travelling in every district of these nations where Friends are settled. In proportion to the interest which we have taken in the narration, we may be said to have been the witnesses of her conflicts, and almost to have partaken in her baptisms. But neither her

cup of suffering nor of consolation was by these completely filled. A prospect of further service had been long opening on her view; and when the right time for engaging in the labour appeared to have arrived, she did not suffer her feeble health, already impaired by past exercises, to operate as an insurmountable discouragement. She had often been strengthened by faith; and she was prepared to follow her beloved Lord, either to life or death.

In the second month, 1801, in a very weighty manner, she laid before her Monthly Meeting, her concern to visit Friends on the continent of North America: her feelings on which occasion cannot, probably, be better conveyed to the reader than by the following extract of a letter to her relation, Joseph Storrs.

"Melksham, 4th of Third month, 1801.

"I have been confined to my chamber about a month, with a complaint, I believe, much owing to deep exercise of mind; and the first time of my getting to meeting was at our last Monthly Meeting, though under great weakness of body, and heavy exercise of mind. But, being reduced to obedience, I was enabled to lay before our Friends, a prospect which had for many years attended my mind. My dear cousin, it is nothing less than to go to America. I have admired that such a poor creature should be called to service of such magnitude: and so at times let in an apprehension that Friends would think me quite unfit; and then, I should be excused on that ground. But as the concern was spread before them, the meeting seemed dipped into great sympathy; and, I believe, under Divine influence, the language of encouragement was handed in a tender affecting manner. So at home there seems no obstruction; and if at London there should be none, and my health permit, it is likely we shall soon prepare to embark. I say we, because my dear cousin Mary Jefferys felt herself so bound to the service, that she believed she should forfeit her peace if she did not give up to it; of which, in a solemn manner she informed Friends at the same time; which was, I believe, very cordially united with.

"Thou and my dear cousin Mary have tenderly felt with me under various exercises, and I now claim it afresh in a particular manner; with your prayers for preservation in every way: being indeed a poor creature, but very desirous of being preserved from bringing any shade on the blessed Truth, whatever becomes of this poor body.

"I remain thy truly affectionate, exercised cousin,  
SARAH STEPHENSON."

To the foregoing, the succeeding extract of a letter to the same Friend, is a suitable appendix. It further demonstrates the tenour of her mind; and leads through another step of the precaution enjoined by our discipline, as a preliminary to travels on religious service in foreign parts.

“Melksham, 11th of Fourth month, 1801.

“Your tender sympathy under the baptizing power of Truth, hath bowed my spirit under a sense of my unworthiness; and raised thankfulness for the near unity of my dear friends, in this awful prospect. May every future step of my life (a poor worm,) be ordered in the pure fear of Him who has a right to make use of the weak of this world, that so the continuation of this precious unity may be mercifully granted, to the close of my days, whether they be many or few. For, oh! the unity of the brethren is to me exceedingly precious; and even with this blessing, under the many conflicts and sore baptisms, in the course of my little experience in journeys, my faith hath often been tried, as to an hair's breadth; and I do not expect an easier path; but how must it be without the unity and sympathy of Zion's faithful travellers?

“Our Quarterly Meeting was held here last week, when, to my humbling admiration, a current spread of tender sympathy, and as Friends expressed, of unity.

“I remain, &c.

“SARAH STEPHENSON.”

After this our friend attended the Yearly Meeting. In the meeting of ministers and elders, she opened her view of visiting the American continent with much-weightiness of spirit, and obtained its concurrence and a certificate. Her services in the sittings of the women's meeting, and the humility which appeared to clothe her mind, are said to have been very edifying. She promoted and assisted in the writing of an epistle from that meeting, thus, as she expressed it, relieving herself of a little debt which she seemed to owe to her sisters in this land, before she left them, and as it proved, finally.

Having now obtained the full concurrence of all the meetings which are appointed to watch over concerns of a nature so important, she returned home to Melksham, which town or its neighbourhood had been her residence, when she could be said to have a home, for nearly thirty years. But she soon left it again, and went to Bristol, her port of embarkation, in the latter part of the sixth month, accompanied by her justly dear friend, relation and companion, Mary Jefferys, jun., who was also furnished with certificates of the

full unity of Friends. About an hour before she went from home, being in her chamber, having only with her one of the sisters of her companion, who was much affected with the probability of a long separation, she said to her, “I feel nothing more to do here. If I staid with you, I should be no comfort to you:” and observed that the crown was at the end of the race.

Let us now attend to her own narration, which she has left nearly in the following words:

“The 8th of the seventh month, 1801, we went on board the ship Uncle Toby, Elihu Doty, captain, lying at Pill, near Bristol. We staid two nights, but the wind being contrary, we came on shore the 10th to a Friend's house about two miles distant, where we also staid two nights, and then were called up early, the wind being tolerably fair, though the weather was unsettled. The captain being very anxious to get out, set sail; but in a few hours we had a head wind and a very rough sea, so that I apprehend we were in considerable danger. On seventh-day night I was very ill, not able to undress, but got into my berth. On first-day morning the pilot thought it best to run back from the Holmes to King-road, which we reached by noon, and then anchored. About three o'clock, I was helped out of my berth, and about five, we had a meeting in the cabin. The captain, his wife and sisters, also the pilot and some of the steerage passengers sat with us. It was a season that I trust was owned by Him whose ways are ways of wonder. On second-day, the 13th, in the afternoon, we went on shore again, but it was with difficulty that I got to our kind friend's house, feeling much bodily weakness; but there I was tenderly nursed. The stormy weather had occasioned our friends at Bristol to be very uneasy about us. On their being informed that we were on shore, my dear sister with divers others of our affectionate friends soon came to see us; and I believe, with us were reverently thankful to the great Preserver of men. It was a favourable circumstance to me that the wind continued unfair for several days, for in that time I recruited considerably; and on sixth-day, the 17th, we went on board, and sailed about eleven o'clock in the morning; passing several vessels of different descriptions. The 18th, towards evening, we cast anchor in sight of Ilfracombe, Devonshire, and lay by a few hours waiting for the tide. The next day being come to Lundy island, the pilot left us early in the morning; and this day we lost sight of English ground. On the 23d having had a brisk wind since the 19th, and part of the time pretty much aft, we had got forward

upwards of six hundred miles. The next day the wind was right ahead; and the 25th a brisk gale, with lightning and a pretty heavy storm in the morning. In the afternoon a vessel hailed ours by a gun, and soon made up to us, put out the boat, and sent an officer on board to examine the captain. But he soon returned as we were not a prize for this ship, which was a ship of the line, called the St. Alban's from Nova Scotia, bound for Plymouth or Portsmouth, and conveying two ships laden with masts.

"1st of the eighth month. For several days many of the passengers have been very sick, in part from the great motion of the vessel, particularly one night, which was almost tempestuous. The 10th we got nearly, or quite to the grand banks of Newfoundland; and the next day a boat from our vessel went to a fishing schooner that lay pretty near, from which we had a plentiful supply of cod-fish; and besides these our men caught many large ones. The 12th the sailors saw a log floating which they took in tow. A great number of small fish soon followed it, some of which were taken, and proved very good. The log was nearly covered with barnacles, which I believe, attracted the small fish. The 13th, we were in fifty-four fathoms water, and the 14th got off the banks of Newfoundland, the weather being much warmer. On first-day, the 23d, the wind was quite ahead. After we were gone to bed, the mate called up the captain, apprehending danger. It proved to be a sea-race. There was also thunder, lightning and heavy rain for some time, so that we had a disturbed night. The next day the wind continued ahead, and we came to soundings in sixty fathoms water, near George's bank. On the 25th, a fine morning and a fair wind, and we went seven knots an hour. In the afternoon the wind was rough, and there was a swell of the sea, so that it was with difficulty we could keep our seats; but it became stiller by bed-time.

"The 27th of the eighth month; we shall have been on board six weeks to-morrow, and I apprehend we are now about two hundred miles from New York. The passage thus far has on the whole been favourable, though not without storms of thunder, lightning and rain, with high and squally winds, but not of long continuance. Indeed the language may justly be adopted, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty. Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.'

"To relate all I have passed through from various causes, would take much time and paper, and I do not feel much inclination to attempt it. Let it lie buried in the deep recesses of my heart until called for, for the

benefit of poor tried travellers, or to have recourse to, for my own instruction, benefit and encouragement. And may I be qualified to say, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' being thereby enabled to drink the future bitter cups that may be assigned, with increasing submission and willingness; that so the reward of the willing servant may be mercifully granted to me, one of the weaklings of the flock. When I have been led to look back, and to remember the unity and sympathy, which my dear friends expressed, it has caused me greatly to admire, and being permitted to feel something of a sweetly cementing fellowship of spirit, since enclosed in this floating house, may I be so preserved, and enabled so to move, that my spirit may be permitted to unite with the Lord's humble tribulated faithful servants, in the land to which I am bound; that no reflection may be cast on those who have certified for me, nor on those who publicly or privately expressed their unity and tender sympathy; but above all, that the blessed cause may have no shade brought on it through me.

"About five o'clock in the afternoon, the 28th, the captain espied land, which proved to be Long Island. It was seen pretty clearly; but the wind being quite ahead, we could not get forward: a light squall in the evening. On the 30th, the wind was fair, but we lost sight of land for awhile. In the evening a pilot came on board, and informed us that New York is healthy. We lay at anchor that night, and next day moved early in the morning, the weather rough, with thunder, lightning and rain. In the afternoon, we were favoured to land safely, and were kindly received at Robert Bowne's, who came with a boat, and conducted us from the vessel to his house. My mind with my dear companions\* were, I believe, deeply humbled with acknowledgements to the God of all grace, for the favour of being brought safely to land.

"On our arrival at New York, or a day or two afterwards, the weather became extremely hot, which, with the musquittoes, after being much exhausted with sickness at sea and confinement on ship-board, was very trying: so that a little rest in the country was highly needful, and proved salutary. After this we went on the Main, and visited five meetings; then passing again through New York to Long Island, we visited meetings there. After this we returned to the city, and I laid before

\* Besides her companion, Mary Jefferys, there went in the same ship Samuel Smith, of Philadelphia, a ministering Friend, returning from a religious visit to Friends in Ireland and some parts of England.

the members of the meeting of ministers and elders, a concern to visit the families; with which they concurred. The yellow fever having broken out, it was an engagement increasingly solemn, yet feeling it right to begin, and many of the members being in the country, we visited divers of those families, as it was not thought prudent for us to be much in the city; and I trust and believe it was in the right time; a season when the rod seemed to be awfully held over the city; and when the gracious gathering arm of Omnipotence was extended, for the help of those who were willing to be gathered.

“The Quarterly Meeting to be held on Long Island coming on, it seemed right to attend it; so we crossed the East river at a ferry called Hurlgate, and rode to Flushing where it was held; the meeting of ministers and elders on the 21st of the tenth month, was a season of deep exercise, but owned by the Master. That day I was sixty-three years of age. On the 22nd, the men and women sat together for about an hour, during which a good degree of solemnity was felt to spread; then separating, each part went to its business. It was a time of deep exercise to me. I was led into very close, but affectionate labour; and I humbly hope the meeting ended to satisfaction. On the 23d was a large public meeting, in which my spirit was deeply baptized, and after sitting about one hour in silence, which to me was solemn and awful, I felt it my place to stand up, to deliver matter as it might open, much of which was very close and searching; but a stream of comfort and encouragement flowed to the exercised travellers, and of this description there are on this island, unto whom my deeply exercised soul was united. On the 25th we went to Westbury, and after meeting there, the next day to Newtown. The 27th, we again crossed the ferry and went to Mamaroneck, about twenty-three miles, and next day to the meeting of ministers and elders at Purchase, which was a low exercising time. On the day following was the meeting for business, and while the men and women sat together, I was closely engaged: but gracious help was afforded, under the covering of love, to deal plainly. There was also a public meeting, in which I was largely exercised. I humbly trust, life was felt in a good degree over the meeting. In the afternoon we rode to Mamaroneck, and the 30th to Harlem.

“Though deep baptisms and close exercise have been my daily portion, yet I have cause for reverent thankfulness, in having been mercifully helped thus far; and I humbly hope the cause of Truth has not suffered by me.”

Here ended her memorandums; but in a letter, dated near Rahway, the 28th and 30th of the first month, 1802, she mentions the accomplishment of the family visit at New York, nearly as follows:

“Though my mind was often low, yet merciful Goodness was underneath, so that through the renewing of daily help, that arduous service at New York was finished under the feeling of peaceful serenity. We had about two hundred and eighty sittings, besides attending meetings, and other opportunities of religious service: I was much spent, and my poor shattered frame wanted to be recruited by a little rest. But New York did not seem the place for it, though the kind Friends at whose house we lodged, manifested, if it could be, increasing sympathy and love. Feeling easy to leave the city, my desire was strong to be moving forward, and as the roads at that time were bad, we went, on the 23d of the first month, on board a small vessel, to Elizabeth Town Point, in Jersey. After taking refreshment there, we went in a wagon provided for us to Rahway; and the next day, being first-day, attended the two meetings there. Second-day forenoon was spent in visiting a school and some families. In the afternoon we came here, and I was taken so unwell, that I could hold up no longer, but soon got to bed, my head being in violent pain, with great oppression on my chest, attended with spasms. After being prevailed on to take some medicine, I was somewhat relieved of the pain in my head; and if I continue mending I hope we may set off in a few days for Philadelphia, without taking many meetings by the way, as the roads are yet very bad.”

The 31st, being better, though yet very weak, she proceeded accordingly, attending by the way, the meetings of Plainfield, Stonybrook, Trenton and Bristol, in all of which she was strengthened to labour, under the influence of that pure love which seasoned her communications and evidently made way for them, to the edification or comfort of others, and to the peace of her mind. The 8th of the second month, she went to Frankford, where, being more unwell, and having a rash out, and the weather being cold, she did not attend the week-day meeting; but in the afternoon being met by her dear friend Sarah Harrison, whom she had known in England, when on a religious visit there, and by some other Friends from Philadelphia, she was desirous of returning with them the same evening as the distance was easy.

After arriving at Thomas Harrison's, where she met with a very cordial reception, several Friends of the city called to speak to her. To one who asked her how she did, she replied,



“She was but poorly;” and added, rather in a pleasant manner, “Will ye give me about six feet of ground? I don’t know but I am come to lay down my poor body amongst you.” Sarah Harrison, as well as others, was affectionately desirous of her taking rest, which appeared needful; but after being nursed for a few days, she went to meeting, and for several weeks attended the meetings in the city generally, as they came in course. The three Monthly Meetings there happened about that time, in which she produced her certificates, and had some tendering opportunities, which, as she afterwards remarked, were relieving to her mind.\* But she still continued languid; yet she imparted to Friends a view which she had of visiting the families belonging to Pine Street meeting. This was acceptable information, and cordially received; but a desire was expressed by some, that there might not be a pressing forward beyond her strength. The engagement was accordingly entered upon the 9th of the third month; but her weakness was such, that three visits in the day were more than she was equal to without being much fatigued. She was therefore again obliged to submit to lie by to be nursed; but she said, that “making of the attempt had afforded her satisfaction, whether she lived to move further in it or not.”

After awhile, as her strength did not increase, nor her complaints lessen, she was advised to go into the country for change of air; so she went to the house of a kind Friend at Germantown, where she continued nearly two weeks and once attended the meeting; but for the most part kept her room. She thought the air salutary at first; but not finding any material benefit, she returned to the city, and went to the house of a Friend within the district where she had begun her family visit: her increased weakness was apparent by her not bearing the ride back, which was about seven miles, without much more fatigue than she experienced in going. She went soon to her chamber, and after the 4th of the fourth month, which was first-day, she came down stairs but once. On that day, she was desirous of attending Pine Street meeting, which

she did; but was then in so weak a state that her being there was matter of surprise to some. To a Friend who was discouraging the attempt, fearing the fatigue would be too much for her, she said with great emphasis, “I love to go to meeting! I love to go to meeting:”\* and she remarked that “she had sometimes surprised her friends at home by going from her chamber to meeting when very poorly, and that at times she thought she felt less pain and weakness of body there than at home;” and added, “that those who used their utmost endeavours thus to meet with their friends, would, she believed, have satisfaction in looking back on it, when deprived of that privilege.”

From this day, she was wholly confined to her room, and the 9th she took to her bed, only leaving it in order to have it made, for several days. Afterwards she seemed rather better again, and sat up a considerable time in the middle of the day; but she generally had very disturbed nights, being troubled with cough and a restlessness from fever. She could bear but little company, stillness affording her complaints more alleviation than the kindness of Friends in any other way could afford; and therefore she saw but few. But Mehetabel Jenkins, who, as has been related, had known her in England, being in the city on religious service, and desirous to see her, paid her an acceptable visit. On the 12th, sitting by her bedside, after a time of silence, she sweetly addressed her, in testimony of her belief that the present dispensation was of the Lord, who does all for the best; though his workings were sometimes in a way past our finding out, yet always right; and that whatever might be the termination of her bodily indisposition, she believed all would be well with her, and that there was nothing in her way; but that He whom she had long loved, and faithfully followed would be with her to the end; that she felt great sweetness in sitting by her, and had an apprehension that she was near being gathered to the sabbath of rest. With more in a comfortable way, bidding her dearly farewell. At that time, Sarah said very little; but a few days after, referring to the visit, she said, “Dear Mehetabel, if her view should be verified, it would be a great favour to me. I was very low in body, and so weak at that time, that it seemed as though I could hardly lift up my hand or move. I did not choose to say so then; but it did feel to me that there was nothing in the

\* About this time twelve or more Indians, coming to Philadelphia on business, had a conference with Friends; to whom they applied for help or information. At this conference Sarah Stephenson was present, and was engaged to address them in a feeling suitable manner. Her address being interpreted to them, they expressed in their way, much satisfaction and approbation. They were told by Nicholas Waln, from whence she came, and on what account she had crossed the mighty waters. At parting, they appeared grave and solid, and were earnest to shake hands with her.

\* This is a signal and encouraging testimony, from the mouth of one, whose frequent allotment in meetings had been deep travail, exercise and baptism.



way." She also added, "It affords me no pleasure, when any one speaks of my recovery being likely; for through merciful kindness, I humbly hope all would be well if I was taken now; and if I stay longer, it might not be better: so that none should desire my continuance in this state of being, subject to conflict and trials, of which I have so long endured a share; and even since being in this city deep have been my baptisms, only fully known to my own soul, and to Him who knows for what cause they are my portion."

The 19th and 20th, she appeared rather better, and sat up part of each day. She said she understood the doctor thought her better; but that she did not feel herself so. She inquired whether any thought she indulged too much, by thus lying by to be nursed, and frequently acknowledged "what a favour it was that her allotment at this time was with such as were not only freely disposed, but of ability, to render every comfortable accommodation, which her situation required."

Early in the morning on the 21st, she said she had been thinking much in the night of a young man, for whom she had been religiously concerned; and she desired to have something written, which she wished to be conveyed to him; but in general since her confinement, exercise of mind on account of others, seemed mostly taken from her; having, as she observed, done what she could when in better health, and now wished others might feel for themselves.

The 22nd, a Friend proposing to read a letter from one she knew and loved; she asked whether it was interesting. A part of it was read; but as she appeared indifferent, the Friend left off, lest it should fatigue her. On this, she said, "I seem to be got past these things;" and added after a pause, "by saying so, I mean I do not wish to have my attention drawn out." The same day, in a clear and weighty manner, she commissioned a Friend with a salutation she felt to Friends in her native land.

The 23d, about five o'clock in the morning, she was seized with a hard cough, which continued, without much respite for nearly or quite an hour, with a great discharge of heavy phlegm, so that she seemed almost exhausted, and it left symptoms which encouraged her hope that her release from the conflicts of time was near. About the middle of the day she gave some directions respecting the disposal of her clothes; naming some who had come under her notice, to whom she thought little legacies might be acceptable and useful; her tender feeling for those in straitened circumstances, which was great, continuing to

the last. Her companion being much affected with sorrow, Sarah took her by the hand, and affectionately entreated her not to give way to it; saying, "She did not know how it might be. She might yet recover; but it would be unkind to covet her continuance, for whilst here, she expected to be a cripple, the weakness of her limbs was so great, particularly her right side." She also remarked, what a favour it was to her companion to be left among so many friends, who would extend their tender care, and that she believed she would be supported and rewarded; desiring that "she would not grieve for her, since if consistent with the will of her good Master, it would be far better for her to be removed then; and that she had never expected or desired to cross the water again." One day the doctor proposing something to strengthen her stomach, she said to him, with a smile on her countenance, "Doctor, I did not want thee to strengthen me. When I look towards going, it feels so pleasant, that it seems like a trial to return."

The 24th, she said to one who was affected by observing her increasing weakness, "Don't be at all uneasy, I have been sweetly comforted by my good Master's presence." To a Friend who remarked that her "bed had been made in sickness;" "Yes," said she, "wonderfully so." Being then asked how she felt respecting her recovery, she replied, "I have no prospect of it. I believe I have finished the work. There is nothing in the way. I have no care, but on account of my dear child." By this term she meant her companion, and addressing her, she added, "But, my dear, thou hadst nothing else to expect when we left home." Something being proposed for her to take, she said, "My friends propose things which I sometimes comply with; but it seems precious to look towards a release."

Her companion having told her that she felt quite satisfied in having come, and that she thought it a favour to be with her at that time, even if, by means of Sarah's removal, she should be left thus far from her native land and her friends there, Sarah seemed almost overcome with joy; and said, "Now how glad I am, how glad I am, that thou hast told me this. It is enough, Oh, it is a great comfort to me. Now I hope my good Master will soon take me to rest; and thou wilt be supported and rewarded. There is little here but trials, disappointments and conflicts. Now don't hold me, my dear." Then she seemed as if she would soon sink away; but was heard to say, in a low, but melodious voice, "Glory, glory." Soon after a Friend and his wife came in, whom she

much loved; and she said, "Dear Thomas, may the blessing rest upon you. May the blessing of the Lord rest upon you and your house, as it did on the house of Obededom, where the ark of the covenant rested. Farewell, dear Thomas, farewell."

One day a Friend asked her how she felt; to whom she replied, "I have been remarkably quiet for some days past; I am sometimes afraid too much so." The Friend returned, The great Master declared, "In my Father's house are many mansions;" and expressed her belief that if Sarah had not been prepared to enter into one of these glorious mansions, he would have made her sensible of it, and would not permit her to lie in that quiet easy state of mind. With this remark Sarah seemed satisfied. Her strength was much decayed; and on the 26th of the fourth month, which was second-day, her breathing was become difficult and painful, and she felt great oppression of body. "This, said she, is wearing work:" but nevertheless she lay very still, as she had been enabled to do during the whole of her illness; and several times desired not to be disturbed. After a hard fit of coughing, with a discharge of phlegm, which left her much spent, she said, "It will be right, let it be which way it may; and that is better than all the world. It seems as if it must be nearly over now: I have so little strength left." A little after, she seemed to be uttering praises, saying, "How good, how good!" and appeared like one engaged in sweet supplication. A Friend asking her how she did, after a pause she replied, "I cannot say much: but my King reigns." Afterwards, at three different times, being very weak and her voice low, she was understood to say, "death-bed;—I am passing away;—Lord take me."

Asking what o'clock it was, and being told about one, she said, "Time passes slowly." Feeling increased difficulty of breathing, pain in her stomach and great oppression at her chest, she said, "Give patience:" with which, that she was largely endued, those around her could witness. Again she asked the time of the day, and said, "I love quietness, don't let me be disturbed." Soon after, finding herself sinking fast, she seemed desirous of taking her last leave of those around her, and saluting them with her dying lips, said, "Farewell, farewell."

Previously to her departure, her conflict of body had some time subsided; and a few minutes before seven o'clock in the evening, in the sixty-fourth year of her age, quietly and sweetly she ceased to breathe. Here, reader, pause,.....

Dwell on the closing scene, and taste the

blessedness of the death of those who die in the Lord!

—

*An abstract of the Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Wiltshire.*

OUR much beloved friend Sarah Stephenson, a member of this meeting for upwards of thirty years, having been one whose example preached sweet instruction, we desire the remembrance of it may have the same influence, and be a further incitement to follow her, as she followed Christ.

She was entrusted with a gift in the ministry about the twenty-eighth year of her age. In the exercise of this weighty calling she was often engaged, under the persuasive influence of Gospel love to labour with the youth, for whose preservation in true simplicity, she felt strong and affectionate solicitude: that they might dedicate all to Him who loveth an early sacrifice, of which she was a great example. Her ministry was sound, tending much to raise into dominion the hidden life. Her path was often in the deep; and by such baptisms, she was enabled to minister to the states of the people in the power and efficacy of the Gospel. Leaning on the arm of All-sufficiency, she was made an eminently useful instrument.

To adopt the expressions of a testimony we have received from New York, we can say, "She was peculiarly qualified to move with propriety in that great work of going from house to house: a meek and quiet deportment, a mind clothed with a spirit of love, and affectionate solicitude that all might be gathered within the Divine enclosure, being conspicuous traits in the character and conduct of our beloved friend."

With the afflicted, whether in body or mind, who came under her notice, she was a true sympathizer. She frequently said she wished not to outlive this tender sensibility; and she manifested it to the last. Near her close, she said she had great satisfaction as she passed along, in having imparted of her little to those that had less.

In the sixty-third year of her age, she opened to Friends a prospect which she had long kept secret, of paying a religious visit to Friends in America. This undertaking seemed arduous; more especially as her natural strength at that time had much declined; but as she observed, it seemed of no consequence to her where her life might close, so that when the solemn period came, she was but where and what she ought to be.

She was much satisfied with having come to that land, which appears by a message,

which, a few days before her close, she seemed desirous to be conveyed to Friends in her native land, and commissioned a Friend with the following: "I feel a salutation of Gospel love flow towards them; and have thankfully to acknowledge that I have met with those among faithful Friends here, who have felt as fathers and mothers, brethren and sisters; that I find the Lord's tenderly concerned baptized travelling children, to be the same everywhere; and though from my present weak state, it is rather unlikely I shall ever see them again in mutability, I am perfectly satisfied with being with Friends in this land, and quite easy as to the issue of this my present indisposition; desiring the Lord's will may be done."

During her illness she said that, though it was desirable to her to go, yet if it were the Divine will that she should again be raised up, and introduced to her arduous line of service, she had felt sweet submission to it. But her work was mercifully cut short in righteousness; and the sacrifice of a willing mind accepted by Him who thus manifested his love unto the end.

She breathed her last the 26th of the fourth month, 1802, aged sixty-three years, a minister about thirty-six years. Her remains were interred in Friends' burial-ground in Philadelphia, the 29th of the fourth month. As there is cause to believe she answered to the description in the inquiry, "Who is that faithful and good servant, whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season;" we have [also] the consoling belief that the annexed blessing was her reward; "Blessed, I say unto you, is that servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing."

Signed in and on behalf of the aforesaid meeting held at Melksham, the 14th of the twelfth month, 1802.

The following is an extract of a letter to a Friend in England, written by the deceased, from the city of New York.

"Although, my dear, we are very far outwardly separated, this is not able to prevent sweet union of spirit, and humble intercession for strength to advance towards the holy city, where the saints' solemnities are kept. O, the joy that will there be revealed, and for ever remain, without alloy! That our poor feeble spirits may be daily engaged in this humble fervent travail, is the desire of my soul: that so, through adorable mercy, we may be favoured to meet, never to part; and with the just of all generations, unite in the glorious song of Moses and the Lamb!"

*Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, for the Southern District, held the 26th of the first month, 1803, respecting SARAH STEPHENSON.*

WE are engaged to give a short account of our beloved deceased friend, Sarah Stephenson; who, with the concurrence and unity of the Monthly Meeting of Wiltshire, the Quarterly Meeting of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London, embarked on a religious visit to Friends in North America. She arrived at New York in the eighth month, 1801, and although frequently under bodily indisposition, engaged in a family visit to Friends of that city, which we understand she was enabled to perform much to their satisfaction. After this service, feeling her mind drawn towards Philadelphia, she, with her beloved companion, Mary Jefferys, came to this city on the 9th of the second month last, much indisposed; she was, nevertheless, enabled to attend divers of our meetings, in which she was engaged in the exercise of her gift, to edification and comfort. After some time, she opened a prospect of visiting the families of Friends of this meeting, which was cordially united with: she had not proceeded far in this service, before her indisposition increased so as to confine her to her chamber. During her illness, some account was taken of divers lively expressions, which may afford encouragement and benefit to survivors, viz:—She said to a Friend, "I am now in my sixty-fourth year; thirty of which I have been closely engaged in endeavouring to fulfil my little mission—If I had but one talent, as I have endeavoured to improve it, I hope I shall be accepted." The Friend remarked, that her bed had been made in sickness: "yes, said she, wonderfully so." Being asked how she felt herself respecting her recovery; she answered, "I have no prospect of it: I believe I have finished the work." And at another time—"There is nothing in my way but my dear child," meaning her companion: then, addressing herself to her, added, "but, my dear, thou had nothing else to expect when we left home:" then said as a consideration that comforted her, "It is a favour I shall leave her amongst Friends who will extend their tender care." Upon its being proposed she should take something, she said, "my friends propose things which I sometimes comply with, but it seems precious to look towards a release." After a time of stillness, she said to her companion, "Oh! my dear, I have been sweetly comforted in

my good Master's presence." She frequently acknowledged the kindness of her friends, and expressed her desires that the Lord would reward them, and often mentioned how quiet she felt.

At another time she said, "It gives me no pleasure when any one speaks of my recovery being likely; I have a humble hope it would be well, if it pleased my good Master to take me now; and if I stay longer, it cannot be better—I have no desire for continuance here."

The last day, 26th of the fourth month, early in the morning, the conflict of nature increasing, she said, in a patient disposition, "This is wearing work:" after a coughing fit,

being much exhausted, "It will be well, let it be which way it may; and that is better than all the world. It seems as if it must be nearly over now, I have so little strength left;" then making a little pause, seemed to be uttering praises—"How good! How good!" After awhile she said, "I cannot say much, but my King reigns." Soon after which, she quietly departed this life, in a full assurance of a happy change; leaving a sweet memorial in the minds of many of those who had opportunities of observing her humble deportment and instructive conversation.

Her body, after a season of solemnity, was interred on the 29th day of the fourth month, 1802.

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## MEMOIRS

OF THE

### LIFE AND CONVINCEMENT

OF

# BENJAMIN BANGS,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, LATE OF STOCKPORT, IN CHESHIRE.

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I WAS born in the parish of Longham, in the county of Norfolk, the 1st of first month, 1652, of reputable parents. My mother had nine children, of whom I was the seventh; my father died when I was so young that I can remember little of him.

My mother was left a very sorrowful widow, with all her nine children at home, and a considerable farm to manage; and troublesome times through an unsettled government, made things still more difficult to her, yet she continued in that station for some years; but we growing up, and having been brought up to business, and our mother inclining to a more retired life, she, by the advice of several with whom she was intimately acquainted, pursued her intention, and after deliberate consideration, disposed of her effects. Those of us who were grown up and fit for service, were, by the advice and concurrence of our dear mother, put into reputable places, three of the

youngest still continuing at home under her care and instruction. She was very careful to teach us to read and write, and was not wanting to inculcate the principles of religion; for she was a very pious and religious woman, was well educated in her youth, both as to writing and literature, and in other things relating to her sex, exceeded many.

She was daughter of a clergyman whose name was Thomas Green, he had the benefice of Royston, in Hertfordshire, where he lived and died, being a man of no small repute, and at his death was much lamented by his parishoners. I coming to that town, several of the ancient inhabitants, hearing whose grandson I was, came to pay me a visit, and in giving a relation of my grandfather, wept at the remembrance of him, saying, he was a very pious man, and never extorted any thing from his hearers, but accepted what they would freely give him.

My dear mother, though always brought up in that way, after the beheading of king Charles I., when other teachers were introduced, declined going to hear them, although much sought to by them. She would often tell us, that she saw so much deceit and hypocrisy covered under the pretence of religion, that she could not by any means join with them; but did believe the Lord would raise up a people who would be more agreeable to his will. She waited to come to the knowledge of these, and would sometimes be hinting at a people that were come forth, who were great sufferers for their religion; and said she did not know but these might be those whom God had raised up, to stain the beauty of the pictures of those feigned religions, that were so much then in vogue. These were the people called Quakers, of whom she had yet but little knowledge.

Hearing there was one of them lived about six miles from her, she had a desire to pay him a visit; she knew him before he was called by that name, and he also had some knowledge of her. Accordingly one day she took me to ride before her, and entering into some discourse with him, she being a wise woman, quickly found his zeal to over-run his knowledge, which opportunity proved rather to her hurt than benefit. She staid not long, I being still on horseback, but presently mounted, and we had not rode far before I perceived she was under some uneasiness, intimating she had met with a disappointment in what she expected.

After king Charles' restoration, she observed that the clergy, who had turned to be Non-conformists, now returned to be Conformists again; from which she concluded, that rewards and benefices were more in their view than the solid part of religion; so that she continued in a retired way of life for a considerable time afterwards. But hearing of the continual sufferings of the people called Quakers, it raised a stronger belief in her, that they were come to the knowledge of a Divine principle, which so powerfully supported them in the time of their affliction; and she grew more desirous of some conversation with that people; in order to which she inclined to remove to the city of Norwich, where I shall at present leave her, but shall have occasion to make mention of her hereafter.

When I was between eleven and twelve years of age, I was much given to divert myself in running, wrestling and foot-ball playing, which was much practised in the part of the country where I lived, and my company was very much desired by such. But my good mother, whose care was continually over her children for their good, would often

drop some words that tended to lead us to a more serious way of life, which had often the desired effect, preserving us from that profane way which too many fell into, both in their words and conversation, to the great dishonour of God and true religion.

Being one day by myself, not far from the place of our habitation, I met with such a visitation, as I had been altogether ignorant of before, in which a sweet calmness spread over my mind; and it rose in my heart, that if I could but keep to this, what might I grow up to in time? It much affected me, and rested with me for some time, and I acquainted my mother therewith. She greatly rejoiced at it, and encouraged me to retire to it; and I then had a full intention to do so. And when my companions got about me, pressing me to do as I used to do, although I had some inclination to answer their desires, I found something in me that laid a restraint upon me, and prevented me from complying with their solicitations. But through continual importunities, and a natural inclination to a spirit of liberty, I came by degrees to lose much of the sense of that visitation, which now and then, upon serious reflection, caused me greatly to mourn for the loss I had sustained. Through often gratifying my youthful desires, and going from the instruction of my inward guide, I found a gradual decay as to religion to attend, even until at length I came to be left to myself.

I was now between twelve and thirteen years old, and inclined to go to some trade, which my mother encouraged, but acquainted me, that it must be to some handicraft; for she considered that it would be imprudent to put me to any business, in which a stock would be wanted to set me up when I came out of my time. For although she had something to support herself, yet having four sons and five daughters, none of them could depend upon receiving much from her. We were all of us pretty well brought up, both in reading and writing; and although we who were the younger were most behind, yet we were able to signify our minds one to another by our pens.

My mother desired me to acquaint her what trade I most inclined to. I told her I was willing to go to any, and at last concluded to be a shoemaker, saying, I thought it would take but little to put me out, and I should have something wherewith to get my livelihood. She commended my thought, and there being one about a mile from our house, who had then a pretty fair character, we applied to him. He readily embraced the proposal, and I was bound to him for five years, and five pounds was paid to him. But it hap-

pened we were mistaken in my master's circumstances; for before I had been with him, I believe, a whole year, he in a private manner informed me that he was got into debt, and had not wherewith to answer his creditors; and being afraid of imprisonment, had no other way to escape it but to go off; and told me if I would go along with him, he would take as much care of me as of himself, desiring me to keep this secret; and if I inclined to go, he would have me take leave of my mother, but to be sure to conceal our intentions.

This was indeed a very hard pinch upon me; but I considered that five pounds were gone, and I little the better for it, and so it was better for me to embrace the offer. He having a brother of the same vocation, we all concluded to go together; and I went and took leave of my mother. But my parting with her was with great reluctance, and she said to me, "Child, it will not be long before I shall see thee again;" so with an heart very full I returned.

The next night about twelve o'clock we set out, and got the night following within a mile of Edmundsbury in Suffolk: the next day we came to that town, and having but little money with us, we sat down there to work. Our stay was not long before we made our way for London; at which place we arrived in about three days, it being soon after the great fire in 1666. The city lay as an heap of rubbish, and all hands at work; for they flocked up out of the country from all parts, there being work enough for all. My master and his brother fell presently into work, but I was fit for little there, and to live and do nothing was very uneasy to me. We three dwelt together in the name of brothers, and my master stood in some fear of me, lest I should make a discovery, although I was no ways inclinable to it; so I took an opportunity to tell him, it would neither do him nor me any good, for me to live after that manner doing nothing, and said if we could find a good workman of his own trade, I did not doubt but he would take me for a time.

It was not long before we found such an one, who, upon seeing me, was very willing to take me; so to him I went, and staid with him three years or something more, in which time I understood my business pretty well, and was a little ambitious in my mind to become master of it. After I left him, I got into the company of the best workmen, which caused me to spend what I got amongst them, although I then earned considerable.

A short time before I left my place, a very hot persecution began against the dissenters. I then dwelt in Stepney parish, not very far

from Ratcliff meeting-house, belonging to the people called Quakers. Sir John Robinson was then lieutenant of the Tower, and being a person maliciously bent against the said people, he one day sent a company of his soldiers with orders to break into the said meeting-house, and to take out what seats, &c. they could find, and burn them. Soon after this, he, with another justice of Stepney parish, concluded to come and break up their meeting on a first-day. Upon this account the militia was raised, and some companies of foot also came from the tower, and a great many wardsmen were ordered to appear armed with halberds, amongst whom I was one, not by inclination, but by order of my master; although indeed I had a secret desire to see what would be done. Besides these forces there came a multitude of spectators. Some of the last came in love, to see if they could in any way be serviceable to the sufferers, and others were evilly inclined to get what they could from them.

Those who appeared in arms had orders to let all the Quakers come in that would, but to suffer none to go out until the justices came; who, when they approached, treated the Quakers with very rough language, calling them rogues and rebels, for meeting there contrary to law, and began to take their names. After this was done, they were permitted to go out, and they not pulling off their hats to the justices, the rude people in the yard plucked them off, and threw them over the wall; but they who were friends to them saved what they could, and restored them to the owners; others who had a mind to make a prey, got a good hat and left a bad one.

Sir John took a distaste against three of the said people, I think, for something they said to him, and ordered a mittimus to be made to send them to New-prison. The warrant and prisoners being committed to the care of the constable to convey thither, he ran about to find some wardsmen to assist him, when all were gone but me and one more; and in our way the prisoners made a stop in White-chapel, by the leave of the constable, to get some refreshment and to take a copy of the warrant. Whilst we were there, one of them came to me and said, "Thou hast an innocent countenance, and dost not look like a persecutor." I said "No, it was much contrary to my inclination;" they then answered, "We believe thee, and freely forgive thee." This had an effect upon me, and begot some tenderness in my heart towards them.

It was late before we delivered them to the keeper, who said, I know not what to do with them; several others being brought to him from other parts of the city that day. When

we returned back it was late, and passing through Ratcliff-highway the watchmen seized and examined us, and threatened to put us into the Round-house, for being out at that time of the night; but the constable acquainting them with the reason of it, they let us pass. It was but a few days after this, that several soldiers were sent from the Tower to pull down the said meeting-house, of which they made very ruinous work.

Although I was now in a loose way of living, yet I had some secret touches of that which was good, which raised a desire in me to go to some religious meetings, but cannot say that I got much benefit thereby; for liberty was still most grateful to me. But the good example I had in my childhood did all along rest with me, by which I was preserved from the profane way of life, that was too much practised in those times as well as now.

My worthy mother, who now resided at Norwich, had conversation with the people called Quakers, of whom she entertained so good an opinion before; and being thoroughly satisfied that they were got to what she wanted, she readily embraced the principles they professed, and sat down with great satisfaction in their meetings. Three of her children, who about this time lived with her, were also convinced of the Truth, and they lived in a great deal of love and unity one with another. Being fully satisfied, that she was come to the ground and foundation of true religion, she became very much concerned for the rest of her children, and being ready with her pen, wrote to acquaint them that she had met with what she had long wanted; and amongst the rest she remembered me, and wrote to acquaint me with what people she had joined herself, as well as those children then with her; and there being so many good opportunities in the city of London, she said she should be glad to hear that I frequented their assemblies; with other words relating thereto. I quartered then in Pall-mall, not far from the court.

My companion then was a pretty sober young man, who professed himself to be a Presbyterian, with whom I was sometimes a little too jocular in a bantering way. He was with me when the letter came to my hands, which I read to myself; but coming to the words that advised me to go to the Quakers' meetings, the evil-nature got up in me, and put me into such a passion that I could read no further, but put the letter into my pocket. This was on the sixth-day of the week, and I think in the year 1671. The first-day following, after I had dined, I went to take a walk under the arches in Covent-garden, and after a little time a solid concern came over my

mind, and this arose in my thoughts, What is the matter that thou canst not read thy mother's letter? With that I went and sat down on a large stone that was prepared for a building, and read the letter with pleasure, and it arose in my mind to go to a meeting. The enemy of all righteousness suggested to me, Thou knowest not where a meeting is; but it very intelligibly opened on my understanding, Go down to Charing-cross, and there thou shalt see some of that people, follow them.

Upon this I arose and went down the Hay-market near to Charing-cross, and there I saw five or six of the said people; which was a confirmation to me that the opening was right. So I followed them at some distance, and their habit, with their solid behaviour, affected me. They were going to the meeting at Westminster, and when they came there they went in, but I stood at the door for awhile. Here the enemy was at work again, and would have persuaded me to go away, intimating, that if some of my old acquaintance came, they would but laugh at me; but the better part prevailed.

The meeting was then kept in two parts, there being shutters to open into the dwelling-house to enlarge it upon occasion; and I seeing a post in the further room, thought if I got behind that, and any person came to the first door they could not see me; so thither I went accordingly, and the meeting, I think, was not then much above half gathered. Abundance of reasoning now entered into my mind, and the enemy was hard at work to beget a belief in me, that if any one stood up to speak, they might be persons of other persuasions, and not Quakers, and I could not be capable of judging whether they were right or wrong. It was not long before one stood up, and I thought to take good notice of what he said, but so many wandering thoughts prevailed, that I got no benefit thereby. He sat down, and in a little time another stood up, and I said to myself, Well, I resolve I will mind what this man says; but it was only a few minutes before my wandering thoughts got into Holland, and from thence I thought of going to France; but meeting with a secret check in myself for these vain imaginations, I gave a stamp upon the floor with my foot, which caused the eyes of those in the meeting to be upon me: so in fervency of spirit I said in myself, What is the matter that I cannot be master over my own mind?

I saw I was altogether wrong, and wanted inward strength to help me to get to a stayedness of mind upon God. I was made sensible that there was a spiritual warfare to be passed through, and that no stayedness of mind could be attained to, till the inward enc-



mies of the soul came to be destroyed. I now saw my business was, to get into inward retirement, hoping thereby I might get to be somewhat master over my own mind. Being thus closely engaged, before the meeting broke up, I got to a sight of the possibility of obtaining what I was then deeply engaged for, and this answered the end of my coming to the meeting; and I could then have wished that it would hold longer.

But it breaking up, when I came into Westminster-abbey-yard, I met with some of my old acquaintance, who would have had me go along with them, but I denied their invitation, finding I had another work to do, and went home to my quarters, where I had not been long, before the young man my companion also came in. I was sitting in a very solid frame of mind, such as he never observed me in before, and he said, Where have you been to-day, you seem to be so serious? I proceeded to give him an account of what I had met with, and reminded him of the temper I was in at the reading of my mother's letter. Aye, said he, I saw you was under some dissatisfaction, but I knew not for what. Why, said I, it was for my mother's desiring me to go to the Quakers' meeting, which begot such anger in me, that I had not patience to read it through: but this day, walking in Covent-garden, a sweet visitation from the love of God brought such a calmness over my mind, with this attending it, What is the matter that thou canst not read thy mother's letter? I then plucked it out of my pocket and read it with pleasure. And giving him the whole relation of what passed, he was struck with admiration, saying to me, he had never heard any thing like it; that it must be something supernatural, or it never could have had such an effect upon you. And he was so far reached and convinced, that he soon after forsook his former profession, and joined himself to the Quakers.

My country master's brother, who came in company with us to London, had been convinced some time before this, and by what means he heard I was at Westminster meeting on first-day, I know not; but in a few days he came to pay me a visit, and finding me grave and serious, gave me an invitation to come to his quarters in Grub street, near to Cripplegate, at the house of two good honest Friends; the invitation was very pleasing to me, as was my company to him, and them to whom I came.

The next meeting I went to was, I think, the Peel, where I met with our ancient Friend James Park; and although I met with little or no benefit from those two that appeared at Westminster, yet I thought his doctrine reach-

ed home to my condition. I had some superfluity in my apparel, which became such a load to me, that I thought I groaned under the weight of it; and finding I could wear it no longer, after the meeting I stripped it off, and that gave me some ease.

Several young men who heard of the manner of my conviction, I think through the young man's relation who was my companion, were so reached and affected therewith, and seeing my grave and solid behaviour, who they heard had been before very wild, that they came also to embrace the Truth; so that I was made very early an instrument for the conviction of several.

I followed my business closely, yet frequented meetings, where I still met with renewed refreshment, and found myself much bettered by those good opportunities: for the love of God was greatly towards me, and I felt a growth in it; and the overflowing of it was at times such, that I was ready to think the work was done, and the inward warfare nearly come to an end. But, alas! I found myself mistaken.

Going one day to a meeting at Grace-church-street, where were William Dewsbury and Charles Harris, the latter stood up, exhorting Friends to faithfulness, and to resolve to do nothing but what was agreeable to the Truth. I took such notice of that, that I said in myself, Well, I resolve to do nothing disagreeable to the Truth. No sooner had that resolution passed my thoughts, than I felt a check in myself and a sensible decay to my inward enjoyment, which increased gradually upon me, so that in a short time I came to a considerable loss. This I took as a permission of the Almighty to bring me more to the knowledge of myself.

In this state I continued some time, and my inward life decaying, I was brought very low as to my inward enjoyments, which I had been formerly so plentifully supplied with, so that I began to grow a little careless, and the enemy stepped in with it, saying, Thou art but young, and this is the only time for thee to take the pleasures of this world, and when thou art old, thou knows now how to get to what thou hast been so earnestly engaged to come to the knowledge of. I continued for some time in an unconcernedness of mind, by which I sustained so great a loss, that if I saw the faces of any of my friends in the street, I endeavoured to avoid them, for shame covered me, believing they knew what a loss I was come to.

But after a time my merciful Lord remembered me, and as I sat at work, the word of the Lord came to me, This is thy day, harden not thy heart; which so struck me that I

trembled. Upon this I soon removed, and got to my old friends George and Dorcas Lowe's, who dwelt not far from Aldersgate. Now my concern came to be so great, through losing by my transgression what I had formerly enjoyed, and I so lay under the judgments of God, that if I did but let out my thoughts towards any liberty, nay, if I did but smile, I was inwardly reprov'd; so that I saw I had no way to take, but to lie under the hand of God.

In this state my exercise was very great, my tongue is too short to express it, and my pen to describe it; and the way to get to what I once enjoyed, I found by experience, to be very narrow. For if I took a wrong step, either by word or a vain thought, my inward instructor made it manifest that it did not belong to me, I had something else to do. Thus I continued for some time, being inwardly very poor and barren, and often beseeching the Almighty, that he would be pleased to favour me with a small ray from the Sun of Righteousness, to comfort a little my afflicted spirit. In this state of affliction the enemy was not wanting with his temptations, to draw me into a belief, that the day of my visitation was over; but having had a knowledge of the manner of his dealings with me before, I now kept a strict watch against him in all those attempts.

In the midst of these afflictions and hard besetments, I now and then met with some encouragement, being made sensible of some springs of life, that helped me to believe that the Lord would not forsake me. And in this mournful and retired way of life, I had some Divine openings, by which it was manifested to me, that by being brought through these exercises, I should be the better prepared in time to be helpful to others.

From this time I began to grow and increase in that which was good; and feeling the clouds to disperse, that had been over my mind, the weight of my oppression began to be gradually removed, and I felt my spirits grow more easy. Then my hunger and thirst after righteousness increased, which gave me encouragement to hope that in time all would be well, and I was so revived through it, that I said in myself, It is good for me that I have been thus afflicted, for now I know something of what it is to buy the Truth; for it had cost me but little before this.

Some time after, John Tyson, a Friend who had been banished for his religion, who dwelt near the Bull-and-mouth meeting-house, desired me to come to be the foreman in his shop, which I complied with, upon a certain salary for four years, which term I continued with him, and the Lord was with me, and gave

me an understanding to do everything honestly belonging to my place and station, and all things prospered under my hand. But being through multiplicity of business kept very close, I had many times longing desires to get to a meeting, and there with my Friends to sit down in a retired manner, out of the hurry and cares of the things of this world, for those opportunities were often greatly refreshing.

Whilst in this service, I went with some public Friends to some country meetings on first-days, which I took more than a little pleasure in, not only for the benefit I received of the meeting, but of a little country air, being still glad of embracing those opportunities. Lucretia Cook, an ancient woman Friend, who had a public testimony, came to desire me to ride before her to Hendon meeting, which was then pretty large. I did so, and in the meeting I was under no small concern, and a trembling laid hold of me; and as soon as the Friend had concluded in prayer, I was concerned to kneel down to supplicate the Lord, which had such an effect, that many present were broken into tenderness; it was indeed a comfortable opportunity.

This opened my way to further service, and I began to be concerned to appear in public, and there was a tender care in the elders over me, who would often be dropping some seasonable cautions to me, by which I was greatly benefitted.

After my four years service was accomplished, I quitted myself thereof, and a Friend being inclined to set up in the like business in the same street, he requested me to be an assistant to him, which I complied with, but it continued not long; for I felt drawings in my mind to visit some meetings in Hertfordshire. After my return from thence, having met with good satisfaction in that journey, it came upon me to go towards Bristol, and I had the company of a young man from Haverill in Suffolk.

After we left Bristol we travelled into Somersetshire, but he having some pressing occasion to go home, we parted: I took my way towards Dorsetshire, and coming to Weymouth, had several meetings there; went from thence to Pool, and so to Ringwood in Hampshire, where I had several meetings, and four or five young people were convinced of the Truth.

I came from thence to Southampton, from whence, after having had several good opportunities, I went to the Isle of Wight; and after having had some meetings there, I returned to Southampton. I found it then my place to go back again to Ringwood, where

Friends, and the young people newly converted, very gladly received me.

After having a meeting there, it opened upon my mind to go to Leamington, where were but a few of our Society; but a meeting being appointed several went with me, and a considerable company of the town's people came to it, some of whom were Baptists. After a pretty time of silence, I stood up and began to speak, and the priest of the town came in with two young men. He sat down just before me, staid the meeting till I had done, and then said to me, What you have said are good and wholesome words, and good for edification. But you talk of the teachings of the Spirit of God; how shall we come by the Spirit of God? I said, What art thou? He answered, I am a minister of the Gospel. What, said I, a minister of the Gospel, and ask, how we shall come by the Spirit of God? He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his; and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. Why, that is Scripture, said he. Well, but you say, that you may live here without sin. Didst thou hear me say so, said I. No, replied he, but I have a little book in my study that does say, That men may attain to a sinless state on this side the grave. I queried of him, who wrote that book? Why, said he, one of you Quakers, I think his name is Whitehead. What doctrine, said I, dost thou preach to the people, is it to continue in, or to come out of sin? He answered, To come out of sin; but to attain to a state of sinless perfection is impossible, for all our righteousness is as filthy rags. But I hope, said I, that thou wilt not say, that the righteousness of God is as filthy rags. No, says he, God forbid I should say so; but in many things we all sin. That, replied I, is for want of coming to the one thing needful. People, says he, we never read of the one thing needful in all our lives. Didst thou never read, said I, that Christ told Martha, she was cumbered in much serving, but Mary had chosen that good part, the one thing needful, that should not be taken from her. Why, said he, that is Scripture too, I had forgotten it. Well, but, said he, Paul cried out, Oh! wretched man that I am! Are you better than Paul? Dost thou believe, said I, that Paul was a sinner, and a wretched one too, when he wrote that evangelical Epistle to the Romans? Or, that he could be so in his writing in the 24th verse of the seventh chapter, when in the next verse but one, he says, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath

made me free from the law of sin and death." That is Scripture, said he.

After he had sat a little while, Now, says he, I have something come into my mind, I think God has brought it to me; "He that saith he hath no sin, deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him." He then made a flourish, saying, I have you fast now, I care not for you, nor all the Quakers in England. I replied, Thou art an old man, I am very sorry to find that thou takes upon thee to plead so much for the devil's kingdom. I tell you, says he, I don't plead for the devil's kingdom. Why, said I, thou pleads for nothing but sin; and all sin being of the devil, and thou pleading for nothing but sin, must consequently be a pleader for the devil. This, said he, is only a digression from the matter; I have you fast, you can never answer me. Didst thou ever read the verse before that, said I. Yes, said he, I believe I have, but I have forgot it. What is it? Why, it is this, "If we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin." But if we walk not in the Light, we lose the benefit of the blood of Christ. If any should then say, He hath no sin, he deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him. The next verse is, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." If, after this, any should say, "We have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. Be not deceived, he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as He is righteous. He that is born of God sinneth not, neither indeed can he, for his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. But he that committeth sin, is of the devil."

I said to the priest, Art not thou now ashamed to plead so much for sin, which is of the devil's kingdom? I further queried of him, Dost thou take money for preaching such doctrine as this, preaching up the necessity of sinning to the people, when they do that too much without thy encouraging them? Upon which he got up and said, Well, I will be gone; but I desired him to stay, and I told him, I would prove him to be a deceiver before the people present. He answered, I will not stay upon your demand. So away he went, after which the people settled, and we had a good opportunity, and parted in peace.

I returned that night to Ringwood, from whence, after a little stay, I took my way towards London, going by Southampton, and I there met with our ancient Friend Thomas Robinson. From thence we went together to

Portsmouth, where we had a comfortable meeting; and after some few meetings more we parted, he going to Surry and Sussex, and I taking some meetings by the way, arrived safe at London.

After staying some days in London, William Bingley and I went into Kent, passing by Canterbury to Dover, taking several meetings in our way, and we had many blessed and comfortable opportunities to our great satisfaction. We were at the Quarterly Meeting of that county, which was pretty large, and things were managed with a great deal of calmness and wisdom.

From thence, some meetings being appointed for us, we visited them, and came to Warminghurst in Sussex, the seat of William Penn; where staying a night or two, my companion and I parted, he going further into the country, but I took my way back directly for London. After having visited several meetings there, I found my health and strength much impaired; and having some drawings in my mind towards Norwich, I set out, and after taking several meetings by the way, I got to it in a better state of health than when I left London, and my dear mother received me there with a great deal of joy, I not having seen her for several years. The first meeting I was at there, was on a fourth-day, which was indeed a very tendering opportunity, the hearts of many being greatly affected. I found it now to be my place to take my abode there; and in a short time after a great many of the younger sort of people frequented the meeting, and several were convinced; several Friends also had their mouths opened in testimony, who grew to be very serviceable in their generation.

In the year 1677, I had some drawings in my mind to visit some parts of the North, and going by Lynn, I took several meetings in Lincolnshire, till I came to Brigg, but having got a severe cold, I there fell ill of a fever, which was so sharp upon me, that several despaired of my life. George Whitehead being then in the country, and hearing of my weakness, came to see me, which I took very kindly, but my fever was not then at its height; yet through the goodness of God I recovered sooner than could have been expected.

From thence I went to Hull, Thomas Markham accompanying me. We had but a rough passage, and the night was dark; but through some difficulty we arrived safe at the town, where there being a great noise of a Popish plot against the king and government, at our landing we found a strong guard set to examine all passengers, but my friend that accompanied me being well known there, they

let us pass peaceably. Staying some few meetings there, my friend returned to Brigg, and I took my way to York, visiting some meetings as I went. My illness had brought me very low; but Friends gladly received me, and I had several comfortable opportunities with them. From thence I went to Leeds, taking Tadcaster in my way, and although I was yet but weakly in body, the Lord's blessed presence did so attend me, that in meetings I appeared as if I ailed nothing; and I had many sweet and comfortable opportunities with Friends, as I passed through that county.

From Leeds I went to Sheffield and Chesterfield; and had there a very good meeting. And being very desirous to get to Nottingham meeting on first-day, I staid no meeting at Mansfield; but staid at Nottingham some days, at the house of our ancient Friend John Reckless, and had several good meetings there. From thence I went to Leicester, where I found several Friends in prison, whom I visited, and had a seasonable opportunity with them. From Leicester I came to Northampton, and had a meeting, in which the Lord's power broke in upon us; it was indeed a very tendering opportunity, blessed be God for it. After staying there two or three nights, I came to Wellingborough, and having had a meeting there, I had drawings in my mind towards Banbury. I was now attended with a tertian ague, and the winter coming on made the fits more tedious to me. Coming to Banbury, I lodged at the house of Richard Vivers, who finding me in so weak a condition, took great care of me, so that in a few days I was finely revived, and went to Oxford, and had a good and peaceable opportunity there.

From thence I returned to Banbury, and after having had a few meetings thereabouts, I went through some part of Bedfordshire into Hertfordshire; having meetings there as I passed along. I came into Essex; but my disease growing more strong upon me, and the weather being sharp, and my natural strength being much impaired, I made my way towards Norwich, where, by short journeys, I arrived in the eleventh month, and found Friends well, and meetings very well frequented. My ague continued several months after, and I grew so weak that many despaired of my recovery. But the spring coming on, I began to recruit in strength, and was enabled to visit several meetings in the county. When I was at home I was not idle, but worked at my trade very diligently, and was also a constant frequenter of our first and week-day meetings.

The next spring, in the year 1679, I went up to London, and after the Yearly Meeting was over, visited some meetings in Essex and

Suffolk, and got home in health, having had many sweet and comfortable opportunities to mine and Friends' mutual satisfaction.

Although things had been at a low ebb for several years in the city of Norwich, as to the growth and prosperity of Truth, yet now the hearts of many were opened to receive the testimony of it, and they joined with and sat down amongst us, and their gravity and sobriety gained them a good report amongst the people; by which several who were strangers to us came also to be convinced, and received the Truth, joining themselves to our Society. We were now straitened for room where the meeting was kept; and there being a piece of ground that Friends had formerly purchased, we began to talk of building a meeting-house there, which the younger sort of Friends were zealously concerned for—but there not being many wealthy men amongst us, although they were sensible that such a place was wanting, they began to consult how money could be raised to answer the occasion. Upon this, those that were of the best abilities made subscriptions, and finding they fell short of the required sum, before Friends could be got to enlarge their former subscriptions, they began to call upon the younger sort, who as yet had subscribed nothing, to know what they would do towards carrying on the work. All being sensible of the necessity for such a place, they needed not many words to stir them up to subscribe out of their small abilities, most of them being journeymen combers, weavers, shoemakers, &c., but they were desired not to put down more than what they would take care honestly to pay when called upon. So they began to consider how much they could earn in a week, and how much of that they could lay by towards the forwarding of so good a work; upon which we found that a handsome sum would be raised. This gave such encouragement to the former subscribers, that they agreed with the workmen to erect such a building as was proposed to them.

This intention of Friends soon got abroad in the city, and some of the leading men thereof, particularly the recorder, gave out, That the Quakers never should build a house there; but Friends took no notice of his threats, but laid the foundation of the house. Several of the younger Friends took a view of it, and believing it would not be large enough to answer the occasion, desired the workmen to stop till further orders: upon which they had recourse to the first subscribers, some of whom subscribed ten pounds a piece more; but that still falling short to make good the intended enlargement, the poorer sort were again called upon to know what they would contribute fur-

ther? And they found the Lord so blessed their endeavours, that they could contribute more than they thought they could when they subscribed before, and so they advanced above their first proposal. And for a further enlargement thereto, the young men made application to the young women servants, &c., desiring them to exert themselves upon this occasion, which they readily did, and raised several pounds amongst themselves. The work went readily on, and was finished to the satisfaction of all concerned.

But the recorder breathed out further threatenings, saying, although the Quakers had built the house, they should never meet in it. Yet when everything was finished, we had our first meeting there on a fourth-day, in the year 1680, which was large and comfortable, for the Lord's blessed presence was among us, and we parted peaceably. The first-day following we met again in the morning, which meeting also ended in peace to our great satisfaction. In the afternoon the meeting was much larger, but towards the conclusion thereof came the recorder, with the priest of the parish, and several officers, soldiers and others. I was at prayer when they came in, and the recorder and the priest stepped upon a seat, and there stood till I had almost done; then the recorder cried out, Silence there. When I arose from my knees, he asked me my name, and what trade I was of, and then ordered the constables to take me out into the passage that goes to the street, and then went on taking the names of Friends present; but the priest was quickly weary of staying, for several told him, It ill became him to appear there, to encourage a spirit of persecution against his peaceable neighbours. The recorder replied, You meet in contempt of the law. He was answered, that we looked upon it as our indispensable duty to meet together to perform that worship which we owe to Almighty God, and that we were no disturbance to the government, being peaceably met together, of which they themselves were witnesses. The parson quickly withdrew and went into the street, but having stood there awhile he came in again, and stepping up to me, said, You are a stubborn people, and might prevent all this trouble if you would come to church. Pointing to the steeple-house, I said, What, dost thou call that the church? He said, Yes, it is a church; if it be not a church, what is a church? I say it is the church. I answered, The church of God is the pillar and ground of Truth. You talk, said he; if I ask you one question of Divinity, you cannot answer me a word. I answered, How dost thou know that, thou hast not yet tried me; and he went away into the meeting again without any re-

ply. He had not staid long there until he came out again, and there being several people in the passage, he began to tell them, The Quakers were an erroneous people, they deny baptism and the Lord's Supper. I stepped up to him, and laid my hand upon his shoulder and said, Thou asserts what thou canst never prove. Oh, said he, are you there? And so went into the street, and staying till the recorder came out, they walked away together.

Two Friends in the meeting having observed the recorder's rigorous proceedings, reminded him of the illegal proceedings of Empson and Dudley; at which he took such offence, that after he had done taking names, he made their mittimus and sent them to prison, where, I think, they were confined till discharged by the following Quarter Sessions. I expected likewise to be committed, being kept all this time under a guard in the passage; but when the recorder came out, he looked upon me, yet said nothing, but passed away, which the guard observing, they also passed away, and left me at liberty. Not long after this our ancient Friends, George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, came to Norwich, and being at our meeting on a first-day, were taken up and carried before the recorder before-mentioned, who, upon their refusal to pay twenty pounds a man for preaching, tendered them the oath of allegiance, which they also refusing, he committed them to prison.

I was at this time visiting some meetings in the country, but after my return to the city, going to our week-day meeting, the constable, one Paul Hartley, an envious malicious man, came to the meeting, and finding me at prayer, took me before the recorder, and I expected no other but to be committed; but he appeared pretty mild, only asking me my name and place of abode, &c., which I told him. The busy constable took upon him to say, Sir, there is an act by which you may commit him; whereupon I told him, he seemed to be a very bold man, to take upon him to tell the recorder what he might do; which the recorder smiled at, and after a few words told me, I was at liberty, and might go about my business.

At this time our meetings began to be pretty much attended with informers, and the sufferings of Friends increased, and soon after, as I was at prayer in the afternoon meeting, the constable and informers came in, and took me before the mayor, and I was at his house before he came from his worship; there came with him the sheriff and several aldermen. At his first appearance he seemed very rough; I said little to him, but he presently went up into his council chamber with his attendants, and after awhile he sent for me, the constable

and informers, to come up. He then inquired of the constable, where he found me? who told him, at the Quakers meeting. He inquired what I was doing, and the informers answered, Sir, he was speaking to the people. Upon which the mayor asked me my name, which I told him; he then asked me, What trade I was of? I told him I was a shoemaker. Oh! said he, these are brave times, when shoemakers, weavers and combers set up to be preachers. I told him, I thought that a shoemaker was not much inferior to a fisherman or a tent-maker, yet we find Christ called such, and made them able ministers, which I hoped he would not deny. Oh! said he, they were moved to it by the Spirit of God. Yes, said I, and the same God yet is. Aye, but, said he, that extraordinary way is not now to be expected. I answered, that he now, that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his; and so many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

There was a Divine dread attended me upon this occasion, and I was sensible that the power of Truth was over all, through which I took the freedom to advise them, to take heed what they did, lest haply they should be found fighting against God; and that he, and those that were present, knew us to be an industrious and peaceable people, and to persecute us for our meeting together to worship God, which we looked upon to be our indispensable duty, and to impoverish us to gratify a parcel of indigent informers, I thought would not tend much to their honour. Why, says the mayor, you can call them indigent informers, but you refuse to give persons their due titles. I told him, I thought he was mistaken, for we never refused to give persons their due titles, as mayor, alderman, sheriff, &c. Well, said he, I am glad to hear it; and then called to his servant to bring up a bottle of wine, which was done, and a glass being filled, he said to me, here is to you, but you shall not drink, and so gave it to the sheriff; and when the rest had drank, he said, However, I will give him a glass, which I refused; he again desired me to take it, and I still refusing it, it caused him to look a little blank.

Upon this they all went down, and taking their leave of the mayor, left me alone with him. He then appeared very loving and friendly to me, desiring me to take no exceptions at his rough behaviour at first; for, said he, times so run, that I am obliged to show my dislike to such things, that otherwise I should not incline to do; and he also asked me whither I inclined to go from thence? I told him, to a friend of ours that lived in Dow lane; and he looking out and observing a multitude of people in the market-place, who



met to see what became of me, for fear they should give me any disturbance, there being four of the sheriff's officers at hand, he ordered them to attend me whither I had a mind to go; which they accordingly did. When the people saw me guarded by four men, they concluded I was going to prison, my way from the mayor's lying towards it, at which they seemed to be sorry; but seeing me turn down Dow lane, they appeared to be glad of it, and when I came to my friend's door, my guards took leave of me in a friendly manner.

Having for a considerable time had some drawings in my mind to get a meeting in a little sea-port called Cloy, not far from Wells, and there being but one Friend in town, who was a master of a ship, I could not well tell how to obtain it; but he coming to town, I acquainted him thereof. He told me he was glad of it, and did not at all doubt but he could manage that point to my satisfaction; for, said he, my father is living, and his dependency is partly upon me, so that he will hardly refuse anything that I request of him, and he is clerk of the parish, and as soon as I have discoursed him, and find a way opened, I will acquaint thee therewith. Accordingly he did so, and a meeting was appointed, which he advised me of, and thither I went, and there was a considerable appearance of people, both of the town and country, and a good peaceable meeting we had, for the Lord's blessed presence was amongst us, blessed be his name for it; when I had concluded in prayer, the old clerk said Amen heartily.

I concluding to stay there all night, a supper was prepared for me, and the priest of the town hearing of the meeting, was inclined to discourse with me, but not being willing to undertake it himself, he sent about three miles to another priest to come to his assistance, which he did. As soon as it began to grow a little dark and they were coming, the young man, the Friend, went to see after my horse, but meeting them pretty near to the house, he turned in again, and told me there were two priests coming. Upon this notice I sunk down to my life, and kept very retired, and they came in, and after taking a turn or two about the house, the assistant came and sat down pretty near me, I having been pretty warm in the meeting, had my cloak on, which I then commonly rode in. The town priest still walking about, I arose and said to him, If thou pleasest thou mayst sit down here. The word thou greatly displeased him. His assistant said, You may keep your seat, we are plain men, and are come to you without a cloak. With that I turned to my seat and replied, If you be plain men, it is well, and though you come to me without a cloak, yet,

let me tell you, your covering is blacker than mine. How do you mean, says he? I replied, I mean as I say. What, says the town priest, is this their preacher? Yes, says the other, I challenge him to be him.

By this time a great many people came into the house, and stood about the door and windows. The assistant then said, We are come to dispute with you, and you shall lay down your proposition, and we will dispute upon it. I told him, it looked unfair in them, they being two, to press me to lay down a proposition, which was not the practice of fair disputants; but the assistant pressed it several times. I then told them, I was there, and if they had anything to object against me, I was ready to answer for myself. No, said they, we have nothing to charge you with, but you must lay down your proposition, and we will argue thereupon. Something now opening upon my mind, I told them, that although it looked very unfair in them, yet if I laid down a proposition, would they answer me? They both said, Yes, they would. Then, said I, "There is a manifestation of the Spirit of God given to every man, to profit withal; this Spirit of God is the Spirit of Truth, and that so many as give up to it, to be led and guided by it, it would lead and guide them into all Truth." This is my proposition, and I will stand by it.

The town priest in a scornful manner said, This is no more than what we own; and made a great noise up and down the house. Upon which I said, I have something more to say to it; but he continuing his noise, the other priest said to him, Sir, pray hear him, he says, he has something more to say to it. Upon this he was silent. And I said, since what I have laid down is no more than what you own, I query, Are you the men that are so given up to it, as to be led and guided by the Spirit of Truth, into all Truth, yea or nay? The town priest said, I thought what he would say; and the other replied, Sir, it is to the matter in hand. And he then said to me, I perceive you are a scholar, pray tell me what university, and what college you were educated in? I said, you did promise here, before the people, that you would answer me, and I insist upon it; but no answer I could get. But the town priest in a light, airy spirit, said, You Quakers pretend to be led by the Spirit of God; did the Spirit lead you to this town? I arose up and told him, I take thee to be a man not worth a word, but if thou wilt be quiet (he continuing to make a noise) I will answer thee. He replied, methinks you are very bold. Yes, said I, my cause is very good. Well, said he, what have you to say? I answered, it was upon me from the



Lord to visit that place. How shall I know that, said he? I answered, whether thou knowest it or no, the fruits of my labour shall make it manifest. Did you ever hear the like, people, said he, I have talked with him all this while, and he has not convinced me yet. Oh! vain man, said I. Notwithstanding the singular life, the excellent doctrine, and unparalleled miracles which our blessed Lord wrought, the high priests were so far from being convinced by him, that they took an occasion the more to put him to death. Upon which he was silenced.

Now, says I, as thou asked me a question, How I came here? in my turn, I ask thee, how thou camest here? He answered, Why, the Lord placed me here. What to do, said I? He answered, To be an overseer, and a worker in his vineyard. Aye, said I, I shall soon know that; the apostle says, when he was sent forth, it was to unstop the deaf ear, and to turn people from darkness unto light, and from the power of satan unto God. Now, said I, how many hast thou turned since thou camest to this place?

There standing a chair between us, he thumped with his hand upon it, and said, May be God's time is not yet come. What, said I, did God place thee here to do no good? And since thou canst not make it appear that thou hast converted one soul, in turning it from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God; if thou wouldst prove thyself to be an honest man, I would advise thee to make a return of the money or effects thou hast received from the people. And, people, said I, I would have you to require it of him; for by his own discourse he cannot say, that he has done you any good. Well, said the priest, I will be gone. No, said I, I would have thee stay, and I will undertake to prove thee a deceiver before the people. I will not stay, said he, upon your demand, and away he went.

His assistant sat all this while and said nothing; but now, when the other was gone, I turned to him and asked him, what he had now to say? He answered, You are the honestest people that dissent from the church, in the whole kingdom, and I love you the best. Ah! said I, this is of the colour of thy cloth, and it looks very black; thou camest in a light, airy spirit, and now thou begins to flatter us. Nay, replied he, I speak the truth, and you shall come to visit me; I live at Holt, says he, three miles off, and you must not deny me. Well, said I, if thou art inclinable, and willing to allow any sober-minded people to be present, I don't know but I may answer thy request. No, said he, there shall be nobody present but you, and Robert Kirby, and me, and we will not have a word of religion,

but only on school terms. If that be all, said I, I think I shall not come. Well, said he, I must be going, and he went out, and I went with him; and as we were walking on the sea-shore, This, said he, I have observed, that if once any come to be joined to your Society, they may as well wash a blackmoor white, and cleanse a leopard from his spots, as turn any of you from your persuasion. I answered, we could get nothing that did us any good, when amongst you, and having met with the Word of eternal life, whither should we go? There are many of you, continued I, that are men of learning and good education, and did you wait to receive power from God, you might be serviceable and do good to the people. Well, said he, you say well; but I must go, and he took me by the hand and said, I wish you well. I wished him the same, and so we parted.

The young man above-mentioned, some time after told me, that my service at Cloy had such an effect, that some who had the opportunity of the meeting, and of hearing what had passed with the clergy in the evening, were so thoroughly convinced, that they joined themselves to our Society; and the clerk, his father, not living long after, confessed to the Truth upon his dying-bed.

Pretty early in the spring, in the year 1681, it was upon me to go into some part of the west; so about the latter end of the first month I left Norwich, and had my first meeting at Wells, where I had a blessed opportunity; from thence I went to Holt, and so to North Walsham and Yarmouth. After which I went to Beckles in Suffolk; from thence to Aldborough, Woodbridge and Ipswich; and taking a few meetings more in this county, I passed into Essex; where having staid some weeks visiting meetings, I came well to London, and staid there until the Yearly Meeting was over.

Then leaving London I came to Kingston, and some who were at that meeting, told me some years after, what benefit they had received from my being there, and they were thankful to the Lord for it. From thence I took some meetings in my way to Alton, where was a large and good meeting; from thence to Southampton, and after a short stay there, to Ringwood, where I was gladly received, several having been convinced at my former being there. I staid there some meetings to the mutual comfort and satisfaction of Friends and others.

From Ringwood I went to Pool, and so to the isle of Purbeck, where I had a meeting at a public inn, to which many people resorted, and I had a good and serviceable opportunity, many things convincingly opening in me, suit-

able to the states of several that were present. I passed from thence to Weymouth, where I found myself engaged to stay several meetings; for there was an open door, and many received the testimony of truth with gladness in that place.

From Weymouth I returned again to Ringwood, taking meetings in my way; I staid there but a little, and took leave of Friends in the spirit of love and divine fellowship, and taking some few meetings in my way, I went to Marlborough, and had a good opportunity. And visiting some other meetings, I came to Reading, where we had a comfortable meeting, the Lord's blessed presence being sensibly felt, to the joy and comfort of many present. Taking some meetings as I went, I got again to London; and staid but little there, for I felt a concern upon my spirit to visit some parts of the north, and took not many meetings before I got to Norwich.

In this journey I can truly say, a spring of Divine Goodness did attend me, and the meetings through which I passed, were sensible partakers thereof, and comforted thereby. Whilst I staid in the city, I followed my business very closely; but my journey before mentioned, falling more weightily upon me, I found I could not be clear without giving up to answer it, whereupon I prepared for it, and accordingly, towards the latter end of the seventh month I set forward, and taking some meetings, passed through the isle of Ely into Huntingdonshire; after having had several meetings in that county, I came to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and so to Northampton.

From Northampton I had drawings in my mind to go to Warwick, to visit our friend William Dewsbury, who was then a prisoner there, whom I was very glad to see, and he took my visit very kindly. After having had several meetings in that county, my way opened to go to Worcester; and having staid some meetings there, I came next into Herefordshire, taking meetings as I passed along through that county into Radnorshire. I got to Welch Pool, and having had a meeting there, I went for Shrewsbury, and staid a meeting there. From thence I went to a meeting appointed for me at Gilbert Woolham's, at Ranmore, near Namptwich in Cheshire, to which then a pretty many substantial Friends belonged; but many of them afterwards removing into Pennsylvania, did greatly lessen it. I lodged that night with our ancient Friend Thomas Briggs, often mentioned in George Fox's Journal; and the good old man told me in the morning, he had been much concerned that night in praying to the Lord for the whole society of his people.

The next day I went to John Simcock's at

Rigley-hall, where I had a meeting that evening, and was at Malpas meeting the next day. From thence I went to Chester, where I had a meeting on a sixth-day; on the seventh-day I came to Crude-hall. On the first-day following I had a meeting at Newton by the Forest, which was large and comfortable; the third-day following I had another at Sutton, and returned that night to Crude-hall, where was a Friend who had a concern for a considerable time to go a little northward to visit Friends, and took the opportunity and went with me. After visiting Frandley meeting, we went to Warrington in Lancashire, and had a meeting at William Barns's in Sankey, on the first-day; whose house being too straight for the meeting, I persuaded Friends to get a meeting-house built, which they readily fell in with, and the next day met, and made subscriptions in order thereto. And the building was soon after got up, which did much better accommodate the Friends of the meeting.

From thence we went to Manchester, which meeting was then small; we travelled from thence to Rossendale, where we had a good opportunity at the burial of a Friend; and after taking several meetings by the way, we got to Lancaster, and in the way thither had many heart-tendering opportunities, the Lord's blessed presence and power greatly attending us in our service. We had there a good meeting. Then passing the Sands we came to Swarthmore.

We had here a very solid opportunity, for the Lord's living presence was amongst us, and in a sense thereof we departed and came to Hawkshead; from thence we went to Kendal, where we had a pretty large and good meeting. After having had meetings at Crook, and some other places in Westmoreland, we came into Yorkshire, and visiting several meetings in that county, came to Settle, where my friend and I parted, after having had many comfortable opportunities, and great satisfaction in our labours and travels in the service of Truth.

I went towards York, taking Skipton, and several other meetings in my way thither. Staying some meetings there, I went to Malton, and so to Scarborough, where I staid some time. I had my health pretty well, although much weakened as to my natural strength; a fresh visitation of the spring of life overflowing my soul, supported me, and thereby the hard labours and travels I passed through, were made much more easy to me, as well as comfortable to those I visited; for which I was truly thankful to the Lord; blessed be his name for it.

Next I went to Burlington, and taking a

meeting or two by the way I got to Hull. I was much comforted hitherto; and taking a meeting a few miles from Hull, on the river Humber, I went over in the passage-boat, there being one appointed for me on the other side, and found Friends met together, and had a good meeting amongst them; as I also had in the preceding. The next was at Brigg, where Friends were glad to see me, and I had a comfortable meeting with them.

I pursued my way to Gedney, had a meeting there, and went directly for Lynn in Norfolk, and staying a few days there, I went afterwards to Fakenham, and from thence to Norwich, where Friends received me with joy. I got thither about the beginning of the twelfth month. In this journey I was greatly favoured, the Lord's presence attending me all along; blessed be his name.

Some time after as I was going to a meeting in the country, Ireland was presented to my view, and there being a Friend with me that had been there, I inquired of him, what kind of a country Ireland was? At the expressing of which words a trembling seized me; which he observing, said, I believe it will be thy place to go thither. I took no notice of that, nor did I mention my concern to any body for a considerable time: but it grew upon me, and I found I could not be clear without giving up to it; and mentioning it to some Friends, the knowledge of it quickly got abroad to many.

The Yearly Meeting drawing on, I went directly to Colchester, and from thence to London, where I met Roger Haydock and his wife, and my friend Mary Lowe. Here I imparted my mind to her, which, although we had often met together before in our journeys, I never so much as mentioned to her; though my spirit was closely united in a Divine fellowship with her.

After the meeting was over, Roger Haydock went for the west, Mary Lowe accompanying him, and his wife returned home. I staid not long after in the city, but Colchester Yearly Meeting drawing on, and Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret Fox, having it in her mind to go thither, and desiring my company, I went to it with her. After our service was over there, we went to Ely, to visit our friend Samuel Cater, who was then a prisoner there.

From thence we travelled to Norwich, where my friend had several good opportunities; and visiting some adjacent meetings, she returned again to Norwich; from whence we went to Colne, where some Friends from London met her to accompany her thither, and there we parted.

Taking some meetings from thence in my way home, I came to Haverill in Suffolk; and Daniel Gridley's wife having it upon her mind to visit some meetings in Norfolk, went along with me to Norwich; and being at the morning meeting, whilst concerned in prayer, one of the informers with a constable came in, and when she had done, he carried her to the mayor's house, who was not then come from his worship; but so soon as he came in, being told by the constable the reason of his being there, the mayor desired him to go to the next justice of the peace, the earl of Yarmouth being to dine with him that day, which he accordingly did.

At our first appearance the justice was very rough, and talked of making her mittimus to send her to jail, because she was found speaking in the Quakers' meeting-house. I told him, she was brought before him through the information of an informer; and the Act they proceeded upon was a fining, but not an imprisoning act. Upon that he called for the statute book, and finding it to be so, he then inquired her name, and from whence she came, and told her, she had better have staid at home, than come there to have her husband fined twenty pounds for her preaching. I desired him to consider, that as she was not preaching but praying, her devotion was to God in prayer, which the Act doth not forbid; and it would be unreasonable to set a fine upon her for that. Besides, said I, the Act requires two witnesses, and here is but one. Why, says he, here is the constable, he can be a witness. I hope, said I, thou wilt not make the constable an informer. No, said the constable, I have done my office, but I will not turn informer. Upon this the justice said, I think you study more to evade the law, than you do your prayers to please God. I told him, we were a suffering people, and it greatly concerned us to consult the laws we were prosecuted upon, and he not having had a hand in that work before, that I knew of, he might be unacquainted with the said laws; to which he answered, This is the first person that has been brought before me upon this account. I thereupon told him, that if he pleased to consider of it until the next morning, I believed my friend would promise, and I would engage with her, to appear before him if he required it. Well, said he, we will leave it then, you promising to appear if I send for you. She said, Yes, I will, if God permit: upon which we withdrew.

In the afternoon the said Friend had a good opportunity in the meeting, and it broke up peaceably. The next morning, not hearing any thing from the justice, two or three of our Friends, besides myself, who were well known

to him, went to his house, and as soon as we appeared before him, he looked upon me with an angry countenance, saying, I am informed you are a Jesuit; upon which the Friends smiling, told the justice, that whosoever had given him that information were greatly mistaken, for they knew me to be otherwise, and that I was born in that county, and then lived in that city.

After which he talked with us more freely; and signified that it was no pleasure to him to persecute his religious neighbours, and as this was the first that came before him on that account, he hoped it would be the last. Then we requesting to know his pleasure, whether the Friend who had been with him should come before him again: after some little more discourse he told us, she might go about her business; which we told him we took as a favour from him, and so departed. And after she had visited several more meetings in the county, she returned towards her habitation, being well satisfied with her journey.

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*An account of his visit to Friends in Ireland.*

MY Irish journey now falling pretty weightily upon me, I found myself engaged to visit Friends' meetings in Norfolk and some parts of Suffolk, and pretty thoroughly in Essex; and after I was clear of my service there, I returned again to Norwich; and every thing being prepared for my journey into Ireland, I set out in the beginning of the seventh month, after having taken a solemn farewell of Friends at Norwich, and went through the Isle of Ely into Huntingdonshire, and thence into Northamptonshire, and to Warwick, where I once more visited William Dewsbury; and from thence into Staffordshire and Cheshire, visiting meetings as I passed along.

I staid but little with my friend Mary Lowe, and went to Frandley on a first-day; from thence to Warrington and Liverpool, where staying one night, I went next morning on board, and in twenty-four hours the ship cast anchor in the bay of Dublin, where I arrived about the latter end of the seventh month, in the year 1682.

In this nation I travelled up and down in the work of the Gospel, and had good service, many being convinced by means of my ministry. At Antrim, a place of great profession, I had a meeting in the evening, to which many came, and some with a design to oppose me. The place was not large enough to contain the people, which occasioned those without to be very noisy and turbulent, some of the ruder sort pelting them with bits of dirt and turf, whilst I was preaching. I made a

full stop, which occasioned a general silence; and after a little time I said, "I understand this is a place of great profession of religion: I am sorry to see so much irreligion as appears amongst you at this time, through your rude behaviour. It is not long since I came out of my native country, and I think it will not be long ere I return again, and then what shall I say of you to your poor suffering brethren in England?" There was a dread upon me when I spoke these words, which also affected those present, for many of them trembled, and their faces gathered paleness. Upon which I advised them, if they had any regard to the reputation of religion, to inquire after those that were the occasion of these disorders, for that such behaviour was base and scandalous. And moreover I was moved to say, that the time draws nigh, that you will be blown away like the chaff before the summer threshing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found. After this, some cried out in a Scottish tone, We be all shamed, and getting out of the house, inquired after those that were the occasion of the disorders: some lads they beat, of others who absconded they took the names; after which we had a solemn good meeting, the lively sense of the love of God reached to the hearts of many present, and the meeting ended well.

At this meeting a young man a Papist, and servant to William Wilkinson, was convinced, as were many more elsewhere in the north and other parts. I travelled through Ulster and several parts of Munster and Leinster, where I had many meetings. I departed from Dublin on the 14th of the ninth month, and returned thither again on the 25th of the first month, 1683.

After the conclusion of the following Half-year's meeting, I intended to return to England, and in order to it I sold my horse and prepared for the voyage, but the wind proving contrary-I could not get off. Besides this, I found some stop in myself, a further service being presented to my view; to which I gave up, though contrary to my inclinations, viz: It fell with some weight upon me to have a meeting at Tralee, in the county of Kerry, where William Bingley had been. Accordingly I set out from Dublin the 17th of the third month, taking meetings in the way, and went to Cork, and from thence to Tralee, a journey of one hundred and fifty-eight miles, accompanied by John Hammond, Thomas Wight and some others, and had a comfortable opportunity; many hearts were tendered, the Lord's presence attending, and after the meeting ended, the people withdrew in a solemn and peaceable manner. P. White, a man of note in the town, came and offered

them his house to meet in, which they kindly accepted, as also of his invitation to dine with him next day, and we parted in much friendship. After this I visited several meetings in Leinster province, and went to the north again.

As I was going from Antrim to the Grange, I saw ten or twelve men upon the road walking in a very solitary manner, and it arose in my heart, These are sheep having no shepherd. When I came up to them, I slackened my pace, and queried of them, What news? The men were startled at the question, and answered, We know of none; continuing to go softly, I said, Are ye going to a meeting? They answered, Our minister is silenced; for orders are come down, commanding all Dissenters not to assemble; so now we have no teacher. This brought to my remembrance what I had been concerned to deliver as above, at the evening meeting I had at Antrim, where I met with so much rudeness, viz: that the time draws nigh, that you will be blown away like chaff before the summer threshing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found. At this time all Dissenters, except Friends, had declined keeping up their meetings.

I proceeded to discourse with the men aforementioned, and said, The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep; as it is said, John x. 11, 12, 13; referring them to the text; further showing, that it is happy for those who are come to the knowledge of that Teacher who cannot be removed into a corner. God said he would teach his children himself; and the children of the Lord are taught of the Lord. And you may read in the first Epistle of John, chap. ii. 27, The anointing which ye have received of Him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, &c. And in Titus ii. 11, 12., The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, &c. Here I directed them to the great heavenly School-master, who said, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; follow me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Thus I laboured to bring them from their hireling teachers, to the teaching of God and Christ in themselves, by which they might come to the knowledge of God, and walk in the ways of his salvation; "for a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." I advised them to turn their minds inward, and mind the secret operation of it, which checks and reproves for bad words and actions; and as they turned to it, they would find it would lead them into all Truth; with many more words to this effect.

They were well pleased with this discourse, declaring at parting, that they had never heard things so opened to them in their lives.

The number of miles I travelled in Ireland was one thousand seven hundred and forty-six; the number of meetings I had there, exclusive of Dublin, was one hundred and eighty; and in this service I spent one year, within a few days.

Having cleared myself of what service lay upon me in this kingdom, I took leave of Friends in a very large and solemn meeting at Dublin, where the Lord's blessed presence and power crowned the assembly, to our mutual joy and satisfaction; it was indeed a very tendering opportunity, and in great unity we parted. Soon after I took shipping in Dublin bay, and in twenty-two hours we cast anchor at Liverpool, and I got to my friend Mary Lowe's, at Crude-hall, that day twelve-month that I left it; and found she was but newly discharged from imprisonment, having been confined about three months for the first offence upon the Act of banishment, she refusing to take the oaths.

I staid not long there before it came upon me to visit meetings in Lancashire, and after I had cleared myself of what was before me there, I came to Stockport in Cheshire, and had a meeting; from thence I went to Hugh Burges's in Styall, where my friend Mary Lowe, with several others, met me; I then went to Joseph Endon's, in Bosley, where we met with our friend John Gratton, it being the first time I had seen him, and we had there a very comfortable meeting, the hearts of many being greatly tendered; and it was also the first time I had been on that side of the county. After having taken one or two more meetings, we returned to Crude-hall.

In the beginning of the ninth month we declared our intentions of marriage to Friends of Frandley Monthly Meeting; after which I soon set out for Norwich, our Friend Jeffery Alcock accompanying me, that being then the place of my settlement. Their Monthly Meeting being on the third fourth-day of the same month, I took but a few meetings in my way, and got thither time enough to lay my intentions before the same; which being done, I travelled into Suffolk, and had meetings at Beccles and Aldborough, the place where I formerly met with very rough entertainment from a man, whose wife was some time before convinced by me, and who had threatened to kill me if I came there again. He hearing that I was to be at the meeting, came in, greatly enraged, to revenge himself upon me. I was speaking when he came in, and making his way up to me, he pulled me down, and gave me several very ill blows about my head

and face, which raised swellings. In executing his fury upon me he fell down, but recovering himself, and attempting to pursue his revenge further upon me, a Friend whose name was John Mason, who had accompanied my honourable friend Giles Barnardiston and me to the meeting, observing it, laid hold of him to prevent his doing any more mischief, and being a very strong man, held him so fast that he could not disengage himself, and desiring to be set at liberty, and promising to go away peaceably, the Friend let him go.

In the mean time his wife went out of the meeting undiscovered by him, and he not finding her, came in again; I was then concerned in my testimony as before, but he seeing my friend Mason standing up before me, did not venture to come up to me, but after venting a volley of revengeful oaths against me, he withdrew; after which we had a peaceable good meeting. The good woman lived not long after, through the horrid abuses that he committed upon her; she kept steady to her testimony to the end, and was beloved by Friends and others that were acquainted with her.

From hence we went to Woodbridge, and so to Ipswich, and after having visited some other meetings, I accompanied my good friend Giles Barnardiston to his habitation at Clare in Suffolk. After passing through some meetings I made my way to Norwich; where, according to the good order used amongst us, I presented my intentions of marriage a second time, and all things being found clear, I set out for Cheshire, and taking a few meetings by the way, I reached Derbyshire Quarterly Meeting, which was held the 25th of the tenth month. The next day I went home with John Gratton, staid one night, and then came to Stockport, and the day following to Crowton, where I met with my friend Mary Lowe. On the 1st of the eleventh month we again presented our intentions of marriage to Frandley Monthly Meeting, where being left to our liberty, we accomplished the same on the fifth-day following at Frandley, being the 3d of the same month.

A general meeting at Newton coming on soon after, we went to it, and it being a suffering time for Friends in that county, Sir Philip Egerton and Captain Needham, two justices of the peace, came to break up the meeting. I was at prayer when they came in, and they stood awhile silent; then Captain Needham stepped up to me and commanded silence, which I not observing, he first took my hat and threw it away, then got hold of my cravat and pulled it in pieces. I still continuing my address to Almighty God, for

his Divine presence was amongst us, he then struck me over my head with his cane, with such violence as to raise several great swellings on my head, and after that he kicked me down with his foot from off my knees.

After this, Friends rising from their knees and putting on their hats, he broke several of their heads, so that the blood ran down. Then Sir Philip cried, Brother, brother, let us prosecute the law upon them, and not abuse them; and my wife stood up and said with a raised voice, Turks, Heathens and Infidels, would scorn such practice.

Their intention was to tender us the oaths, and send us to prison, but having no Bible with them, they took down names to prosecute us on the Conventicle Act, and I was fined twenty pounds, and others proportionably to their stations, which was levied with great rigour. Their rigorous proceedings were so noised about in that and neighbouring counties, that they were ashamed of their conduct, and came no more to break up our meetings.

Not many days after, my wife was taken with a warrant and committed to Chester castle for the second offence upon the Act of banishment, where she continued with many others until the spring Quarter Sessions at Chester, and was then discharged.

In the year 1684, I went up to the Annual Meeting at London, and Friends there being kept out of their meeting-houses, held their meetings in the streets.

In the spring of 1685, I found it upon my mind to visit Friends in Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland; and coming to Penrith, I heard that our friend Thomas Wilson lay dangerously ill, so I left my horse at Penrith, and walked to pay him a visit, and found him in a very weak condition. After a short stay I was moved in spirit to supplicate the Lord on his behalf, and I received a gracious answer, that he should be restored again to health; upon which I desired him not to be discouraged, for he should do well; and I told him, I believed in a short time I should see him again in Cheshire; and it was not long before it came to pass.

The next day I came from Penrith to Carlisle, and got to the Border Meeting on first-day, where the Lord was pleased to give us a comfortable opportunity together. Several of our Friends were prisoners at that time at Carlisle. From thence, passing through most of the meetings in Cumberland, I came to Pardsay-cragg meeting, which was very large; and as in the other meetings I had passed through, so in that, the Lord greatly favoured us with his life-giving presence, by which the hearts of many were tendered.



From thence I crossed the water into Lancashire, and came to the house of Dr. Lower, where I staid one night, and went to Swarthmore, the seat of Margaret Fox, and paying a visit to the family, I went next to Lancaster, and staid a meeting there; and taking a few more meetings in that county I came to Warrington, and staid one night at Roger Haydock's, and the next day home, where I found all well to my great satisfaction.

In the year 1686, our ancient Friend Isaac Ashton and I went to see how our brethren fared northwards, and taking some meetings in the eastern parts of Lancashire, we came to Sedburg in Yorkshire, where we had a blessed meeting; and taking meetings in the Dales of Yorkshire, we came to Grayrig, and had there, as in other meetings we passed through, a very seasonable opportunity.

From thence, taking meetings by the way, we came to Yarm, where the next evening we had a very large meeting; from thence we went to Stockton, in the bishoprick of Durham, where we found a pretty large body of Friends, and had a good and solid opportunity amongst them. Returning thence into Yorkshire, we came to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had large and good meetings. From thence we passed through Malton to York, where in the afternoon we had a large meeting, a great many of King James' soldiers coming to it, who behaved themselves, for some time after they came in, a little rudely in talking to one another; but after awhile the Lord's power broke in amongst them, so that many were greatly tendered and broken, and the meeting ended to the satisfaction, I think, of all present.

From York we went to Leeds, and so to Halifax; at both which meetings the Lord greatly favoured us. There I parted with my friend Isaac Ashton, and making my way towards Manchester, I got home.

In the year 1687, I and my wife went for London, in company with Samuel Watson and several other Friends. After the Yearly Meeting was over, we went for Essex, and visited the greatest part of the meetings in that county, which were generally very large.

From Essex we went into Suffolk, where we had several large and precious opportunities; and taking meetings as we went, we came to Norwich, where we stayed some days, and had several very good and comfortable meetings. After having visited many meetings in the county of Norfolk, we felt drawings in our minds towards home.

We set forwards to my brother Joshua's, at Mildenhall in Suffolk, and had a large and precious good meeting there; from thence to the Isle of Ely, and so into Huntingtonshire,

where having visited several meetings, we passed through Wellingborough to Northampton, at which places the Lord greatly favoured us with his blessed presence.

From thence passing through part of Leicestershire, we came through Nottinghamshire, to Robert Mellor's, at Whitehough, in Staffordshire, where we staid all night; in the morning we went to Leek, and so to Macclesfield, and from thence home, where we were gladly received: this was a satisfactory journey to us both.

In the year 1688, we removed from Crowton to Stockport; this and the following year I staid pretty much at home.

About the latter end of the year 1690, having strong drawings in my mind to visit Friends at London, and in some parts of the West of England; it was then a very cold time, and the lanes between Stockport and Macclesfield so full of snow, that they were not passable, and we were forced to make our way through the fields. We got to Macclesfield, where we staid that night: James Dickenson being also for London, and hearing that I was set out, came and overtook me at Macclesfield.

We travelled together, taking meetings as we went, till we came to Banbury in Oxfordshire, where we found a meeting of public Friends at the house of Richard Vivers: we came seasonably to it, and had a very reviving and comfortable opportunity, to the great satisfaction of that solid assembly. To this place we had a very hard journey, the ways being very bad, the snow and ice considerable, and cold winds attending it.

From hence we went to Ailsbury, Uxbridge and London; here I staid some time, and after I had cleared myself I set out for the west, and taking meetings as I went, came to Southampton and Ringwood; then to Pool, and passing through the Isle of Purbeck, I came to Weymouth, where we found the people in a great consternation, they espying a great fleet of ships, supposed them to be French; but having sent out a boat to discover what they were, upon the return of it, to their great joy and satisfaction, it was found to be a fleet of English merchant-men, under convoy of some men of war. War had before been declared between France and England.

After a short stay here, I came to Yeovil and Bristol; where I staid some days, and had very large and comfortable meetings amongst Friends, as indeed I had all along hitherto; Friends being generally glad to see me, I having formerly visited those meetings; and the Lord's presence and power attended me in my service.

From Bristol I went to Frenchay, Nails-



worth and Gloucester; from thence to Worcester, Sturbridge, Woolverhampton and Stafford; and taking a meeting or two more by the way, I came to Stockport, arriving there pretty early in the spring, in the year 1691, where I found all well, and was received with joy. This was a satisfactory journey; for having discharged the duty which the Lord required of me, I had peace and comfort therein.

POSTSCRIPT.

OUR worthy Friend could not be prevailed upon to bring down his memoirs lower than in the foregoing account. I believe he did not travel much for many years before his decease, but was a constant attender of our Circular Meetings, as also Quarterly and Monthly Meetings; in which he was of singular service, and eminently gifted both for doctrine and discipline, well knowing how to divide the word aright, and was indeed as a prince in our Israel.

*A Testimony from the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire, held at Newton, near Middlewich, the 9th of the twelfth month, 1741, concerning our dear and worthy Friend and elder in the Truth, BENJAMIN BANGS, deceased.*

THIS our ancient honourable Friend and eminent minister of Jesus Christ, was born in the parish of Longham, in the county of Norfolk, the 1st day of the tenth month, 1652, of reputable parents, and was religiously educated in the principles of the Church of England, so called, by his mother, his father dying when he was young. The Lord was pleased in his young and tender years to extend a merciful visitation of love to him, with which he was at times deeply affected; and about the nineteenth year of his age, being then settled in London, he was convinced of the blessed Truth, as professed by us, and in a short time after came forth in a public testimony, and became an able minister of the Gospel of Christ, in which he laboured faithfully and fervently in divers parts of this nation, and in the kingdom of Ireland, before he came to settle amongst us, and was instrumental in the conviction of many.

In the year 1683, he married our worthy Friend Mary Lowe, of this county, and settled amongst us; after which he visited many parts of this nation and the Principality of Wales, and even until age and infirmities prevailed, continued to visit the meetings of Friends in this and the adjacent counties, where his services were always acceptable.

He was an elder worthy of double honour, having obtained a good report, not seeking glory of men, nor lording it over God's herit-

age, but as an ensample to the flock, not forward to appear in public service; in doctrine sound, clear, instructive and uncorrupted; his openings were fresh and lively, and his manner of expression excellent. He delighted much to wait in silence for the pure openings of the word of life, whereby he became strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, sounding forth the word of reconciliation by Christ our Lord, and salvation through his eternal Spirit; and was often fervent in prayer and supplication, and drawn forth in a sweet and heavenly manner, to the joy of the sincere in heart. He was signally qualified in our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, to speak a word in season for the promotion of peace, good order and discipline in the church; which meetings he constantly attended when at home and in health.

He was remarkably compassionate to the poor of the Society, in whom he observed a degree of sincerity and worthiness, who were sure to meet with an advocate in him.

In his private capacity, his countenance was solid, his deportment grave, but intermixed with a pleasant and familiar manner of expression, that rendered his company pleasant to all with whom he conversed. And even when old age and infirmities attended, his understanding was clear, and many sweet and heavenly expressions dropped from him, concerning the largeness of the love of God to his soul, together with seasonable advices, to the tendering of the hearts of those present. He often said to this purpose, that his work was finished, and he freely resigned, feeling nothing but peace from the Lord upon his spirit; yea, so plentifully was it poured forth upon him, that when near his end, he could not forbear rejoicing in the blessed experience thereof, saying, "Now I know and witness the saying of our blessed Lord fulfilled," viz: "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."

Much more might be said concerning this good man, and his services and labours in the work of the Gospel for many years, which are so well known to many, that we need not enlarge thereon. And although his removal from us is a loss to the church, yet we fully believe it is his everlasting gain, he being gathered home into the garner of God, as a shock of corn fully ripe, there to enjoy the blessed reward of the righteous in an endless fruition of joy and glory. As he lived, so he died, a servant of the Lord and his people, on the 6th day of the twelfth month, and was decently buried the 9th of the same, in Friends' burying-ground in Stockport, in the year 1741, in the ninetieth year of his age, and was a minister about sixty-five years.

MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS  
OF  
HENRY HULL,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, LATE OF STANFORD,  
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

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“They that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age—they shall be fat and flourishing.”

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INTRODUCTION.

THE desire to contribute to the promotion of the cause of practical religion, and to hold out the language of encouragement or admonition to those who should succeed him in the Christian pilgrimage, appear to have been the motives which induced our late beloved and honoured Friend, Henry Hull, to preserve some memorandums of his life, and of those conflicts and exercises, as well as joys and consolations, which he passed through, in the course of the great work of redemption from the bondage of sin, and preparation for the service of his gracious Lord and Saviour.

He possessed a sound and discriminating mind, whose faculties had been enlarged and strengthened by a long course of discipline in the school of Christ; and though he had but little opportunity of acquiring human learning, and his manner of writing is not, therefore, what the world calls polished, yet the want of this is far outbalanced by the religious instruction with which the journal is fraught, imparting to it an attraction superior to the embellishments of style. Several years before his decease, he exhibited the manuscripts to one of the editors, and with his characteristic diffidence and humility, expressed his sense of their defectiveness, and also intimated his wish, that if his friends who survived him, thought they would be useful, he would put them in a form suitable for publication. In performing this duty to a dear de-

parted friend, necessary corrections have been made, and some uninteresting matter omitted; but care has been taken to preserve the meaning of the author. It is to be regretted that there are some chasms in his narrative, which we have not the means of supplying, although considerable pains have been taken to procure materials for it. All that can now be done toward remedying these deficiencies, is a simple statement of the religious engagements in which he was employed during those periods.

Religious biography is a fruitful source of instruction and encouragement to the Christian traveller. It is interesting to trace the various steps by which those servants of Christ, who have gone before us, have been led through the vicissitudes and trials of this changeful life, to everlasting blessedness and glory. The record of their experience bears witness, that by yielding to the tendering visitations of the love of God, which seeks to gather all into the fold of rest and peace, and to those baptisms of the Holy Spirit, which humble the pride and loftiness of the human heart and bring the whole man into obedience to the law of Christ, they were fitted for service in the church and made instruments of good unto others. These gracious visitations of heavenly love are, at seasons, tendered to every soul, in order to bring it out of the bondage of corruption, and translate it into the glorious liberty of the children of God; and it is only by surrendering the whole heart to their transforming power, that we can experience the

blessed fruits of the Spirit brought forth in us, and thus be prepared to labour availingly for the advancement of the kingdom of our dear Redeemer in the earth.

The "power from on high" has endued the righteous of all ages with wisdom and ability for the work of their day—supported and consoled them amid the afflictions and trials incident to this imperfect state of being; enabled them to persevere in their heavenly journey with holy stability and circumspection, to meet with Christian fortitude and resignation, every dispensation of an all-wise Providence, and at last to finish their course with joy; trusting not in their own righteousness, but in the pardon, reconciliation and mercy which are in Christ Jesus our Lord. This Divine power and spirit remains unchanged to the present day, and is freely offered for the help of all those who love and serve the Lord in uprightness of heart; his gracious words being still in full force, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

When we contemplate the happy effects which it wrought in those devoted servants, who have fallen asleep in Jesus—their work of faith and labour of love—their patience under suffering—their humility and gentleness—their meek and cheerful submission to the will of God—their unwearied devotion to his cause, and their holy hope, full of immortality and eternal life, in the near prospect of death; how does it animate the soul to press after the attainment of the same Christian virtues, and through the aid of the Holy Spirit, to "follow them as they followed Christ." "The harvest truly is great and the labourers are few;" many who had long "borne the burden and heat of the day," having of latter years been removed from the militant church, to join the glorified church triumphant in heaven; so that the injunction of our blessed Saviour to his disciples, is peculiarly appropriate at the present time, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, to send forth more labourers into his harvest." May the perusal of the following pages incite to a serious examination, how far we are occupying our time and talents to the honour of the great Giver, and induce a willingness to bear the yoke and cross of Christ, and openly acknowledge our allegiance to him before the world; that through the ability which he dispenses to his obedient children, we also may serve our generation according to the will of God; and when our allotted portion of suffering and of service is accomplished, may, through unmerited mercy, receive the end of our faith, even the salvation of our souls.

Philadelphia, Fourth month 1st, 1840.

*A Testimony of Stanford Monthly Meeting of Friends, concerning our deceased Friend,*  
HENRY HULL.

HE was born at Harrison's Purchase, State of New York, in the third month, 1765; but early in life, removed with his parents, Tideman and Elizabeth Hull, to Stanford, the place of his late residence. It appears from his own account, that he was favoured with the tendering impressions of heavenly love very early in life; yet through unwatchfulness, he sometimes gave way to the follies incident to youth, which brought condemnation; but by yielding to the renewed visitation of love and mercy, through the refining operation of the Divine power upon his heart, he became qualified for usefulness in the church of Christ. In the year 1785, he was married to our deceased Friend, Sarah, the daughter of Edward Hallock. About this time, his exercises and conflict of spirit were great, being often impressed with a belief, that he should have to stand forth as a public advocate for that cause, which is dignified by immortality and crowned with eternal life.

The flowings of Gospel love so filled his mind, through this renewed extension of Divine light and power, that he was enabled to say, "I love the Lord, and am desirous to serve him;" but when the command was given, he again and again gave way to reasoning, until it was sounded intelligibly in the ear of his understanding, "Thou art in great danger of being lost in thy rebellion;" and the language of his heart was, "Lord do what thou wilt with me; come life or come death, I will give up all for thy sake, and to be again received into thy favour." And the Lord, who is not slow to hear, and waiteth long to be gracious, condescended to appear again as a morning without clouds. He now yielded to the requirement, and expressed a few words in supplication. "Oh, then," he says, "how inexpressibly precious was the ushering in of peace and joy, to my mind; language is insufficient to set forth the sweet serenity I partook of." His appearances in the ministry, though not frequent, were to edification; and though he was at times closely proved, and suffered to doubt the reality of his calling, such was the goodness of the Shepherd of Israel, whose language to the truly dedicated mind is, "I will never leave nor forsake thee," and who when he putteth forth, continueth to go before; that he was qualified to testify to others of the loving kindness and tender mercies of his heavenly Father.

He travelled much in the ministry, in dif-

ferent parts of the United States and Canada; and having for several years felt his mind drawn in the love of the Gospel, to pay a religious visit to Friends of Great Britain and Ireland; after many deep provings and baptisms, and being greatly humbled under the prospect, he yielded to the requirements of his Divine Master; and putting his trust in Him who permitteth not a sparrow to fall to the ground without his notice, he parted with his beloved wife and friends in New York, and embarked for England in the sixth month, 1801. He was kindly received by Friends in that country, and visited the meetings generally in Great Britain and Ireland; and from certificates furnished him, it appears that his labours were truly acceptable and edifying to Friends in that country. While he was then absent from home in his Master's cause, the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, saw meet to prove very closely, this his faithful servant, in removing by death his valuable wife, an aged mother and his eldest son. His mind was deeply bowed under this heavy trial and bereavement; he was, nevertheless, enabled to confide in Him, for whose cause he had left all, counting nothing too near nor too dear to part with for his sake; and was enabled humbly to say, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in Him; it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good unto him." His ways are all in wisdom, and however I am tried, what am I? unworthy indeed of the favours received."

"Although my friends sought to administer comfort to the body and mind, yet I had none, save in the hope, that if I died, it would be humbly at the feet of Jesus, whom I had loved. And believing in his calming influence, as his Omnipotent voice once proclaimed, 'Peace, be still,' to the stormy billows, for the relief of his disciples; so now I felt him spread a degree of holy calmness and resignation over my spirit, and was enabled to cast my care upon him, under an humbling belief, that he will not leave nor forsake those that put their trust in him."

While he was in Europe, he wrote an address, in Gospel love, to the youth; which was extensively circulated in that land, and has since been reprinted. After his return home, which was in 1812, his time was considerably occupied in visiting the meetings within our own and the neighbouring Yearly Meetings.

In 1814, he joined in marriage with our much esteemed friend, Sarah Cooper, of New Jersey, in whom he found a true help-meet. Since that time he has performed several extensive journeys within the different Yearly Meetings on this continent. Not depending upon past experience, but seeking a renewed qualification for services in the church, and being careful to

attend to the voice of the true Shepherd, he became a pillar in the church; being firmly grounded in the faith of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who by one offering has perfected all those who come unto God through him. Being quick of discernment in the fear of the Lord, he early bore his testimony against an unsound and spurious ministry, and the many departures from the wholesome order of Society; and as a faithful servant in the Lord's cause, he was zealous for the support of the good order and discipline of the church. He often recommended and encouraged the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, and for the encouragement of others, to submit in early life to whatever the Divine Master required of them, he bore this experimental testimony,—that in a retrospective view of his engagements in life, the time devoted to religious concerns produced that solid, substantial peace to his own mind, which was not to be found in the gratifications of sense or in any worldly enjoyments.

He was a tender sympathizer with the afflicted, and was qualified to administer suitable counsel and encouragement to those under trial. His ministry was sound, clear and edifying; manifesting a tenderness and fervour of spirit, which showed that he was deeply impressed with the doctrines that he preached.

In the summer of 1834, his mind was drawn to attend the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana, and his peace consisted in standing resigned to the service, notwithstanding his age and constitutional debility; believing that it would be the last sacrifice that would be required of him in that way. He attended most of the sittings of Ohio Yearly Meeting, under the pressure of much disease. Soon after its close, he was confined to his room; and about this time observed, "If I am taken away here, it will be a great trial to my dear wife and children, but my trust is in Him who said, 'I will not leave you comfortless;' 'the foundation of God standeth sure.'" At another time, "I have not followed cunningly devised fables; I do not know how it will be at the present time, but I have no fears as to the future. I had no outward motive in coming here; it was in obedience to the Divine will. I do not trust in a life of dedication, but in the Lord's mercies." At another time he said, "The hope of the hypocrite faileth, but I can say mine doth not fail. I feel at times as if I could raise my voice and praise the Lord, though my strength faileth." Again, "Let it prove as it will, I am glad that I am here. You have done all that you could for me, and I am thankful. If I die, I die in peace with all mankind; living praises be unto

the Lord." A little before his departure, on being asked how he was, he answered, "I am comfortable in body and mind. I feel comfortable in the prospect of going."

On the 23d of ninth month, 1834, he quietly breathed his last. The calm and heavenly

frame of his mind, shed a sweet influence around his dying bed, and rendered it a privilege to be with him at that solemn season, in which was amply verified the truth of the Scripture testimony, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."

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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS  
OF  
HENRY HULL.

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I HAVE from my early youth derived satisfaction from the perusal of the writings of religious persons, wherein their experiences of the tender dealings of the Almighty by his holy Spirit, are described, and have thereby received some encouragement to submit to his refining power, by which I have been brought to advocate the cause of religion, and labour for the promotion of Truth and righteousness in the earth. And having found this to be a great work, and the preparation therefor, an humbling operation, I feel willing to transcribe, now in the forty-eighth year of my age, for the perusal of my children and grandchildren, and others who may survive me, some memorandums and remarks, written at different times, and also to record some occurrences from recollection, with desires that the reading of them, may encourage them to pursue the path in which I have endeavoured to walk, and to feel the same tender solicitude for the welfare of those who may come after them. For truly no earthly enjoyment can afford the comfort and satisfaction which is experienced by the humble follower of Jesus, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. Their life and peace are in him, and they are borne up above the billows of the world; their rejoicing being in the strength and consolation which he affords by his living virtue, witnessing the redemption of their souls, even to a complete overcoming, as he, their blessed Leader, also overcame. Whether this will ever be my happy experience, I know not; but this I know, that as far as I have followed Him, I have found him condescending and

just in his commands; and if I am finally enabled to triumph, it must be through my continuance in the highway cast up for the redeemed to walk in. That this may be the case with me and my beloved offspring, is my fervent desire,—a desire which I trust does not originate in selfishness, for I have the welfare of all mankind at heart.

I was born at or near Harrison's Purchase, in Westchester county, State of New York, the 16th of third month, 1765. My father was Tiddeman Hull, son of John Hull, of Conanicut, Rhode Island; and my mother, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Franklin, of the Purchase—all of whom were respectable members of the religious Society of Friends. My paternal grandfather followed the business of a sea-captain, for a livelihood, as did also his father, who had the training of Charles Wager, afterward, Sir Charles Wager, Vice Admiral in the British navy, who always retained an affectionate regard for his former master, offering to promote any of his children who would enter the king's service; but my grandfather and his sons preferred pursuing their avocation, consistently with the pacific principles which they professed.

My father settled in early life, at Greenwich, in Connecticut, where he engaged in storekeeping; but found it expedient, in order to provide for the wants of an increasing family, to remove to the city of New York, which took place when I was about six years old. Previous to that time, I have no recollection of any religious impressions; but soon after our removal, being at a meeting for

Divine worship, perhaps the first I ever attended, a woman Friend was powerfully engaged in the ministry, and her words made an impression on my mind, which has never been effaced, but has often been forcibly revived in my remembrance, and been of use to me in my passing along through time. From this period I date the commencement of my religious experiences, being then probably not more than seven years old; and though my views were imperfect and corresponding to my childish years, yet desires were raised in my heart that I might be better than some I saw, who spoke bad words and behaved naughtily. I loved to attend religious meetings, yet dreaded to go there or to school, as there were then but few Friends in the city, and my garb distinguishing me as one, the boys in the street would call me Quaker, and use other reviling language. This was especially the case when the scholars went to meeting in a body, walking two and two, as was the practice at William Rickman's school, where I attended.

I would gladly have changed my dress, but my parents would not indulge me in it, they being concerned to keep their children from following the vain fashions of the world. This, I think, was the means of preserving me from improper associations and some idle amusements, which might have been very hurtful to me; though I cannot say that I was clear of the company of all, whose example was injurious, nor of indulging myself at times in foolish and extravagant play; yet I was considered an orderly boy, both by my elder friends and my school-fellows. One of the latter being taken sick, and apprehending he would not recover, told his mother as she was watching by his bed-side, that if he was as good a boy as I, he should not be afraid to die. This being reported to me, I was much affected, knowing he was mistaken and that I was not so good as he thought me, but I resolved to endeavour to do better for the future, than I had done.

A few days after this, as I was passing through the street, I gave way to some noisy and improper conduct, and looking behind me I saw the mother of the aforesaid lad near, and thought she observed my foolish conduct, at which I was so distressed, that I sought a place of retirement and wept bitterly. I mention this occurrence of my childish days, to show that a sense of propriety of conduct is early awakened in the minds of children; and if parents and those who have the care of their tuition were careful to cherish this feeling, and lead their infant minds into the paths of piety and virtue, there would be more sons and daughters found walking therein. A neglect of this religious duty leaves them ex-

posed to the force of temptation, liable to be drawn away by the influence of evil example and their own corrupt inclinations, into the broad way that leads down to the chambers of death,—and parents are thus often pierced through with many sorrows.

The power of heavenly love wrought early upon my mind, begetting a dislike to evil practices and wicked words, whilst I loved good people, and their company was very pleasant to me. About the ninth year of my age, I had a severe illness, by which I was reduced very low. I noticed the anxious solicitude of my parents on my account, and my heart was tendered with the evidences of their love to me, thinking myself unworthy of it. After my recovery, I continued in delicate health, and the air of the city being too oppressive for me in the summer season, I was sent into the country, sometimes to my uncle Matthew Franklin's, at Flushing, and sometimes to my uncle Joseph Hull's, at Peach Pond, in Dutchess county. Here I often rambled alone among the forests and over the green fields, indulging my contemplative turn of mind. The remembrance of these solitary walks is often revived, especially when I behold the places where the groves, and rocks, and birds, were the witnesses of my plaintive soliloquies, whilst viewing the beauties of nature; by which my thoughts were turned to reflect upon the infinite wisdom of the great Creator, and desires increased that I might live in his fear and partake of his favour. Notwithstanding this, the evil example of rude and wicked boys, by degrees, drew me to join with them in folly, and I often sinned, and felt great condemnation, frequently weeping for my misconduct. I heard the doctrine held up by the ministers of our Society, that the grace of God which bringeth salvation appeareth unto all men, and teaches the denying of all ungodliness and worldly lusts. I construed this, as though something would appear to condemn me and make me unhappy for my evil conduct, and sometimes after I had done wrong and was willing to think my actions were not very bad, I would presumptuously say to myself, "now if the Almighty is offended with me, I wish I could feel his inward reproof;" thus willing to justify myself by my own hardness of heart, while at the same time I was afraid my parents should know of my conduct lest they should correct me, for they had taught me to do better. I sought therefore to hide my conduct from them; but knew not that it was indeed the good Spirit of grace who enlightened my understanding, so far to see the evil of my ways, as to make me wish to hide them from man, not considering that the all-seeing Eye continually beheld me.



Samuel's want of experience caused him to run to Eli when the Lord called him, being a stranger to the Divine voice; and my ignorance left me in a situation somewhat similar, so that I did not consider the uneasiness I felt and the desire to hide my conduct, as proceeding from the reproofs of Divine grace. But, although I long remained in a state of ignorance, yet in process of time I came to know the voice of heavenly Wisdom. Eli instructed Samuel how to answer the Lord's call, and by obedience he became an eminent Seer in his day; and this induces me to think it right for parents and tutors to use great simplicity of language when instructing children, and to teach them to live in the fear of the Lord, though their capacities may not be so matured as to comprehend the sublime doctrines of the Gospel. For want of this knowledge, many are mere professors of the letter, while they deny the power, the spiritual appearance of Christ to the soul; when as the holy "Word which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword," he appears unto them, as he did unto Saul, whilst he was a persecutor of the disciples of our Lord. When Saul knew who it was that thus pierced and smote him, and gave up in obedience to his requirings, He became to him and his fellow labourers, as he expresses himself, "Christ in you the hope of glory." Nominal Christians, while ignorant of his power, may satisfy themselves with a belief in an imputative righteousness, and say much about the merits of the Redeemer; yet if they do not obey him, but live and act in opposition to his teachings, it may be said of them, that they persecute the dear Son of God, as Saul did; who was zealous in his way, yet ignorant that redemption was obtained through faith in Jesus Christ, the Lord from heaven. It is his "quickening Spirit," that brings man under condemnation for transgression; and as a faithful witness, teaches children, even in their early days, to know good from evil; and were suitable examples set before them, instead of evil, joined with pious labour by parents and guardians, to train up children in the fear of the Lord, and turn their attention to this inspeaking word of Divine grace, they would, I believe, be more likely to choose the ways of piety and virtue, than the more frequented ways of the wicked, which lead down to the chambers of death. We are the descendants of Adam, who, through disobedience fell; and "are by nature children of wrath, even as others;" and if we continue to disobey the voice of the Lord, which teaches us "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God," we shall become as some in the apostles' days, who "were dead in trespasses

and sins," "walking according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, who worketh in the children of disobedience." From disobedience to Divine instruction spring all the evils that are in the world, and the prevalence of evil examples is such as to draw away the minds of young people, as with "cords of vanity;" pressing them onward as a mighty torrent that cannot be resisted by the strength of man. "But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, saith the apostle, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; by grace ye are saved."

Here we see the infinite condescension of Divine Goodness, who declares by his servant, the prophet Ezekiel, "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, and not that he should return from his ways and live?" "The wages of sin is death," but life is obtained through Jesus Christ, who was sent as a light to enlighten the Gentiles and for God's salvation to the ends of the earth. But if men hate the light, because their deeds are evil, and will not come to it or have faith in it, but continue in their evil ways, they are circumstanced as Jerusalem was formerly, when Christ, in his expostulation with her, says, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." It is evident, therefore, that those opinions are fallacious and deceiving, which induce people to think that the work is accomplished by Christ's sufferings on the cross merely, without their endeavouring to follow him in the way of redemption, as they have him for an example. Through him, the quickening Spirit, man has access unto the Father, who is "faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." It is a precious experience to have faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who said "I and my Father are one;"—and of whom the apostle John saith, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God:" "He that hath an ear let him hear. It is the Spirit that quickeneth, saith Christ, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." If our hearts are sincerely directed to him as the Emmanuel, "God with us," and living under his government, we shall know by happy experience, that "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." Christ is then, to us, the way, the truth and the life, and we witness redemption from evil and receive strength to walk in the highway

of holiness, where the unclean is not found, nor any ravenous beast; a way so plain, that the way-faring man, though a fool, may not err therein; and by which "the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion, with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads—they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

The condemnation I felt for evil was great, and I clearly saw, that I must forsake evil company if I ever became what I desired to be. Sometimes I left my playmates and spent my time reading to my aged grandmother, by which means I early read Sewel's History of the rise and progress of Friends, as well as other books of a similar character, which had a good effect upon my mind. I was often tendered at the recital of the cruel sufferings, inflicted upon those who stood faithful to the testimonies given them to bear for the Truth on earth. Frequently after reading, my mind would be absorbed in serious meditation, and a belief was gradually settled upon it, that if I lived to be a man, I should espouse the cause for which they suffered. But the instability of human nature was evinced in my subsequent conduct. These seasons of tender visitation were soon forgotten, and by associating with wicked boys, I found my inclination to evade the cross increased, and it became very unpleasant to me to be called a Quaker. I avoided the use of the plain Scripture language of thou and thee, and much wished to change my dress so as to conform to the custom and fashion of the day; but in this I was not indulged by my parents, they being careful to keep their children plain while young, and not to suffer them to attend places of diversion, which care I believe was of use to us, though we thought at the time that we were hardly dealt by.

The difficulties which preceded the war of the American revolution had now commenced, and as they increased, our situation became more exposed to danger. My father was extensively engaged in mercantile business, importing goods and selling them to his customers on credit, which was then the usual mode of conducting trade, by which he became involved in difficulties. Being anxious to secure the monies due to him, in order that he might meet his engagements, his time was so occupied that he had little opportunity to watch over his children; and our mother not having the same authority over us, we took great liberties, going when and where we pleased. The city at this time was crowded with soldiers, newly raised to oppose the British ministry in their attempts to tax the colonies, and I was delighted with the sound of the drum and the martial appearance of the soldiers. I

eagerly sought their company, and often spent most of the day in the barracks and encampments. Amid the corrupting examples which I there found, I lost ground in best things, and being fired by the kindling flame of strife, was at times ready to regret that I was too young to take a part with my countrymen, being as thoughtless respecting the unlawfulness of wars and fightings, under the Christian dispensation, as the poor soldiers, rioting and living in wantonness, were, of the fate which awaited them. Most of the poor fellows with whose company I was so much taken, were soon after killed in battle, or taken prisoners and thrown into jails, where they died miserably.

It being apprehended that the British would storm the city of New York, many of the inhabitants retired into the country, among whom were my father and his family; young as I then was, the situation to which we were reduced had an humbling effect on my mind. We sailed up the East river to Sawpit, and from thence some of us went on foot to Purchase, where my uncle Joshua Franklin lived; and I well remember the sympathy manifested by some of the inhabitants on the road, who called us into their houses to rest and offered us refreshments. The recollection of these calamities has often caused tears to flow from my eyes, our flight from New York being but the prelude to greater sufferings. At my uncle's we found an asylum for a short time, and then my father hired part of a house, in which we lived but a few months in the year 1776, when a battle was fought by the contending parties at White Plains, and the American forces under General Washington being routed, we were obliged to seek a more retired dwelling-place, our house being so filled with sick and wounded soldiers, that we were obliged to step over them, as they lay on the floor, in passing about on the common business of the family. We procured an old house at Ridgefield, in Connecticut, which, though built for a dwelling, had been occupied as a barn, and moved there in the fall of the year. Here my mother and seven of her children spent the winter, mostly without the company of my father, who was necessarily absent attending to his business. I was in the twelfth year of my age, and being of a delicate constitution and tenderly brought up, I found the fatigue and hardship we had to endure very trying to my nature. Although we had the means of purchasing fire-wood, yet the men in the neighbourhood being mostly engaged in the war, we could get little more than what my younger brother and I procured from the forest by our own labour; and not having been accustomed to the use of

the axe, we made out but poorly. We struggled along through the winter, and constantly attended Friends' meeting at Peach Pond, which at that time was pretty large on first-days; and before spring my father purchased a farm and mills in the town now called Stanford, about forty-five miles from Ridgefield, to which we commenced our removal as soon as the roads became settled.

A few days before our family were ready to take their departure, the British troops landed and burnt the stores collected by the Americans at Danby, as well as the town, after which they proceeded up the country within a few miles of us, so that we were apprehensive of being prevented from following our goods, which had been sent forward to our new residence. We staid one day anxiously awaiting the approach of the army, whose progress was marked by rapine and bloodshed; but they took another road, and on the day following we arrived in safety at our proposed habitation. As this is a place in which I have seen much to admire, and passed through many scenes, of a pleasing as well as peculiarly painful nature, I purpose to record some of these in my simple style, that such of my descendants as survive me, may know how marvellously the Lord hath dealt with me, both in mercy and in judgment.

In the fourth month, 1777, I arrived with my father's family at Stanford. The country then presented a wild and uncultivated appearance, only a small part of the land in the neighbourhood being cleared, and many of the fields enclosed with the logs which had been cut off of them. There were but two families of Friends near us, viz: Benjamin Hoag and Paul Hoag from New England, and most of the other inhabitants were of the rougher sort. A small meeting of Friends was held about four miles from us, in a log house belonging to Paul Upton, who with his wife Phebe Upton, have been valuable members of our Society from their first settlement here, and were truly as a nursing father and nursing mother to many who have been brought forth in religious services. I can bear testimony to their worth from the fresh remembrance of their pious and affectionate care over me, kindly, though prudently noticing me in my first coming forth in the ministry. The meeting was often attended by a number of raw, rustic looking people, most of whom were not Friends; and they would often gather together near the house, before the meeting time, and engage in disputes about the war, sometimes with high words and angry looks; but when the appointed hour came, Phebe Upton would come to the door and inform them; upon which all controversy would

cease, and the company set down with apparent reverence to wait upon the Father of mercies. There is good reason to believe, that many of these persons were sincere hearted, for some of them who were not then members of our Society, afterward joined in religious fellowship, and became united in bearing a Christian testimony against war, by patiently suffering the spoiling of their goods. When I consider that our meeting was then mostly held in silence, and look at the wide spreading of the Society in those parts and elsewhere, and the new meetings set up, I am bound to say, Surely it is the Lord's doings and marvellous indeed.

I frequently listened to the disputes I have mentioned and felt an interest in them, yet the impropriety of such engagements just before sitting down in meeting, appeared great; and although, through adorable mercy, all were not carried away from the fear of the Lord, yet there is reason to apprehend that many were hurt by them. It is but justice to the memory of my father to say, that I never knew him to be present at any of them: he was a man of sound discretion and exemplary in his conduct and conversation, even before he was evidently brought under the government of religious feeling.

I do not think I derived much benefit for several years from attending meetings, having so lost the precious tender feelings I had been favoured with in former days, that perhaps few went to them in a state more insensible to good than myself, and I was always glad of an opportunity of staying from them, choosing rather to be rambling about with idle boys. The meeting however increased, and the house becoming too small to accommodate those who met, it was removed to Elijah Hoag's, and was held in his barn during the summer, and in his dwelling-house through the winter. Soon after this it increased so rapidly, that Friends built the stone house now called "the Creek Meeting," which was the first settled in Nine Partners, west of the creek. From this a meeting was set off and held at the house of Obadiah Gifford, at Little Nine Partners, and in a few years, another branch was established at Crum Elbow.

About the sixteenth year of my age I was again favoured with serious impressions. My father had come forth in the ministry, and we began to have the company of Friends who were travelling in the service of the Gospel; and beholding the seriousness of their demeanour and the sacrifices they made in these acts of dedication to the cause of religion, together with the great sufferings of Friends, by reason of rapacious men who distrained their property, because they would not violate

their peaceable testimony, my heart was deeply affected. I thought of what I had read when a child, of the sufferings of Friends in the beginning, and my judgment was convinced that those who stood faithful now, were upon the same foundation; and that wars and fightings were in opposition to the precepts of the Gospel, which teach us to do unto others as we would have others do to us. I now lost that martial spirit which had so much actuated me at the commencement of the war—my love for Friends increased, and I delighted to go to meetings. Several young Friends had lately come forth in the ministry in a lively manner, and others who were more experienced, travelling to and fro in that work—we often had their company at our meetings, and large numbers of people not of our Society attended them, and the work of Truth prospered. Some who had been oppressors of Friends, and others who had been of bad conduct, became serious, joined the Society and continued to be useful members.

In taking a retrospective view of my past life, I saw that I had lost ground, and bewailed myself as one astray in a waste howling wilderness—I was afraid to be alone, or in the company of good people, for I thought they could discern my situation and would reprove me; and indeed their very looks seemed to administer reproof to me. So sensible was I of the loss I had sustained, that I was ready to conclude I should never obtain forgiveness; but in process of time I felt a secret hope raised in my soul, that, like the prodigal, I should be received into favour, for which I was very thankful, and a belief arose in my heart, that one day I should bear a public testimony to the goodness of Israel's Shepherd, who careth for the lost sheep. My love to my friends increased greatly, and I delighted to be in their company, although the natural diffidence of my disposition prevented me from entering into conversation, and I rarely spoke, except to answer a question or to deliver a message; and I often admire at the confidence of some of the young people, when I observe their forwardness and wish to take the lead in conversation. My mind was often filled with the love of God, which overflowed toward my fellow creatures, so that it seemed as if I could lift up my voice like a trumpet, to declare unto others the goodness of the Lord, and invite them to come and partake thereof.

Whilst under the preparing hand for the ministry of the Gospel, I was preserved from running before I was sent, and from giving to others what was designed as food for my own soul to live upon, which it is to be feared some have done to their own great hurt, compass-

ing themselves about with sparks of their own kindling, and in the end have had to lie down in sorrow. Such do not profit the people, but run into disorder and cause confusion. God is a God of order, and leads out of all confusion and mixture, into beautiful order and harmony, so that his church becomes "as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid."

The revolutionary war continuing, the sufferings of Friends greatly increased. They were stripped of nearly all their personal property, and sometimes where they had large herds of cattle, the last cow was driven away. But even wicked men respect consistency; and those who suffered most were such as had indulged too freely in political disputes and conversation, while the oppressors were evidently more favourable toward those who meddled not with the prevailing contentions, but patiently and quietly suffered as the peaceable followers of Him, who said, "My kingdom is not of this world." The collectors would frequently go away without taking anything from such; and when compelled to distrain, they manifested much reluctance.

My father built a falling-mill, in order to furnish me with employment, and with a view of having me instructed in the business, engaged a man who understood it; but there being little opportunity of choice, the person he hired was very objectionable in point of morals, and I was greatly exposed in his company. He was, however, soon dismissed, and I was thrown into other company. The man who next took the mill, had an interest in the proceeds of my labour, and kept me very closely at work, early and late, to which I quietly submitted, being desirous to learn the business. His unwillingness to permit my attendance at week-day meetings, was the only difficulty I met with from him.

The practice of employing immoral or irreligious persons in families where there are young children, is often attended with very injurious consequences to their tender minds. Parents who are desirous of training up their offspring in the fear of the Lord, should exercise great care as regards those they employ. I well remember the corrupting conversation and conduct of some who were engaged in my father's business, when he was altogether ignorant of what was passing. The sons of farmers who are left to labour with the workmen, without the presence of their parents, are in a particular manner exposed to contamination, many of that class being of the lowest grade, and hardened in wickedness. It is no less important that in the education of children, suitable teachers should be sought for. Greatly have the children, in many parts of the country, suffered from the want

of this care; too many being more anxious to obtain a teacher at a low rate, than to get one of good character, whose services may cost a little more; and hence some persons, who would rank among the dregs of mankind, have been entrusted with the oversight and tuition of tender children. One of this description, who had been a soldier in the British army, was employed in the neighbourhood where I lived, and from him I derived much of my small share of school learning. He would often leave his pupils under the care of one of the elder boys, while he spent his time at a tipping-house with his drunken companions, and returning to the school intoxicated, would beat the boys unmercifully, while his own face bore the marks of the blows he had received from his quarrelsome and inebriated associates. This, however, is a strong case, and I believe Friends are now more careful; and the concern to have suitable teachers, appears to be generally gaining ground.

While at work one evening in the cloth-mill, with the aforesaid person, word was sent to me, that my father wished me to come to the house. I immediately went, and found several Friends there, who proposed a religious opportunity with the family. When I found what I was wanted for, I felt disturbed in my mind, that my father should call me from my work, upon, what I then thought, such a trifling occasion, and I could scarcely speak pleasantly to the Friends. But soon after we sat down together, the power of Truth spread over us, and the Friends were enabled to speak so plainly to my situation, that my spirit was broken into tenderness, and when I left the house tears flowed from my eyes. Reflecting on the solicitude of my dear father for my everlasting welfare, and on the goodness of the Ancient of days, in that he did not leave me in the hardened state of mind I was in, when I went into the room, my heart was humbled; and I entered into solemn covenant with the Lord, that if he would pass by my offences, I would endeavour to be mindful of his favours and walk more worthily. At another time, my mother reproving me for levity, I replied to her in rather unhandsome terms, at which I saw she was grieved. This affected me much, so that I wept to think how thoughtless I was, fearing I should be cast off by the Almighty, for my ingratitude to her who had done so much for me.

From the time of the aforementioned opportunity in the family, the work of religion seemed to take root in my mind. I could not take the liberties I had formerly done in vain and idle conversation, but seriousness covered my mind for many months, and I was glad

when the meeting-day came. I remembered my former covenants, and wept in secret at the remembrance of how often I had broken them. Frequently, in the silent hours of night, when all nature seemed slumbering, I sat ruminating on my sad situation, thinking no poor mortal was so miserable as myself. Yet I had none but myself to blame for it, knowing I had very often been favoured with the sweet incomes of heavenly love, which I had slighted, running after the follies incident to youth. At other seasons, the Beloved of souls was pleased to renew the offers of his love in my heart, and I was filled with joy and rejoicing. Thus I continued through the time of my apprenticeship, which being expired, I undertook the management of the business myself, diligently attending meetings, sometimes walking four miles over the mountain; and I was often much comforted while we sat together, and could return to my employment rejoicing.

In the eighteenth year of my age, I became acquainted with Sarah, daughter of Edward Hallock, of Marlborough. The first time I saw her, I thought she was the person with whom I should be willing to spend my days, but being young, I was not hasty to move in the matter, but frequently contemplated upon it, and at times felt humble desires, that if it was right, I might have her for my companion, and that the Lord would prosper us in the undertaking. In the year 1785, we took each other in marriage, under a sense, I trust, of the importance of the solemn compact; the meeting being favoured with the overshadowing of Divine Goodness.

For nearly two years after our marriage, I was greatly tried with a spirit of unbelief, and sometimes was near giving up to close in therewith, but being blessed with a pious wife, she proved a true help-meet to me, both in my religious progress and in the cares of life.— Few men have been more blest in this respect than I was.

In the year 1786, I began to keep a diary, and although it is written in much simplicity, yet I feel disposed to transcribe some parts of it, to show the deep exercises and conflicts of spirit I passed through. I was often impressed with a belief, that I should have to stand forth as a public advocate for the cause of Truth, and at times the flowings of Gospel love so filled my heart, that I seemed as if I could not hold my peace; yet when the Divine intimations pointed thereto in our religious meetings, I withstood them, which brought darkness over my mind. The following extracts are taken from the diary, viz:

1786, third month, 16th. This day I have entered my twenty-second year. I have not

been duly sensible of the favours of the Lord to me, and at times a fear fills my mind, that if he should cut the thread of my life, and number me with the silent dead, I should not be admitted among the blessed. Great indeed are my trials, but my faith is renewed, that the grace of God is sufficient for me. May I love the Lord more, and be thankful for the least of all his manifold favours.

17th. At our Monthly Meeting, the advice given by a ministering Friend to those under trial, was, that they should patiently wait and quietly hope. O that I may be one of the number of those who do so. I hope the time will come, when I shall serve the Lord with all my mind and all my strength, and not fear man. May I more and more come to know myself, and how to conduct before the Lord.

19th. During the forepart of the meeting this morning, I sat destitute of good. Fears arose in my mind that a Friend spoke too harshly to the youth.—There needs a care that they are not driven from our meetings by needless severity. The latter part of the meeting proved a heavenly and blessed season to me, several Friends being engaged to speak in a manner which relieved my poor soul; blessed be the name of the Lord.

24th. I have not been sufficiently engaged in looking to the Father of mercies, although I trust not altogether unmindful of his favours. O, Lord God Almighty, be pleased to pity and not to cast me off—thou seest my instability—one day bowed in humility, then levity prevails, and I seem to soar away, not knowing whither.—Whom have I to look unto for help, but thee only? Thou knowest I am no longer safe than while on the watch—keep me sensible of this, I pray thee, and suffer me not to go astray—grant me the favour of thy presence, and that my affections may be loosened from temporal, and placed on heavenly things.

Fourth month. Attended our Monthly Meeting, which was a memorable time, the spirits of many present being tendered under the powerful and living ministry of John Storer, from England.

Fifth month, 2nd. This day the love of God and the love of the world, have alternately been presented to my mind, with an intimation to make my election between them. What is poor man if left to choose for himself. O Lord! I pray thee, leave me not—thou knowest what is best for me, better than I do for myself. I desire to cleave close unto thee—O when shall I come before thee without spot or blemish.

7th. Staid away from meeting for too light a reason, and repaid poverty.

11th. This day renewed my resolution to

serve the Lord my God. But what are all my resolutions! now as fresh and lively as the flower in the field; to-morrow, withered and faded away! Thus it has been with me for years; at times filled with heavenly love, then poor, ah, poor indeed, even when my desires have been to do right. Art thou, O my soul, serving a hard master? No, this state of poverty is the result of thy disobedience. I have partaken of too many mercies to think the Lord is an hard master. He is a God full of compassion.

24th. While attending our Yearly Meeting at Westbury, on Long Island, about one hundred miles from home, I heard of a melancholy accident which had occurred in our neighbourhood, by the explosion of gunpowder, killing a Friend and injuring other persons. The remembrance of my dear wife and child, and the reflections on this sad event, raised fervent desires, that I and my family may so live as not to fear death. O, Lord God Almighty, I pray thee, in the riches of thy mercy, lay thy hand upon me, for I have need of thy help; without thee I can do nothing. I long to be in thy hand, that I may serve and worship thee acceptably.

In the autumn of this year, I penned the following remarks, the exact date, I cannot now give, it being mislaid.

Of late I have suffered much, for not giving up publicly to advocate the cause of Truth. It was the cross I stumbled at, reasoning myself into the conclusion that I was the least qualified of any that ever appeared in meetings, and that the work was too great for me. I thought I had rather die than give up to it, and thus darkness covered my mind, and I was ready to conclude I had been under a delusion in thinking myself called to the work. But through the renewed mercy of my God, I was enabled to say that I truly loved him, and was desirous to serve him; and after a close conflict of spirit, I covenanted that I would give up and be obedient, if the command was again given forth. But when I came to meeting and saw my former young companions, a fear seized me, and I again gave way to reasoning, so that I returned home in great distress of mind.

A few weeks after this, as I sat in meeting, during the fore part of it, I seemed quite insensible of any good, and found it hard work to keep from falling asleep, a trial unusual with me; when a Friend stood up and spoke of the situation of the children of Israel, in their journey through the wilderness, showing that through disobedience, many fell and perished. Suddenly a voice intelligible to my inward ear, sounded in my soul, as if it were the voice of a man, saying, "Thou art in



great danger of being lost in thy rebellion." Great, indeed, was the consternation I was thrown into; a trembling seized my frame, which I endeavoured to hide, but could not, and Friends who sat near me noticed my situation. In this awfully awakened state, the language of my heart was, "Lord, do what thou wilt with me, I am willing—Come life, or come death, I will give up all for thy sake, and to be received again into thy favour." And the Lord, who is not slow to hear, nor yet in showing mercy, condescended to appear as a morning without clouds, comforting my mind in an extraordinary manner with his love, and spreading over it a sweet calm. Then I saw clearly that it was required of me to kneel down and publicly acknowledge the goodness and the invincible power of God, which causes the tall cedars to bend and the sturdy oaks to bow; and being fully sensible of the mercy of God from the love which then filled my heart, I was made willing, and falling upon my knees, uttered with an audible voice, a few sentences to the above import. Oh! then, inexpressibly precious, yes, inconceivable to the natural man, was the ushering in of peace and joy to my mind. Language is insufficient to set forth the sweet serenity I partook of for several days; it seemed as though I had become the inhabitant of another world, and left all my sorrows and perplexities behind me. My work was pleasant, more so than ever before, and I now concluded I had got to the end of my toilsome journey through the wilderness, and had entered the heavenly Canaan. But, alas! I found I had only just entered on a field of arduous labour, and had greater trials yet to endure than any I had heretofore known. Notwithstanding the marvellous display of Divine power that humbled and brought me into obedience, and the peace that followed my submission, I again got into reasoning and lost the enjoyment I had known, even that peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

Twelfth month, 29th. Attended a very large meeting, where, I believe many were refreshed with dew from heaven; but as for me I was but a spectator, yet blessed be the name of the Lord.

Deeply sensible of my frailties and folly, I fear I have not been enough guarded and watchful. "O Lord, I pray thee, leave me not in the hour of temptation."

His Journal then continues, viz :

I did not suddenly lose the sense of Divine favour, but in consequence of indulging my natural reluctance to stand as a spectacle in meetings, I was left for a time in a beclouded state, and lost all enjoyment of heavenly good, as well as the confidence in Divine power,

with which I had been favoured; yet not without intervals of sensibility, like the breaking forth of the sun at times during a cloudy day. I was at these seasons made sensible of the offers of pardon, on condition of future obedience. But I reasoned against light and conviction, slighting the favours of which I had partaken, until I came to the miserable conclusion that religion was a cheat, something invented by designing men to captivate the simple. I read the Scriptures in a disposition to ridicule them, and sought to get rid of all my whims, as I was willing to call them; but, blessed be the name of Israel's Shepherd, I was followed with the reproofs of instruction; and the remembrance of my past enjoyment in the assemblies of the Lord's people, now in the days of my rebellion and poverty, caused me to feel his chastisements more keenly.

My life became a burden to me, and I was at times afraid to be alone, lest I might do myself some mischief; at other seasons I spent great part of the night alone, meditating on my past condition and present forlorn state. It was during some of these solitary hours, that I was again made sensible of the renewings of Divine visitation, by which my hard heart was broken, and I wept much. By little and little, I recovered that confidence I had lost in Divine power and the superintending care of the Most High, over man. On one occasion, as I was walking over a hill covered with trees, I saw a large one that had been struck by lightning. I sat down under it in silent meditation on the power of the electric fluid, thinking it but a common accident from natural causes, and that it was well I was not there at the time the tree was struck. As I thus sat, all my thoughts were stayed and brought into subjection, and an awful silence prevailing in my soul, a language intelligible to my mind, proclaimed within me, "Thou seest how awfully powerful the lightning is,—thus, as in the twinkling of an eye, I could deprive thee of thy existence." I was struck with amazement, and as I walked home, pondered what I had heard; and believing it was the voice of the Almighty, I felt a degree of reverence spring in my heart, as also of gladness, in thinking I was not wholly cast off. I was led to contemplate my past religious experience, and was strengthened to forsake my foolish consultations with flesh and blood; and feeling myself to be a poor creature, I resolved to seek afresh the favour of Him who is infinite in power and goodness. In our religious meetings, my mind was now sensible of receiving instruction from Him who is the Teacher of his people, and the Teacher of



teachers, qualifying servants and hand-maids to serve him in the ministry of the Gospel. In this weighty work I again engaged, about two years after my first appearance, and having now fully given up to it, I appeared pretty often in our meeting at the Creek, in Nine Partners. The meeting-house was large and frequently crowded, and though I often felt much reluctance at standing up, yet I considered that the intent of speaking was to be heard, and therefore, endeavoured to speak so plainly and audibly as to be heard by all. Now I again became a happy partaker of sweet peace and satisfaction in the Lord's work, yet not without interruption; as the following extracts from my diary will evince, viz :

Twelfth month 14th, 1788. Confined at home by indisposition, and have felt but little of the Father's love. Having heard of a public appearance in our meeting, but little expected, my own situation has been feelingly brought to my view, with fervent desires that the Lord will not forsake me. Some suppose that I have forsaken him, but the Lord sees not as man sees, he looks at the heart and knows that my desires are unto him, and that without his favour I cannot enjoy any real satisfaction, even in the midst of temporal blessings. Awake, O my soul, unto righteousness and sin no more, that with the saints, thou mayest feed on the bread of life. Thus being clothed in the robe of righteousness, the beautiful garment, and walking in newness of life, thou mayest worship the Lord in Spirit and in Truth. "Wisdom is justified of her children." But who are her children? Surely they only, who are endeavouring to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. Great and marvellous are the works of the infinite and incomprehensible Creator; great are his mercies to the intelligent part of his creation, and manifold the blessings bestowed upon them by him. How presumptuous is that man who can partake of these, and forget the gracious Giver! May the inconsiderate be awakened to think of these things, and no longer be living carelessly.

Second month 17th, 1789. In looking over our religious Society, there appears an encouraging prospect, notwithstanding the backsliding of some. Many are awakened both in Europe and America; some in Germany, and even in France, that dark land, where the craft of man has so long held the people in bondage. When I contemplate these encouraging prospects, and the examples of the obedient servants, I do not forget myself, who am wading along in a path where there are many hindering things. But I have a hope that the Lord will yet favour me with a more willing

mind, and suffer nothing to prevent me from obeying his holy commands; for truly, I love the ways of the Lord, better than I do the ways of man. "I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness."

19th. At our Quarterly Meeting, we had the company of three young men, who evinced a commendable zeal for the sacred cause of religion. They far outstrip me, at which I do not murmur, but am glad to see the work prosper, and rejoice to find that the Lord is raising up standard-bearers in Zion. May I take heed to my ways, and be faithful in my allotment. So enable me, Oh Lord, that I may stand in humility, with acceptance before thee.—I am grieved that so many of us are found spending our time unprofitably.

At our first-day meeting I was cumbered with many thoughts, until my dear father stood up with a living testimony, expostulating with the youth in a very pathetic manner. His words sealed instruction upon my mind which I desire never to forget.

About this time I was deprived of the society of Stephen Hoag, a young man whom I highly esteemed. He was received into our Society by conviction, and had appeared as a minister several times in our meetings; and being generally beloved, his death had an awakening effect upon many, and on me in a particular manner. I saw that my day's work was behind hand, and earnest were my desires to have it accomplished. I had many temporal blessings bestowed upon me, particularly a precious wife, with whom I was now settled in a neat, though small house, and we spent our time very pleasantly together. She was of a pious turn of mind, and our enjoyments were increased by the opportunity of reading religious books, the tendency of which, was to animate us to follow the footsteps of the righteous. Her father was for many years a constant attender of meetings for discipline, at Nine Partners, and we often had his company; and still more frequently that of my father, who was a truly valuable man, though naturally diffident and backward in company. My business was small, but I was contented. In the season of fulling, I was employed in my shop, and in the summer, in my garden; and with my small stock, consisting of one cow, a pig and some fowls, I envied not the rich nor the great. I believe there were few happier men than myself; but my happiness did not continue as it might have done, if I had not launched out into greater business.

1790. O Lord God of heaven and earth, I pray thee, in the riches of thy mercy, be pleased to look upon me from heaven, thy

holy habitation, for I am a poor unstable man, tossed about with prospects pleasing to my natural inclination, and which keep me from surrendering myself wholly unto Thee. Cast me not off, I pray thee, O thou holy One, but enable me to dedicate my all unto Thee and thy service. Condescend to baptize me, and re-baptize me, that I may be prepared to serve thee acceptably, for thou art worthy—Amen.

Ninth month, 5th. "Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him!" I am not worthy of the notice of the Most High, yet such is his condescension, that I have a little confidence given me to look up unto Him, and ask for his help to enable me to persevere in the way that is well pleasing unto Him, and not to run in the ways of my own choosing. May all that is in me be so humbled and reduced, as that I can truly say, in addressing the holy One, "Thy will, not mine, be done."

1791. Third month, 14th. My mind was sensible of the goodness of God. They must be unmindful of his manifold mercies, who are not willing to acknowledge his goodness. Such may go out into gainsaying, and thus be in danger of losing themselves in a labyrinth of reasonings. May I never forget the Lord's goodness—truly, he will receive all that turn unto Him.

Sixth month, 11th. Although I have often testified of the goodness of God, yet I am also bound to declare, that it is dangerous to tamper with his mercies, by living in idleness, unmindful of how much we owe him. We have need to watch daily and endeavour to keep the fire kindled in our hearts, that we may manifest a holy zeal for the Lord and his cause; and there is also a care to be maintained that we do not compass ourselves with sparks of our own kindling. I had rather be a poor but diligent waiter in the house of my God, than attempt to advance by my own strength.

22nd. O Thou, who regardest the poor and the afflicted, be pleased to remember the poor Africans, whom professing Christians are holding in slavery.

Eighth month, 18th and 19th. Attended our Quarterly Meeting, and was comforted in the belief, that there is a revival of ancient zeal for the maintenance of our Christian discipline. Near the close of this meeting, David Sands expressed that the impressions made on his mind were such, that he believed it right to declare, as the word of the Lord, "The people are too many—I will thin them—I will thin them—I will thin them."

23d. O that I may be more redeemed from the world and its spirit, and be enabled to look

up unto God with greater confidence in times of difficulty. I am now tried with the loss of property, yet not so much, I think, for this, as from the apprehension that I have not done as I should. O Lord, be pleased to pass by my offences, and receive me into thy favour again.

24th. "As with a sword in my bones, my enemies reproach me, while they say daily unto me, Where is thy God? Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise Him, who is the health of my countenance and my God."

29th. O Lord; I pray thee, leave me not in this pinching time, when trials assail me, which not only put my patience to the test, but my faith also.—I desire in humble dedication of heart to serve thee.

Ninth month, 1st. At our mid-week meeting, I felt it to be cause of thankfulness that so poor a creature as I am, should be favoured with Divine light, illuminating my mind to see the nature of prayer, and how it is to be acceptably put up to the God of my life.

7th. Attended our Preparative Meeting, where there was a united labour to encourage all to guard against a lethargic and drowsy disposition in meetings for Divine worship.

8th. Much engaged in my temporal concerns, and with too little sense of my heavenly Master's presence.

9th. Felt renewed encouragement to trust in God, with a hope that I shall be careful not to suffer my temporal concerns to engross too much of my attention.

12th. Notwithstanding I have so often been forgiven my sins and partaken of the Lord's mercies, yet to-day I suffered my natural temper to rise into anger, and this without any real cause. O that I may find a place of repentance for my folly.

13th. Too little sensible of my folly yesterday, being almost wholly engrossed in attention to my worldly concerns. When Balaam went forth to curse the Lord's people, and the angel met him with a rebuke, he said if his going offended the Lord, he would return. But, alas! he loved a reward and went forward. I fear it is thus with me: the riches of this world look desirable and I keep pressing on.

14th. Felt a humble hope that the Lord will again pass by my offences. O may I be found worthy to receive his continued mercies.

18th. At our first-day meeting we were favoured by Him who is in the midst of those that are gathered in his name.

22nd. Worldly mindedness prevailed over me, in our meeting to-day, and I was very dull and heavy. O how enchanting is the world, and how its profits load us as with

thick clay. What adheres to me may not prove a hindrance to another, but it greatly retards my progress heavenward.

Tenth month, 2nd. O, thou who knowest the hearts of all men, be pleased to look down upon me, and if my heart is not right before thee, cleanse thou it. Let not thine eye pity nor thy hand spare—I long to stand approved before thee, and to be preserved from disgracing thy holy cause.

12th. At meeting there appeared a living engagement among Zion's children, but I had scarcely strength even to rejoice thereat. In returning home I stopped to see a poor widow's son, who was badly wounded, and left them all the money I had with me, and though but little, yet it afforded me satisfaction.

14th. Blessed and adored for ever be the great God, the everlasting Father, who in great condescension was pleased to appear to my soul, while engaged in my workshop, and assure me that if I live in his fear and serve him, I shall not want for a provider.

15th. Received affecting intelligence of great mortality in the city of New York, and of an insurrection of the coloured people in one of the West India Islands, where several members of our Society are detained to assist in the defence of the town. I feel for them and their families; but have they not contributed to the calamity by encouraging the trade to those islands, which has been the inducement to the whites to increase the number of their slaves. Lord, have mercy upon blacks and whites!—How great are the cruelties practised amongst mankind, and to what a pitch have they reached! I long to have my mind more and more redeemed from the world, that I may leave it cheerfully if called away therefrom; yet I think I am also willing to live and suffer, if thereby I may be useful to my fellow-mortals.

19th. Poor indeed, and almost insensible of good, yet a hope revives, while I am writing, that I am not wholly cast off—I will therefore endeavour to trust in the Lord, and walk in true humility before him.

23d. At meeting, was enabled to invite the dear youth to come and partake of the rich dainties of the Lord's table.

27th. Felt the influence of a worldly spirit at meeting; and fear I shall lose ground unless I give up some of my business.

28th. My morning prayer was, that neither riches nor any earthly enjoyment might be able to separate me from the love of God.

Eleventh month, 10th. Greatly fatigued in business, yet I humbly hope I was not without a due regard for the concerns of religion. O thou, who knowest all things, if I have this day suffered my mind to go too far in plan-

ning worldly matters, I pray thee, suffer me not to accomplish my designs—leave me not to grope in the dark, lest I stumble and fall.

Twelfth month, 31st. The affecting situation of the enslaved and oppressed Africans, has much occupied my attention, and my hope is, that the great number of advocates who have appeared in behalf of their cause, will open the way for some relief.

The beginning of the year 1792, was to me a good time. I had an opportunity of accompanying a Friend who was visiting families in our part, and was also favoured with the company of many other precious Friends who were labouring in the Lord's vineyard. I frequently attended the meeting held at Little Nine Partners, where many who were not members of our Society gave us their company, for whom I felt strong desires that they might be wisely directed to choose the path of pure and undefiled religion. Several of them afterward became useful members of our Society.

In the year 1793, I travelled some short journies within the compass of our Monthly Meeting, which then included the members living at Hudson, Klinakill, Coeymans, &c.; and also accompanied Hannah Barnard to some of the adjacent towns in Connecticut. She had passed through much exercise of mind to prepare her for the work of the ministry, and evinced much love and zeal for the cause of religion. Although she lived forty miles distant from where our Monthly Meeting was held, yet she often attended it, and travelled some long journies in the work of the Gospel.

But after all her dedication to the Lord's cause, she fell away and caused Friends much trouble, imbibing and promulgating principles inconsistent with what she had once so zealously propagated, denying the literal accuracy of some parts of the Holy Scriptures, and rejecting the doctrines of the divinity and atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for which she was disowned from society.

Being a woman of high mind, and her gift procuring her much respect and attention where she travelled, she was weak enough to be carried away by vain imaginations and carnal reasoning—slighting the advice of her friends who loved her and saw the danger she was in. Several years before she quite fell away, I had fears on her account, having frequently been in her company, and had opportunity of seeing the temptation to which she was exposed. "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

Sixth month, 16th. A heavenly meeting, the sweetness whereof remained upon my mind through the day.

27th. At meeting, a watchword was sweetly sounded forth by a beloved sister, but drowsiness beset me until almost the very close of the meeting, when light and life prevailed.

28th. Near the close of this day, had a sweet time in humble contrition before the Father of mercies, and received strength to ask for the greatest of blessings, viz: true faith.

Seventh month, 5th. Took measures for a gradual retreat from much business.

9th. At a meeting with a Friend at Philipstown, where are several professors of Truth, who have greatly cumbered themselves by the love of the world, and the inordinate pursuit of riches. The meeting was a time of trial, but afterward we had a select opportunity with some of them, in which a degree of relief was obtained.

15th. Had the company of Richard Titus, a minister from Long Island, whose awakening testimony brought me into serious reflection upon the present situation of mankind,—which, if duly considered, might operate to arouse the careless professors to greater diligence in the work of salvation. While pestilence prevails in some places, famine and the sufferings attendant on war afflict others, the nations of Europe being generally engaged in a destructive war, and confusion and bloodshed prevailing in some of the islands by fire and sword, in the hands of the blacks.

Eighth month, 3d. My health not good, but I think relieved from much worldly mindedness, being made willing that the glory and beauty of the world should be stained in my view, and my mind more engaged in pursuing heavenly treasure.

28th. The cares of this life engaged my attention this day, yet not so, but that through marvellous condescension, I had a sweet time in spiritual communion with Him, who is the Alpha and the Omega—the praise is due to him. In this time of heavenly favour, I asked for strength to walk more uprightly than I had heretofore done, that so I might enjoy these favours more frequently.

Ninth month, 18th. Received the affecting intelligence of the death of that dear and eminent servant of Christ, Daniel Offley, who died in Philadelphia, of the malignant fever raging there. The remembrance of him is precious to me, his ministry having been instrumental in turning me into the paths of obedience.

21st. Received accounts of the death of two more ministers in Pennsylvania, and that two hundred persons were buried in the city in one day—my mind much affected under the consideration. A merchant of that city writes

thus to his friend in New York, viz: “Scenes like the present, destroy our relish for earthly enjoyments and the pursuit of wealth, in which I fear we have both been too much engaged. I feel very sensible of its having been the case with me, and I do not look back with comfort and satisfaction on my employment for some years back. No earthly good is equivalent to the loss or diminution of that peace and calmness, which flows from a faithful and upright attention to religious duties.”

27th. O Lord! I have need of thy help to bear up my soul and keep me from sinking, the heaviness of my heart is so great. And why it is so, I know not. If it be for my further refinement, good is thy will, O Lord! I am thankful that thou art mindful of me. Have mercy upon me, I pray thee, and set me in a place where I may praise thee. I am willing to leave all, and follow thee in the way of thy requirings. Although the cross has been in my way, so that I have not at all times given up, thou knowest I have not withheld through wilful disobedience. I know myself to be a poor weak creature, a mere worm in comparison to many of thy servants, whom thou sendest forth on thy errands. O be pleased to forgive all my short comings, purify me in what ever way thou, in thy wisdom, seest fit, that I may be received into thy favour, and be qualified to serve thee, who art forever worthy.

Eleventh month, 17th. A season of renewed favour and help at meeting; and agreeable news received from Philadelphia, that the fever is abating. In this month I visited the families of Friends, and others who attended our meeting at Stanford, held in my father's house.

In the first journey I took beyond the limits of our own Quarterly Meeting, with a view of having meetings with Friends and others, I was accompanied by my friend Samuel Upton. We rode to New Britain and had a comfortable meeting; from whence we proceeded toward Saratoga, to attend the Quarterly Meeting held at Easton. The inn, where we stopped to feed our horses, was much crowded, but I kept pretty much by myself, and was favoured to witness the goodness of the heavenly Shepherd to be great, his love filling my heart in an extraordinary manner, so as to leave the remembrance thereof fresh to this day. I felt encouraged to press forward, and late in the evening we arrived. After attending the Quarterly Meeting, we visited Pittstown, Adams, White Creek, Saratoga, Galway, New-town, &c., and came to a new settlement, on lands called Duane's Patent, where a few friendly people lived, who had sometimes sat together on first-days; but had

not been visited by any Friend before. With them and their neighbours, we had a precious meeting in the evening. Thence we went to Coeyman's Patent, and the snow not being beaten, we had nothing to direct us, for the greater part of the way through the wilderness, but some marked trees. From Coeyman's we returned home.

In the sixth month, 1794, accompanied by the same Friend, I set out on a visit to Friends of New England. At the Yearly Meeting at Newport, we met John Simpson and Daniel Mifflin, from Pennsylvania, and Joshua Evans of West Jersey. Harmonious labour in the Lord's cause produced a love for each other, and the meeting ended satisfactorily. Being the youngest amongst them, I was mostly silent, except at the public meeting on first-day, which was largely attended; and the Divine help afforded to the humble labourers, was known by me to my admiration. The meeting was frequently spoken of afterward as a precious one, and all the praise was and is due to our holy Helper.

After the Yearly Meeting we proceeded eastward, and took meetings at Portsmouth, Tiverton, &c., to Lynn and Salem. At these two places I was comforted, in finding several promising young Friends, some of whom I believed to be under the preparing hand for the work of the ministry;—great was the encouragement I derived from meeting with them, and the fervent prayer of my heart was, that the Ancient of days would bless them and keep them as in the hollow of his holy hand.

From Lynn we went to Newburyport, and had a meeting with the few Friends who resided in that vicinity. They were put in mind of the peculiar situation of Israel, when the Lord commissioned Gideon to go forth and fight his battles; and those in that meeting, who like him, felt themselves small, were encouraged to try the fleece both wet and dry, to see if the Lord had not a work for some of them to be engaged in, and which could only prosper as they were found obedient. Our next meeting was at Amesbury, which was a precious season—several of the youth were much tendered, and manifested a love for me, as a messenger of glad tidings to their souls. The day after, being the first of the week, I was at the fore and afternoon meetings at Seabrook. In the morning meeting I had to controvert an opinion that was spreading through these parts, that atonement being made for the sins of mankind, through the one great offering, viz: the sufferings and death of Christ on the cross, it was impossible for any to miss of heaven and happiness. The danger of this doctrine, and the nature of true faith in Christ, were clearly set forth,

and the people invited to submit to him in his spiritual appearance, so as not only to believe in his outward coming, in the prepared body, in which he came to do his Father's will, but also to know him, as the apostles and primitive believers did, to be "Christ in them the hope of glory." Many not of our Society being present, and feeling love to flow in my heart toward them, at the close of the meeting, I expressed my satisfaction in having their company, and requested them to attend in the afternoon, and to invite their neighbours. We accordingly had a very large company, many of whom it was said had never before been at a Friends' meeting; and although the subjects of ministerial communication were doctrinal, there appeared no dissatisfaction, the meeting ending under a precious solemnity, an evidence of the love of the heavenly Father, vouchsafed to us.

On second-day, we had a large meeting at Newtown, then went to Lee, and accompanied by Abigail Fulsom, who had a precious gift in the ministry, we had meetings at Dover, Kettering and Meaderborough. We had also a large meeting at the house of Richard Dame, where we sat nearly an hour in silence; the expectations of the people were great, for word had gone abroad that a boy was to preach, and I was sensible my friends were looking too much for my appearing, as very many not of our Society were present. I was reminded of the time when the host was encamped against Israel; and there seemed an anxiety in the minds of some of my friends, comparable to what there was when David was about to engage the champion of the Philistines, and Saul clothed him with his own armour. I felt as if this was put on me, but like David, I found it would not do. My spirit was mercifully brought into a holy calm, and I was willing to be a spectacle to the people, and my mind at length became invested with a concern, which produced a willingness to appear as David did, with the sling and the stone. Forever blessed be the name of Israel's Helper, he was with us, and the spirits of the Goliaths were measurably humbled; and there seemed a union of heart among the different professors, to offer up praises and thanksgivings to the Lord Almighty, and to crave the continuance of his regard toward us.

On our way from thence to Berwick, we dined with two young women, who had neither father nor mother living. I was comforted in observing their commendable appearance and conduct, and understood they were very diligent in the attendance of meetings, and in other respects were precious examples to youth who have had greater privileges. I love my young friends, but have been at times

grieved at seeing the raw and uncouth behaviour of some, and the no less unseemly affection of others; while the graces and charms of true religion were wanting. O, that the youth might be persuaded to fear the Lord, and thus escape the snares of death. From Berwick we rode to Falmouth; and although in the seventh month, the frost was so severe, that the effects of it were very apparent on some of the vegetation.

On fourth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting at Falmouth, and the day following a satisfactory appointed meeting in the new village of Portland, a few Friends having settled there.

On sixth-day, had a large meeting at Windham, after which we went to Durham, and put up with our ancient and valuable Friend, Jeremiah Hacker, whose kind attention was very grateful, especially as I was unwell. Next day attended their meeting, though in much pain of body. The prospect of travelling further was now very discouraging; as my health was evidently declining; but trusting in the strengthening power of the Most High, we proceeded and attended a meeting at Bath. On our way to Vassalborough, we stopped at the jail, to see a criminal who was condemned to death, for an atrocious crime. He appeared very penitent, and remarked, that he believed it must have been the Lord who put it into our hearts to visit such an abject creature as he was; expressing his sense, that the Lord's goodness was great; and my desires for him were, that he might experience forgiveness.

At Vassalborough, I was distressingly low in mind, and received but little strength from attending the meeting there; however, we had a very comfortable one at Fairfield, a newly settled place, and the most remote meeting held in these parts. My grief of spirit and inward suffering was renewed on returning to Vassalborough, and things which have since come to light there, have fully accounted for it.

Crossing the Kennebeck river, we had a good meeting at Winthrop, where a stream of heavenly love flowed through me to the people. After meeting, I incautiously laid down upon a bed, where a current of air blew upon me, by which I contracted a cold, with severe pain in my head and bones, which made riding difficult. We however got to Green, and put up at a house built of logs, and covered with strips of bark, which did not look a very commodious place to be sick at. I however got to bed, pensive and low in mind, and to add to my affliction, a violent gale of wind arose in a few minutes after, and blew off a part of the roof, while the rain descended in

torrents. My fever was very high and my anxiety of mind considerable; but through the merciful interposition of Him, who for the relief of his poor disciples formerly, arose and rebuked the winds and the waves, saying, "Peace—be still," all my fears were dissipated, and my mind became as quiet and resigned, as though I had been in my own house, surrounded by my family. I passed the night pretty comfortably, and the day following attended their meeting held in Cyrus Dean's house. He and his wife were young Friends, who with a few others, newly convinced, keep up the meeting. One of them was a woman of colour, the first of the African race I had taken by the hand as a member of our Society.

A meeting having been appointed for next day, feeble as I was, we attended it; and I felt the goodness of the holy Helper of his people; standing up with these words, "It is a common saying, that the world is full of fashion, and preaching and praying have become very fashionable in our day; although it is not my intention to rank them with the vain and foolish fashions of the world, yet there is reason to fear, some enter upon these engagements, without a valid commission for so doing." I then proceeded to set forth the difference, between those who were really called by Christ to the solemn work of the ministry, and such as have never known either the preparation or the call. Whatever the effect may be, I believe the opening was in Divine wisdom, and the help dispensed to me, from heaven, for I had words given me to my humble admiration. At the close of the meeting I was scarcely able to stand, and could not for some time get away from the people, who seemed much affected with tenderness of spirit. My fever now increased, and my appetite for food failing, and my dear friends Jeremiah Hacker and wife being about to leave me, I was brought very low—many discouragements presenting, with the probability that I might lay my bones in this country, never more to see my tender connexions. But, blessed be the name of the Lord, who is a place of sure defence, and as the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land, he graciously supported me, and the language of my spirit was, "Good is thy will—if thou seest meet that my labours should now terminate, thou knowest what is best for me." In a few hours my fever left me, and next day we rode to Falmouth, and the following day being their Monthly Meeting, I sat during the time of worship, but my fever coming on again I was obliged to return to our lodgings, at our kind friends John and Lydia Winslow's. I was now compelled to relinquish travelling, and was



brought very low in body, but was tenderly cared for by my host and hostess. Having at length recovered my strength, so as to be able, I attended Falmouth meeting, where my impressions were not of a very pleasant character. I have, however, a comfortable evidence, that I have endeavoured not to give any just occasion of offence in the testimonies I have had publicly to bear, being desirous to conduct myself as a servant of Christ, not seeking to embellish my ministry with the enticing words of man's wisdom, and to deliver my message to the people respectfully, they being my brethren.

My dear aged friend, Jeremiah Hacker, came to see me while confined here. He had been very kind in accompanying me through the wilderness journey in the eastern part of Maine, evincing a commendable zeal for spreading the principles of Truth. His company was particularly agreeable to me, a young traveller, and his conversation on religious subjects instructive.

Leaving Falmouth, we had a meeting at Jonathan Cobb's, at Gorham-town, where we parted with several kind Friends, who had accompanied us, and rode through a wilderness country to Sandwich, in New Hampshire. The inhabitants generally appeared to be civil and respectable people. In consequence of my late sickness, travelling was very difficult for me; but we found good accommodations at Sandwich, where we were kindly received. One Friend, at whose house we were, entertained us with a great deal of conversation about the disputes he had had with priests and professors, and the victories he had obtained over them in argument; which to me was very unpleasant, as I saw the man valued himself on his supposed abilities to foil his opponents; whilst he was unwilling to come under the government of the Prince of peace. I left the company and sought retirement, looking toward home with strong desires to proceed thither by the nearest route, and leave the rest of the meetings which I had had in prospect. But strong as these desires were, the love of my heavenly Father was stronger, filling my heart, and turning it toward Gilmanton, to which I gave up and concluded to proceed that way. Next day attended Sandwich meeting, where many Gospel truths were declared in the hearing of the people. At the close, a Baptist minister cavilled at what I had said, and went into a train of reasoning to prove water baptism an ordinance of Christ, demanding my assent to his positions, without giving me, or any other Friend, an opportunity to reply to him. I turned to the Friend who was to accompany me, and inquired the route we were to go;

upon which the preacher stopped. I then turned to him, and observed I had no inclination to dispute with him, for two reasons; the first was, that I had a considerable distance to ride that evening; and the other was, that I had met with persons who had a peculiar way of darkening counsel by words without true knowledge; to dispute with whom, was to little or no advantage; and I apprehended it would be the case now. I afterward understood, the man was of a contentious disposition. To be ready at all times to give the sincere inquirers a reason for the hope that is in us, is necessary and proper; but it is also a part of true wisdom, to guard against controversy with contentious persons.

At Gilmanton, we had a good meeting, many professors of different societies attending; where I was led to speak of the nature of a free Gospel ministry, and to show that, although those who had spent much time and money in obtaining an education at colleges and academies, might plead that as an excuse for taking pay for preaching, yet such only were true ministers, as had been taught in the school of Christ, and been called by him. These were bound to obey the charge of their Divine Master, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and it became unto them as their meat and their drink to do the will of their heavenly Father.

From Gilmanton we proceeded toward home, on reaching which, my heart was bowed in reverent thankfulness, for the favours vouchsafed to me through the journey; and that Infinite Goodness had been mindful of my beloved wife and children, during my absence, so that I found them in health, and my desires were, that I might endeavour to live worthy of such favours. After my return, I was reduced very low by sickness; but was favoured to feel the answer of well done good and faithful servant, as respected my labours; but I saw that I had been too anxious to return home, and that it would have been better for me not to have returned so soon,—but as my omission was more from a fear of running where I was not sent, than from wilful disobedience, upon resigning myself to return and finish what might be required of me, I found peace. As my health and strength returned, I carefully attended meetings at and about home, and in the following spring I proposed to return and finish my visit in New England. The prospect of the undertaking, together with the reluctance I felt at leaving my precious family, at times almost overcame me; yet I dare not give up the attempt. My uncle, Paul Upton, concluded to accompany me, and after an affecting parting with my dearest connexions in

life, we rode to Salisbury, where I slept sweetly all night, a favour I had not enjoyed for some time, which with the peaceful serenity that covered my mind as I rode along, was a confirmation to me that my movement was in the counsel of the blessed Head of the church.

We arrived at Newport previous to the opening of the Yearly Meeting, in 1795, which we attended; and the sight of many dear friends with whom I was acquainted; was truly comforting and reviving, and I was bowed under a sense of the preciousness of that fellowship which is witnessed by the truly baptized members of Christ's church.

After the Yearly Meeting we crossed to Conanicut Island, where we had a good meeting; then to Westport, South Kingston, and Perry, and on the following first-day visited the Indians who reside at Charlestown. Being directed to one of their elders, to consult about holding the meeting, I told him we were strangers, visiting our friends, and I thought I felt love enough for the Indians to induce me to come and have a meeting with them, and that if they were free to meet us, and sit down in our way, we should be glad to have a religious opportunity with them. He replied, he was very free and willing, but wished the meeting to be put off until next day, that more general notice might be given, as they were scattered in the woods, a number of miles round. As there were meetings of Friends coming on which we wished to attend, we could not wait; but I proposed that notice should be given for a meeting at one o'clock, which was done, and the love of the heavenly Shepherd was sensibly felt amongst us, uniting our spirits in reverence before Him, and many important subjects were brought before their view. Several of them expressed their satisfaction, particularly their elder, who said he believed the Lord had sent us to visit them, and hoped we would come again. After leaving them, I was led into a train of reflections on the present and past situation of the poor natives who inhabited this land before the Europeans came among them, when the seas, the rivers and the forests afforded them a plentiful supply of food; but now, by the encroachments of the whites, they are mostly driven back, to inhabit the distant and desolate wilds of America; and such of them as remain, are often reduced to great straits and difficulties. Certainly we who inhabit their former ample possessions, are in duty bound to assist them.

We rode to Westerly, and lodged at the house of Peter Davis, whose wife was a daughter of Benjamin Bagnall. We met with a kind welcome, though not to sumptuous accommodations; they attending to their domestic con-

cerns themselves, and evincing by their cheerfulness, that contentment is not confined to the rich or the great.

After attending the meeting at Westerly, we proceeded to Hopkinton, Richmond, Greenwich, Cranston, Providence and Scituate. In several of these meetings Truth rose into dominion. I felt my spirit bowed before the Lord, and my desires increased, that I might be more and more devoted to the cause of my heavenly Father; for the harvest truly appeared great, but the faithful, dedicated labourers few. We afterward attended Foster meeting, and rode home with our friend Rowland Green, who, with his precious wife, entertained us kindly. After spending a few days, we returned to Providence, and rested at Moses Brown's, and then attended meetings at Somerset, Taunton and Freetown, from whence we rode to Seconet, and stopped at a Friend's house, who was earnest to discourage our having a meeting there, saying it was a very busy time; we however obtained a meeting and it proved satisfactory.

Seventh month, 18th. Attended Acoakset meeting, which was small;—here I received agreeable accounts from my family, and was truly thankful to hear of their welfare. On first-day, 19th, was at a very large meeting at Centre, where Gospel power humbled the hearts of the people. After which we were at Newtown, Aponyansett, New Bedford, Acushnet and Long Plain; at the last of which was Samuel Wetherill, a preacher among those who had separated from Friends in Philadelphia, known by the name of Free Quakers. He had taken a voyage into these parts for the purpose of discouraging Timothy Davis from returning back to the Society of Friends. Timothy was once a favoured minister in the Society, but had separated from it, and drawn many away with him; but being made sensible of his error, he had offered an acknowledgment, condemning his conduct, and was reinstated in membership. Many of those whom he led away, are still exposed to trouble, particularly the dear youth, who are left to wander in the wilderness of this world, as sheep having no shepherd. But I believe a visitation of tender love is extended to them from on high, and in the meeting we had there, a good degree of its precious influence was felt, and strength given me to testify against the worship set up and supported by the will of man, and they were invited to the heavenly Father's house, where they might receive forgiveness and a plentiful supply of spiritual bread. After having several tendering religious opportunities in families, we returned to New Bedford, and embarked for Nantucket, where we attended the meetings, in company with

Joseph Cloud, who was also on the island. Returning to the main, we had a very precious meeting at Falmouth and proceeded to Sandwich, Yarmouth and Pembroke. Passing through Plymouth, where the first settlers of New England landed, we returned to Sandwich, with a view of having a meeting with the Separatists at Rochester, which was accordingly held in a house belonging to Friends, but now occupied by Benjamin Bump, the Separate preacher; and I hope it was not an unprofitable season.

On first-day we were at Long Plain meeting, which was larger than usual, and the testimony of Truth was borne against those liberties which lead away from the sure foundation; while a stream of consolation flowed to the mourners in Zion.

Whilst in these parts, my spirit was poured forth in humble desires, that the everlasting Father of all our sure mercies would be graciously pleased to remember my beloved family left behind, and that I might be preserved from going astray; and being renewedly enabled, through holy help, to commit them and myself to the Lord's keeping—I worshipped in reverence before him, and proceeded on my way to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Portsmouth. This meeting was held to our comfort and edification—Friends parting in much love and tenderness toward each other, and I thought I had never before so fully enjoyed the sweetness of Christian brotherhood.

I thought much of returning directly home, but could not feel quite easy to do so, although my beloved family, and in an especial manner my little children, often occupied my mind. Viewing their helpless, dependent condition, and the many dangers to which they were exposed, my feelings were much affected and my tears flowed freely; but after reviewing the motives which actuated me in leaving them, my mind became calm; and contemplating the help I had hitherto experienced from the merciful Helper of his people, enabling me to stand as an advocate for him and his Truth in the assemblies of the people, and that at times he had unfettered my mind from earth and earthly objects and concerns, and permitted me to behold Him, with an eye of faith, in his majesty and purity, the Almighty Being, the language was now raised in my soul, "Shall I now distrust his Omniscience and goodness, when I know that he regards even the sparrows! Nay, verily. Be merciful then, O Lord; be merciful to my poor little children, and do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto thee—I will serve thee." During this season, the situation of the dear children in some places I had visited was presented to my view; their parents anxiously

grasping after the treasures of this world, for purposes of earthly aggrandizement, while they neglected to train up their dear offspring in the fear of the Lord, or to improve and form their susceptible minds, so that they are too generally estranged from the Truth, as it is in Jesus, and brought up in great ignorance and rusticity and the parents having settled into a lifeless formality—though they may endeavour to train up their children in this form, and to enforce a compliance therewith; yet too often they are driven off from the Society, and the appearance of Friends quite lost among some; my heart was moved with pity toward them, and I thought I was made willing to pay them another visit.

My way now opened to return and attend several meetings, which were memorable seasons; after which I went to William Buffum's, with an intention of proceeding home; but my way seemed closed up, and my mind drawn another way. I accordingly attended Mendham meeting, and the day following had one at Cumberland; where I was led to contrast the different natures of the lion and the lamb; showing, that when man is actuated by the meekness and gentleness of the Gospel, comparable to the disposition of the lamb, his conduct is very different from what it is, when the lion-like spirit prevails. On our way from the meeting, the Friend who accompanied us as guide said, he was fearful the people would conclude he had informed me of the differences which existed in that neighbourhood, as I had so plainly struck at their conduct. This, with the peacefulness of mind I enjoyed, after several days of inward conflict, revived the belief that I was in the way of my religious duty, and that the Lord had not cast me off; which I sometimes greatly feared, while labouring under depression of spirits. As I had received no information respecting the state of the meeting, and the people were altogether strangers to me, I ascribed the favour to the condescending goodness and mercy of my holy Leader, whom I desired humbly to love and serve, both in heights and depths. In the evening I met with a Friend from the neighbourhood of my residence, who brought me the comfortable intelligence that my family was well, for which I felt thankful and afresh turned my thoughts to the work in which I was engaged, with fervent desires to be directed aright.

The day following being the first of the week, I attended an unusually large meeting of persons, mostly not members of our Society, which was favoured by the descendings of heavenly love, and Gospel truth flowed in an unobstructed stream. The Presbyterian meeting closing while I was speaking, many came

from it, and filled the house where we met, and a large number crowded round the doors and windows, which gave a good opportunity to spread notice of a meeting to be held there on the next fourth-day afternoon, for Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young.

I then had a meeting at North Bridge, which was mostly held in silence, to the disappointment of those who had followed us from Mendham. Our dear friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, having appointed a meeting for next day at North Bridge, and none being laid out for me, I staid and attended it with them, and we afterward had a very comfortable religious opportunity in the family where we dined. Deborah Darby was engaged in solemn supplication to the Father of all our mercies, that he would be pleased to strengthen us who were engaged in his service; after which we parted in near unity. May I ever conduct so as to witness more and more this precious favour.

Next day I was at Bolton meeting, which was a time of favour worthy to be remembered; especially by the youth present. After attending a poor meeting at Leicester, and having a comfortable religious opportunity with a sick woman, my uncle Paul Upton left me, to return home, and another Friend accompanied me to Richmond, where I attended their usual meeting and one held by appointment in the neighbourhood. I then proceeded up the Connecticut river toward Coos, in Vermont, and on the way lodged at a tavern, where was a pious young man, a traveller, who entered into conversation with me on religious subjects, and expressed his surprise on finding that I held views respecting war, and on some points of doctrine, which did not accord with his own. I told him I admired that such sentiments should be new to him, as he had informed me he was educated at college, and I understood Barclay's Apology was in the Library;—querying of him, "Didst thou never read it?" He replied, "No. But, there is a man near where I live, who has become crazy by reading it, so that our priest has advised us not to have any discourse with him." When we were about to part, I inquired of him where this crazy man lived, and he told me we should pass through the town on our way to Coos. I took his name, and on the day following called at the door of his house, and inquired, before getting off our horses, if he were at home. A woman who came to the door said he was not; on which the Friend who was with me proposed going on; but I said, I had rather stop and go into the house, suspecting the woman did not speak the truth. When we went in and sat down, the man came from another room and sat down by us, ap-

pearing very serious. I informed him that we were strangers in the country, and wished to know if he could inform us, where any of the people called Quakers lived. He replied, that he had heard there were some of that people living twenty or thirty miles to the northward, but had no knowledge of them, except from report—and then asked, "Are you of that people?" I answered that we were; on which he arose and took down Barclay's Apology from a shelf, saying, "Here is a book I have read, and my mind has become satisfied with the doctrines of the Quakers; but you are the first of the people I ever saw." The aforesaid woman, who was his wife, now appeared extremely agitated, her countenance bespeaking great dissatisfaction with our company, and upon her husband asking us to have our horses put up, and take some victuals ourselves, she hastily replied, "there is none for them." He very mildly said that they had enough in the house, but we excused ourselves, not being willing to increase the poor man's difficulties. He seemed very cheerful, asking us many questions, and making remarks as he turned to different parts of the Apology, from which we found he was fully convinced of Friends' principles. He had been a colonel in the militia, but had resigned his office, and was grieved that his sons, in opposition to his advice, continued to muster. We saw nothing like his being crazy, and found that the priest's advice arose from his fears that others might be led away from a dependence on himself; and such was his influence, that he had persuaded the people to think this poor man was in a state of mental aberration, not fit to be discoursed with. After spending about an hour with him much to my satisfaction, we proceeded and lodged at the house of Jared Bassett, attending their meeting next day. Joshua Evans and Joseph Hoag were also there; the former on his return from a religious visit to Nova Scotia—he was a meek and humble minded servant of Christ.

After another meeting in the Baptist meeting-house, we parted from our friends of this place, who are much tried by the preaching of a man, who had been a useful instrument in gathering a number of people in these parts, who go under the name of Friends, and are frequently visited by them; although but few of them are members. Those who joined our Society, did it in opposition to the advice of their preacher, who was desirous they should continue in a state of independence—declaiming against Friends and their meetings for discipline. His meeting has thus become divided and scattered, and is now broken up; those who stood firm having removed to other parts, where they could enjoy the company of

Friends; and his own wife, notwithstanding her attachment to her husband, has become a member, and is much esteemed.

On our way to the Monthly Meeting, we lodged at Montpelier, now the capital of the state; then there were but two or three small houses, besides the inn where we put up. As we were about to mount our horses in the morning, the inn-keeper told me there were a few friendly people in the neighbourhood, not members of our Society, who held a meeting, and he believed would be very glad to see us. I thought upon the subject, and feeling my mind strongly turned toward them, concluded to appoint a meeting in the house where they usually met. Our proposal was heard with gladness, and they exerted themselves to spread the notice in different directions among the new settlers, so that about the middle of the day a large number assembled, and the Master of our assemblies was graciously pleased to bless the opportunity. Several who were present soon after joined the Society, and a meeting was settled according to the order of Friends, which has continued ever since. Several came forth in the ministry, and have been useful labourers in the good cause. Our stay with them was short, as we had a prospect of attending the Monthly Meeting at Ferrisburgh, which we reached in season. Here I met my brother-in-law, Stephen Keese, who with several men and women Friends from Peru, had crossed Lake Champlain in an open canoe to attend this Monthly Meeting, to which they belong. We were rejoiced to see each other, and mutually refreshed in the meeting, through the kindness and condescension of our dear Lord, who, for the encouragement of his immediate followers, and all who should believe in his Divine power in after ages, declared "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." In these words he assuredly alluded to his Divine power or nature, as the Immanuel, not to his personal appearance in the flesh; precious and comforting as this was, when in the prepared body he went up and down in the land of Judea, healing the sick, and comforting the afflicted, and doing his Father's will. By his Divine power he comforted the mourners and bound up the broken hearted, as well as alleviated their outward sufferings in that day; and by the same living baptizing power, the faithful in all after ages have been comforted and saved; for, says he, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world!"

I visited the settlements of Friends on the eastern side of the lake, and then went over to Grand Island, where we had a good meeting with a few Friends and others who have

settled on that fertile spot; and then, in company with a number of Friends from Ferrisburgh and the island, we embarked in a canoe about two o'clock, P. M., for Peru, on the western side of the lake. The wind was light, but it soon increased and blew hard, which raised the waves so high, that when our tottering bark descended into the trough, we could not see the land. We however were favoured to reach the shore at Perry's landing before night; and being unable to hire carriage or horse to convey us, a part of our number set out to walk to the settlement of Friends. We found it extremely difficult to keep the road in the wilderness, the night being dark and the stars obscured by clouds. By the light of torches, made of the bark of birch trees, we succeeded in making our way until we got within a short distance of the settlement, when our torches were burnt out, and the inhabitants having generally gone to bed, there was no light in any direction to guide our steps. While consulting what to do in this awkward situation, the noise of geese convinced us that we were near the habitations of men; and one of our company hallooing, we were answered by a voice not far off, and by calling and responding we made our way through the wilderness to the house of John Keese, senior, where we were kindly received, and sheltered from the rain, which soon began to fall. Next morning I walked to Stephen Keese's, and met with my beloved sister Ruth, his wife. Although they had moved from a comfortable residence, and in conformity with the custom of new settlers, lived in a log house, yet they seemed to enjoy their home pleasantly. We were truly glad to see each other, and after having a meeting at the house of John Keese, senior, we set out with a view of getting back to Grand Island, the same day. But on reaching the shore, we had to relinquish the prospect, as the waves were running exceedingly high. We therefore walked to Plattsburg, where we found accommodations for the night, and the following day returned to the island, and thence to Ferrisburgh, having but one meeting on the way. From Ferrisburgh, I rode home, it being in the fall of 1795. Frequently in the course of my visit to these new settlements, the recollection of my home and the dear and tender connexions I had left there, greatly affected my mind, and on one occasion, being seated on a log in the woods, in a very pensive mood, I took out my almanac and was looking over the time I had been absent from my family, thinking also how long it would be ere I saw them, when my mind was impressed with a belief, that I must be at home on a certain day, which I marked in the book.

The belief that I must not let that time pass over, without reaching home, continued with me, and I accordingly arrived there in season, by which means I had the opportunity to see my dear father, who was taken from us by death in two days after. My being at home at that solemn time, was much to his satisfaction, as well as my own, he being very desirous of seeing me before I arrived. I cannot but believe, that the day was pointed out to me by the same Divine finger, that pointed out the way and time to proceed in the arduous journey; and have great cause to admire the care and kindness of the heavenly Shepherd, to whom my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises. I greatly enjoyed the company of my beloved wife and tender children, for whose support I willingly entered into my business, although bereaved of a parent who had been a counsellor to me in my inexperienced days, and in maturer years an encourager to dedication in the Lord's work. When I reflected on the difficulties and trouble he had in the latter part of his life, in consequence of the situation of his temporal concerns, it was a comfort to me that I had not contributed thereto, but in conjunction with a younger brother, had taken charge of his affairs, by which he was released from the cares of business, and enjoyed much satisfaction and ease some years before he was removed to a more permanent and unmixed state of being, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary soul is for ever at rest. The removal of my dear father was not more sensibly felt by any one, than myself, in regard to encouragement in endeavouring to promote the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he had been an example of meekness and dedication, and was frequently concerned both in public and private, to stir up others to a faithful and humble engagement for the support of the testimonies that are to be maintained by the members of the militant church. That, pleasant as it was to me once more to engage in domestic concerns, it was with desires that I might at all times give the preference to those of a religious nature, when the impressions with which my mind was favoured from a Divine source, pointed to such services, either at home or at a distance from it.

With the approbation of my friends, I frequently appointed meetings in the afternoon of first-day at neighbouring meeting-houses, school-houses and private dwellings; these meetings were generally large, and through the Lord's blessing on the labour, some were constrained to join in membership. Unto Him who giveth the increase is all praise due!

In the fifth month, 1799, on first-day morn-

ing, in much tenderness of spirit, I parted with my affectionate wife and dear children, and set out to pay a religious visit to Friends and others in some parts of the southern and western states. Having no companion, I rode along in a solitary state of mind toward Crum Elbow. On the way I stopped to take leave of a Friend's family; after doing which, the Friend took me into another room and opened a drawer which contained his money, and requested me to take as much as I would, to help bear my expenses. This I declined doing, on which he took up a handful of pieces, and urged me until I accepted them. We then parted, but I soon felt uncomfortable, thinking of the charge given by Christ to the apostles, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and I thought that, if through the grace freely bestowed upon me, I was engaged to preach the Gospel, it would be no more consistent for me to make a gain of the Gospel, by receiving gifts which were the effect of the place I had in the affections of my friends, in consequence of the gift dispensed to me and occupied to their comfort and edification, than to make a trade of preaching. Therefore, though I believed the Friend's motives were good and his gift the result of true friendship, I returned the money on the same day, with a due acknowledgment of his kindness.

After attending meeting at Crum Elbow, I crossed the Hudson river, and rode to Edward Hallock's, father to my dear wife—who accompanied me to New York, taking meetings on the way at Newburgh, Cornwall, Smith's Clove, and one appointed at Tappan. My mind was drawn in Gospel love toward the inhabitants of some other places through which we passed, but as the Yearly Meeting was at hand, time did not admit of our stopping, yet we were not without humble prayers to the Lord of the harvest, that he would be pleased to send forth more labourers into his vineyard.

The Annual Meeting proved a season of Divine favour, much love and harmony uniting the hearts of Friends, with desires for the preservation of all in continued faithfulness in our different allotments. We had the help and company of Gervas Johnson from Ireland, and of John Hoskins and others from Philadelphia. In the evening, after the close of the Yearly Meeting, a number of Friends came to my lodgings to take leave of me, with some of whom we had a heart-tendering season, in solemn supplication to the God of grace for protection and comfort, when far separated from each other, and that through the remaining days of our lives we might be found grateful partakers of those mercies which are new every morning, to the praise of the Lord God and the Lamb.



On the 1st of the sixth month, I parted with my beloved wife and other of my connexions, and in company with John Hoskins, Joshua Lord and another Friend from Jersey, I rode to Benjamin Clark's, at Stony-brook. The day following attended Mansfield meeting, and the one held at Mount Holly in the afternoon. John Hoskins parted from us after Mansfield meeting. He was an elder in Israel, of good report, and excelled perhaps by none, in dedication to the cause of Truth and righteousness. His company and encouragement proved seasonable and strengthening to me, who was but little experienced in the work. Next day attended a Quarterly Meeting at Evesham to good satisfaction, and crossed the Delaware to Philadelphia. I attended the meetings in the city as they came in course, one at Germantown, in company with Samuel Emlen, a father in Israel—visited some persons who were confined by sickness, and became acquainted with a number of Friends, by whose friendship and unity I have profited, as a weary traveller does from the refreshment of a brook by the way.

In attending the meetings in the city, my mind was dipped into sympathy with some who had been bereaved of their near relatives during the late awful visitation by the yellow fever, and also with other Friends, who appeared humbled under the dispensation and the apprehension of the return of a similar calamity. In the ability vouchsafed, I had to condole with the afflicted, and also to encourage all to seek for Divine support, should a renewal of the scourge be permitted, which I believed could not be averted by human prudence, when it pleased the sovereign Ruler of heaven and earth to pour forth the bitter cup of his just judgments.

On the 11th of the month I left the city, accompanied by several Friends, and was at a small meeting at Haverford, to good satisfaction, being comforted in the belief, that there were some among the younger class, who were well inclined.

At Newtown meeting, the following day, the doctrines of Truth were clearly opened upon my mind, and strength afforded to bear testimony to the peaceableness of the Messiah's kingdom. The minds of the people seemed to be in a ferment from the prospect of war, and Friends were encouraged to keep out of the political disputes of the times, the tendency of which always is to inflame the mind with evil passions, and to lead from under the government of the Prince of peace. In this excited state, the mind rather seeks revenge for supposed injuries, than cultivates a disposition to forgive our enemies, and thus individuals and nations are often introduced

into dreadful contentions and strife, more cruel than even requiring an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth, causing the innocent to suffer with the guilty, and leaving mourning widows and fatherless children to suffer innumerable difficulties;—these, with a train of dreadful evils not easily described, are far removed from the benign spirit of the Gospel, which breathes "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." Our blessed Saviour says, "If ye love me, keep my commandments," and his command is, "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." How widely different from this is the fierce spirit of the warrior and the duelist! Yet, these are sometimes found among the high professors of Christianity. "By their fruits shall ye know them;"—the effects of war evince, that the warrior is not a disciple of the lowly humble Jesus, who went about doing good to men, and when suffering on the cross, prayed for his persecutors in the moving language, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

13th. Attended Willistown meeting, where I was strengthened to labour by the fresh flowings of Gospel love. In the afternoon we were at the recently established boarding-school at West-town, and had a religious opportunity with the family and children; and it was cause of renewed thankfulness, that the concern for the religious, guarded education of the rising generation, is spreading among Friends. The liberality of the promoters of this and similar institutions, is to be commended; for here an asylum is found for the fatherless and motherless, as well as for the children of such Friends as incline to send their offspring where they are less exposed to temptation, than when placed under the tuition of irreligious persons at mixed schools, where the principal object in view often is, the cheapness of the price at which a teacher can be employed. I believe, as Friends continue this religious care for the guarded education of the youth, a blessing will attend it.

The following day attended a Monthly Meeting held at Bradford, where I found no opportunity to engage in vocal service. We dined at the house of Humphrey Russell, who, I understood, had been a faithful servant and labourer in the cause of his Lord and Master, but is now drawing near his close, being nearly blind and very weak, but lively in spirit and loving to his friends. From thence we rode to Caspar Wistar's, on Brandywine, where I was instructed by the sweet, patient disposition evinced by his son and daughter, who were deprived of the use of their limbs,

so as to be helpless. Their mother was a near relation of mine, and our meeting was mutually pleasant. I felt renewed desires to dedicate my strength to the Lord's work, who had blessed me with ability to travel in his service, and given me a heart to feel with the afflicted. Our next meetings were at Kennet and New Garden; the latter was held mostly in silence, under the precious canopy of Divine love, much to my comfort and encouragement, in the work in which I was engaged. After dining at Jacob Lindley's, we attended an appointed meeting at London Grove, where a large number of people collected, who, through the condescending kindness of the holy Head of the church, appeared to be seriously impressed under the testimony given me to declare among them; for which praises ascended to the Lord on high, with a humble petition for preservation in the Lamb's warfare, that the victory might be obtained.

Next day I was joined by my friend Joshua Lord, of New Jersey, who had come to accompany me in my southern journey; and on the day following had an appointed meeting at Okesson, where I had to speak upon the sorrowful fruits produced by a departure from the love and unity which the religion of Jesus Christ leads into; this being comparable to the nature of the lamb,—while a departure therefrom produces the fierceness of the lion; and that there were instances, even in our favoured Society, where the chief seats were occupied by those whose conduct did not evince the meekness of the lamb. I had also to exhort the youth, not to be discouraged, if such weaknesses did exist; but rather to follow the example of Joshua, who yielded not to the report of the evil spies, but called upon the people to choose whom they would serve; saying, "as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." When the meeting closed, a deep thoughtfulness respecting the close searching labour that had fallen to my lot, covered my mind, and I remained on my seat while Friends withdrew, when an elderly woman Friend came to me, and in a feeling sympathizing manner said, "Don't be discouraged—I wish not to exalt the creature, but great truths have been delivered this day—I desire thy preservation." Another Friend, who sympathized with me on account of the close labour I had been engaged in, bid me be faithful; observing, that "I was rightly led, for the wild boar of the forest had made ravages in that place, and had set ministers and elders at variance, much to the grief of Friends."

The meeting at Westgrove was a trying one, in consequence of the close labour that fell to my lot; and after it was over, I mourned my situation, yet prayed for resignation to

whatever service might be assigned me. Next day, at East Nottingham, I had an open time, being enlarged in tender invitation to those who were not members, to come buy wine and milk, without money and without price. The following day, at West Nottingham, I had a word of encouragement to deliver to some present, particularly to a woman, upon whom my eye fixed, fully believing she was called to make a vocal acknowledgment of the merciful offers of a gracious God to fallen man; although I did not express myself in such terms as to awaken the suspicions of the audience. She was altogether a stranger to me, having never seen each other before—and believing that I had, according to the ability given me, cleared my mind for the present, I felt no disposition to speak to her, as we passed each other; she, however, came to the house where we dined, and being drawn into silence, the same religious impressions which I had in the meeting, were renewed upon my mind; and I had a more full opportunity, in a plain manner, to encourage her to faithfulness. I understood, after parting with her, that she was of a high family in the world's esteem, and had passed through trials for joining the Society.

After attending meetings at Eastland and Little Britain, to good satisfaction, we crossed the Susquehanna at Bald Eagle ferry, and rode to William Cole's, at Deer creek. On the way we saw a number of slaves at work, whose dejected looks and otherwise miserable appearance, made a deep impression on my mind, and led to a train of reflections on the injustice and cruelty of their oppressors, and of tender sympathy with them in their hard allotment. At Deer creek meeting, many Gospel truths were delivered to a large and mixed assembly, and humble prayers put up to the Father of mercies, that the inhabitants of the earth might be brought under his righteous government, and thereby prepared to comfort the afflicted, to clothe the naked and to feed the hungry.

We rode to Fawn, and had a satisfactory meeting, in which I was engaged to open the nature of true religion, of the true and false ministry, and the necessity of ministers endeavouring to put in practice what they recommended to others, viz: justice, mercy and humility. Returning to Deer creek, we attended the Monthly Meeting, in which strength was afforded to labour in plainness, to the relief of my own mind, particularly with the youth, whose appearance did not become the children of Friends. My mind being clothed with that love which leads to plain dealing, without fear of giving offence, mixing encouragement with reproof, their better feelings

were wrought upon through the power of the Gospel, and love to me seemed to increase while I was engaged in labour; a tenderness of spirit was also manifest; and instead of shyness after meeting, they seemed desirous of being with me, and their company was pleasant. A number of them rode to an appointed meeting, held at Bush river, with whom and the family where we dined, we had a solemn season of religious retirement, and the dear children were encouraged to close in with the invitations and drawings of our Lord Jesus Christ, that so their talents might be dedicated to his blessed service—that love unfeigned might abound among them, and the blessings of heaven be their happy lot. I parted from them with much nearness of affectionate feeling, and attended a meeting at Little Falls, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Next day were at Gun-powder Monthly Meeting, and from thence rode into the city of Baltimore. The morning meeting there on first-day was a season of favour, in which great freedom in the ministry was felt by me. In the afternoon had a good time in reverent silent waiting throughout the meeting. Feeling an intimation of duty to appoint a meeting for the youth of this city, both the children of Friends and others who inclined to attend our meetings, I mentioned it to a Friend at the close of the afternoon meeting, and the members of the select meeting being consulted, and uniting with my prospect, notice was given and a large number attended, at nine o'clock the following morning. A precious solemnity soon spread over us, and strength was given me to minister the word of encouragement to them; and dear Mary Mifflin was engaged to offer thanksgiving and praises for past and present favours.

After attending the week-day meeting at Elkridge, and the Preparative Meeting of Baltimore, I felt at liberty to leave this flourishing city, which we did accordingly on the following morning, parting with divers Friends in near brotherly feeling, which had increased the longer we remained with them. There is a number of precious Friends in this place, and others who have need of more humility and a greater conformity to the simplicity of Truth. We rode to Gun-powder, and were cordially received by Oliver Matthews and family, although they had to leave their beds to admit us. We were wet and weary, and did not rise as early next morning as usual, but our aged friend had left his home as soon as day dawned, and did not return until near noon, when he informed us he had been riding round the country, notifying the people of our being at meeting, thus evidencing a love to the cause, which is much wanting with many.

Their meeting on first-day, was large, and held in solemn stillness a considerable time, when I stood up with a view of saying only a few words; but as I expressed them deliberately, the necessity of the professors of Christianity leading a holy upright life, opened and pressed upon my mind, so that I stood long, which occasioned a hard ride to reach a meeting appointed at Patapsco falls, at five o'clock that afternoon. On arriving, we found a number of people collected, who were not Friends—some of them appeared ignorant and unsettled in mind, others solid and quiet, and it was upon the whole a favoured season; humble prayers being put up to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, that he would be pleased to bless the people with an increase of knowledge, in those things which belong to their everlasting peace—that wars and fightings might cease, and the professors of Christianity be incited to the due observance of those pure and excellent precepts, left by Christ for the government of his followers—and thus be prepared to feel with the afflicted; and that by doing unto others as they would others should do unto them, slavery might come to an end.

Next day rode to Pipe creek; and the farmers being generally busy in securing the harvest, we concluded to wait for the usual meeting, which we attended, and one on the day following at Bush creek, and then proceeded to Fairfax.

Seventh month, 12th. Reflecting pensively upon my present situation, far from home and from my dear family, I penned the following petition:—"O Lord! thou hast been with me hitherto, and by thy power I have been preserved in a good degree of resignation to thy will. Continue to afford me thy counsel, and I will endeavour to obey thee; send me wherever, or to whomsoever, thou seest fit. Thou hast separated me from my dear friends and tender connexions, a beloved wife and children, but I have no cause to complain—I ask not for riches or honour from man. It is thy supporting presence I crave, that I may be kept in my allotment and be enabled to do whatsoever thou yet hast for me to do. Bless my dear connexions and friends with sensible and feeling hearts, that in the covenant of life, we may be united in thanksgiving for all the many favours and blessings thou hast vouchsafed."

14th. At Fairfax meeting I was concerned to bear testimony against the sin of drunkenness, many not Friends being present: the audience appeared deeply impressed with the subject, while I held up to view scenes of suffering, but too common, which innocent children and wives had to endure, sometimes

of personal abuse, and sometimes the want even of the common necessities of life, where husbands and fathers spent their time and earnings at tipping houses; and some, the estates which had been left to them, in a riotous course of living. Parents were tenderly pleaded with, to endeavour to train up their children in the fear of the Lord, that thus they might escape the snares of death. But, alas! how lamentable is the situation of some of the descendants of Friends, whose parents have been more concerned to obtain a large share of temporal goods, than to seek heavenly treasure. Some of these have not only become alienated from Friends, but have strayed far from the paths of rectitude in social life, joining in scenes of dissipation, and thus have wasted what their parents have scraped together for the purpose of advancing them in the world. Some of this description were present; and although I was a stranger to it, unacquainted with them or the manner in which they spent their time and substance, yet my testimony against such and their negligent, earthly minded parents, was clear and plain, accompanied with that love which flows from a Divine source, the influence of which operated on the minds of the hearers, and a solemn quiet prevailed. Truly, the Lord hath no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, and his mercy is extended in this day, as formerly, when his warnings, expostulations and entreaties were often renewed unto revolting Israel, to Judah and to Ephraim. "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah, or set thee as Zeboim?" What may be the effect of the labours thus bestowed in the love of the Gospel, is not necessary to be known by the Lord's servants; it is enough for them to have the evidence of Divine approbation, in the enjoyment of that peace, which the world can neither give nor take away. This has been to me a greater inducement to leave all to follow Christ, than instances which have come to my knowledge of a reformation in individuals, producing comfort and joy to their families, and where the acknowledgment has been made that my labours had been instrumental to turn their minds unto Him, "who is mighty to save, and able to deliver to the uttermost, all who come unto God by him." Yet the knowledge of these instances also afforded me encouragement, for I had often, in the course of this journey, to advert to the sin of drunkenness, and its attendant evils, which embitter the lives of so many in this land of boasted liberty and knowledge.

In the afternoon, we attended a meeting held in the court-house, at Leeburg; where the strengthening power of the gracious Head

of the church, enabled me to labour in the love of the Gospel. We had the company of two Methodist ministers, who, with their hearers, left their own meeting to attend with us; also a number of soldiers and coloured people, all of whom behaved quietly and appeared satisfied.

Next day we returned to Waterford, to attend a meeting appointed to be held after an interment; and a large company attended, who seemed well satisfied with the opportunity. We then attended meetings at Goose creek, South Fork, the Gap, Berkley, Middle creek, Upper and Lower Ridge, Hopewell, Bear Garden, Back creek and Centre. The following first-day afternoon we had a large meeting at Winchester, in the Episcopalian meeting-house, where a great number of the town's people attended, including several preachers, and also the few Friends living there. It was a solid, comfortable time, for which I was humbly thankful to the Author of all good, knowing my own insufficiency for the work in which I was engaged; much satisfaction was expressed by the people.

The following day I had meetings at Mount Pleasant and Crooked run; at the latter of which I was led to expose the iniquity of the slave trade, and the practice of holding the African race in bondage. This was much to the relief of my own mind, which was often deeply oppressed with grief, at seeing the sufferings endured by the poor slaves. Their allowance was one peck of corn for a week, and this they were sometimes necessitated to pound in the night, when they should be asleep, to refresh them for the next day's labour. To this I have often been a witness, when the noise of the pestle and mortar has aroused me; and soon after I have been startled by the voice of the driver and the snapping of his whip, urging them to the toils of the day, even before the light had fully appeared. In addition to this, they had to endure the broiling heat of the sun, bare-headed, both males and females; the latter with only one garment to cover them, and the cruel drivers following them with a large wagon whip, in order to hasten their speed, using it freely upon those who fell behind, when hoeing the corn or tobacco. At other times I have seen very aged men and women grubbing bushes, so feeble and worn, that their limbs trembled as they raised their heavy mattocks; and others were carrying rails on their heads from a distant forest. Similar cruelties I have seen exercised on the house slaves, upon whom the lash was often freely laid, while they were subject to the kicks and cuffs of the children of the family. At one time, having laid my horse-whip upon a table

in the bar-room of a tavern, I was suddenly raised from my seat by seeing the tavern-keeper using my whip upon the back of his negro boy. I stepped to him as quickly as I could, and got it from him, assuring him it was not accustomed to such business, and he should have known better than to take it for that purpose. At another time, my eye caught the sight of a poor negro's back, who was rowing us over a ferry, (his shirt being a mere bunch of rags,) and it appeared like a piece of raw flesh, from the severe flogging he had received. It was a most painful, sickening sight, and affected me very much; the more so, as he was toiling for our accommodation, for which, however, we paid him, in addition to what was demanded by his oppressor—a practice, I believe, common with Friends, for a coloured man who attended at another ferry, told us he was always glad to see the Quakers come, for then he had something given him. It was also our practice to pay those who took care of our horses, not always with money, but sometimes with food, for which they appeared thankful and sometimes manifested surprise at the attention shown them. It was a general practice for the waiters at public houses to receive the scraps left by travellers eating at their masters' tables; and I was careful at such places to leave a good portion of meat, &c., remembering that they had appetites to satisfy as well as myself. But after all the little I could do for them, I had to mourn for them and their oppressors also, whose situation appeared far from a desirable one. In many places they seemed to be under great fear, being careful to secure their lodging rooms with locks and bolts, and to have their weapons of defence at hand, ready to be seized at the slightest alarm. The influence of the parents' example, in exercising an arbitrary and cruel power over the inmates of the house, produced an evil effect on the children, whose countenances and conduct, marked with rage and pride, presented a very different appearance from what they would, had they been taught to view and to treat the coloured people as the workmanship of the same Almighty hand as themselves, and equally the objects of the Redeemer's mercy and care, instead of being made to consider them as little or no better than the beasts of the field, and not worthy of the notice which their dogs received. Many countenances which, but for the passions depicted upon them, would have been lovely and engaging, appeared spoiled and repulsive—many and great, indeed, are the evil consequences of slavery, both to the oppressed and the oppressor.

After leaving Crooked run, we rode to Jo-

seph Allen's at Smith's creek, and attended their meeting, where we were comforted together. We were also introduced into near sympathy with our friends, Joseph and Eunice Allen, who, a short time previous, had lost two exemplary daughters with the small-pox, and a little while before, another was drowned in attempting to ford a creek, on her way to attend the Monthly Meeting. Parting from these dear friends, we went to New Market, where but one Friend's family resides. We had a tendering opportunity with the afflicted wife of this Friend, and then proceeded about nine miles, and procured lodging in a poor open chamber; and next morning at Keesetown, we parted with the Friends who had kindly accompanied us from Crooked run.

My companion and I, in company with another Friend, pursued our journey toward James' river, crossing the Blue mountain at a place called Rock-fish gap, where we lodged. A number of travellers and other persons had put up here, among whom were several rough and fierce looking men, in pursuit of a runaway slave, who after being once taken by them had again made his escape into the woods.

As we sat around the supper table, they were relating the circumstances of his capture and escape, loading the poor slave with hard names, and drawing from their fellow slaveholders the conclusion, that should they take him again, the most cruel and severe punishments they could inflict would not be too bad for him. I was grieved at such conversation, and feeling my spirit stirred against their conduct, could not forbear advocating the exertions of the poor runaway to obtain his liberty—calling upon them to make his case their own, and think whether there was one among them all, who, if placed in his situation, would not use the same means to escape slavery and punishment. I was soon convinced of the propriety of the caution given by Christ, "Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they turn again and rend you:" their anger was raised, and manifested toward me by furious and wrathful words, and they were so unreasonable in their conduct, that I concluded it best to say nothing more to them. The house was in a very solitary place, and the inmates alike hostile to us, they being also slaveholders, and from their conduct after we rose from the supper table, we were not without apprehensions of personal danger. When we were shown our chamber, we found there was no fastening on the door, but we placed a chest against it, which braced against the foot of our bed, concluding they should not come upon us by surprise. We got but little sleep, our apprehensions being increased by hearing

several persons come up the stairs directly to the door of our room, where they stood whispering to each other for several minutes—they then went down stairs, and soon after came and placed themselves in the same situation again, without speaking to us or offering to come into the room. These circumstances, added to the noise and confusion which continued below stairs most of the night, caused us to sleep but little. We did not feel quite released from apprehensions of danger, until we had rode some miles from the place, remembering that William Savery had been cautioned to beware lest he should be popped off his horse, for having interfered and cut the rope with which a poor coloured boy was tied, while receiving a severe flogging, for not having the cows in the yard at the usual time. The fear I endured was unusual for me, and I believe had I not raised my voice in behalf of the poor runaway, under feelings of such resentment as I did, (though I do not think I manifested any thing like wrath) I should not have been left under the power of fear, fully believing in the omnipotence of Him who limiteth the proud waves of the sea. I think the sense of the protecting power of the holy One of Israel was in great measure withdrawn, for in seasons of far greater apparent danger of losing my life, when my mind has been preserved in humility and calmness, I have felt no fear, but a cheerful resignation to the Lord's will.

The day after leaving this dark and solitary inn, being the first-day of the week, we crossed James' river, at Lynchburg, and attended Friends' meeting at South river. The meeting was settled when we got there, and we took our seats with as little interruption as possible. The opportunity of sitting down with our dear friends in reverence before the Most High, was truly satisfactory and encouraging, and the little labour that was called for at my hands was in feelings of brotherly love. We were kindly noticed by Friends, and tarried with them until the fourth-day following. One morning as I sat alone in the parlour of a Friends' house, I saw a woman ride up to the door, on which I stepped out and assisted her to dismount. She came in, and we were seated facing each other at opposite sides of the room. The descendings of heavenly good soon spread over our minds, and I believe neither of us spoke for half an hour, but continued sitting in profound silence. My mind was dipped into feeling with her, and I fully believed she was a chosen handmaid of the Lord, and labouring under deep discouragement at the prospect of becoming a public advocate for the precious cause of the Beloved of her soul. Our mental eye, I believe, was mutually directed to Him who openeth and no

man can shut, and shutteth and no man can open; and when he is pleased to create the fruit of the lips, blessed are they that obey; but at present my lips seemed sealed.

After some time thus spent, we engaged in pleasant conversation, and I found she had been at meeting the day before, and had now come to have some of our company. My mind became so interested for her, that I went to visit her at her own house: her husband not being a Friend, and of a very volatile disposition; no way opened for me to communicate my feelings to her vocally, but I did so fully and clearly in a letter I wrote to her a few days afterward, to which she replied, acknowledging that I was favoured with a clear view of the tried state of her mind.

On fourth-day we attended a small meeting at Ivy creek, and the day following at Hills' creek and Seneca, which were good meetings, and so largely attended, that they had to make booths around the doors for the accommodation of the people.

After attending South river Monthly Meeting, we had a very large public meeting in the Mason's Hall, at Lynchburg. The power and authority of Truth reigned, and the practice of holding slaves was shown to be antichristian. Several meetings coming in course this week, we preferred riding out of our way, to appointing meetings at such places. We were at Beaver-dam, Goose-creek, and Upper Goose-creek, and had a public meeting in the court-house at Liberty, where it was thought a Friends' meeting had never been held before. Whilst I was speaking a woman fell upon the floor, appearing as if in great agony and groaning in a piteful manner, as is not uncommon in the meetings of some societies, and frequently has the effect to excite the preacher to greater efforts. It was, however, the reverse with me, and I felt grieved. The minds of the people appeared to be impressed with a degree of solemnity, which made them attentive to what was delivered, and prepares the mind also to judge correctly, the Holy Spirit bearing witness with their spirits, to the Truth. It was painful to me to think of the meeting being disturbed, and I therefore requested the people to endeavour to keep still, and if the woman was likely to faint, some persons could take her to the door for fresh air, upon which she arose from the floor, and, apparently much confused, walked to the door, where she sat quietly until the meeting concluded. I am sensible that the influence of the Divine Spirit will at times tender the mind, as well as operate upon the body, and that tears will flow so that it is almost impossible to restrain them. It is, however, necessary for us to guard against disturbing an assembly



whose minds may be gathered into serious attention to communications, which in Divine Wisdom may be made interesting and instructive to them. God is a God of order, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth, an engagement to which stillness and quietude are peculiarly appropriate, in meetings appointed for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of the Lord and his ways, as well as for the performance of that adoration and worship which is due to Him. I cannot unite with the confusion and noises sometimes heard in assemblies professedly religious, and hailed as the mighty effects of Divine power, which it is to be feared proceed rather from the passions and will of the creature; and while these are in an unsubjected state, the mind cannot be benefitted, as the humble and contrite heart often is, when the benign Spirit of the Most High operates as the refreshing dew upon the tender herb—these are they that “shall grow as the lilly, and cast forth their roots as Lebanon.”

We next had a meeting for the poor slaves, held in Goose-creek meeting-house, on first-day afternoon, with the consent of their masters and overseers, several of whom attended. The sight of so large a number together, as nearly to fill the house, was unusual to me, and their dejected countenances and ragged appearance affected my mind, and awakened tender sympathy for them, under which I expressed my desires for their everlasting welfare—endeavouring, in simple language, to impress on them the necessity of avoiding every evil practice, in order that the great God, whose compassions are toward people of all colours and nations, might bless them, and give them patience to endure affliction in this world, and prepare them for that better world which is to come, where they would be freed from servitude and suffering. The poor creatures paid great attention, and sat with unusual quietude.

Being joined by John Lynch and another Friend, we set out from this place for Kentucky, on the 19th of eighth month; and on the 21st, had a meeting at Montgomery county court-house, on the Allegheny mountains. In twelve days after leaving Goose creek, we got to the settlements in Kentucky, having crossed stupendous mountains, and traversed a long dreary wilderness, where we saw many wild beasts, and but few people—seeing but one cottage in about eighty miles. We were under the necessity of lodging in a miserable hut, where there were eighteen of us, and all but the woman and her child, slept on the floor; some in blankets, and myself and another Friend on a bear skin, with our saddles for pillows. We had nothing to eat, but a

scanty portion of sour milk, with a few ears of green Indian corn; the owner of our hut having gone thirty miles to the nearest mill to get a little corn ground. In the morning, we set out without any refreshment, our stores being quite spent; and in the forenoon came to another log house, inhabited by a couple from Ireland, who appeared to be above the lower class, having a number of books upon a shelf, which I took the liberty of examining, and among them was Samuel Bownas' Journal. The man and his wife very cheerfully set to work to get us breakfast, as they kept a public house; but all they could supply us with, consisted of some Indian cakes baked on a board before the fire, and tea without milk, having neither meat nor butter. A traveller who had joined us that morning, kindly produced the remains of his stores, consisting of a piece of bacon, which he generously divided among us, being about two mouthful for each. This man had heard of our intending to go through the wilderness, and had rode most of the night to overtake us, being desirous of having our company, as the danger of travelling was considered great; several robberies and murders having been recently committed.

In the evening we came to a neat cottage, where we found plenty, but got little sleep.—Our landlady stepping out after dark to a negro hut close by, was bitten by some poisonous reptile, supposed to be a rattle-snake—her foot and ankle swelled, and the severity of the pain caused her to groan;—feelings of sympathy for her prevented my sleeping much, and in the morning we were obliged to leave them, without knowing what the result might be.

In passing through the lands reserved for the Indians, our compassion was excited by the situation of several families of squatters, whose houses and other improvements had been burned a few days before, by a party of light-horsemen sent out for the purpose of dispossessing them, in order to appease the Indians.

When we reached the settlements in Kentucky, we put up at the house of General Kennedy, who possesses a large number of slaves. Many of his neighbours hearing of our arrival, called to see us, with whom we had much free conversation on the practice of holding slaves, and the pernicious consequences of the free use of ardent spirits. It was introduced by my offering them tracts on these subjects, which I had brought from Philadelphia for the purpose of distribution. Some readily accepted them, but others refused, we however read them to the company, at intervals, offering to their consideration,

such answers to their objections as we were enabled to make. The General was the principal objector, and would not admit that the practice of slave-holding was wrong. He, however, treated us with hospitality and kindness, and when we left his house, pressingly invited us to call again before we left the country. We then went to see the widow Timberlake, whose husband had been a Friend—she received our visit in a friendly manner. The following day we had a meeting in a private house at Richmond, Madison county; though there were but six or seven houses in the place, yet the people assembled from the country around, so that we had a large meeting, which proved satisfactory. After it closed, a Baptist professor offered us the use of their meeting house at Dreaming-creek, where we had a meeting the day following. At both these meetings we had the company of a Methodist minister, who was a stranger to Friends and their principles, but appeared to be a sensible man. He assented to our doctrine on baptism as then held forth; saying, he had for some time been persuaded that the baptism essential to salvation was a spiritual baptism.

It being the first-day of the week, we attended another meeting in the afternoon, held in the house belonging to the Methodists. The people were very kind to us, and several of them disputed who should entertain us; so we divided and were lodged at the houses of two of them. In the morning we crossed the Kentucky river at Boonsborough, the place where the first white settler pitched his tent. A few miles north of the river we came to the house of Judge Clark, of Clark county, who being related to two of our company, received us very cordially, and paid great attention to spread notice of a meeting to be held the day following in the Baptist meeting house. A large number of people assembled, and their minister among the rest, who in a hasty manner objected to the doctrines delivered, as soon as I took my seat, charging me with discarding the doctrines of Jesus Christ; a charge which he fell far short of substantiating, even in the opinion of his own hearers. When speaking upon the doctrine of baptism, I had confined myself to giving the reasons which occurred to my remembrance, why the Society of Friends does not use water baptism; and several of his hearers expressed their dissatisfaction with his interrupting the quiet of the meeting, in which they had been edified with what they heard. One of them added, that he could perceive no need of urging those into the water who did not see the necessity of it, but who were pressing after the baptism of the one eternal

spirit. On our way back to the house of Judge Clark, his wife remarked to me, that she hoped now to be released from that distress of mind she had been under, respecting this subject, for some time past, and which at times was so great, that she feared she should lose her reason; for she could not see her way to be baptized with water, and the preacher was continually urging on her the necessity of it or she would be eternally lost; but now, said she, I am satisfied, and hope I shall no more be troubled about it.

In the evening we had a meeting at the Judge's house, where this preacher again attended, but he made no further opposition. Many persons were present, and it was truly a solid season, in which Gospel truths were freely opened, and reasons given for the simplicity of our profession and practices—particularly our not singing in the customary and formal manner of most other professors, &c. The necessity of seeking after weightiness of spirit in our devotions, was set forth; that as God is a Spirit, they who perform the solemn act of devotion aright, must worship him in spirit and in truth. We had a pressing invitation to have a meeting next day at the house of a person who lived nearly ten miles off, and who was at our morning meeting. I accordingly accepted it, and Judge Clark, his wife and daughters, accompanied us thither. We were favoured with the fresh extendings of Divine love, for which humble thanksgivings were offered unto Him, who is forever worthy. This interesting family continued with us next day, and attended a meeting held in the court-house in Winchester, where many Gospel truths opened on my mind, and were delivered with clearness—ability being graciously afforded, beyond what I ever experienced before, to contend for them, in opposition to the superficial notions of formal professors. When the meeting closed, the people appeared unwilling to leave the house, and much brokenness of spirit and weeping were manifest, particularly among those who had become most acquainted with us. The wife of Judge Clark remarked, that she hoped the Lord would enable her to be resigned to the reproach that might be cast upon her, for ceasing to depend upon her former teachers, as she was now desirous to be inwardly attentive to the Teacher that could not be removed into a corner. Others assenting to the doctrines they had heard, joined in the expression of desires and prayers, that God would bless and preserve us in his work, among whom were some of the first characters in the country. He who knoweth all hearts, knows that I do not pen these things in a boasting way, but do ascribe all praise to

him; for had he not vouchsafed his help, I should not have dared to labour as I did, neither could I. May his preserving power continue to be with me, and afford me strength to move forward in his fear, for hitherto he hath helped me in this untrodden land, where I have been earnestly desirous not to move too fast, or in any way contrary to his holy will, so that I have at times been unable to sleep or take my natural food. But feeling my confidence in my holy Helper renewed at this season, I once more surrender myself into his blessed keeping. Thou knowest, O Lord, I am willing to follow thee whithersoever thou art pleased to lead me. Be thou with my dear family and keep us all in thy fear.

We rode to the widow Smith's, in Scott county, where we had a meeting at four o'clock in the afternoon, which was not so satisfactory as some others. In the evening we had a tendering and baptizing season with the family; and the following day being the first of the week, we had meetings, both morning and afternoon, in the court-house at Lexington, which were satisfactory opportunities. We lodged at Thomas Steele's, formerly a school teacher in New York, and from whom I received part of the little schooling I had.

The following day went to Frankfort, and in the evening had a good meeting in the state-house. The governor and most of the respectable inhabitants were present, and behaved solidly; they were very attentive and manifested their satisfaction with the meeting. We then rode into Shelby county, and had a meeting in the court-house, but the people appeared very shy, and were unwilling to sit down until some men of note in the place came in; when they became more settled, and we had a comfortable time, much to the satisfaction of some hungry and thirsting souls present. After distributing some pamphlets, we proceeded on our way to Harrodsburg, through a wilderness country, and on reaching the house of John Thomas, who had his education among Friends, we were courteously received by him, and he gave notice of a meeting to be held in the court-house. We then went to Augustus Passmore's, whose wife had been brought up a Friend, and had an encouraging and satisfactory opportunity in their family. He and John Thomas, with several others, had formed a society for assisting coloured people who were held in slavery, but who had a legal right to their liberty. After visiting several tender minded people hereaway, we left the neighbourhood, and proceeded through Danville to Knoxville, in Tennessee. On our way, we entered a wilderness part of the road one morning, and

having rode about seventeen miles, called at a spacious looking house for the purpose of getting breakfast, supposing from its appearance we should be furnished with a good meal; but we were disappointed, for on applying to the landlord, he said they should have to kill and dress a pig before we could have breakfast. I told him we could not wait so long, and would do without meat; upon which his daughter replied, they had neither bread nor meal, and must grind the corn before they could serve us. To this I objected, on account of the detention, and told her, I saw they had sweet potatoes growing, and if they would boil some of them for us, and give us some milk, we would make out a meal; upon which the black girl said, there was no milk in the house. We then concluded to go to the next inn, where we broke our fast, between twelve and one o'clock. Proceeding on our journey, we met a man well mounted, who on coming up to us, immediately turned his horse and rode with us, conversing first with one and then another of us, on the danger of riding through the wilderness, when it was known that robbers had attacked and murdered several persons, and pretending much uneasiness for fear we should meet them. He offered our friend John Lynch his pistols to defend us; but John let him know, that he did not depend upon such weapons for protection; and after riding several hours with us, directly back from the inhabited part of the country, we saw several men about half a mile from the road, at a newly erected cottage, and our mysterious companion, without taking leave of us, rode off to them; we thought it well to get rid of him, and hastening our pace saw him no more. In the evening we reached a poor inn, but so many had arrived before us, that we had to sleep on the floor. We left the place before day, choosing rather to ride alone than with a rude and uncivil company, who seemed glad that we were going the same way, saying, our numbers would be likely to deter the robbers from falling upon us. We had to travel a dreary road, so narrow at times that we were obliged to follow one another. It was after night when we reached an inn, where we found room enough, and good entertainment for a new country. The landlady cheerfully got up from her bed to wait upon us. In the morning we pursued our route toward Knoxville, mostly through a wilderness, though the settlements became more frequent as we approached that place. It rained hard, and we put up before night—our beds, as was frequently the case, were spread on the floor, and in the morning, were thrown together; in one corner of the room, where they remained

in a pile until the next night, when they are brought forth again for other travellers who may arrive. Our horses generally fared pretty well—we sometimes carried a bag of grain with us, stripping the bark from an old tree for a manger. About three o'clock on the following day we arrived at our kind friend Thomas Marshall's. Few, if any, who have never been circumstanced as we were, during this wearisome journey through the wilderness, can realize the satisfaction and comfort there is in a welcome reception from friends of the same religious profession. We did not indeed meet with sumptuous fare, but a cordiality which compensated for the want of it, and the keenness of our appetites rendered their humble board and simple provision truly grateful to us, and thankfulness was raised in our hearts to Him who united our spirits together.

On the following day we had a meeting in the new court-house at Knoxville, which the governor and both houses of the legislature attended, having given up the room to accommodate us. Here I found several letters from home, the contents of which were satisfactory. Returning home with Thomas Marshall, we had a meeting in the evening in their new log-house, and next day were at the Monthly Meeting at Lost-creek, where we met a considerable number of Friends, who made a commendable appearance, but evinced much rawness in the management of the discipline. We were, however, comforted together through the condescending goodness of the Giver of every good and perfect gift. After this we had large meetings at several places, with Friends and others, one of which was on the south side of the river French Broad, at the house of W. Williams, where a meeting of Friends had never before been held. At New-hope we put up at John Kennedy's, and attended the Monthly Meeting at that place, where we found our friends Joseph Cloud and Jacob Hunt, on their way to Kentucky, on a religious visit; and as I felt much for the inhabitants of that state, it was cause of joy to me, to find that the Lord of the harvest was sending more labourers there. Joseph and myself, unknown to each other, having appointed a meeting at Limestone, to be held at the same hour, we accordingly attended it to good satisfaction.

Leaving Tennessee, we rode toward North Carolina, and on sixth-day the 4th of tenth month, got to Bryan Ballard's, on Chesnut-creek, in Virginia. In our way we had to ford many large rivers; the water in the Holstein came up to the skirts of my saddle, and wet my feet, although the horse I rode was uncommonly tall; and having to ride after-

ward in the rain, I took cold and was laid up, being unable to travel. After getting better, I attended meetings at Chesnut, Reedy Island, Fruit-hill, and Ward's gap, which were to pretty good satisfaction. Whilst crossing the mountains, we had an opportunity of seeing some of the difficulties which the emigrants to the western country have to encounter;—the women and children, unable to find shelter from the falling rain, were dragging their weary limbs up the rocky steeps, whilst the men were engaged in getting the wagons up, by doubling their teams and frequently blocking the wheels, to give the poor horses breath.

On the 12th we attended the first meeting in Carolina, held at Dan river, and then one at Westfield, where we put up at the house of a kind Friend, who with his wife and family had joined the Society a short time before. From thence we proceeded to Deep-creek, and Muddy-creek, and had meetings at each, when I found it necessary for me to rest a few days, having been poorly since crossing the mountains, so much so as to make travelling difficult, and I was often very near being discouraged; but the renewed evidences of Divine condescension and goodness with which I was favoured, stayed my mind from sinking too low—at times I was raised up in humble grateful acknowledgment, that I had been favoured beyond any thing I had merited, and I humbly petitioned the Lord Most High, that I might be strengthened to walk more uprightly before him, and carefully watch over my thoughts, that my mind might not be disengaged from the work to which I was called. Although I felt the loss of the society and tender care of my dear wife in this trying time, yet the language of my heart was, "I desire to be at thy disposal, O Thou who knowest what is best for me!"

The following first-day I was at favoured meetings, at Muddy and Blue-creeks, then at Dover and Hopewell, where the notice having failed, we had the company of but few persons. Among these were a man and his wife, not members of our Society, for whom I was much interested in the love of the Gospel; and I think they were sensible of a heavenly visitation being renewedly extended to their souls.

When I reflected on the distance I had come to attend this meeting, and that a Friend belonging to it, should be so little interested as to neglect to spread notice of the invitation to his neighbours, my mind was depressed, and I felt sorrow for him; and although but few of the members had attended the meeting, I felt most easy to proceed without having another opportunity with them.

Our companion, John Lynch and other

Friends who came with us from Virginia, having returned home, Joshua Lord and myself attended the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina, &c., held at New Garden. The meeting of ministers and elders commenced the 26th of tenth month, and to some of us, was a time of renewing covenant, and I was reverently thankful for the opportunity of being with Friends in this meeting. Richard Jordan opened his prospect of visiting Friends in Europe, and received certificates of the unity and concurrence of the meeting with his proceeding therein. The meeting for Divine worship, on first-day, was much crowded, but rather a low time, and during the several sittings of that for business, when the state of society was under consideration, Friends were comfortably united in spirit, with desires for the welfare one of another—and the meeting closed under an encouraging evidence of the renewings of heavenly love.

Eleventh month 2nd. In New Garden Monthly Meeting, I had to bear testimony against Friends receiving and holding the office of magistrate, or joining in political disputes—party spirit being generally excited, which disqualified for usefulness, as well as for choosing suitable persons for rulers and law-makers; entreating Friends to consider the superior excellency of the Messiah's peaceable kingdom, into which our Society is called, as a sort of first fruits; and it behoves us to prove our allegiance to the Prince of peace, by coming out of all contentions, strife, and that which leads to bloodshed.

First-day attended a favoured meeting at New Garden, and on second-day was at Deep-river Monthly Meeting, where self-righteousness was shown to be a fruitful source of discouragement and stumbling to the youth, many of whom had strayed from the Society, for the want of a timely care, on the part of parents and care-takers, to cultivate their minds, and imbue them with a just estimate of the excellency of piety and virtue; whilst austere commands had failed to keep them in a conformity to the simplicity of our profession, as respected their outward appearance. The humble followers of the Lord Jesus, were encouraged to hold on their way. I had been at this meeting before the Yearly Meeting, and had to suffer in silence, but now my mouth was opened to my own relief; may the humble praise Him who opens and none can shut, and shuts and none can open. After this we had satisfactory meetings at Sherburne, Springfield, Piney-woods, and were at the Quarterly Meeting at Cane-creek, on the 10th, where the minds of Friends were united in desire, for the preservation of the members of the church in right order. We then took

meetings at Spring, Eno, Rocky river, Cane-creek, the Ridge, Piney-grove, Holly-spring, Providence, Centre, Hickory-creek and Marlborough; most of which were largely attended by Friends and others, and several of them were favoured seasons. Having been closely engaged since the Yearly Meeting, I rode home with John Winslow from Marlborough meeting, and rested a few days. I was often seriously thoughtful lest I should get into the habit of preaching, but upon a humble and reverent appeal to the Searcher of hearts, to know how to conduct before him and his people, I was answered with the precious incomes of sweet peace and inward holy consolation, far overbalancing my doubts and fears—and an evidence was given me, that these fears were permitted to keep me watchful. O! that I may more and more reverence and obey the holy One of Israel, for he hath dealt bountifully with me.

On the 24th we set out for South Carolina, and got but a few miles, before we had to return, the horse I rode being so unwell as to render his answering for the journey doubtful. We went back to our friend John Winslow's, where I procured another horse, and on the 29th we set out again, and after four days travel got to James Hawkins', on Broad river. The 3d of twelfth month, we had a meeting at the house of the widow Hawkins, and the following day one at Cane-creek meeting-house—then one at Paget's-creek; all which were favoured seasons. We then rode to Rocky-spring, in Newbury county, and attended their meeting to good satisfaction. Having left notice at the last mentioned place of our intention to return, we went there on fourth-day, where the doctrines of Truth flowed freely to a large auditory. Next morning, accompanied by our dear friend Samuel Miles, we set out to attend Bush river meeting, but had to return, as the rain had raised the waters so high that we dare not attempt to ford the creek. We succeeded in getting over the next morning, and spent the time at the house of Joseph Thompson, until first-day, when we were at their meeting, and had one in the evening at the house of Henry Stedham, who accompanied us next day to Mudlick meeting. We then rode to Isaac Cook's, whose wife, Charity Cook, was absent on a visit to Friends in Europe. The weather being stormy, we staid and attended their meeting on fifth-day. During this time our horses strayed away, and my companion, Joshua Lord, accompanied by another Friend, set out in search of them. The rivers and creeks being much swollen by the long continued rains, we were very thoughtful how our friends would fare in the pursuit, and in

looking toward Georgia, it seemed very unlikely that I should be able to fulfil my prospect of a visit to Friends there. My mind was a good deal depressed, as I found I could not comfortably give up the prospect; but on the morning of the 21st, He whom my soul loves, and whom I delight to serve, condescended to open my way with clearness to proceed, although my companion was absent and our horses not found. I felt my mind deeply bowed in reverence, and gave up cheerfully, in the full belief, that He who had thus far been with me, would still go with me; and although nothing but discouragement prevails as to the outward, yet blessed be his holy name, in his adorable mercy he never fails to help the humble. O thou who givest me this faith! I pray thee, keep me in the way I should go, and thou shalt be my God; I will not love another, nay, nor any thing this world affords, like unto thee, for thou hast dealt bountifully with me in this trying time; thy love shed abroad in my heart has been life unto me; and the discouragements, which as a thick cloud, hung round about me, are dispelled by the brightness of thy appearing—good is thy will, O! Lord.

First-day morning, the sun arose with great splendour, and the day continued bright, as to the outward as well as to my mind;—Truth's testimony flowed freely in the meeting at Raymond's-creek, with thanksgivings and praise to the Lord Most High, who is worthy forever and forever.

23d of twelfth month. Second-day morning I set out with Thomas Lewis and rode to Henderson's settlement: on the way we crossed Saluda river, our horses swimming by the side of the canoe in which we were ferried over by a drunken man, and one of the horses narrowly escaped drowning.

24th. Was at Allwood meeting, and next day, accompanied by Thomas Cook, I set out for Georgia, crossed the Savannah river, and after riding about fifty miles, got to the house of our friend William Farmer. This being the time when the poor slaves are allowed liberty for frolicking, the woods resounded with their songs, and with other noises made by them and their oppressors, who appeared to want that consideration, which would have induced them to set a better example. If the day called Christmas is considered by professing Christians as a holy day, surely it ought not to be devoted to drunkenness and riot, whereby the kingdom of antichrist is promoted.

On the 26th, we had a comfortable meeting near William Farmer's. On first-day, 28th, a hard, suffering one at Wrightsborough, and one equally so, on the 29th, at the house of

John Stubbs;—that at Wells-creek was more comfortable—few Friends reside there, but many others attended.

The first day of the year 1800, being at a Friend's house a few miles from my lodgings, I received information, that three Friends had arrived there who wished to see me; and on returning, I found my companion, Joshua Lord, who had recovered our horses, after riding more than two hundred miles in search of them. Having fallen in company with Daniel Haviland and Jesse Copeland, they had come on together. Our meeting was mutually agreeable, as I had seen no Friend of my former acquaintance for some months; and having long known Daniel, and he being from New York, and having been at my house long since I left home, it was truly comfortable to discourse with him, as he brought good accounts of my family. We attended the Monthly Meeting of Wrightsborough, and found Friends to be in a divided state, and the business conducted in a spirit of strife, to the dishonour of the holy Head of the church, who set an example of meekness, and taught that we should not return reviling for reviling, but blessing for reproaches. After attending several other meetings in Georgia, we returned to Allwood, where we met Susannah Hollingsworth, a minister living in South Carolina, and we all attended meeting there next day. Here Daniel Haviland left me, to visit some meetings which I had been at; and after resting a day, I set out for Bush river Quarterly Meeting. Stopping at an inn upon the road, I heard of the death of George Washington, late president of the United States. He was a good example to statesmen and those in office; appearing to have the welfare of the community in view, rather than the honour of men or the profits of office. The day was an unpleasant one for travelling, by reason of the abundance of snow that fell, being more than twelve inches deep, a circumstance very unusual in this country. The Quarterly Meeting at Bush river was large, and through Divine condescension proved a good time. Here my companion, Joshua Lord, left me, in order to return home by land with Daniel Haviland, and Samuel Miles agreed to accompany me to Charleston. We had two meetings near Edisto, and then rode into the city and put up at Daniel Latham's, where we were kindly entertained. We had a meeting with the few Friends resident here, and those from the north and east who board here during the winter; also one with the inhabitants more generally, both held in the house belonging to Friends. The crying injustice and cruelty of slavery, had frequently engaged my attention



during the course of this journey; but never more than while I was in this place, where this oppressed race are very numerous, and are frequently sold at auction like cattle. At one of these sales I was much affected, in hearing a young coloured man pleading his cause. His aged father and mother, and his wife and child were all mounted upon a stage, so that they might be seen by the bidders; they being about to be sold. The young man stepped up and stood by them, but was soon ordered down. He said he wanted to be sold with them—but was told that he could not, as it was a sale to satisfy a mortgage upon the others, in which he was not included. He pleaded with very affecting and moving language, to show how hard it was to be separated from his family; but it was all to no purpose. When he saw that his prayers were unheeded, and that the others would be sold without him, he burst into a flood of tears, and in the anguish of his feelings besought them rather to kill him; for, said he, I had rather die than be separated from my family—upon which he was dragged off the scaffold and driven away. The company went on bidding, apparently as unaffected as though the auctioneer had been selling sheep, while the screams and prayers of the aged parents, and the bereaved wife with her infant in her arms, went up to heaven in behalf of themselves, and especially for the poor young man, who had been so inhumanly torn away from them. Besides these victims to cruel and antichristian avarice, there was a large number more confined in a cellar, which were brought out and sold to different purchasers. Thus it is, that near relatives are often violently separated, never more to see each other in this world!!!

In the early part of the second month I sold my horse, and embarked on board a schooner, of about seventy tons burthen, bound for New York. We had a fine wind in our favour for about three days, when it came directly ahead, and commenced one of the most violent storms any of us had ever witnessed. There were seventeen passengers pent up in a small cabin, one of whom was a sea captain, who said he had been to the East Indies three times, and crossed the Atlantic many times oftener, but was never in so great a storm before. It continued six days and nights, and our vessel being tight and well balanced, laid well to the wind—though her rigging and sails had the appearance of a wreck when the storm abated. At times we concluded we should never see the land again—the sea beating over us so violently, that no one could remain on deck; the helm was lashed, and the companion way door shut close to prevent our being over-

whelmed with water in the cabin. Thus we passed several long winter nights, without any light—the jug containing our supply of oil being broken at the commencement of the gale. The consternation which prevailed in the night, when it was expected the waves would swallow us up, was great indeed—though at times a comfortable silence prevailed. In common with my companions in the voyage, I gave up all hope of ever seeing home, yet was favoured with resignation, and had no fear of death; and at one time, when the terrible roaring of the elements, with the cracking of our vessel, aroused all hands out of their beds, I was favoured to remain perfectly quiet in mine, expecting every moment to be the last, ere we were swallowed up. O then, the most anxious desire I had was, that my dear connexions and friends might know how calmly and undismayed I met death, and the comfortable evidence I felt, that in my late dedication I had not been allured by cunningly devised fables. I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that “verily there is a reward for the righteous,” and that the peace which our Lord Jesus Christ gives his followers, cannot be wrested from them by any of the adversities of time. Although, from the greatness of the apparent danger, I came to the conclusion that I should not see my home again, attended with feelings of great tenderness of affection for my beloved family and friends, yet hope revived in the midst of the storm, and a belief that we should not be lost, in which my mind was centered in quiet reliance upon Him, who will assuredly do right.

When the wind changed and the storm abated, the sailors had much to do to put our vessel in a trim for sailing, her bowsprit being sprung and the rigging and sails much torn.

As soon as we arrived at New York, I engaged a passage for Poughkeepsie, and soon reached home, where I found my family well, for which, and the many preservations and favours I witnessed in this arduous journey, I was humbly thankful. Having come from a warm climate, the coldness of the weather in our northern country affected me much, and I was sick for some time. After my recovery, I accompanied our dear aged friend, Mary Griffin, in her visit to some families of Friends in our Monthly Meeting, and was then mostly at home, until the time of our Yearly Meeting, after which my beloved wife, with Ruth Hallock, proceeded on a religious visit to Rhode Island, Nantucket, &c. In the eighth month I paid a debt of love, which I felt to Friends on Long Island, and had some meetings appointed for those not of our Society, and likewise attended most of the meetings in

Purchase Quarterly Meeting, and had a number of favoured meetings about home, and was permitted to enjoy much comfort at home and in my domestic engagements.

For some years after his return from this long and arduous journey, it does not appear that our dear friend kept any memorandums; he was, however, industriously engaged in the service of his Lord and Master, travelling in the exercise of his gift as a minister of the Gospel into various parts of the country.

In the year 1802, in conjunction with his beloved friend Enoch Dorland, he performed a religious visit to Friends in the western part of the state of New York and in Canada; and most of the settlements at that time being newly made, they underwent many privations and hardships. He was also engaged in several other short journies, undertaken on a similar account, cheerfully devoting a large portion of his time, and giving up to spend and be spent for the promotion of that precious cause, which was dearer to him than any earthly possession.

His mind, for several years, had been deeply exercised with a prospect of duty, to pay a religious visit in the love of the Gospel, to Friends and others in Great Britain and Ireland; and in the year 1810, he obtained certificates from his Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, liberating him for this important embassy; and the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders having also furnished him with the requisite credentials, he embarked for Liverpool in the sixth month of that year. Whilst labouring under the prospect of leaving his beloved home and relations, to fulfil this engagement of duty, he penned the following remarks, viz:

2nd day of second month, 1810. In retirement and under a solemn impression of mind, I am led to look at the prospect I have submitted to my friends, which looks awful from its greatness, and my littleness, with the sacrifices to be made, if way should open for me to go, having a dear wife and children, for whose comfort in life I am so desirous, that I am willing to exert my strength in labouring for their subsistence, both day and night, if necessary. To leave these, and a circle of near friends and connexions, seems nothing short of forsaking all, I trust, for the Gospel's sake. I think no prospect of accumulating worldly treasure, would be an inducement for me to leave them and encounter the perils of a voyage across the ocean. My home is comfortable, and having lately commenced the interesting employment of farming, I have the consoling prospect of soon being clear of the cumber of a multipli-

city of business, in which I have heretofore been too much engaged; the profits of which, however great, would never induce me to engage therein again. Oh! that the ministers of the Gospel in our Society may keep clear of the entanglements of the world, especially those that are inseparable from trade and commerce! Had I attended to the clear intimations of Truth in my own mind, I never should have engaged in them; but the Searcher of hearts knows, that it was not in rebellion, that I gave up to the judgment of others in this respect. Through adorable mercy, I have experienced the condescension of Israel's Shepherd to be great towards me; and he hath at times been pleased to impress my mind with Gospel love, under the influence whereof, I have endeavoured to labour in the ability received for the good of mankind, that they might come to walk in the light of the Lord, to the praise of his great and worthy name. In these services I have sometimes been at a distance from my home, for a considerable length of time, and found that I have served a good Master, his love sufficiently compensated for the privation of domestic comforts, and the endearing ties of nature; that now I think I can say as I have sometimes thought, when I apprehended the probability of a final separation being near, that there is no part of my life to which I can recur with so much satisfaction, as the time I have spent in the service of the Gospel. I am sensible that I have sometimes made misses in my services, and was, I trust, thankful to be made sensible thereof. It is a great work, and we had need to die daily, if favoured to keep even pace, neither too fast, nor yet too slow; and the fervent desire of my mind in the present prospect is, that I may continue to be resigned to Divine disposal, and if way should open, to go in that littleness which prefers others to ourselves; for surely I may say with Gideon, my father's family is poor in Manassah, and I am the least in my father's house; yet there is strength in Omnipotence, and if he is pleased to separate me to the work, good is his will. Next to this is the sympathy and unity of the brethren; if favoured with this, it will be a confirmation to the first:—"by one spirit are ye baptized into one body, and also to drink together in the spirit," said the apostle; that with sincere desires to do right, I have again thrown myself as amongst my friends, who, I believe will do what is best.

Sixth month 2nd, 1810. I parted with my dear wife, after a solemn and baptizing season, at the house of my cousin Wager Hull, in New York; wherein we commended each other to the protecting care of Israel's Shep-

herd. She was to return home with our children, and immediately set out to attend Rhode Island Yearly Meeting. I remained in New York, with a prospect of soon crossing the seas to visit the churches in Great Britain and Ireland. The season of parting was truly solemn, when we remembered our dear children, and that our motives in the separation were purely religious, without any view to earthly advantages. Thou, O Lord, knowest that it is in obedience to thy blessed will, manifested by the precious effusions of thy holy Spirit in our hearts. My trust is in thee—I pray thee to keep my dear wife and children, through all their trials, in humble dependence upon thee, that their minds may be sweetened by resignation to thy blessed will. Do thou be pleased to soothe their afflicted minds with the balm of thy love, and thereby cheer and support them during my absence. Thou hast a right to do with us as seemeth good unto thee—blessed be thy holy name—keep me in thy fear, that I may acceptably fulfil the mission, in which I am engaged, to thy honour and praise.

3d. Sat the meeting in New York in a humble, peaceful frame of mind, and on the 6th, attended the Monthly Meeting there to some satisfaction.

7th. The day appointed to embark for Liverpool, but the wind being from the north-east, our captain concluded to wait, in order to see the result of the present indications of an easterly storm. I rode out of town to see some of my friends.

The anticipated storm coming on, the vessel did not leave the harbour for several days. His diary proceeds:

10th. Attended the meeting at the Pearl street house, in New York, to good satisfaction, after which I received word that the ship was to sail at half-past two o'clock. We had a solemn and humbling season, at the house of my cousin aforesaid, and accompanied by a number of Friends, went on board the ship; but the wind being light and too much from the east to lay our course, I returned on shore and went to Liberty street meeting, which was small but solemn. My way opened in the line of the ministry, to encourage my friends to faithful dedication in the service of Truth, and in reverent supplication and humble praise, to commend myself and them to the gracious keeping of the Shepherd of Israel. Another Friend was also drawn forth in fervent intercession, that preservation might attend me in the embassy in which I was engaged. There seemed to be a general uniting in the petition, and thanksgivings and praises were witnessed to flow to the Preserver of

men, for favours past and for the hope vouchsafed that they would be continued.

11th. At the dawn of day the captain of the ship called for me, and we went to the wharf, in order to embark, but a thick fog and light wind caused the pilot to decline taking charge of the ship—we therefore returned.

13th. Embarked early in the morning on board the ship Russell, Joseph Allen, master, and weighed anchor between seven and eight o'clock, A. M., with a south-west wind. About noon the pilot left us off the light house, wind moderate and a heavy swell running, occasioned by the late storm. I was soon sea-sick.

22nd. Was a very boisterous day. In the night the wind lulled and left a high sea running, so that the ship tossed and rolled tremendously. I have suffered much hitherto with sea-sickness, but feel comfortable in mind and resigned to my situation.

24th. The wind from the north with rain; a cold and suffering time for the poor sailors, and how much more so must it be in the winter season. I have often thought during the voyage, of John Woolman's Observations on a sea-faring life. Commerce is pursued with too much avidity, by the members of our Society, as well as others, merely to gratify imaginary wants;—the real wants of man are few, and happy are they who know their desires circumscribed in the fear of God.

25th. Wind came out from the north-west, and we had a fine run; by our computation we passed the banks of Newfoundland this evening, which is one-third of our distance, in twelve days; the frequent changes we have been obliged to make in our course, have occasioned much additional toil to the poor seamen.

Seventh month, 5th. In the evening, by a lunar observation, we found ourselves about one hundred and ninety miles from Cape Clear, in Ireland.

8th. Sounded at eight o'clock, A. M., and found bottom at sixty fathoms. Altered our course from S. E. by south, to N. E. by east. By an observation at noon, we found ourselves considerably to the east and north of Cape Clear, by which we knew that we had passed it in the night. About four o'clock, P. M., saw the land of Ireland, bearing north by east.

9th. A light breeze from the south, with which we ran rapidly up George's Channel, and by four o'clock, P. M., the wind had increased to a gale, and the weather become so dark and thick, we could not tell where we were by any observation of the land. Happily, we met a vessel just as we got up to Holyhead, by which we learned that we must

steer east to make it, which we accordingly did, and in a few minutes saw the point, and keeping close in shore, we came abreast of the Skerries light-house about seven o'clock. It is scarcely possible for a person who has not been confined to the sight of water only during a sea voyage, to conceive how pleasing the view of land is. The rain and haze were so thick, that objects on shore were scarcely discernible, and the wind blowing tremendously, our situation awakened some serious reflections. For, although we were within a few hours sail of our destined port, yet the state of the weather, and the approach of night, made us apprehensive of danger, both from the coast and the numerous vessels in the channel. We were obliged to lie on and off during the night, as no pilot had hailed us, and we could not proceed without one. Our captain intends to keep the light-houses of Holyhead and the Skerries in view; and as the nights are short, and our ship made very snug, with closely reefed top-sails and jib only, we hope to ride safely. How changeable are all human things! Yesterday the weather was remarkably pleasant; now how altered! We have, however, no alternative, but to await the issue of the night, not knowing what the morrow may produce. I feel comfortable in mind, resigned to the will of Israel's Shepherd—believing I cannot cast my care any where, but upon him, and find the same comfort and serenity as I now enjoy.

10th. A fine morning—the wind fell about midnight and veered round to the westward, and about seven o'clock we took a pilot on board, and at ten o'clock hove to, to wait for the tide, in company with a number of other ships, among whom was the Hannibal, which left New York three days after we did. We lay in sight of the mountains of North Wales, which somewhat resemble the Catskill mountains, in New York State. Whilst sitting alone in the cabin, I felt my mind reverently bowed before Jehovah, the Shepherd of Israel; the sweet influences of whose love, enabled me renewedly to dedicate my all to his blessed service, with desires, that I may be wholly devoted to his will in this religious embassy, without murmuring at any thing I may suffer, either in body or mind, for the precious cause sake. My heart was filled with praises to Him whose mercies endure forever—may all the house of Israel bless his great name. In the afternoon, about four o'clock, we came abreast of Liverpool, but did not land until about eight o'clock in the evening. Owing to an omission in our bill of health not being signed by the British consul at New York, we expected to be obliged to ride quarantine, but were agreeably released from our apprehen-

sions, and William Sprague, a Friend who was acquainted with the captain, coming on board in a boat, he took me home with him. My arrival was unexpected, Friends not having heard of my prospect of visiting the nation, until I landed; but I met a welcome reception, and was comforted in being once more in the company of Friends.

After attending a meeting on fifth-day, the 12th, I rode out of town, to the house of Christopher Thompson, where I rested, being unwell.

14th. Benjamin White, from Pennsylvania, having come to Liverpool, to take passage for home, and Susannah Horne being about to proceed to America on a religious visit to the churches there, and being also in town, I went with them on board the ship in which they had engaged their passages, and we all attended the fore and afternoon meetings on first-day in Liverpool to pretty good satisfaction. On third-day, the 17th, I rode to Warrington, and was at meeting there; and also had one at six o'clock in the evening for the towns people, in which the flowing of Gospel love was experienced, and I was enlarged in communication to the people. Next day, in company with John Bludwick and wife, I went to Chester, where there are but few Friends. We had a public meeting, which was satisfactory, and I attended their Monthly Meeting next day. Although but few members constitute it, I was glad in being with them, and believe the renewed visitation of ancient Goodness were witnessed to the comfort of many minds. After a solid season of religious retirement, at the house of a widow and her daughter, where several other Friends were present, I rode to Liverpool, where I met with my dear friends aforesaid, waiting the sailing of the ship, and Martha Routh who had come to see them. I was glad of the company of this devoted servant of the Lord, whom I had often seen in my native land, when she was there in Truth's service.

On first-day, the 22nd, was at the forenoon meeting at Liverpool, and dear Susannah Horne having a prospect of a religious meeting for the benefit of the servants in Friends' families, and my mind being under a similar engagement, the afternoon meeting was put off until six o'clock, and Friends requested to set their domestics at liberty to attend, with which they cheerfully complied; many staying at home, where it was necessary, to let them attend. The meeting was large and solid, and many minds were bowed under a sense of the renewed favour of our heavenly Father.

26th. I was at the Monthly Meeting at this place, which many Friends from the country

attended, affording me an opportunity of acquaintance with some from the several meetings constituting this large Monthly Meeting. Friends appeared to be well engaged in the management of the business. Meetings were arranged for me to attend during the following week, and notice of them sent forward. The dear Friends about to embark for America, being still detained, were with us at the meeting for worship, but did not stay to that for business, having notice to be on board the ship shortly. After dining I went on board with them, being rowed four or five miles in a small boat. On the way the wind increased, and a shower of rain overtook us, and many Friends of the place being in company, some apprehensions for our safety were felt by those on shore, as the thickness of the weather and rain hid us from their view. We, however, got safely on board, and parted from our dear friends with mutual desires for the continuance of the protecting care of Israel's Shepherd.

On first-day evening at six o'clock, I had a large public meeting at Liverpool, in which, through holy help, Truth was exalted to my humble admiration and gratitude. On third-day following, in company with Isaac Hadwin, I rode to Ashton, where we had a very solid, and I trust, encouraging meeting; the uniting influence of Divine love being witnessed among us. The number of Friends here is greatly reduced, from what it once was, by removals to Liverpool.

Eighth month, 1st. I was at a small meeting at Longtree, and in the evening had a very large and crowded one at the town of Wigton. The people were very quiet and attentive to the doctrines of Truth, which flowed freely amongst them, and the meeting concluded in humble thankfulness to the Master of our assemblies for his renewed favours. I had to believe, that if the few Friends in this town keep their places in the Truth, there will be a gathering hereaway. We lodged at our friend James Nevill's, where our feelings were very comfortable, under the belief that they were desirous to do what they could for the cause of Truth.

Fifth-day, 2nd. Was at West Houghton, and had a precious meeting with a few poor Friends, a considerable part of whom were not members, but were drawn to meet together from an inward conviction of the propriety of the engagement. It was a reviving opportunity, in which our spirits were dipped into near sympathy one with another, with much tenderness. May the Shepherd of Israel preserve them in meekness, that through the light of their example, others may be drawn into the same serious concern. Too many of

their neighbours spend a part of their small earnings foolishly, in idle pastimes and strong drink. I believe these Friends are called to be examples of sobriety and godliness, and may be a great blessing to the neighbourhood, if they retain their integrity. We dined at one of their cottages, in preference to going where we might have been more sumptuously entertained, and were well satisfied in doing so. From this place we rode through Bolton to Edgeworth, and had a comfortable meeting—returned to Bolton and had a meeting in the evening, but to little satisfaction, as they appeared in a low weak state.

Next day we went to Manchester, and put up with Richard Routh, where we enjoyed the company of his valuable wife. Attended their meeting on first-day morning, and a large public one held in the evening, and had several family sittings, all to good satisfaction. We had the company of several worthy Friends belonging to this place, and I was favoured to feel comfortable in the retrospect of my endeavours to promote a revival of ancient zeal and simplicity in this place. We left on second-day morning, and called to see George Jones, who accompanied us to Lowlayton, where there is but one family of Friends. They occupy an estate left to the Society by William Beard, as an evidence of his love to the cause of Truth. Near this place lived that faithful servant of Christ, John Gratton; but little evidence of his pious labours for the good of mankind is now visible hereaway. Many of the neighbours came to the meeting we had here, and the power of Truth rose measurably into dominion, spreading an humbling solemnity over us, and many interesting truths were delivered, endeavouring to bring the people off from their idle customs and pastimes, to which many of the poor manufacturers are addicted, and by which much of their small earnings is foolishly spent, to their own injury and that of their families. The following day we sat with Friends of Stockport to good satisfaction, and in the evening had a large public meeting in the upper story of a building erected for the accommodation of a first-day school for poor children. Next day we had a precious meeting with Friends of Macclesfield, and a full one in the evening with the town's-people, which was satisfactory. At this place Truth seemed to be in dominion, and the meeting is much increased within a few years, being formerly kept up by only two or three persons. Several of the Methodists have been brought off from a dependence on creaturely activity, to sit under their own vine and fig-tree, where none can make afraid, and where Christ Jesus is known to teach his people

himself. The next meetings were Morley, Franley, and one in the evening at Newton near the Forest, where no meeting of Friends is now held, although there is a meeting-house, and formerly a large meeting was held in it. Now, only two members live near; there is, however, some convincement among the neighbours, and I felt a hope, that the meeting would again revive.

First-day, attended the meeting at Namptwich, where I had a close opportunity with Friends, under feelings of brotherly sympathy with them in their reduced state, both as regards numbers and the life of religion. A few of the dear children appeared hopeful. In the evening had a very full meeting with the inhabitants, in which the doctrines of Truth were freely declared, and humble thanksgivings and praises offered unto Israel's Shepherd, who is worthy forever and ever. Amen.

At Leek, I had to open to the few Friends, the necessity of receiving daily supplies of heavenly bread, in order to sustain the spiritual life in the soul, and to be enabled to follow the example of our worthy predecessors in the Truth; and that without this, we should dwindle into formality and become useless. In the evening we had a meeting with the town's people, and next day rode to Uttoxeter and had a meeting that evening. The usual meeting occurring in course next day, we sat with the few Friends who compose it; and under the feeling of near sympathy, was drawn to encourage them to a faithful dedication of time and talents to the work of the Lord, in their day; setting forth the great duty of diligently attending all our religious meetings, thus evincing our love to the holy Helper of his people, and our dependence upon him for ability to be useful to the people where we live, which would not fail to be vouchsafed, if rightly sought after—our endeavours proceeding from pure love to the holy Head.

On our way to Ridgley, Samuel Bolton and Isaac Hadwin, riding in a gig before mine, their horse suddenly fell to kicking violently; and Isaac, to avoid being struck by his feet, attempted to escape at the back of the gig, but fell upon his head, by which he was much bruised and hurt; regardless, however, of his own injuries, and anxious for his friend's safety, he caught the horse by the head and stopped him, just as Samuel had fallen between the wheel and the fence, and thereby saved him probably from being torn to pieces. Their gig was so broken, that they could not proceed in it; and after binding up their bruises, we all set forward in one chaise, and rode some distance. We reached Ridgley in time for the meeting, which was a very satisfactory

one, held for the first time in the town-hall; a spirit of opposition having heretofore prevented Friends from obtaining it. Truth reigned to the astonishment of some, who seemed to look upon us with contempt when they first came in; it was a solemn season, in which the proud spirits were chained down, the humble comforted, and the praise ascribed to Him who is forever worthy.

The following day we had a meeting in the court-house at Stafford, which was well attended and satisfactory. The mayor of the town sent an officer to keep order at the door, and showed other marks of his esteem for Friends and good will to promote the meeting. Very different was the reception we met with, from that which our worthy ancients experienced in their day, at this place, where they were sorely persecuted; the remembrance of which humbled my mind, and produced thankfulness to Him, whose power had opened the way for his people to worship him unmolested by man. From this place we rode to Colebrookdale, the residence of that truly devoted and humble servant of Jesus Christ, Deborah Darby, who deceased a few months past, and has left a sweet memorial behind her, surpassed by few. As I sat in the meeting here, I sensibly felt the loss which the church has sustained by her removal, having known her in America, and shed tears of endearing sympathy for her in the sufferings she underwent, and which were inseparable from travelling in a wilderness land. But she bore them all cheerfully; setting an example of devotedness, not common among those in affluent circumstances; and though wanting for nothing which the riches of this world could command, she freely surrendered all her domestic comforts, and gave up to spend and be spent for the Gospel's sake, both in her own country and in foreign lands. Her great exertions in travelling, as well as in the exercise of her gift, were believed to be a means of shortening her days, as she herself expressed; but the precious evidence of Divine approbation was her support. May we who survive her press after the same experience, and submissively acquiesce in our bereavement, under the consoling evidence, that our dear sister is enjoying the reward of a well spent life. Many servants and handmaidens have done valiantly, and dear Deborah was not behind many of them. Blessed be the name of Israel's God, who has taken her to himself.

On first-day I was at the morning and evening meeting at this place, and rested the day following. On third-day, had a meeting at the Newdale, and one in the evening with Friends of Colebrookdale, in which the uniting love of the Gospel was precious witness



among us; and under its influence, advice was delivered in plain language, to rich and poor, which was well received, and we parted in much good will, and with mutual desires for each other's preservation. On fourth-day had a meeting with the few Friends at Shrewsbury, and in the evening one with the town's-people, which was small; yet few meetings that I have attended have been more evidently owned by Him who promised, "where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

The following morning we were joined by Barnard Dickinson, and set out for Wales, and next day reached Dolegelly to dinner. In the afternoon we walked to the meeting-house at Tydnygarreg, in which Lowry Jones lived, from whom we learned, that they had not heard of our intention of having a meeting with them; and as the day was far spent, we concluded to return and meet with them next first-day. Lowry Jones showed us a small cottage in a grove of trees, lately the habitation of a valued Friend, named Dorothy Owen. As I stood looking round, my mind was comforted, in considering how happy many of the worthies have been who were strangers to affluence. Wales has been the birth-place of many, who lived and died in the Truth; but now the number of such seems small indeed, compared with what it was in the first breaking forth of Truth. Many of these valiants removed to Pennsylvania, and others were gathered from works to rewards, and the few who remain, love their friends and should not be neglected, though much fatigue is to be endured by those who visit them. We passed a very dangerous piece of road, about three quarters of a mile in length, which is dug out of the side of a hill, at the foot of which and directly below us the sea was dashing. As it was considered dangerous to pass, we dismounted from our carriage to walk; and being told that the nearest way was under the hill on the sea shore, I set out to go, while the Friends led the horses. When I had got a part of the way, I found the tide was so high, that I could not pass a point of rocks against which it was dashing, and the distance being considerable to return the way I came, I attempted to climb the rocks, but found them so loose as to endanger their rolling upon me. The dilemma I was in affected my nerves with an unusual trembling, and I became alarmed. I now set out to walk back, fearing that the rising tide would enclose me and prevent my escape; and seeing a path slanting up the hill, where the sheep passed, I clambered up it upon my hands and feet—my trembling increased so, that I thought I should lose my foothold; but recollecting that delibe-

ration and care were necessary in my present situation, I became more collected, and was favoured to ascend the mountain safely. I did not entirely recover myself, however, until I had passed the precipice. When I had got part way up, I saw Barnard Dickinson coming to look after me, as they perceived the tide had risen much higher than they were before aware of. We were kindly received by Henry Owen, who had lost his wife a few months before; she was a worthy daughter of a Friend, who possessed the estate called Llewyndee, where the meeting had been held ever since it was set up in the time of Oliver Cromwell; during all which period the property had been held by an Owen. The number of Friends has for many years, and perhaps always, been small, and now there are only three, one of whom could not understand English. Beside these, a woman has attended meetings with them for several months past, the only instance of the kind which has occurred for forty years, though many of the neighbours come in when notice is given that a minister is to be with them. This was the case in the meeting we had, and I thought a renewed visitation was extended to those present. Next morning we rode to Dolegelly, and attended the meeting at Tydnygarreg, and from thence proceeded to Machnylleth, which we reached about five o'clock in the evening; and many of the inhabitants being in the streets, we sought a place to hold a meeting with them, but could not obtain any, except the open space under the town-house, where a large number assembled and stood, there being no seats. I was drawn forth in testimony amongst them; and though the multitude and bustle seemed at first to make against the solemnity which it is precious to experience at such times, yet the power of Truth brought them into great stillness. The day following we rode to Landyloes, and had a comfortable meeting, in an upper room at an inn. Here Barnard Dickinson left us to return home—his company had been pleasant and very useful on the journey. After attending meetings at Pales and Hay, we had a large one in the town-hall at Hereford, which was to good satisfaction. On the next first-day, sat with Friends at Leominster, in the morning; and in the evening had a very crowded public meeting, not more than half the people being able to get into the house. A clergyman sat in the gallery with us, who, as I afterward learned, had a few days before taken for his text the same passage of Scripture which I felt engaged to hold up to the view of the people, in order to show the necessity of a quiet inward waiting, in order to experience a preparation of heart from the

Lord, to worship him aright; and that this was equally as necessary for the minister as for the hearer. I also showed, that all external performances entered upon in the will and wisdom of man, and without this preparation, were no more acceptable in the Divine sight, than the performances of the Jews, which the Lord rejected. The aforesaid clergyman had asserted in his discourse, that the charge to the disciples to "tarry at Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high," was not to be considered as applicable to any but the apostles, and that in our day, no such thing was to be looked for. As the doctrines of the Gospel were opened to my mind with great clearness, I had to assert a contrary opinion, as indeed, I had abundant cause to do from my own experience; for I often find, that as my mind is reverently bowed under the baptizing influence of Divine power, doctrines are opened to me with a degree of clearness that I had never before witnessed, under a consideration of which I have often been much humbled. Thus it was this evening, words flowed like oil, and the power of Truth produced a great stillness and solemnity, both in the house and among those who stood around it, so that the priest's hearers, many of whom were present, had an opportunity of witnessing for themselves, that the promise of Christ is fulfilled to us in this day, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." I was glad I had not heard of his reviling Friends in his sermon, as I afterward learned he did; and also, that I did not know who he was—though had I known, my testimony would have been the same.

I had meetings at Bromley, Dudley, Birmingham, Worcester and Ross, in some of which Truth rose into dominion, so that no opposition was felt; and where Truth seemed to be under suffering, I was enabled to suffer with it. At Worcester I sat with the elders in their select meeting. They appeared sensible of their low state, no minister being left amongst them. We were comforted together in a renewed belief, that although much stripped, they were not forsaken. Here and at Birmingham there are several hopeful young people; may they be preserved in humble dependence upon Israel's Shepherd. From Ross we went to Leominster, and attended their meetings on first-day, and had a very full one in the evening. We were also at the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting held there, which were small, and the accounts brought up to the latter were indicative of great weakness. In one meeting there was but one Friend found who was willing to receive the appointment of overseer. Friends were induced to take into

consideration the propriety of uniting two of the smaller Monthly Meetings, and a committee was accordingly appointed to visit them, and report to next meeting.

From Leominster we proceeded to the Half-year's Meeting for Wales, held at Breckon, which was owned by the great and gracious Caretaker of his people, and the business was well conducted, except the want of more solid weightiness of spirit in some, who it is to be feared, are too ready in speaking to business, and thus in some instances, there was a want of that order, in which, one by one, all have the opportunity of relieving their minds. Care is necessary in speaking to the business of meetings, as well as when we arise to speak in the ministry, that we wait to feel the mind clothed with a right qualification, so as to speak to the purpose and preserve the solemnity of the meeting. Friends are thinly dispersed over Wales; and being now assembled from various and distant parts, they appeared to enjoy each other's company very pleasantly at the inns, there being no Friend's house in the town. From Breckon I proceeded and had meetings at Pontypool and Neveton, and then rode to the house of a person who had recently become acquainted with Friends, and united with them so far as to receive the messengers of the Gospel. We were strangers to each other, but the cementing love of our heavenly Father made our meeting mutually pleasant, and we had a satisfactory opportunity the same evening. Next morning Peter Price met me here, and with him I rode to Neath, and attended their week-day meeting, and proceeded to Milford-haven, having meetings on the way at Swanzey, Carmarthen and Haverford-west. I had a passage of about twelve hours to Waterford, in Ireland. Soon after my arrival I visited the family of Richard Jacob, who were in deep affliction, in consequence of the sudden removal of this servant of Christ. The loss to the widow and children is indeed great, but they have not to sorrow as those who have no hope; for although his removal was sudden and unexpected, there is good reason to believe he was prepared. He had been at meeting, and was drawn forth in fervent prayer, to the comfort of many minds present, and soon after he got home was seized with a fit, and died before night. The church too has sustained a great loss in his death; there are now but two men Friends in the station of ministers in Ireland. During the first week of my stay in Waterford, I had three evening meetings with the town's-people, the first and last of which were to good satisfaction; at the other, the people were unsettled and Truth did not arise into dominion as in the others.

On seventh-day, the 20th of tenth month, the select Quarterly Meeting for Munster province, was held at Waterford, in which I was enabled to feel something of the cementing love of our heavenly Father, and in the strength thereof was led to set forth the necessity of a faithful individual engagement at our respective posts, a want of which appeared evident; yet, there is a precious remnant preserved amongst them, who have proved their attachment to the cause of God, whilst the shield of the mighty has been vilely cast away, and many fallen "as upon Mount Gilboa, where there is neither dew nor rain."

The meetings on the following day were favoured seasons, in which a tender and affectionate call was extended to the youth, under a persuasion, that a renewed visitation was afforded them from Him, whose mercies sweeten all the toils of life. A cloud of witnesses can still bear their testimony to the love he has toward the children of believing parents—may they be wholly given up to his direction through time, that so a succession of standard and testimony bearers may be found in the militant church. In this town there are many hopeful youth, for whom, in the course of the time I spent amongst them, I was frequently engaged, I trust under the love of the Gospel, which drew me from my dear kindred and friends in a distant land. Often was my spirit bowed in reverent supplication for them, to the Father of mercies, that he would be pleased to have them in his holy keeping, that they might grow up in his favour, and come forward acceptably to the help of his servants, in advancing that cause, which is dignified with immortality and crowned with eternal life. My health being affected by a cold, I went to Henry Ridgway's for a few days, and felt comfortable in the society of his valued wife and exemplary children. His wife had lately paid a visit to the innkeepers and keepers of tippling-houses, of which there are many in several of the towns of Ireland, to warn them in the name of the Majesty of heaven, not to let the poor thoughtless persons who frequent their houses, have strong drink, seeing so many families had been injured thereby, as well as the morals of those persons destroyed. She was generally heard with solid attention and respect, although the rude rabble several times attempted to raise a riot and abuse her, as she was passing from house to house; yet they did her no violence, and many listened attentively to the testimonies borne in their hearing against the baneful custom of tippling. After spending about three weeks with Friends in and about Waterford, I proceeded to Clonmel, in the county of Tipperary, and put up at the house of my kind

friends John and Sarah Grubb. I attended their Monthly Meeting and meetings for worship, as they came in course, and had a very satisfactory public meeting with the inhabitants. From hence I went to Cork, and attended a first-day meeting; then to Youghall, and was at the Monthly Meeting, and had a large meeting with the town's-people in the evening, which was satisfactory, and returned to the Monthly Meeting of Cork, where John Conran, who had been with me since the Quarterly Meeting at Waterford, opened his concern to visit the families of Friends in and about the city, which was encouraged by the meeting, and I informed Friends I had thoughts of accompanying him to some of the families, as I found my mind engaged and way opened. Friends united with this prospect, and our friend John Conran seemed much relieved, as he had been under great discouragement. Things appeared to be much out of order amongst them, both from the minutes of the meeting and what we witnessed in sitting with them, so that the work looked truly arduous. We entered immediately upon the visit, and Friends generally received us with freedom, and divers of the opportunities were to mutual satisfaction; but others, alas! were humbling seasons from the want of a religious engagement amongst the visited. Too many were contenting themselves with the name of Friends, some neglecting their religious meetings upon slight occasions, others conforming to the world and the customs of the times, with scarcely the appearance of a Friend, and a few were in a spirit of bitterness toward their fellow members; but through adorable mercy, we were enabled in meekness to set the judgment of Truth over opposing spirits, some of whom appeared humbled. Often times a loving invitation was extended to the youth, like the flowing of the heavenly oil, and many were much tendered thereby. Having the comfortable answer of peace in my mind, I was willing to continue pretty much through the visit, and was at about one hundred sittings; the engagement was an arduous one, beginning early in the morning and being out late in the evening, and the streets being very damp with the almost daily rain, I took a heavy cold, which much affected my head, and obliged me to give up on the last day and take some rest. Accompanied by a kind friend, we went to Fermoy, where several young Friends reside, with whom we had a religious opportunity, and proceeded to Limerick and attended their week-day and first-day meetings. The one in the morning of first-day was a favoured season, in which the testimony of Truth flowed with unusual clearness; things new and old being presented to

my mind, as I stood upon my feet, with strength to hand them forth to the people, to my own humble admiration. I also visited several aged and infirm Friends to satisfaction, and had a large evening meeting. On second-day I was taken unwell, and prevented from setting out for Garryroane, as I had proposed; but in a few days was better. During this time, the remembrance of my beloved wife and family often made me thoughtful, with humble desires that they may be preserved through the vicissitudes of time in the sweet enjoyment of Divine love, which more than compensates for the loss of the company of near connexions and friends—makes hard things easy, and sweetens the bitter cups. It is long since I heard from them, and an anxiety sometimes rises in my mind when contemplating my situation, far separated from them, and the uncertainty of life. This, however, is now sweetly and comfortably removed, by the arising of the language, “Good is thy will, O Lord!” under which feeling, I commend my dearly beloved family, with my own soul, to his holy keeping, fervently praying that we may not forget his mercies, which have been plenteously bestowed upon us, though at times we have been tried with outward besetments, and have had to endure losses and crosses in the business of this world; yet not so, but that we have had many comforts, even in the things of this life, which others have not enjoyed. My dear wife has been a true help-meet to me, both in religious engagements and in the toils and cares of this life, and my children affectionate and kind. Lord, what shall I render unto thee for all thy mercies? Grant that I may be preserved grateful therefor, and that my dear wife and children may experience thy watchful providence extended over them, to preserve them under thy keeping and in the blessed counsel of thy holy Spirit. Amen.

From Limerick I went to Garryroane, and was twice with Friends at their meeting. Whilst in this place, as well as at other times, I felt a tender sympathy with my dear friends, who are often tried by the depredations of unprincipled men, who do not regard the laws of their country nor the Divine law, but frequently commit robberies and sometimes murder. Several Friends have suffered the loss of property, but generally they have escaped unhurt, except the fright occasioned by threats made with drawn swords and presented pistols. The present seems a calamitous time, and like a prelude to more general troubles. Was the unrighteous exaction of tithes done away, I believe the people would be more quiet; but they are so fleeced by the established clergy, who have the law on their side,

to enforce their demands, as well as by their own popish priests, that after paying them and their rent, they have little left to live upon. Sometimes they are turned off their lands for want of means to pay their rent, and seem almost in a state of desperation, which induces them to resort to the iniquitous practice of plundering others.

Much yet remains to be done, in order that the people may be brought to sit under the vine and the fig-tree, where none can make them afraid. Christ Jesus is the true and living vine, and were the pretended ministers, his ministers and servants, they would not seek their gain, as many of them do; but labour to bring the people to a conformity to the Divine will, and to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. O mystery Babylon, Babylon! She must fall, whether Protestant or Papist, saith the Lord; then shall my people dwell securely: but commotions will increase in the earth, and the people to whom he has made himself known, having too much partaken with the inhabitants of the land in the prevailing iniquities, will have also to partake of the troubles and sufferings which are approaching—then will Zion come forth with brightness, and her light be as a lamp that burneth.

After leaving Garryroane, I spent a few days at the house of Samuel Grubb, of Clogheen, who with his family had been much alarmed by his having been attacked upon the road and beaten and robbed; his wife and son had also been robbed upon the highway. She appeared cheerful, although tried at the state of the country, on her children’s account. She is a valuable minister, and I had much comfort in being under their roof. She rode with me to attend the Select Meeting at Clonmel, which was satisfactory. I staid their meetings on first and fifth-day; in the interim visited some Friends under trying circumstances, and on the 28th set out for Carlow to attend the Quarterly Meeting there. The meeting of ministers and elders was held the 29th, and next day being the first of the week, two meetings for worship, and on the day following, that for business; in all which we had cause to renew our confidence in Israel’s Helper, in the belief that he had not forsaken his people, but was renewing his favours to them, with the offers of his gracious help.

On the third of the week and 1st of the year 1811, was held the parting meeting for worship; after which we rode to Ballynakill, and were at a small meeting there next day, returning the same evening to Carlow, where we had a very large meeting with the town’s-people, in which the doctrines of the Gospel

were freely declared to a solid and attentive audience; the praise is due to Him who only can still the raging waves of the sea. After meeting, a kind friend handed me a packet of letters from my dear family, which she had received before meeting, but prudently kept them, without informing me thereof, lest it should unsettle my mind, as I would not have time to read them before meeting. The information they contained respecting my family was comfortable. In reading these tokens of tender affection from my beloved connexions and friends, my mind was so filled with thoughtfulness respecting them, that I did not get to sleep until two o'clock in the morning, and I was obliged to rise before six, in order to reach Ballitore in time for meeting. On seventh-day we rode to Bathy, and had a very comfortable opportunity with a few Friends who lived near the place. On the following day attended the fore and afternoon meetings at Ballitore, where but little labour in the ministry fell to my lot. I had to lament the very low state of the meeting, but a hope arose, that there would be a revival and a return to health, out of the wounded and diseased state which many had been left in by the apostacy of Abraham Shackleton, who rejected the doctrines of Truth, and lost himself in the labyrinth of conjecture and speculation. I reached Dublin on the 7th of first month, and during my stay in the city attended their meetings as they came in course. The Monthly Meeting was a solid comfortable season, in which the minds of Friends seemed united in concern to have the discipline conducted to the real advantage of the members, many of whom are immersed in the concerns of the world, and seem to have little thought respecting their duties in the militant church: thus the work falls heavily on the few who are given up thereto.

After attending meetings at Ballynakill and Wicklow, I left Dublin and rode to Rathfriland, in Ulster Quarter, where a great fall of snow detained us nine days. The wind blowing very hard while the snow was falling, drifted it so as to block up the roads, which stopped travelling and prevented the mails from accomplishing their routes. Many vessels were lost on the coast during the storm, and a number of persons perished in the snow. One of the mail coaches was so buried in a snow bank, that they were unable to extricate it, and the passengers were obliged to sit in the coach all night. After the storm and snow had considerably subsided, with some difficulty I reached Moyallen, and was at their meeting. Many of the Seceders live at this place, a number of whom attended and seemed well satisfied. Some of them see the loss

they have sustained, several have returned to Friends again, while others appear obstinate. Great is the loss which the dear youth have sustained; they seem estranged from the Truth and gone off into the wilderness of the world. Sorrowful, indeed, are the effects of parents giving way to the wild imaginations of the human mind! What will they do in that solemn season of inquisition, when the query will be, "What hast thou done with those lambs which I committed to thy care?"

From Moyallen I went to Lurgan, and was at the usual meeting on first-day, and in the evening at a very large one with the town's-people, where the doctrines of Truth were largely opened in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power: the people were solid and appeared well satisfied. The authority of Truth reigned over all, and there seemed a renewed visitation extended to this place, where anciently the Truth prevailed, although now the number of Friends is small. Formerly it was the residence of many worthy Friends, among whom was that faithful servant and minister of Jesus, William Edmundson.

I then attended Hillsborough meeting, and had a suffering time on the following fifth-day at the Monthly Meeting at Lisburn; visited the province school there on sixth-day, and was at Monthly Meeting at Lurgan on seventh-day. First-day attended Moyallen meeting, and then the Monthly Meetings of Grange and Rich-hill, where the Gospel was preached in the love of the heavenly Shepherd, and Friends invited to come to the living fountain, Christ Jesus. In the management of the discipline of the church, cause for mourning was administered, things appearing to be much out of order. It being the time for answering the queries, complaint was made in several of the meetings, that some Friends were remiss in the great duty of attending meetings for worship and discipline; some guilty of attending places of diversion, and many of paying tithes and church-rates. Yet a hope was expressed, that in each meeting there was a revival of concern in the minds of a number, to have things brought into better order, and to put the discipline in force against such as persisted in these inconsistent practices. This, together with the evident extendings of Divine love, in a renewed call to come out and be separated from the world's vain customs and maxims, afforded ground to hope that things would be better amongst them.

On first-day, the 24th, I attended a meeting at Ballinacree, where the number of Friends is very small; but we had the company of a Methodist preacher and his hearers, and it was a solid comfortable season. The follow-

ing day we had a meeting at Lower Grange, and then rode to Antrim, where we had a solemn, good meeting with a number of the town's-people and the few Friends living there, much to the satisfaction of my mind, which had been oppressed under a consideration of the low state of our Society in the north of Ireland. Many, who went under the name of Friends, have gone off with those disaffected persons, whose stations in society should have engaged them in endeavours for the preservation of the weak; but as they have proved themselves, by their revolting, unworthy of the blessings which the faithful enjoy, the call is afresh extended to those that are in the highways and hedges, the streets and the lanes, to come in and take their places. After leaving Antrim, I had meetings at Belfast and Milecross. At the former place I had some solid conversation with a man of considerable note in the world, who appeared to be under conviction, but finds it hard work to give up to what he believes to be right. I left him in a very tender frame of mind, with a belief that the opportunity would be an encouragement to him, more cheerfully to submit to the cross, which many stumble at, and thereby fall short of the reward of that peace which the world can neither give nor take away. From Belfast I went to the Quarterly Meeting at Lisburn, the several sittings of which were, I trust, solid and profitable seasons. The late difficulties they have had amongst them, [occasioned by a number of persons denying the Christian principles of the Society] were the means of the discontinuance of the Select Meeting, the elders having all lost their stations, a part of them having been dismissed by the overbearing influence of the Seceders before they left the Society. Only one member was left who was in the station of a minister, and the meeting was consequently discontinued by direction of the Quarterly Meeting. The situation of the Society being now more favourable, I proposed for consideration the propriety of reviving the meeting of ministers and elders, as a measure very necessary for the health of the body, there being, within the compass of the Quarterly Meeting, several who appear as ministers. The meeting was *unanimous* in recommending to the Monthly Meetings a care in the appointment of suitable persons to have the oversight of the *ministry*, excepting one Friend, who I feared would prove an opposer of this prudent means for the preservation of a living ministry.

A minute was accordingly made and sent down, and I felt released from the concern of mind I had laboured under, in the course of my visit to Friends of this province, hoping that the judgment of Truth will be placed

over opposing spirits. The appointment of elders, as fathers and mothers in the church, is a wise measure, if such are chosen who fear God and hate covetousness; and such I hope may be found here. Next day I rode to Lurgan, and put up at Thomas Houghton's, a Friend advanced in years and infirm in body. I was comforted in finding him desirous of preparing to leave his possessions in peace, being sensible that he has been too much attached to business. Having accumulated a large portion of earthly treasure, he is now desirous of distributing it, so that it may do some good. I had much conversation with him, and found that he was careful to appropriate it for benevolent purposes, and that he contributes largely for the purposes of society, and helping to repair and build meeting-houses, educate the children of the poor, &c. Well would it be if more of the wealthy cherished this disposition, and spent their substance in like manner, rather than placing their children in possession of great estates, thereby giving them wings to leave the Society, to soar above the simplicity and humility of the Gospel, and indulge in high life, far removed from the usefulness and self-denial of a Christian, and unmindful of the importance of having their accounts in readiness, as good stewards, when the solemn summons arrives, "Steward, give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest no longer be steward." From Lurgan I rode to the house of Thomas Green, near Charlemount, where I found a comfortable respite from travelling for a few days, in which time I wrote a short epistle to Friends of Stanford Quarterly Meeting, as follows:

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*Epistle to Stanford Quarterly Meeting, written whilst in Ireland.*

Dear friends,

In the language of the beloved apostle I salute you; "Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulations, that we may be able to comfort those which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God."

The uniting influence of this comfort remains undiminished, and is to be witnessed by the faithful followers of Christ in our day, as well as by the primitive believers. It is precious in its nature, and vouchsafed by its holy Author to support under the various trials that await his servants. In the enjoyment of a measure thereof, my mind has been engaged



this morning by the remembrance of you, although far separated in a distant land. I have felt you precious near, desires have been raised in my mind for your comfort in the bonds of Gospel fellowship, and that you may witness its cementing virtue, to render you truly one another's joy in the Lord, that you may comfort one another in all your tribulations. Truly, if you are partakers of that peace which is from God the Father, this will be your delight, in preference to any indulgence that arises from self-love, that seeketh only the support of self, and those whom we are placed over by the ties of nature, or those who may walk in the paths of self-indulgence with us. We are all in a tribulated path as inhabitants of the world, and have need of all the comfort we can afford one another.

May we, brethren and sisters, all study so to fulfil our duties, that nothing of an evil tendency may get the ascendancy over us, or separate us from "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." In this happy state, those that have a greater share of tribulation than others, have the sympathy of their friends, and partake thereof to their refreshment, as a cordial reviving the drooping spirits, even of him that laboureth under the pains of the body. But he that languisheth and hath no cordial administered to him, fainteth; and finally dies away; and where any thing of a poisonous nature is administered, his sufferings increase, and presage a speedy dissolution. Seeing we are social and intelligent beings, professing a belief in the consolations of the holy Spirit, and called upon to seek them, let none think to obtain them, or to be able to administer them, but by an engagement of mind that preferreth the righteous cause of God to our earthly joys. "God is love," saith the apostle, and "they that dwell in love dwell in God, and God in them." Thus they are near to the fountain of consolation, and are enabled to comfort one another in all their tribulations. May you be enabled to come up in usefulness in the militant church in your day, that you may bear testimony with the beloved apostle to the sufficiency of Divine love. I often remember the seasons of refreshment we have had together, wherein we have known this as the streams of that river which makes glad the whole heritage of God. I also remember that sometimes these streams were obstructed, so that there was not an uninterrupted flowing of them. As these streams of Divine consolation are very precious, we certainly ought to endeavour that the comfort resulting from them may be witnessed by all, and that the aged may be strengthened, the middle aged animated, and the dear youth in-

vited to bend their necks to receive the yoke upon them, that there may continue to be a succession of those who prefer "Jerusalem to their chiefest joy." Many particular obstructions to this present to my mind, but none so forcible as where there is not a guard maintained against the love of the world and the fascinating customs and fashions thereof. Where this guard is maintained, Zion becomes beautiful; and if she were preserved so by the vigilance of the watchmen on her walls, would become the praise of the whole earth. But her beauty has not been so alluring as it might have been, had her watchmen been on the watch at their posts; the enemy has gained an advantage, and dismay has been spread in the ranks of the army; and in some places the Truth hath not been supported, but some of its testimonies have fallen with those who have fallen. May this not be the case amongst you—many of you have known the heavenly calls, by which your love was turned to the Fountain of true consolation, with desires to partake thereof, and you have been refreshed thereby. Oh! that nothing may deprive you thereof, but that you may steadfastly look unto Him, who can support under every trial, and will continue to supply you with the needful strength for every good word and work. I do not feel disposed to enlarge, but am desirous you may be enabled to feel me in the covenant of life, and be willing to join in a continued and a renewed care, that we may be one another's joy in the Lord, not suffering any thing to divert our minds from the renewings of the Father's love. May this support me, who am exposed to various perils in a distant land. And you, dear friends, in the land of my nativity, may you witness the glory and the beauty of this world stained in your view, that avarice and covetousness may not have an ascendancy over those who are advanced and are advancing in years; nor the youth be left to sacrifice on the altars of vanity, but while cheerfully employed in the necessary cares and concerns of life, be engaged to comfort each other in all your tribulations, and not forsaking the assembling yourselves for the performance of that worship that is due to the Father of Jesus Christ our Lord, even the God of all comfort. So prayeth your friend and brother,

HENRY HULL.

From Grange, near Charlemont, in Ireland,  
Third month 8th, 1811.

On second-day, the 11th of third month, I rode to Coothill, accompanied by Thomas Green, jr.; and a fair being held there on the day after our arrival, we found it best to stay one day longer, in order to be with Friends

of that place, as the confusion occasioned by the fair rendered it unsuitable to attempt holding a meeting that day. After the meeting here, I rode to Edenderry, where I found a few well engaged Friends, and had two meetings with them; and then went to Rathangan, Tullamore, Moat, Ballimury, and back to Moat, where I spent the 23d. It being a fine pleasant day, I passed most of it in the fields and gardens, observing the beauties of the creation, as evidenced in the springing forth of the buds and blossoms. My mind was clothed with solemnity, and my dear connexions in America were brought near to my mind, accompanied by thoughts of my separation from them, while tears of tender and parental affection stole silently from mine eyes. Thou knowest, O Lord, that I left them in obedience to thy holy command—be pleased to preserve us in thy fear, walking in the way that is acceptable unto thee, and keep us from falling into any of the ways which render unworthy of thy favour, for thou art worthy to be served by us, from whom we have received so many blessings. May we never forget how much we owe unto thee, but always be willing to sacrifice whatever thou callest for. Amen.

Second-day morning, 25th, rode to Birr, where we had a good meeting, notwithstanding the rabble compassed the house, in order to disturb us; and the key being left in the door they locked it, and made a noise at the windows after I stood up. But the calming influence of the power of Truth stayed the minds of the assembly, many of whom were not Friends, so that little notice was taken of the rude behaviour without. The meeting ended with thanksgivings and praises unto Israel's Shepherd, for the continuance of his care over those who put their trust in him, with humble prayers for the blessing of preservation to those who were engaged to turn from the wickedness of their ways. When the meeting was over and we got into the street, we found the attention of the rabble turned away from us by a desperate fight, in which several were engaged, with a fury comparable to that of ferocious beasts, knocking each other down with whatever they could lay hold of for the purpose. Thus the days they call holy are spent in some parts of Ireland, the people being kept in ignorance by selfish priests, who teach them to refrain from labour on these days, that they may thus have a pretext for receiving money from them, as a compensation for unavailing ceremonies and services. These popish holidays, instead of promoting morality or religion among the people, make them worse, and expose them to many evils; encouraging idleness and causing the holy name to be blasphemed, and

the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of. No marvel that the priests endeavour to keep the people in ignorance, for if they had the privilege to see and judge for themselves, they would find that their teachers were too generally promoters of the kingdom of antichrist, even whilst they are professing to advance the cause of Christ Jesus our Lord. These pretended holy days are an offence to the holy God, to whom vengeance belongeth, and who will render righteous recompense upon the heads of these deceivers of the people.

On the day following I had a meeting at Roscrea, and one in the evening appointed for the inhabitants of the town to good satisfaction, and next day one at Knock, where I met my dear friends and fellow labourers in the Gospel, Martha Brewster and Susannah Hill. We had very solid meetings at Mountrath, one for Friends and one for the town's-people, in which the power of Truth arose over all opposition, and all spirits seemed brought into reverence—blessed be the name of our holy Helper.

The 30th of third month, the Select Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province was held; and on the following day, being the first of the week, a large number of Friends being assembled from the different constituent branches, meetings for Divine worship were held in the morning and evening. The appearance of Friends was commendably plain and consistent with our religious profession, and the meetings were edifying seasons; the presence of Him who promised to be in the midst of the two or three who are gathered in his name, being evidently witnessed to stay the minds of the people, and still the spirits of the true worshippers. This solemn covering spreading generally over the meeting, there seemed to be an uncommon degree of the cementing influence of heavenly love over the minds of Friends, which had a profitable effect in preparing them for the business of the church. This was transacted on the following day in a spirit and manner, which evinced the prevalency of desire, that the church might arise and shake herself from the dust of the earth, and put on her beautiful garments. The parting meeting was also a good time, in which humble petitions were put up for preservation from the contaminating things of this life, and that when separated from each other, we might witness the extension of his help, who had condescended to be with us while together, that so we might be enabled to advance the Lord's cause in our respective allotments in life, and in the little meetings where we belonged. On fourth-day we attended the week-day meeting at Mountmelick, and in the evening had a crowded

meeting with the town's-people. The next meeting was at Ballintore, then Cooladine, the Monthly Meeting at Enniscorthy, one at Randall's mills, and at Forrest Ross, and then to Waterford; where I attended meeting on first-day morning, and then rode to Henry Ridgway's, where I received a cordial welcome, and found their kind and sympathetic attention truly grateful. During the few days I rested there, a very respectable woman, who is under conviction, came to see me. Her father is a clergyman and her husband a magistrate, which occasion her some close trials from their opposition to her coming among Friends. Her husband is greatly mortified at her declining to attend the established worship, and wholly refuses to permit her to attend Friends' meetings, though in other respects he is kind to her, and promises her every indulgence she can desire, if she will not become a Quaker. She lives some miles distant from a meeting, and does not go to it; but spends her time in retirement while Friends are at meeting. Hearing I was in the neighbourhood, she came to spend an hour or two with me; and we had a very tendering time in solemn retirement before the Lord, with which, at parting, she expressed great satisfaction; her tears flowing freely in gratitude to God for the favour. She appears to be a wise and discreet woman; and although some persons think she is not sufficiently persevering in going to meeting, in opposition to the will of her husband, yet I found nothing to impress my mind on that account; but think she is well grounded in the principles of Truth, and that by a prudent care she may make her way more effectually with him, than by opposing him so as to irritate his disposition and set him against Friends.

In being at Enniscorthy, Wexford and other neighbouring places, the horrors recently produced by the rebellion seemed to be revived in my mind, giving rise to serious and sorrowful reflections, and leading me to contemplate the mercy and strength of Omnipotence. Great, indeed, was the Lord's kindness to Friends, preserving them amidst the dreadful carnage, as well as the sufferings which others passed through. When human blood flowed in streams through the streets and multitudes were piked and thrown into the rivers, burnt in barns, houses, &c., and in many other ways tortured and slain, not one Friend was known to be killed, save a young man, who forsook his peaceable principles and took up arms for his defence. If we forsake Omnipotence, whither shall we flee for help! If he is humbly relied upon, he will be unto his people as a wall of defence, and make a way when there appears to be no way. But too

many of those who saw these marvellous works of the Lord, and how his delivering power was vouchsafed, have forgotten these his mercies, and gone their own ways into the world. Alas! saith my soul, for these! So evident were the favours shown to Friends, that many other persons sheltered themselves in their habitations, and those of the Society who had deviated from the plain attire by which Friends are generally known, now saw their folly. In those calamitous times, fashionable clothing, of an expensive kind, was rather a passport to death than to honour; and at all times it is more an evidence of a weak understanding, than of a sound mind; for neither religion nor reason point it out as a means to promote the usefulness of the wearer. The great departure from plainness, which is evident among many of our young people, is rather a proof of their folly and ignorance, than of wisdom; since it is beneath the dignity and nobility of a Christian mind to be so much employed about, and pleased with, the covering of the body. In some it may be more the effect of the parents' pride, than that of the children; but this testimony of our Society to a simple, useful and not expensive manner of dressing and living, is grounded in the Truth, and innovations will never be able to sap the foundation or overthrow it. I would recommend to my dear young friends, to endeavour to see from whence those desires arise which lead them to follow and copy after the fantastical dresses and habits which are so continually changing. Neatness and cleanliness are certainly commendable, and if rusticity is offensive, simplicity is not; and surely simplicity and self-denial become a people called, as we are, to bear a testimony to the purity of the religion of Jesus Christ. I grant, that there is no religion in the cut or colour of a garment, but the exterior appearance is often an index of the mind; and if the inside of the cup and platter be made clean, the outside will be clean also—men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles; and conformity to the world in any of its corrupt ways and fashions, is not a being transformed, as the Scriptures of Truth exhort. Let us, therefore, strive so to walk in all things, as the redeemed of the Lord, who make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, but who are concerned to live unto Him who died for them, that the blessed and happy state of the redeemed ones may conspicuously appear in the eyes of the world, that others may be induced to seek a release from the bondage there is in sin and corruption, and in all the world's evil ways and fashions. Evil communications corrupt good manners; where the precious gives

way to the vile, good is oppressed and evil is advanced—thus by little and little the oppressor may gain the ascendancy over the redeemed, and bondage may increase, and then suffering will be unavoidable. I much desire that the children of Friends may not be brought up in ignorance, so as not to know the grounds of the religious principles they profess, and why plainness is more commendable than imitating those who change because fashion is changeable.

After attending the Quarterly Meeting for Munster, held at Clonmel, I proceeded toward Dublin, and on my way had a public meeting at Kilkenny, where Friends had been much opposed; but it was largely attended and the people behaved solidly. The Yearly Meeting at Dublin was large, and the several sittings were solid and edifying seasons. Many precious youth evinced by their deportment, that they were sensible of the renewed extendings of the heavenly Father's love; Friends parted under the sweet feeling of this love, and humble petitions were put up to the holy Helper of his people, that he would be graciously pleased to keep us when separated from each other, reverently dependent upon him; that so we might continue to experience the unity of the one Spirit, and be strengthened to perform the service he had for us, in our several allotments, through his holy help, which had been with us while together, and thus be prepared to ascribe thanksgiving, praise and glory to his sacred name.

The Yearly Meeting to be held in London, being near at hand, I felt my mind at liberty to proceed thither as soon as I could find a passage, but the wind being unfavourable, I had to stay a few days in Dublin, in which time I attended the meeting in Dublin, where I found my mind so comfortable, under a sense of being clear of Ireland for the present, accompanied with a flow of good will to Friends of this city, that my spirit worshipped in silent adoration and thankfulness, finding no occasion to renew my ministerial labours. On fifth-day evening we went on board a vessel, and had a fine run of eleven hours to Holyhead, where we landed and proceeded through Wales. The weather being very damp, and I having taken a heavy cold before I left Dublin, the ride was very painful to me. We stopped at the afternoon meeting at Shrewsbury, which was a comfortable time, and the following day I rested at Colebrookdale, and then went to London, where I lodged at our friend Joseph Fry's, who with his truly valuable wife, gave me a hearty welcome. During the forepart of the Yearly Meeting I was much depressed; for although many solid Friends from different parts of the kingdom

were present, yet Truth seemed to me to be at a low ebb, and some who had been accustomed to take an active part in the management of the business of the church, seemed to enter upon it very easily. I found but little strength to do anything; and the few times in which I stood forth, in obedience to Him who I believed called me to labour, I found but little satisfaction. Before the meeting closed, we seemed to be more favoured with the cementing and solemnizing power of Truth, and the meeting ended comfortably. I continued in London a few days after Friends had generally returned toward their homes, and on the 3d of sixth month, paid a visit to several young men, the sons of Joseph Gibbins, a valuable Friend who had attended all the sittings of the Yearly Meeting, except the last; while on his way to this, he was seized with an apoplectic fit and expired in a few hours. My mind was brought into near and tender sympathy with these young men and their widowed mother, under the afflicting event which had deprived her of an affectionate husband, and them of a tender father. Under this feeling I was enabled to minister the word of comfort to them, from a precious belief, that he had peacefully left the mortal body; and also to encourage them to follow the example he had set them, of dedication to the cause of religion.

Having the opportunity of sitting with Friends of London, in the Monthly Meetings of Devonshire-house and Grace-church street, I had to reflect upon the disposition there is in men to adhere to old customs; as well from the preference I had for the method of managing the concerns of the Society in my native land, as from the attachment I discovered in Friends here to their own mode; and also, the easy way in which they did their business, in some cases, without waiting to feel their minds impressed with religious concern, manifesting little more seriousness than if met to consider any interesting matter relating to the business of this life. Yet I found they were no strangers to the baptizing power of Truth, which, in considering the proposal to recommend as a minister, a precious sweet-spirited woman, seemed to prevail amongst them, and she was acknowledged as such. I thought I saw, that my recommending them to weightiness of spirit, was considered by some as "stamping things too high;" they seemed not to understand me, and I was grieved at the want of a right understanding among the knowing, who certainly had correct views of the letter of the discipline—but where this alone is relied upon, it renders insensible to the Divine life, so that a resurrection through the power of Christ Jesus, the

blessed head of the church, is necessary, in order to do his work. I am fully of the belief, that it would be better for our Society, if there was more generally a dependence upon the Spirit that quickeneth—the humble and sincere labourers would be more comforted, by seeing an advancement in the work of reformation, and our meetings would be more to edification than they now are.

On seventh-day, I set out with Joseph Fry and his truly valuable wife, to attend the Quarterly Meeting in Essex. On first-day morning we sat with Friends at Chelmsford, where was a large meeting, and it ended well; Elizabeth Fry being acceptably engaged in solemn supplication to the Almighty Helper of his people. In the afternoon we had a large and satisfactory meeting at Witham, and the day following rode to Colchester, and put up with our ancient and valuable Friend John Kendall. The Quarterly Meeting was large and solemn, and my aforesaid dear friend, Elizabeth Fry was, with divers others, acceptably engaged in the ministry.

We then attended a small meeting at Malden, after which we had a sweet time of religious solemnity, and Elizabeth Fry left us; but Joseph continued with me, his wife having freely given him up to the service. Returning to Kelvedon, we lodged with a widow woman, who is left with a large family of children; and she has them in such very commendable order, that the time we were with them was truly pleasant. May the blessings of heaven be showered down upon them. We then had meetings at Copford, Coggeshall, Boxon, Halsted, Colne, and on first-day at Colchester; in the morning with Friends, and in the evening, a public meeting for the inhabitants, a large number of whom attended. The following day I went to Ipswich, and attended the Quarterly Meeting held there for the county of Suffolk. The want of more devotedness to the Lord's cause, occasioned the meeting to be dull and heavy; it held long, and I hope ended well at last, through the continued mercy and forgiveness of our heavenly Father. Next day I attended the usual meeting at Ipswich, where the word preached, was in declaring the controversy of the Lord against negligent parents, who while careful of their children, and anxiously seeking to provide for them an abundance of the good things of this life, neglect to cultivate the mind and to train their offspring up in a religious life and conversation. The care necessary to provide comfortable accommodations in this life, certainly should not be omitted—parents would undoubtedly fall under condemnation for this; but how much soever this may be attended to, or whatever abun-

dance of riches parents may have to leave their children, they neglect the highest and truest interest of their offspring, who do not endeavour to bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord, and place themselves in a situation, wherein they are not likely to receive as much consolation from their children, as if they were walking in the Truth. Oh! that those who have much wealth to leave, would lay these things deeply to heart, and improve by the renewed visitations which are extended, in order to gather them from the barren mountains of an empty profession, and from the thorny wilderness of the world, into the peaceful enclosure of the heavenly Jerusalem. In the evening we had a public meeting, which was attended by many of the principal inhabitants, and the doctrines of Truth flowed with clearness and the force of Gospel authority; praised be Israel's Helper, who enabled a feeble instrument to labour.

Finding that Ann Burgess [now Ann Jones] and Elizabeth Robson, had a prospect similar to my own, of attending the meetings of Friends in Suffolk and Norfolk, we concluded to proceed in company. Ann proposing a meeting with the town's-people at —, it was accordingly held in a building formerly used as a theatre. A large company assembled, who behaved solidly, and many interesting Gospel Truths were delivered, which appeared to afford satisfaction. The women Friends having supplied themselves with a number of religious tracts, they were distributed at the close of the meeting, and were respectfully received. The next day being the first of the week, we sat with Friends of Yarmouth, and in the evening had a meeting with the inhabitants generally, who assembled in such numbers, that Friends' house was not near large enough to hold them; several hundred standing about the house and in the yard. A very solemn quiet prevailed over the meeting, both during the time of silence and while the doctrines of the Gospel were preached to them. Next day we rode to Norwich, and put up at our friend Joseph Gurney's. We attended the Quarterly Meeting here, and then had meetings at Tasborough, Tivetshall, Diss, Harley, Attleborough and Wymondham, when we returned to Norwich. Public notice was given of the different meetings, and many persons, not of our Society attended; and Truth was in dominion, enabling us to bear testimony against the formal professor, under whatever name he is found; and also to extend a renewed invitation to the humble seeker, to come buy wine and milk, without money and without price. At Tivetshall we lodged at our ancient and valuable friend John Holme's; and I was instructed by his exam-

ple of patient resignation and sweetness of disposition under affliction, he being much troubled with a very painful disorder.

We attended the fore and afternoon meetings at Norwich on first-day; at the latter of which, so many of the town's-people came in, that their large house was not sufficient to hold them. On second-day we rested at the house of our very kind friends, Joseph and Jane Gurney, and were much pleased with the company of their children, for whom we unitedly felt desires, that they may be preserved from the too general effects of much wealth, viz: a departure from the simplicity which Truth leads into. At present they appear hopeful—one of them particularly, who has yielded to the heavenly visitant, who reproves for the pride of life, has left her finery, and become an example of simplicity and plainness. We found many other young people under Divine visitation as we passed along, confirming us in the belief of the continuation of the heavenly Father's love toward the children of believing parents, for which we bless his holy name. But, alas! other instances are to be observed, which give occasion for mourning and lamentation, as when the prophet said, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" Great, indeed, must have been the prophet's bitterness of spirit, as his expressions evince; yet, in the Lord's time his sorrows were mitigated. And the baptisms of the servants of Christ in our day, are known to be somewhat similar; yet at seasons they are favoured as with a brook by the way. From Norwich we proceeded and had meetings at Lammas, North Walsingham and Wells, which was formerly the residence of Edmund Peckover; now, but very few Friends reside here, and some of these are almost totally ignorant of what our religious principles are. We visited them in their families and left some books amongst them, and also distributed a number among those who were not of our Society. They received them thankfully, and I had a secret belief that our visit to this place would be blest to some of them. One young man, a Friend, seemed to be much tendered, and I trust will give up to the renewed visitation mercifully extended to him; but, O! the want of fathers and mothers in Israel.

After leaving Wells, we had a large public meeting in the house belonging to the Methodists, at Fakenham, where much Gospel labour was bestowed; but my mind was not so fully relieved as in some of the preceding meetings. On our way to Lynn, we had a meeting at Swaffham—attended Lynn meeting in

the morning, and had one appointed for the town's-people generally, at six o'clock in the evening. This was a comfortable season, the precious uniting love of our heavenly Father was witnessed among us, filling our hearts with desires for the welfare of the people. The house belonging to Friends being small, notice of the meeting was not widely spread, and dear Ann Burgess proposed our having another meeting the day following, which was accordingly held in the meeting-house belonging to the Independents. A very large number of persons assembled, many more than could get into the house, and the preacher of the congregation was very active in endeavouring to settle the meeting, by procuring seats for the people as they came in. The meeting ended comfortably, and I was thankful it had been held. The minister appeared well satisfied, expressing his desire that the good advice which had been delivered amongst them might be treasured up and improved by. Much tenderness was evident among some of the people.

On the morning previous to the meeting, my companions having proposed visiting the families of Friends in Lynn, we sat with the family where we lodged. I was much depressed in mind, and my bodily strength being but feeble, I informed my dear friends while we were together, that I believed it best for me not to join in the family visit. A little rest seemed to be necessary for me; yet I made this proposition in some fear, lest it should discourage the dear Friends who believed themselves called to enter upon the visit; but from their reply, I was induced to believe it would not. My mind was much affected with tenderness and filled with humble acknowledgments to the great and good Master, whom we were endeavouring to serve, who had sweetly united our spirits in the labour, and made us willing to be one another's helpers in his blessed cause and service. After the completion of the visit, which occupied only two days, we rode to Downham, and had a good meeting with a number of professors, and in the afternoon another at Wearham. The danger of trusting in the name of being worshippers, without coming to the experience of true spiritual worship, and fulfilling the duties of a religious life, was plainly held forth amongst them. Next day we were at Brandon, where only one family of Friends reside, and these were absent from home. Some of the neighbours attended, and we were not sorry for the pains which were taken to procure the meeting, as it proved a solid good time and ended well. We then went to Thetford, and had a favoured meeting with a number of the town's-people. There



is only one member of Society left in this place, and here my labours in the county of Norfolk closed. O! what shall I say for you, the posterity of a people once highly favoured and zealous for the Truth! You have lost the lustre which made them shine as lights in the world, during the days of persecution. "The gold has become dim, and the most fine gold is changed." The dust of the earth has marred thy beauty—thy sons and thy daughters, in many instances, have swooned in thy streets, because those who stood as fathers and mothers, and who ought to have been such indeed, have not broken bread—spiritual bread, unto them. Many of thy goodly sons and precious daughters, have strayed in the paths of folly, and been lost as in the wilderness of the world. Strangers inhabit your dwellings, and the sons of aliens have taken your possessions, so that the houses which were erected for the purpose of performing that worship which is due to Zion's King, are left as habitations for the owls and the bats, where naught but dismal solitude reigns, instead of prayers and praises proceeding from the lips of grateful mortals, aspiring after the blissful habitations of the righteous. O! what a contrast between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century! Mournful indeed, as respects the decay of zeal in the professors of the ever blessed Truth, as it is in Jesus. But thy King, O Zion, reigneth—his mercies are still known and enjoyed, by those whose allegiance is true unto Him, and he is still graciously disposed to lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes.

In the course of this visit we were generally led in our Gospel services, to serious inquiring persons of other religious denominations, many of whom appeared to be acquainted with pure spiritual worship; and humble, fervent desires were frequently raised, that these might experience their strength renewed, by feeding on that bread which comes down from heaven. Yet we did not forget the professors with us; and amid all the sorrow we had to endure, on account of the manifest departures from the simplicity and purity of our holy profession, we rejoiced in finding those who seemed sensible of a renewed visitation of good extended to them, with the offers of Divine assistance, upon the terms of repentance for past deviations and a more entire dedication of themselves to the Lord's service, following him in all his requirings. But the number of these is small in this county; may the visit we have made be a means of strengthening them.

At Mildenhall we had a meeting with a few Friends and a number of other societies, to good satisfaction. The baptizing power of

Truth united our spirits, and strengthened us to labour in the Gospel, to the humbling of our minds in thankful acknowledgment to Israel's Shepherd, for his continued goodness to poor dependent man, whose greatest efforts, even in the best of causes, cannot produce the precious effects that are witnessed, when the Lord is pleased to vouchsafe his Divine power and spread a covering of solemnity over the mind. When he thus condescends to favour his creatures, both the visitors and visited are encouraged to look unto Him, the source of all true consolation, as the comforter and helper in the time of need.

At Bury we had a pretty large meeting, though the house was undergoing some repairs, and our friends had but a few hours to take down the scaffolds and prepare it for the occasion. The meeting ended solidly. Next morning we set out for Needham, and as we rode out of the town Ann Burgess asked me if I felt clear of Bury? by which I perceived that she did not; and as we had travelled together in much unity, I felt free to go back.

Next day being the first-day of the week, we sat the morning meeting with Friends, and had a large and favoured meeting with the town's-people in the afternoon. We then had meetings at Sudbury, and at a small town in the vicinity, after which we went home with our friend Samuel Alexander; and having been travelling pretty constantly for several weeks, we rested a few days at his house. Here we parted; the women Friends going to Ipswich, and I to Norwich to attend the funeral of Richard Gurney. From Norwich, on our way to London, we had meetings at Haverhill, Saffron Walden, Thaxted, Bardfield, Dunmow, Stanstead and Epping, in some of which Truth reigned to our humble admiration. I spent a few days in London, wrote to my dear family and friends in America, and attended meetings at Grace-church street, Plaistow and Barking. On second-day morning, 5th of eighth month, we rode to Brentford, and had meetings there and at Staines, and visited several persons under affliction; then to Uxbridge, where I had a large and favoured meeting with the town's-people, and next day proceeded to visit the meetings in Hertfordshire, and attended the Monthly Meeting at Luton; it was small, but proved a good time; and now feeling my mind turned toward York, I bent my course that way. Since I left Uxbridge, I felt much depressed, in reflecting on my long separation from my family and business, and was more discouraged than at any time since I left home. But He who knows the desires of my heart to serve and follow him, caused his precious love and life to break in upon my soul, so that I was en-

abled again to commend myself and mine to his holy care and keeping, and become resigned to my situation, without feeling any reluctance to encounter the toils and fatigues necessarily attendant on the prosecution of this arduous journey.

Our next meeting was at Leicester, where there are but few Friends; on the following day, at Nottingham, I saw the widow of our late friend John Storer, who appeared in a loving disposition toward her friends, and comforted in the remembrance of her beloved husband, though deprived by death of his company. After having meetings at Nottingham, Mansfield and Chesterfield, we reached Sheffield, where we staid two or three days; attended their meeting on fifth-day and on first-day morning, and in the evening had a public meeting, where a large number of persons assembled, many more than could get into their large house. They behaved very solidly, and were attentive to the doctrines of Truth which were delivered. That devoted and valued servant of Christ, Thomas Colley, sat with us in the morning meeting, for the first time after having had an attack of illness, in which he was given over by his physician. In a visit to his house, Divine Goodness was pleased to cement our spirits by the holy influence of his love, which sweetly spread over a number of Friends who were present; blessed be his name for the favour!

On second-day, we proceeded to Doncaster, where the power of Truth was eminently vouchsafed for our help, in a meeting we had with Friends and the town's-people. We then had meetings at Ackworth, Wakefield, Leeds and Darlington; at the last two of which I was largely opened to declare to the professors of Christianity, the necessity of doing, as well as hearing, the sayings of Christ. The servants of our Lord Jesus Christ have need of patience in this day, as well as in the times of persecution; for although their sufferings are not now of the same kind as they were then, yet they are many and great; and none more discouraging, than to behold the careless and unconcerned state of some of the professors of Truth, evidenced by the dullness and almost lifelessness of some of their meetings; while those held with persons who are not members with us, are precious seasons, by reason of the renewed extension of heavenly love and the call to come unto Christ Jesus, who is the way, the truth, and the life. Truth is truth, though all men forsake it—it still remains unchangeably the same, and its own excellence will recommend it, even though the conduct of its professors does not. But while we have to mourn the sorrowful declension of some

under our name, there are others closely engaged in religious exercise, desiring to keep their ranks in righteousness, so that no cause may be given to its enemies to speak ill of the ways thereof. Were it not for the precious unity I feel with these, through the love of our heavenly Father shed abroad in our hearts, I should feel discouraged; but my cup is at seasons made to overflow, and I am desirous to persevere in the path allotted me, until a release is proclaimed from the exercises and labours in which I am engaged. This precious love sustains and bears up my spirit, amid all the trials of mind I experience, as well as those of the body, which increase upon me, and I often feel great weakness, especially after long meetings: good is the will of the Lord.

After attending the meetings of Friends in the county of Durham, some of which were solid good seasons, we crossed the Tyne, accompanied by Solomon Chapman, and had a public meeting, and also one with Friends at Shields, from whence we rode to George Richardson's, at New Castle. I had seen George and Solomon in Ireland, and our meeting again was mutually pleasant, we being comforted in each other's company.

They related a remarkable instance of the interposition of Divine help, by counsel inwardly communicated, whereby they were preserved from being buried in the ruins of a house, which fell two days after they were to have held a meeting in it, and which probably would have fallen on the assembly, had they collected in it. But George felt his mind strongly impressed with the belief, that it would not be best to have a meeting in the house, but to go to the houses of Friends and visit them in that way, although he then knew nothing of the situation of the house. This mode did not appear satisfactory to Solomon, who thought that other persons who often attended Friends meetings would thus be passed by. But George appeared so clear in the judgment, that it was best to have no meeting, that Solomon yielded; and it is believed, that had a meeting been held, the house would have given way with the people in it, the roof being very heavy and the timbers much decayed. It fell in the evening of seventh-day, when there was no unusual wind or other exciting cause—and next day Friends expected to hold their usual meeting in it. I had a meeting in the house while I was in Ireland, and the account of the occurrence led me to consider it a merciful interference of Divine Providence, that it fell at a time when there was no one in it.

At New Castle, my dear companion, John Hull, remained to rest, while George Richard-

son and I rode to Benfield side, and saw the families of Friends there, being only three in number—the people being engaged in their harvest fields, it did not appear to us best to appoint a meeting.

Taking the stage coach at New Castle, we rode to Edinburgh in a day; and although it was late when we arrived, we found our kind friend, Alexander Cruikshank, waiting for us at the coach office. On the following day we had a good meeting with Friends and those who usually attend their meetings, and the next day rode to Glasgow. Here our dear friend, John Robertson, met us in the street and conducted us to his house, and on first-day we sat with Friends in their usual meeting, and had a large public one in the evening at the town-hall. Proceeding on our journey, we went to Kinmuck, where we met William Forster, George Saunders and Anthony Wigham, on their return from a toilsome journey through the north of Scotland and adjacent islands; they went on to Aberdeen, and my companion and I to a meeting at Old Meldrum, where Friends have a meeting-house and two elderly members are still living, though the meeting is discontinued. The people were long in assembling, and some of them made a noise about the doors; but after I stood up they generally came in, and the meeting ended solidly; and the day following we had a large and good meeting at Kinmuck. Friends in these parts live in great simplicity, and receive their friends with great hospitality; their kindness and love abundantly compensated for the want of many conveniences which are furnished by the more opulent, amongst whom, however, notwithstanding they abound in the good things of this life, I have not at all times found as much satisfaction as among these poor Friends.

Friends generally attended the meeting, except dear old John Cruikshank, who was too infirm. He was much broken into tenderness when I parted from him, and expressed his hope that I should be rewarded for coming so far to see them. Returning to Aberdeen, we found William Forster and his companions there, and we all lodged at our kind friend Jane Cruikshank's, who, with her daughters, made us very welcome. May he who is the Father of the fatherless and a Judge for the widow, reward them for their abundant kindness to his servants, to whom their house is always open, as they pass along in the service of Truth. In the meeting on first-day morning, the love of our heavenly Father united our spirits: and at five o'clock, P. M., we had a crowded meeting, when the condescending goodness of Israel's Shepherd was conspicuously manifest, enabling me to set

forth his great love to mankind, from the words of the apostle, "It is by grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." A holy solemnity covered us—the people were very still, and we united in humble petitions to the Lord on high, that his light might break forth upon mankind, as when he said, "Let there be light, and there was light," acknowledging our renewed conviction, that his power was undiminished, the work his, and that the praise belongs unto Him, with his dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lamb Immaculate, now and forever more, Amen. Dear old John Wigham said he thought it, through Divine favour, the best meeting he had ever attended in that place: I write not these remarks to exalt the labour of the poor servant, but in humble acknowledgment to our holy Helper, and to bear testimony of his goodness to the people;—I believe it was a season that will not soon be forgotten by some who were there, and in which the good Shepherd of the sheep was pleased to invite those who are athirst, "to come buy wine and milk, without money and without price."

On second-day we took our seats in the mail coach, and after a season of religious-retirement with our dear friends, in which my mind was humbled under the renewed overshadowing of Divine Goodness, we set out for Edinburgh, where we arrived next day. At Aberdeen I received letters from my dear family, giving accounts of their health—they are almost constantly in my remembrance, and but few hours pass without deep thoughtfulness respecting them; yet I do not find myself under condemnation for leaving them. I settled my outward concerns as far as I could, as if I was never to return, and commended them to the keeping of the heavenly Caretaker. I love them tenderly, but left them in the belief, that it was at the command of Him to whom I owe my all. He has supported me in humble confidence, that he will do right with me and mine—that it is my business to visit the churches in this land, and that in so doing I shall be blessed with the support of his love, which, at times so fills my heart, that tears of joy flow from my eyes. When I think of my beloved family and friends in America—of many with whom I am acquainted in this country and in Ireland—of the poor French prisoners in England, and the English prisoners in France—of the many widows and fatherless children, made such by the calamities of war—of how many are trained up to butcher one another in the field and on the ocean, and remember the poor slaves remaining in cruel bondage to gratify avaricious men, my heart is moved within me.

The love of my heavenly Father is my support in heights and in depths. O! may I never know a separation from it; for it is this which enables me to say, Thy will, O Lord! be done, as respects myself; and if unrighteous men still continue to dishonour thy holy name by their evil works, and the Gospel of peace and salvation by their cruelties, yet verily, there is a reward for the righteous—verily thou art a God that judgeth in the earth. I know that my Redeemer liveth—O Lord, keep my soul as thou hast graciously kept it hitherto, and make use of me as thou in thy wisdom may see meet, if I may be instrumental in spreading the knowledge of thee amongst the inhabitants of the earth. I murmur not at the privation of the society of my dear connexions at home; but once more, O righteous Father, commit them to thy holy keeping—blessed be thy name—Amen.

After writing the foregoing, I attended a large meeting held in the evening at Edinburgh, where many Gospel truths were delivered; but not so much to the relief of my mind as at some of the preceding meetings. On the following day I sat with Friends, and a holy solemnity spreading over us, I was opened upon the situation of the meeting, from those words of the apostle; "Behold how great a fire a little matter kindleth," relating what had been brought to my remembrance while sitting among them. I observed that one man was so nettled, that he was not able to sit still; but Truth was in dominion, and its testimony was set over every opposing spirit,—the humble were comforted and the great name of Israel's Helper blessed. Seldom have I known a time, when the followers of the Lamb had a more complete victory; but all through his power which enableth to bear testimony to the peaceable spirit of the Gospel. O that all may guard against the destroying spirit, as against the destructive element!

We again took the mail coach, and reached Hawick about ten o'clock at night. There are only two families of Friends here, who appear glad to see their friends, and I trust will continue to increase in their love to the precious Truth. A number of the French prisoners passing along under a strong guard of soldiers, when we were about leaving Edinburgh, my mind was affected in beholding their emaciated looks, from long confinement; and the reflections occasioned by the sight, caused me to feel sorrowful as we rode along in the coach. O professing Christians! great are the inconsistencies of your conduct with the religion you profess, when engaged in the cruel business of war, and inflicting sufferings one upon another.

From Hawick we rode to Carlisle, and attended their meeting on first-day, in which I was humbled under a renewed consideration of the goodness of God. Alas! for the want of weight in some of the members of our Society, by which the youth are sometimes discouraged from submitting to the holy yoke and cross of Christ. In the evening held a meeting for the town's-people, but not to so much satisfaction as at some others. Where the peaceableness of the religion of Jesus Christ is advocated amongst those who are not under the influence of his love, there is not so much willingness to receive it, as where a consistency with its benign principles is maintained by its professors. On second-day had a comfortable meeting at Hesketh Newmarket, and the day following sat with Friends at Setmarthy, where John Phillips met us, whose company was pleasant. He had spent a part of his life in the English navy, and was rapidly promoted in consequence of his bravery, and was on the eve of further advancement, when he forsook the service of the king, and enlisted under the banner of the Prince of peace, and is now a humble disciple of the cross, and mighty in the Scriptures.

We rode to Cockermouth, and put up at the house of Deborah Robertson, whose husband had deceased only a few weeks before. I had seen them together in Dublin, and received from him a kind invitation to make his house my home, when I came here, and now finding his widow in deep affliction in consequence of his sudden removal, I was led into tender sympathy with her, in contemplating the uncertainty of all earthly enjoyments. In the evening I sat with the ministers and elders of Cumberland, who had assembled to attend their Quarterly Meeting, which was held the following day; after which there was one for worship, in all of which the Master of our assemblies was graciously pleased to assist in advocating the cause of Truth, as supported by the humble, faithful followers of the Lord Jesus, and in bearing testimony against a sluggish disposition, in which some of its professors were found. There was a large number of fine looking and promising young people present, who were encouraged to a faithful dedication of themselves in the cause of Truth and righteousness. We then attended meetings at Broughton, Graysouthern and Pardshaw, where the collection of people was very great. Notice having been given at the close of the Quarterly Meeting, of our intention of being at this place on first-day, and the weather proving fine, companies of people were to be seen coming over the moors from the neighbouring towns and villages, as though they had been going to a great fair. Some of the

aged Friends said, they had never before seen so large a meeting at that place. It was remarkably solid, and the people dispersed in a quiet and orderly manner. We dined with James Graham, an aged minister, who seemed to rejoice in thankfulness for the favour, and said he believed an increase in the Truth would be witnessed, and the minds of some be brought nearer, through the mercy of the Lord thus continued to them. He rode to Whitehaven with us, where we had a crowded meeting the same evening; several hundreds of the people not being able to get into the house. After this we had two meetings at Cocker-mouth, and on fourth-day, the 2nd of tenth month, we left Cumberland and went to Kendal, in Westmoreland, to attend the Quarterly Meeting; the several sittings of which were solid good seasons, in which the renewed extension of heavenly love united us together in harmonious labour for the prosperity of the Lord's cause in the earth. Seventh-day we rested and wrote letters, and next day being the general meeting at Windermere, we attended it. In the evening we had a large public meeting at Kendal, which, through the condescension of our holy Helper, was a season of favour. On second-day evening, we had a meeting at Hawkshead, which I trust ended well. We proceeded to Ulverstone, and took a walk to see the meeting-house at Swarthmore, and also Swarthmore-hall, where George Fox resided after his marriage with the widow of Judge Fell. The estate is not now in possession of the descendants of Judge Fell, and is much out of order, making probably a very different appearance from what it did when George Fox and his cotemporaries found a comfortable asylum there. The house he left for a meeting place, is in good order, and a few articles of furniture given with it, also remain there. Friends were never very numerous in these parts; but there is at present a goodly number of hopeful young Friends, for whose encouragement I was concerned to labour. We had a large public meeting with the inhabitants, held in an assembly room at Ulverstone, then to Haight, Kendal and Grayrigg. At this place, Rachel Wilson, a devoted servant of Christ, formerly lived, and it was then a large meeting, while that at Kendal was small. Now, many Friends reside at Kendal, and but few here—though some revival has of late taken place. The meeting-house, which is situated in a dreary place, was formerly occupied by Jonah Thompson, as a school-house; and here the late Samuel Fothergill and his brother, doctor John Fothergill, with several other eminent Friends, received part of their education. In the evening we returned to Kendal, and next morning

proceeded to Preston Patrick, near Camsgill, where we had a large and good meeting; then to Yelland, a very neat village, and were at an evening meeting, from whence we rode next day to Lancaster. We attended the usual morning meeting, and in the evening one appointed for the town's-people, which was large. On second-day I set out to attend a meeting appointed to be held at Wearsdale, at two o'clock, but our guide missing the way, and it raining and blowing very heavily, and our road bad and laying over a moor, it appeared doubtful whether we could reach it in time. A young man of whom we inquired the road, perceiving our tried situation, kindly offered to conduct us, which we gladly accepted, and by his assistance reached the meeting in time; a considerable number of persons were assembled, and although we got no dinner, we were thankful that we had been enabled to reach the meeting. After a meeting at Wray, where there are but few Friends, we rode to Bentham, and put up at Charles Parker's, who is concerned in a manufactory. Here more regard is paid to the welfare of the children employed, than in some other places; they are careful to preserve good order among them, and employ a man to instruct them in reading, &c., during certain hours, for which no deduction is made from their wages. I have often been affected with tenderness and pity, when I have beheld large numbers of poor little children, put to labour at so early an age, and left to grow up in ignorance and a prey to immoral examples and conduct; and it was a satisfaction to see some of them cared for as these are; indeed, there seems a growing concern for the education of the children of the poor, and many benevolent persons of both sexes devote a few hours on the first-day of the week for this laudable purpose. We had two meetings at Bentham, one for Friends and another for the town's-people. The children of the factory being discharged an hour earlier for the purpose, many of them came to the meeting, looking very clean and neat, and in good clothing, which is often not the case with the poor in this country. If men of wealth, who are concerned in manufactories, had the good of those they employ more in view, than mere profit, there would not be so much cause for complaint that those establishments are nurseries of vice; but so long as pecuniary gain is a primary object, this must continue to be the case. How excellent is the precept laid down by our blessed Lord, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." When looking over the children in these manufactories, I have often been brought to consider them as my own, or to place my own in their

situation; and O! how consoling it must be to parents who wish well to their dear children, to see them cared for in best things by their employers. And on the other hand, how pleasant must be the reflections of the employers, when they endeavour to do justly and act with Christian kindness toward those who are in their service;—if their profits should not be so great, yet there is more satisfaction in seeing the employed happy and comfortable, than there can be in the increase of riches and living in sumptuousness and grandeur, whilst those who labour for them, and the poor generally around them, are miserable and destitute. O ye professing Christians! go ye and consider what this meaneth, “I will have mercy and not sacrifice!”

We passed on to Settle and Thornton in the Clay, and then crossed the moor to Lothersdale, where we had two meetings. The renewed extendings of Divine love, raised in the heart grateful acknowledgments to the loving kindness and forgiveness of our merciful Creator, still offered to the acceptance of his revolting children, many of whom are situated hereaway. Mixed marriages and the consequences arising out of these, furnished cause of lamentation over the children of some who had stood faithfully in their day for the cause and testimony of Truth. O, praise ye the Lord, for his mercies endure forever!

The following day we had an unusually large meeting in Skipton castle, which was to good satisfaction. How different this from the days when Truth first broke forth, after a long night of apostacy, when our predecessors in religious profession were shut up in castles and prison houses, secured with bolts and bars; now the doors of castles, court-houses, assembly rooms, and other public buildings, are freely thrown open to accommodate our meetings, and there seems an almost general willingness to attend them. May the professors of Truth be deeply humbled, and brought to an earnest engagement to let their light so shine before men, that others seeing their good works, may glorify our Father who is in heaven.

Our next meetings were at a town near Fairfield, Wethersdale and Outley. On the way to the latter, one of the springs of our carriage broke, and the road being bad, and rain falling heavily, we had considerable difficulty in reaching it in time, having to take turns in walking; but it proved a satisfactory season, which more than compensated for our trouble. We next went to Rawden, where we were met by Sarah Hustler, and went home with her to Undercliff, the late residence of her valuable mother, Christiana Hustler, who

had been deceased about four months. Their house had long been a place of rest and refreshment to the messengers of the Gospel, and now proved so to us, though the remembrance of the removal of its late worthy possessor was some alloy. Dear Sarah, however, is no less a succourer of the Lord's servants than was her precious mother, and is also a public advocate for the dignified cause of Truth and righteousness;—peace be within her dwelling.

Friends' meeting-house at Bradford being under repair, the Methodist chapel was hired, and we had a large public meeting, about two thousand persons attending. We then took meetings at Gildersome and Leeds, and had one in the evening at Brighouse, where the power of the Highest raised me up to bear testimony to the purity of the Gospel ministry, and to that upright walking which dignifies the profession of Christianity. I have seldom been sensible of a more stripped state, than when I took my seat in the meeting; and after I felt an engagement to stand up, I had to proceed in much simplicity; but by degrees, the waters arose until they became a river to swim in, “a place of broad rivers, wherein goeth no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby.”

Next day we had a meeting in the Methodist chapel, at the same hour at which their minister was to have preached them a sermon, and which he informed the people at the commencement of our meeting “should be preached on the following tuesday evening.” I soon after stood up and informed the people, that our views of Divine worship and of Gospel ministry, did not admit of our concluding beforehand, that we would preach, or on what subject we would speak, and that I had taken my seat among them without even a thought of what might be the subject of communication, believing that both the preparation of the heart and the answer of the tongue, were from the Lord, the consideration of which had deeply impressed my mind since I had taken my seat, with desires that the professors of Christianity might consider that our Lord Jesus Christ has declared, “Without me ye can do nothing;”—that an humble dependence upon the assistance he might be graciously pleased to vouchsafe, when he condescended to meet with those who met in his name, would stay their minds in reverent waiting upon him, so that they would not be found warming themselves with a fire of their own kindling, lest in the end they should have to lie down in sorrow. The nature of Divine worship, and the qualification necessary to enable a minister to preach the Gospel aright, opened with much clearness on my mind, and I had to



speak largely upon them;—the aforesaid minister was very attentive and expressed his assent to the doctrines delivered, though his practice seems so contrary.

Accompanied by dear Sarah Hustler, we had meetings at Leeds, Gildersome and Halifax, Huddersfield, Wooddale, Highflats and Burton. At this place John and Elizabeth Hoyland met us, and brought letters from my beloved family, which afforded me much satisfaction. Here I also met Thomas Shillitoe, who had recently returned from his arduous labours in visiting the drinking houses in some parts of Ireland; and our meeting was to mutual satisfaction. In the evening we had a large meeting with the town's-people in Barnsley, and the following day rode to Sheffield, where I rested and wrote letters home.

On third-day rode over the hills to Bakewell, in Derbyshire, where only two families of Friends reside; we had a meeting in a house belonging to the Methodists, and proceeded to Monyash, Furniss, Breach and Derby, a town noted for the sufferings of George Fox, soon after he came forth as a preacher of the Gospel. Until lately, Friends had not a meeting settled at this place, but several being convinced, have joined the Society, and a good meeting-house is now erected, in which we had two meetings, the last very crowded, several hundreds not being able to get in. Our next meetings were Castle Donnington, Loughborough, Leicester, Hinckley, Hartshill and Tinmouth; some of which were highly favoured seasons, others trying, from a sense of the want of greater dedication to the cause of Truth, in consequence of which a lifeless formality too much prevailed amongst the professors of Truth in our Society, as well as under other denominations.

At Litchfield there is no meeting, but a few convinced persons live there, and I was comforted in the prospect that a meeting would be settled there in time to come. We had a satisfactory one in the court-house, and then rode to Birmingham; attended their meeting on first-day morning, and had a public one in the evening, and visited some under affliction. We then proceeded to Coventry, Warwick and Radway; the last a poor little village, in a low, marshy situation, the houses mostly covered with straw, and the inhabitants in low circumstances. Our accommodations were in the humble cottage of the widow Somerfield; and though far from elegant, it was a mansion of contentment, and kept with neatness and cleanliness. She received us with true affection and openness, as the servants of the church, and entertained us with hospitality. Her occupation is that of a stay-lace maker; and in reflecting on her situation, and the

sweet content that was apparent, I thought her happier than the queen on the throne, being free from the fears and cares of royalty. In the meeting at this place, I had to urge the necessity of parents being concerned to train up their children in the way they should go, they being placed as delegated shepherds over them during their minority, and as such must give an account. Whilst I was speaking, some lads who were not the children of Friends, behaved in an unbecoming manner, whispering and laughing; which caused me to stop and direct the attention of parents to the fruits of their neglect, and also to admonish the boys for their unmannerly conduct; after which they were quiet.

After spending a few days with my kind friend John Hull, who has been my companion for nearly four months, he accompanied me to the house of Joseph Fry, at Plashet, which I considered my English home, from whence, on fourth-day, I went to Gracechurch street Monthly Meeting, in London, where I found no command to engage in vocal service, but felt a comfortable degree of solemnity spread over my mind, and was glad to see the faces of many of my dear friends. In the meeting for discipline, I was engaged to bear testimony to the necessity of moving in the management of the affairs of the church, under the impressions of religious duty. On first-day, I attended meeting at Croydon, and next morning visited the widow Low and her children, who had buried her son Richard the day before. After attending the morning meeting in London I went to visit dear William Dillwyn and his family; who, having numerous correspondents in America, gave me more recent intelligence respecting my native country, than I had received. He appears glad to receive his friends from our land; and though his health is declining, yet his mind, which has long been usefully engaged for the good of his fellow men, is still alive to the cause of humanity. Having lived to see the labours for the abolition of the slave trade, in which he bore a considerable share, crowned with success, he is now exerting himself with others for bettering the condition of the slaves in the West India Islands, and for ameliorating the sanguinary laws of Great Britain, by which the lives of so many human beings are annually taken, for stealing—in which effort, I hope they may be as successful as in the former.

I was next at Winchmore-hill and Hartford meetings, and visited John Prior, whose wife made an acceptable visit, in Gospel love, to America. On the voyage thither, she met with a remarkable deliverance, their vessel proving so leaky, that with all the efforts the

crew could make, they were unable to prevent her from sinking; and shortly before she went down, a vessel hove in sight, and came up in time to rescue them from a watery grave. At Baldock we had an evening meeting, and the Friends being generally from home, a young woman undertook to have notice spread, and despatching her brothers in different directions, the work was completed with much cheerfulness and alacrity. On first-day, I was at Hitchin meeting in the forenoon; in the afternoon the ministers and elders of the county met; and next day, being the 16th of the twelfth month, the Quarterly Meeting was held. The situation of Friends, as professors of the Christian name, and engaged for the maintenance of the discipline of the church, excited my tender sympathy; much weakness being apparent, particularly on the men's side of the house. A sense of this among themselves, produced a willingness to receive the counsel imparted to them in Gospel love; and I trust the season was one of some profit, at least there seemed an increase of tender love one for another, and a renewed desire that they might be enabled to arise and put on strength in the name of the Lord. In the evening we had a large and comfortable meeting with the town's-people, and next day rode to Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, and had a large meeting with Friends and others; and next day being the usual mid-week meeting, we sat with the few Friends and those from Ashwell. In the evening had a meeting at Luton, where there is but a small company of Friends; and having been much stripped lately by death, they appeared in a humble and tender state, and I felt much sympathy for them. We had an evening meeting at Royston, where there are but two members of our Society, who are engaged to keep up their week-day meeting, although several others live in the town; then went to Buntingford, where there is no mid-week meeting. Alas! the Truth is at a low ebb in most places in Hertfordshire; and yet there is much room for labour by the Lord's servants, if they are entirely devoted to his service, for we found an open door set before us in the minds of many who are not members, and much labour was bestowed; but the Lord only can give the increase.

The Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex drawing near, we set our faces toward Tottenham, in order to attend it, and were at the first-day meeting there. On second-day the meeting of ministers and elders was held in London, which was largely attended, and I had some observations to make on the advantages resulting to the church, from the ministers and elders keeping their stations and places in true dedication and sin-

gleness of heart, so as to be ready to obey the call of the Lord, in visiting the dispersed up and down in the nation; for want of which godly concern, in the watchmen and watch-women, it is to be feared many have gone astray, and the waste places of Zion have been enlarged. Having been very unwell for some time past and my strength gradually declining, I felt very poorly after meeting; but through the kind attention of my dear friend and sister Elizabeth Fry, I was refreshed and recruited, so as to be able to attend the Quarterly Meeting. During that part of it appropriated particularly to Divine worship, the power of Truth was in dominion, and several Friends were engaged in the line of the ministry. In the meeting for discipline, there appeared a want of solidity in transacting the business. There are, however, many dear Friends in and about London, with whom my spirit is nearly united, and I prefer them to myself, for their greater experience; but, alas! others give evidence, that they are not baptized for the work, though they may keep very strictly to the letter of the discipline. O! that it was otherwise with them, that the visited youth might be encouraged by their example, to come forward in the right line.

A meeting being proposed by Mary Dudley, to be held on third-day morning, I attended it, though very weak in body, and it proved a favoured season—several Friends being engaged in testimony and supplication. Some time before the meeting concluded, I was under great concern, lest the work of the imagination should be substituted for the putting forth of the heavenly Shepherd. There needs a care on this account, when seasons of Divine favour are experienced, and the waters are up. The Lord is a God of order, and deliberation and care are necessary, that we do not move too soon one after another; and an abrupt breaking up of a meeting immediately on a Friend's sitting down, is not of good report. I found my seat rather a trying one, not being willing that any rightly concerned Friend should be deprived of an opportunity of expressing what was upon their minds; yet very desirous we should be preserved from unnecessary speaking. The meeting was large and ended solidly. After this I went with my kind friends Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, to their house at Plashet, and rested some days, and was favoured with an increase of health and strength.

First-day, 1st of first month, 1812. Two days ago, I set out from London with my beloved friends Elizabeth Fry and her sister, Priscilla Gurney, to visit the meetings in Surrey and Sussex. We had an evening meeting at Dorking, which was satisfactory, although

the people were long in assembling. Next day we were at Ryegate, where the number of Friends is small, and but few other persons coming in, as I took my seat discouragements seemed to crowd into my mind; but I was soon turned from them, by the spreading of a holy solemnity over us; the Master of our assemblies graciously condescending to manifest himself among us, which was reverently acknowledged in supplication, returning thanks for the goodness of Israel's Shepherd, and humbly interceding for the continuance of his fatherly care. The meeting ended sweetly, and proposing another to be held in the evening, we were employed in visiting several families of Friends, some of whom were under affliction. The evening meeting was favoured with the renewings of heavenly goodness and love, and in the ability given, we laboured for the encouragement of those who were hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

The meeting at Ifield, held the first day of the new year, proved a favoured time; next day we were at Brightelmstone, and the day following at Lewes, from whence we rode to our friend John Glazier's, who, though indisposed in body, appeared alive in the Truth, and his company was truly pleasant. In the early part of their married life, he and his wife had been members of the Methodist society; but John being dissatisfied with the forms and activity on which they so much depended, sought the Lord in retirement, endeavouring to draw near unto him in spirit. This resulted in his joining himself to Friends, a people who depended on the immediate operations of the Lord's power revealed in the soul of man; in consequence of which, he endured the reproaches of his former associates, and his wife also expressed her dislike to his change, saying to him, as she herself told me, "I wonder you should go with so silly a people as the Quakers!—what good can there be among them?" He very calmly replied, "Thou dost not know what I have found amongst them, or thou wouldst not wonder at me;"—which reply so wrought upon her mind, that she could not rest satisfied without seeking to know what he had met with; when Infinite Goodness was pleased to manifest himself to her, with the conviction, that they who worship the Father aright, must worship him in spirit and in truth—that the Lord is not pleased with feigned homage, which it is to be feared is often the situation of those who sing psalms, the mind being more intent on the harmony of the sounds, than engaged in fervent concern to express only the words of truth and soberness, from a living experimental knowledge of the goodness of God, through which they have been

delivered from their spiritual enemies, so as to be enabled to praise Him on the banks of deliverance.

In the evening, we returned to Brightelmstone, and had a large public meeting in Friends' meeting-house, and next day had one at Arundel. On our way to this place, we dined at the house of a Friend, whose wife was one of a large family who had joined the Society by conviction. An elder sister being at a meeting appointed by Sarah Harrison, of Philadelphia, was convinced of the Truth as held by Friends. She became an attender of the meeting at Brighton, though her residence was nine miles distant, and her father much opposed to her going. She passed through great difficulties, rising early in the morning and working hard, to have her business accomplished before it was time to set off for meeting; and after her return worked very late to make up for the time she was absent, and all this, beside walking to and from the meeting. This was very trying to her nature; but her diligence and constancy had an effect on her brothers and sisters, and her younger brother soon accompanied her to meeting; after which the others, to the number of eight, one after another, went with her, and all became respectable members of Society, as did also their mother. I saw her at Brighton, where she very constantly attended meeting, and afterward at her own house, where for the first time, her husband showed a friendly disposition toward a minister of our Society, having heretofore avoided their company. He came and sat by us, and entered into pleasant conversation; and when about to part, Elizabeth Fry had to proclaim the offers of peace and salvation to him, from the Author of all good, which he heard patiently and quietly, and very respectfully waited on us to the carriage. His son Samuel, who had been with us several days, seemed pleased and surprised at this great change which had taken place in his father; and we left the family in tender love, and with earnest desires for their preservation in the line of consistency.

Next day we sat with Friends of Chichester in the morning, and had a public meeting in the afternoon; and the following day attended the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, held at Horsham, where but little of the life of true religion was to be felt; but as the afflicted are not always forsaken, we were not without a hope, that through the aboundings of heavenly Goodness, there would yet be known among them more of an enlargement in Divine things. In the Quarterly Meeting for discipline I laboured among them under feelings of weakness, it being necessa-

ry that the servants should be dipped into sympathy with the states of those they visit—where things are low, we cannot expect to abound; but blessed be the name of Israel's Helper, before we separated we were blessed with a season of Divine favour. In the evening we had a large public meeting, and afterward a tendering time with a poor afflicted woman, who had gone out in her marriage with a person not in membership with Friends. She had a large family of children, and no helpmate in her husband to train them up in a religious life, he being disposed to take liberties not becoming his station as a parent. Ah! how many of our dear young people, in the days of gaiety and vanity, take their flight and become separated from the flock of Christ's companions! There is here and there a solitary instance, where such are arrested, and through repentance are brought back again to know better days; but frequently we see them choosing their own ways in marriage, in opposition to the tender advice and concern of their parents and friends, and thus plunging themselves into sorrow. The apostle's advice is of great importance, "Be ye not unequally yoked together,"—and were the youth concerned to move deliberately in this weighty affair, in the fear and counsel of the Lord, He who prospered Abraham's servant, would not leave them to take such steps as would bring trouble and distress upon them.

Our next meetings were Godalming, Guilford, Esher, and Wandsworth; after which we rode to Plashet, the residence of my dear companion, Elizabeth Fry, who was favoured to find her family in good health. Next morning I went into London and attended the morning meeting; then Southwark Monthly Meeting, where I had the company of dear William Forster, and the day following he and I went to the Monthly meeting held at Brentford; after which he went home to Tottenham, and I to London, where I attended Westminster Monthly Meeting, held at Peter's Court, which was favoured with the renewed offers of spiritual health and salvation. After this I rested a few days, and wrote to my beloved family, from whom I had comfortable accounts, and under the feelings vouchsafed, I thought I could say in reverent thankfulness, Hitherto the Lord hath helped me—blessed be his sacred name.—Amen.

20th of first month; accompanied by my late companion, John Hull, I attended meetings at High Wycomb, Maidenhead, Reading, Henley and Wallingford. At the last meeting, our friend Joseph Ashby, who had accompanied us from Chillingworth, was seized with a paralytic affection, and died a few days

after. He was a valuable Friend, given to hospitality and benevolence, and his loss will be much felt.—After being at Warborough meeting, and visiting the families at Abingdon, I had public meetings at Farrington, Cirencester, Nailsworth and Thornbury; from whence I rode to Bristol, John Hull having left me for a short time. I was at the meetings in Bristol, and visited several persons under affliction; then went to Laurence Weston Monthly Meeting, and to meetings at Portshead, Claverham, Sidcot, Glastonbury, Somerton, Bridgewater, Taunton, Milverton, Wellington, Spiceland, and thence to Plymouth. Here my mind was brought under great oppression and sorrow, in considering the afflictions and distress which many of my fellow creatures endure—the port and extensive naval docks being filled with vessels of war, and many sick and wounded landed from them, besides numbers of prisoners of war being brought in. I was; however, comforted in the meeting, and find that Friends here are very careful to afford what assistance they can to the poor sufferers, frequently visiting the prisons and endeavouring to promote the comfort of the poor prisoners, and using their influence to prevent their being so closely stowed together as they often are.

On second-day we set out for Liskard, in Cornwall; the wind blew very hard and directly ahead, so that we were more than an hour crossing the ferry, though it was not more than half a mile wide. It was with great difficulty we got over, having to assist at the oars to prevent our being driven against the hulks anchored in the river. I think I did not see so much danger in crossing the ocean. We had a meeting at Liskard in the evening—next day one with the few Friends at Wadebridge, and on the following day were at the Monthly Meeting at Redruth, and had one for the inhabitants in the evening at the Methodist meeting-house. Our next were at Falmouth, Penzance, Marazion and Truro; and after two large and good meetings on first-day, we had a precious tendering time in the evening with several Friends, and I have seldom, if ever, known a greater evidence of the condescension of the Holy One of Israel, in vouchsafing his living presence and power to satisfy his humble seeking ones;—blessed be his holy name for ever.

Next morning we attended the Monthly Meeting at Liskard, and then had meetings at Looe and Tideford, which closed our visit to Cornwall. Several of the meetings we attended were highly favoured seasons, and the people showed a great willingness to come to them, the houses in many cases being far too small to contain them. The number of Friends

in the county is not large, but there appears to be a convincement going on, and I believe some will join the Society; though as respects my own labours I can truly say, my view was to strengthen the good in all, without seeking to proselyte any. Vital Christianity is what I wish to see all pressing after, that Christ Jesus may be their teacher, their guide and provider, and that there may be less dependence upon external performances.

We now turned our faces toward Plymouth again, where we attended the funeral of an exemplary Friend, and in the evening had a religious opportunity with his widow and children; then had meetings at Kingsbridge and Modbury, and a select opportunity with the few Friends at Exeter. I was comforted in finding some honest hearted ones here; but it was evident to my mind, that more submission to the renewing and qualifying baptisms of Truth, was necessary for the solid comfort of others, and to prevent them from settling down at ease in lifeless forms. After a comfortable religious opportunity with an aged Friend, we rode toward Bridport, and had a large and satisfactory meeting there; then to Ilminster, Yeovil, Sherborn and Marl-hull. At the latter place lives our friend William Byrd, who married Rebecca Young, the latter of whom I had seen in my own country on a religious visit with Deborah Darby. Having for some days past felt my mind turned toward Weymouth, where there are no Friends but Anna Buxton, a young woman who has latterly joined Friends, and for whom I felt a tender sympathy in her lonely situation; we rode there and were kindly received at the house of her step-father. The minister of the Independent congregation having mentioned to Anna, that their meeting-house should be open for any Friend who felt a concern to hold a meeting there, it was obtained for the purpose, and we held a meeting in the evening, to which many of the town's-people came and conducted very respectfully; several expressing their satisfaction after it was over. I was comforted in observing the general esteem in which Anna was held by the people, and a few words which she expressed in the meeting, evidently spread a solemnity over it. After staying two days at her father's, she accompanied us to Poole, where we had a large meeting, and though some of the people seemed unsettled and noisy for a time, yet through Divine favour it ended well. Next day we had meetings at Ringwood and Southampton—the latter large and favoured—a few well concerned Friends reside in the town, who have revived the meeting, which had been suffered to go down for a great length of time. From this place we

went to Salisbury, in Wiltshire, where we met with William and Rebecca Byrd, with several other Friends, a committee of the Quarterly Meeting on a visit to the Monthly and Preparative Meetings, the society being in a low state hereaway, and many weaknesses apparent. Our next meeting was at Devises, on first-day, which though small was comfortable; several who are under convincement being present. In the evening had a crowded public meeting, and I proceeded to Bristol. Having travelled hard through wet and cold, and been exposed in various ways, my health had become so much broken as to require attention, and the physician recommending rest as highly necessary, I accordingly laid by for a time, at the house of my kind friend George Fisher, where I was cared for with much tenderness. During my stay here I attended meetings as they came in course, and also the Quarterly Meeting of Bristol and Somerset, held here, which was a time of Divine favour to Friends of this city, many of whom are valuable and concerned labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

30th of third month, I set out for Melksham, to attend the Quarterly Meeting for Gloucester and Wilts, and put up with Mary Jeffereys; whom I had seen in America, when there on a religious visit with Sarah Stephenson.

The Quarterly Meeting was rather a low time, although ability was given to labour in the Gospel and to set truth above error, and Friends appeared to unite in desires that a more strict watch might be maintained. Here I parted with my dear friends, George Fisher and wife, and my heart was broken into tenderness, under a sense of the goodness of the Shepherd of Israel, who had influenced their minds to take such tender care of a poor traveller; may I ever be grateful therefor. After Friends had mostly left the town, I appointed a meeting for those of other societies, which was held to good satisfaction. The following day we went to Caln, where live our valued Friends Joseph and William Grundy, who with their families make up the meeting. Joseph has a family of fine looking children, his wife being a prudent mother, endeavouring to bring up her children in good order and in the fear of the Lord, which affords ground to hope that a blessing will attend. O, how different with many mothers, who are careless, and neglect their children's truest interest! After a public meeting here, we proceeded to the residence of my companion, William Fry, at Hill-house: his wife is a woman of a meek and quiet spirit, manifesting much love to the dear Saviour, who was graciously pleased to wean her from the gaiety and vanities of life, in which she had been educated, having been brought up in the established church, and

turned her mind to the substance of true religion, and she is now an example of simplicity and plainness. I rested at their comfortable habitation a few days, during which time I attended meetings at Nailsworth and Painswick; the latter has been hurt by the attention of some of the members to a woman, who proved a gross impostor, pretending to be a prophetess, and encouraged her deluded followers to enter into pecuniary speculations, saying she knew they would succeed, by which they sustained much loss in property, as well as in the life of religion, and proved her to be a deceiver. It is strange that sensible people will be so credulous as to believe such impostors.

From Hill-house I went to Cheltenham and Gloucester; and although there are but few Friends, we had large meetings with the people; then to Tewkesbury, Evesham, Cheesborough and Burford, and to the Quarterly Meeting held at Whitney; where the Master of our assemblies was pleased to be with us, encouraging the humble minded. Things appeared to be much out of order in some places, and the forwardness of some to aid in the management of the discipline, rather marred than mended matters, they not being under right qualification. I had, for several weeks past, been very much cast down, although at seasons favoured with power to preach the Gospel, yet my way was now much closed up as to appointing meetings, and my health requiring rest, I rode to Uxbridge, and after a few days rest there, at my dear friend John Hull's, I proceeded to my English home, at Joseph and Elizabeth Fry's, near London, and felt well satisfied in being, once more under their hospitable roof.

As the Yearly Meeting drew near, I took a journey into Kent, and visited the few Friends there, whose number is rather increased latterly, and a new meeting-house is built at Maidenstone. I was at the first meeting held in it, and had also several large public meetings for those not of our Society, and returned to London with feelings of increased love for Friends of that county, believing there are a few solid and seriously engaged Friends; but the want of more of this engagement is apparent in others. May the rising generation come forward, in humble dependence upon the holy Helper of his people, then I believe Truth will be more in dominion among them.

Having been anxiously awaiting the arrival of letters from home, when I got back and found none, my mind was deeply thoughtful about my family, as it has often been of late. I however felt in degree reconciled, in humble resignation to the will of my heavenly Father, whose love cheered my spirit, so that I was

enabled to visit my friends of Tottenham and in London, as way opened, until the Yearly Meeting came on, when the sight of many Friends from different parts of the nation revived my spirits, and their company and pleasant converse seemed to keep me from that serious depression which at times I felt, in consequence of not receiving letters from my beloved connexions. My dear friend Stephen Grellet came to attend the Yearly Meeting, and we were truly glad to meet, he having left New York one year after I did; and my dear Sarah being at his house previous to his leaving, I had an opportunity of hearing many particulars of which my letters had not informed me. Those who have not known by experience the trial of separation from beloved connexions and friends, can hardly estimate the pleasure of such a meeting.

The Yearly Meeting was large and attended by an unusual number of youth; and although some trying cases came before it, yet in general it was a solid, good meeting. I sat through many of the meetings in perfect quietness and serenity of mind, having as I apprehended, but little to do. In two of the meetings for worship the spring of the ministry rose as high as I had ever known it to do through me, a poor feeble instrument. The state of the nations, and the sufferings of the poor, led many minds into deep feeling, and an address to the Prince Regent of the British empire was drawn up, in which the peaceableness of the Christian religion was held up to view.

On the morning of the day when the Yearly Meeting closed, my mind was mercifully brought into a holy calmness, as a morning without clouds—a sweet serenity and a flow of love and good will toward my dear friends, clothed my spirit; and after having breakfasted with a number of them at my lodgings, about an hour before meeting time, I walked out to see my countryman, Stephen Grellet; and seeing the postman, the thought occurred to me that he might have letters for me, and on inquiring I found he had. I took them, and opening one, was looking for the name of the writer, when these words caught my eye, “thou hast the tears, the prayers and the condolence of many of thy relatives and friends.” A sudden trembling seized my hand, so that I could hardly hold the paper. As the calm serenity of a bright morning is shaded by the approach of the portentous thunder clouds, from which the vivid lightning bursts, gradually approaching nearer and nearer, until the passenger is impelled to seek a shelter from the impending storm, so my feelings hastened me to my room, where—oh my friends, judge ye who can, how great the shock I experienced, instead of seeing the



well-known hand, which had so often been employed to minister, in various ways, to my comfort, the pen of another had to be engaged, to convey to me the affecting and afflicting intelligence, that the dear partner of my life was no more—that the hand which so often ministered to my wants, would aid me no more, and that I should never again hear that voice, which to me was always as the messenger of peace and gladness;—that the beloved one, to whom I had fondly looked as the earthly comforter of my last days, was now mouldering in the silent grave, while her peaceful spirit had gone to the realms of endless light, among the redeemed and sanctified ones, there to enjoy the bliss which is not to be found below,—testifying before her departure, that through infinite and unmerited mercy, a foretaste of this felicity is vouchsafed to those who endeavour to serve their Creator and walk in fear before him, to strengthen them and animate them to persevere in that high and holy way, which leads to endless joy and peace. She declared, that such was her blessed experience, even while suffering the pains of the body, that she had not a doubt of the goodness and mercy of God; and was now sensible that she had not been following cunningly devised fables, because she reaped the blessed fruits of obedience, even the peace of God, a sure foretaste of the joys which awaited her.

Thus was my chiefest earthly joy taken from me; and the letters also conveyed the additional intelligence, that my dutiful son, on whom I had fondly calculated, as one who would comfort and support my declining years, and be the stay and consolation of his mother when I was taken from her; he too was gone—I was bereft of both, and of my aged and beloved mother also; besides a number of other relatives and friends, who had gone hence to be seen of men no more. Ah! ye who have felt the stroke of separation, and who have hearts that can sympathize with a bereaved brother, you will excuse the flood of tears that gushed from my eyes, when I tell you, that I sought to be preserved from saying or thinking that the Lord had dealt hardly with me, in thus trying me with this sore affliction, whilst separated from my home. He, the omniscient Searcher of all hearts, knows that I left them under a belief, that in so doing I was acting conformably to his will, that I might stand approved in his sight when the solemn requisition is made, “What hast thou done with thy Lord’s money?” and that in thus endeavouring to dedicate myself to his service, I had been strengthened, to my humble admiration,

by his gracious living presence, often feeling my peace flow as a river, and my attachment to, and stability in the Truth to increase, so that my prayers often ascended to him in sincerity of soul, that I might do nothing which should cause any one to think lightly of his power, or to speak evil of his glorious holy name, being willing to suffer for the advancement of his cause on the earth. I had often had to rejoice in spirit, as in the language of the Psalmist, “Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.” But what shall I now say, O my soul? Has the Lord forsaken thee? Has his mercy clean passed thee by? Has he forgotten thee in a foreign land, whilst he has taken from thee thy earthly comforts in the land of thy nativity? O, no! blessed be his name—though he slay me, yet will I trust in him—it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good—his ways are all in wisdom; and though I am tried, in some respects like poor Job, yet what am I? Unworthy indeed of the many favours I have received at his bountiful hand. A part of the intelligence I received, related to some disarrangement of my temporal concerns, which was an additional trial; beside which, the dear survivors of my little family were in the midst of the raging pestilence, which had proved so fatal, waiting in awful suspense to see who would be the next victim for death.

Thus was I, as in a moment, plunged into deep distress, my way hedged in with walls as on every side; and though my beloved friends, on becoming acquainted with my situation, kindly sought to administer comfort, I had none, save in the hope, that if I died, it would be humbly lying at the feet of Jesus, whom I loved. I believed in the calming influence of his almighty power, and as his omnipotent voice once proclaimed, “Peace be still,” to the stormy billows, for the relief of his poor disciples, so now I felt him spread a degree of holy calmness and resignation over my afflicted mind, and I was enabled to cast my care upon him, under an humbling belief, that he will not leave nor forsake those who put their trust in him. I began to think it would be better for me to leave London immediately, as many Friends would probably be calling to see me, and I did not feel in a state of mind to bear much company. I accordingly went out to Plashett, where I found my dear friend, Elizabeth Fry, a true sympathizer and a friend indeed. Stephen Grellet being detained with me, so as to be late at meeting, informed Friends of the sorrowful tidings I had received, which had a very great effect upon the meeting, and it was concluded

to make a minute expressive of the feelings produced, and of its sympathy with me, and desires for my support; it being as follows, viz:

Yearly Meeting of London, the  
30th of Fifth month, 1812.

Stephen Grellet of New York, informed this meeting, that our dear friend Henry Hull, now on a religious visit to this country, and who was acceptably with us during the former sittings of this meeting, has this morning received an account of the decease of his beloved wife and one of his sons, of a contagious disease, in the beginning of last month. This meeting feels near sympathy with him in this heavy affliction, and desires that he may continue to be supported under it, by the presence of Him who was, and is touched with a feeling of our infirmities, even our holy Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ.

The clerk, in company with our Friend Stephen Grellet, who is also on a religious visit to this land, is requested to give to Henry Hull a copy of this minute.

A Friend, who knew nothing of what had transpired, going into the meeting while the clerk was making the minute, said he was much struck, as he took his seat, with the awful silence which prevailed, as well as with the tenderness of spirit which Friends in all parts of the house seemed to be under, and was at a loss to know the cause, until the clerk read the minute.

The meeting of ministers and elders was to convene in the evening, when my returning certificate was to be issued; and as I was not equal to the exertion of attending it, I requested P. H. Gurney to give my dear love to Friends, and state the cause of my absence, and to say, that although I had parted with my dear family as though I was never to see them again, yet from the pleasing hope I had indulged of meeting them ere long, I found the present stroke to be a very severe trial. Feelings of tender sympathy were awakened in the meeting, to which allusion was made in the certificate, in which also was an expression of unity with my labours among them.

Many dear Friends came to see me, whose company was cheering; but my more constant companions in this season of affliction, were my dear friends Elizabeth Fry, and her sister P. Gurney, who loving the Truth, and having been made willing to part with much to purchase it, had been prepared to mourn with those who mourn, and to soothe the sorrows of the afflicted. The kindness of the whole family to me is remembered with thankfulness to the Author of all good: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me:" here,

truly, is encouragement to visit the sick and afflicted, and to administer to their needs.

The first meeting I attended after these mournful tidings reached me, was at Plaistow, which was a solemn time; and however my afflictions seemed to be above the afflictions of others, yet I was brought into near sympathy with some present, who were under similar trials, and awful solemn prayer was made to the God of all comfort, who was graciously pleased to help our infirmities, and enable us to cast our care upon him, in the humble confidence, that he will never leave nor forsake those who trust in him—blessed and forever adored be his holy name.

About five days after, other letters from my family arrived, informing me that the disorder had subsided, which was a great satisfaction, though my parental feelings were quickened on account of my dear children bereaved of the care of their tender mother. O thou who regardest the sparrows, keep us, I pray thee, from murmuring, and enable us to meet the trials which yet remain, with becoming patience, that we may know all things to work together for our good.

These letters were written about twenty days after the others; and I considered it a favour that they came to hand so early after the receipt of the first, as they relieved me from an afflicting anxiety, which sometimes beset my mind respecting my remaining children, lest these also should be added to the list of the departed. O poor Stanford, may thy inhabitants learn righteousness by the dispensation! My mind was now left at liberty to dwell more singly on the remembrance of the dear deceased partner of my life, and the period and circumstances of our union, and I drew up an address to the youth in England and Ireland, giving a little account of our setting out in life, being desirous of encouraging them to trust in the power of that God whom we had endeavoured to serve. It was submitted to the morning meeting, and approved and directed to be printed, with the addition of extracts from some letters, giving an account of the last hours of my beloved.\*

The following testimony respecting his wife will doubtless be acceptable to the reader:

*The Testimony of Stanford Monthly Meeting,  
concerning SARAH HULL.*

SHE was daughter of Edward and Phebe Hallock, of Marlborough, Ulster county, in the State of New York, who instructed her in the principles of the Christian religion as held by the Society of Friends; which, together with the example of Friends who put

\* See the close of the memoirs.

up at her father's house, was blessed to her, tending to turn her mind, in early life, to the internal monitor, by whose reproofs for lightness of conduct, she was favoured to see that it was well with the righteous, and to dread the displeasure of the Almighty.

In this state of mind, she frequently sought places of retirement to pour forth her tears, and pray to the Lord that she might be favoured to witness his help to walk in a way that would be acceptable to him.

In some of these seasons, when favoured with a sense of the heavenly Father's love, her tears were tears of joy; and she willingly entered into covenant, that if the Lord would be with her and keep her from evil, she would serve him all the days of her life: her mind was also attended with a belief, that if she was faithful, she would have to testify to others of the goodness and mercy of the Lord, and to invite them to come and partake thereof.

It was a pleasant duty to her to attend religious meetings, often riding a considerable distance on horseback to those for church discipline; none being held near her father's place of residence, whilst she lived with him.

In the year 1785, she was married to our friend, Henry Hull, of Stanford, in Dutchess county, and settled within the limits of this meeting, then a branch of Creek Monthly Meeting. She was soon noticed by Friends, for her diligence in attending meetings, and for her exemplary and pious conduct in other respects. She was of a pleasant, cheerful disposition, and disposed to be useful to her fellow creatures, seeking occasions thereof without ostentation. Her sympathetic mind often led her to the habitations of the afflicted, where she was frequently engaged in acts of kindness, and in imparting salutary counsel, which rendered her visits pleasant, and particularly useful to some who were under discouragement from other causes beside bodily affliction.

She was frequently left alone with the care of his family, when her husband was engaged in travelling in the ministry, to which service she cheerfully gave him up.

About the thirty-first year of her age, she came forth herself in that important work, with much diffidence. Her appearances in the ministry for several years were not frequent; but being careful to wait for the renewed evidence of Truth, her offerings were very acceptable; and by being faithful in the little, she grew in her gift, and became a well qualified instrument for the Lord's work. She frequently performed religious visits to the families of Friends, in this and the neighbouring Monthly Meetings; and also travelled

within the limits of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and this Yearly Meeting. The last of these visits was in the year 1810, when parting with her husband in the city of New York, as he was about embarking on a religious visit to Great Britain and Ireland, she recommended him with her own soul to the care and protection of Israel's Shepherd, and then returned home; and after a few days, she left her children in much tenderness of spirit, and set out for the Yearly Meeting on Rhode Island, which she attended, and went from thence as far as Nantucket; and taking meetings in the way, returned home. After her return from this journey, she was several times heard to say, that she believed it would be her last visit to Friends in New England, which proved to be the case: she, however, performed several short journies, which kept her from home a few days at a time, returning joyfully to her family, who were dear to her, and to whom she was an example of kindness and charity.

In the spring of the year 1812, a solemn dispensation of sickness, which proved mortal to many, spread a general alarm amongst the inhabitants of this and some adjacent places; in the progress of which, she appeared to be raised above the fear of danger, visiting the sick, and attending meetings and burials; and was much favoured in the exercise of her gift in the ministry; the stream of Gospel love which flowed through her, tending to console the hearts of many.

On the 19th of third month, after returning from the funeral of a Friend, she complained of severe pain in the head, and the prevailing fever setting in, she was soon confined to her bed; where she evinced the fortitude of a Christian, and could look back and reflect on her endeavours to advance the cause of religion, with thankfulness. Her mind appeared to be filled with love to all mankind, and particularly to her friends around her, saying, she believed all was done for her comfort that was necessary to be done, and that she was resigned to wait the termination of the disorder. To a Friend who came in, she said, "I now know that I have not followed cunningly devised fables, but living and substantial truth." At another time, when her mind seemed filled with heavenly love, speaking of the happy state of the righteous, she said, "I am raised above all doubting, my good Master has shown me that he has prepared a seat for me." At another time, calling a young man to her, she remarked, "This is a time to prove religion, and I now find that the religion I have lived in, will do to depend upon: leave all mysterious reasonings and doubtings, seek the God of thy father and of thy mother, and he will

be found of thee: be faithful to a little light, and it will be increased." Having, she said, done her day's work while in health, she was ready when it was the Divine will to receive the reward thereof. A few minutes before her departure, with great difficulty of utterance, she said, "I want to go to bed; as says the prophet of the righteous, they shall enter into peace, they shall rest in their beds:" and then in a peaceful state of mind, departed this life, on the 4th of the fourth month, 1812, aged about forty-eight years, leaving the consoling evidence, that she had gone to the abodes of rest and peace.

During my stay at Plashett, my mind was at times clothed with the love of my heavenly Father, although at other times so borne down with the consideration of my great loss, that I could scarcely refrain from lamentation. Many past occurrences of our married life were called to my remembrance. I was however comforted in being sensible, that the longer my dear wife and I lived together, the greater, if possible, was our love for each other; and we had always been united in our endeavours to train up our children in the fear of the Lord, that they might find it to be a fountain of life, preserving from the snares of death. As we had endeavoured to render each other happy, our parting was not so bitter to me, as though I had been regardless of my marriage covenant—for, Oh painful indeed, and agonizing would it have been to me, now to reflect that that had been the case; but, instead of this, the recollection of the unity and harmony which we witnessed, though it increased my mourning that I should no more enjoy the precious society of one I so dearly loved, yet it also revived the Christian hope, that she had gone to a state of unmixed felicity, forever to enjoy the reward of a well spent life, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus.

On the 11th of sixth month, I left Plashett, after an humbling season, in which many tears were poured forth, without any noisy tokens of sorrow. My dear friends, Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, accompanied me to their house in London, and next morning after breakfast we sat down together, and were drawn into awful solemn silence, the prospect of being about to part, after having been so long and nearly united, and the probability of our never seeing each other again, contributed to humble and solemnize our spirits. Dear Elizabeth was drawn forth in prayer, imploring the continuance of heavenly goodness, and that we might be preserved in that Divine love, which had knit us together. We then parted as children of our heavenly Father:—

forever blessed be his name for his love manifested toward us.

I attended Huntington meeting on the following first-day morning, and in the evening Friends from Ives met us; these were solid good seasons, although there was but little ministerial labour. Next day we had a satisfactory meeting with Friends of Wilburn, and sat with the ministers and elders at Wadlington; then rode to Lincoln, where the Quarterly Meeting for Lincolnshire is held. It was an edifying season, with a comforting prospect, that the Lord was preparing for usefulness in his church, some who will advocate his blessed cause, if they are faithful. At present there is but one minister, Jonathan Hutchinson, a worthy ancient Friend.

From Lincoln we rode to Hull, and on the 22nd attended the morning and afternoon meetings there, to good satisfaction. I proceeded to York, and lodged at William Alexander's, whose wife had been at my house, when on a religious visit in America, and was acquainted with my dear Sarah; and meeting me now in my bereaved situation, she was a true sympathizer, having herself had to share the vicissitudes incident to our tarrance in this vale of tears. I attended the Quarterly Meeting here, and had comfort in the society of some dear Friends, particularly William Tuke, father to Ann Alexander, and her brother Henry. I also visited Lindley Murray and his wife, and had an humbling season of waiting upon the Lord at their house. We went on to Leeds, where I saw many dear Friends with whom I was acquainted, and our spirits were afresh united; and with mutual desires for each other's welfare we took leave. From thence I proceeded to Lancaster, to attend the Quarterly Meeting; though I had but little satisfaction in it, as my mind was turned homewards. I should probably have felt better satisfied had I proceeded directly from Leeds to Liverpool; but my kind friends, John Sanderson and wife, having accompanied me from London, and they being desirous to attend the Quarterly Meeting, I yielded: but when I arrived at Liverpool, I was straitened for time to prepare for the voyage; in addition to which, I did not feel interested in any meeting after Leeds. I was therefore instructed, that when engaged in the service of Him who putteth forth and goeth before his own sheep, it is not safe to be turned aside by the persuasions, even of the nearest and kindest friends.

In Liverpool I received much kind attention from many Friends, who sympathized with me. Were I to attempt it, I should find myself at a loss for language to express the feelings of gratitude and love which filled my

heart, and humbled me before the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for all his mercies. May the unslumbering Shepherd of Israel keep my dear friends, through all the trials of this probationary state, and finally bless them with an admittance into unmixed felicity.

On the 12th of seventh month, I sailed in the ship *Orbit*, and had a fine run toward *Holyhead*; next day we had a gentle breeze, and seemed likely soon to lose sight of England. As I silently contemplated the many acquaintances I had formed in that land, from whom I had now parted, probably never more to see the faces of many of them, as death is frequently arresting the youth, the middle aged and the aged, I felt that I loved many of them with true and tender love; and desires were raised, that the love of my heavenly Father may abide with them. My mind felt solitary in thinking of those I had left behind and in looking toward home.

15th. Wind ahead and weather fine;—passed *Waterford* harbour, and the sight of the houses on the high lands in the vicinity of the city, revived afresh in my mind the visit I had recently made to Friends of that place, with pleasant sensations. I believe there are a number of precious Friends there; may the love of our heavenly Shepherd often refresh their spirits.

The remainder of the voyage was attended with variable winds and sometimes calms, and there being twenty-four passengers, we were apprehensive of being put on short allowance, being out of several necessary articles before we arrived at our port. On reaching the coast of America, we received the unpleasant tidings, that war had been declared against Great Britain by the United States; and on coming in sight of *Sandy-hook* light-house, we were boarded by a naval officer, who took possession of the ship as a prize, for a violation of the non-intercourse act. Other officers coming on board, all was confusion and hurry; but several of us succeeded in getting on board a pilot boat, though not without danger from the roughness of the sea; and about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 28th of eighth month, we landed in New York. To be once more in the land of my nativity and amongst many kind friends who gave me a hearty welcome, was pleasant; but the thought of returning to my bereaved habitation was painful.

On his return from Europe he delivered up his certificates to the meetings from which he had obtained them, and gave some account of his travels and religious labours, producing testimonials from the Yearly Meetings held in

London and Dublin, expressive of their satisfaction with his visit, and that his company and services had been acceptable and edifying. His continued dedication to the cause of his Divine Master was soon evinced, by his yielding to an apprehension of religious duty to attend the Yearly Meeting for New England, held on Rhode Island, in 1813, and some of the meetings composing it; which service he performed to the peace and satisfaction of his own mind, and the comfort of Friends among whom he laboured.

The next memorandums which I find are the following, viz :

1813, first month 1st. Contemplating on the events of the last year, and my lonesome situation, I felt desirous to resume my diary, from a hope that it may have a tendency to keep me from unprofitable thoughts and their consequences; and have therefore commenced this first day of the year. The fervent desire of my heart is, that Israel's Shepherd may look down upon me with wonted compassion, pass by my sins and remember my iniquities no more; for although I am looked up to as one of the better sort of men, yet I am very sensible that I have need to watch continually unto prayer, finding my disposition inclining to the world and its ways, which if indulged, leave the mind destitute of spiritual consolation. Hitherto the Lord hath helped me. By him I have passed through the fire, and escaped the perils of the briny deep; after having had to endure the heart-rending trial of a separation from a beloved help-mate, a hopeful son, an aged mother, and other near relatives. Shall I not therefore trust his holy name and seek his favour, for his power is undiminished, and his mercies are new every morning. Sing, O my soul, a song of praise and thanksgiving unto thy God! tell of his marvellous doings, that others may come and put their trust under the shadow of his wings. Although he has chastened me, yet he has not forsaken me; as a father looketh on his children, and hath compassion toward them, even when they go astray from his wholesome counsel, so hath he regarded me. His love has been as a reviving cordial, and as healing balm to my wounded and fainting spirit. May the thousands who are calling upon his name, witness this, and those who are delighting to live without him, in the ways of their own choosing, be turned unto him, that they may find him to be to them, as he is indeed to all his penitent children, indescribable in love and mercy, a helper near at hand in every needful time. Thus they also may testify of his goodness, that he faileth not to uphold the righteous, whilst the obstinately wicked can-

not escape his wrath, though he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but delighteth in showing mercy and kindness, even unto those who are unmindful of him. He calleth unto them that they may turn from the evil of their ways, repent and live. 'Shall those then, who are at times clad in sackcloth, and go mourning on their way, forsake him and seek other beloveds? Nay—let not this be the case, lest they increase their sorrow, even unto death.' For where is true consolation to be had, but from the inexhaustible Fountain, where the true mourners have ever been comforted, and their mourning been turned into joy, because of the gladness of heart they have received, enabling them to sing, "O praise the Lord, all ye sons and daughters of men, for his mercy endureth forever." Grant thou, O Lord, the petition of thy servant; seal instruction upon my heart, as with an indelible impression, only to be effaced by death; that thy counsel may remain in me, to thy glory and the exaltation of thy own cause, for why should I be as one that turneth aside, when thou hast made my way plain before me.

2nd. Spent most of the day in reading and writing, though with but little edification, yet not altogether destitute of the hope that I shall yet witness further advancement in Christian experience; my eyes have several times, in the course of the day, been moistened with tears, in the remembrance of my dear wife.

3d. First-day, advocated the cause of my dear Master, from the words, "My kingdom is not of this world;" in which I found peace, and was enabled to offer up thanksgiving and praise, with humble prayer for the continuance of holy protection, that as we had entered upon a new year, we might improve it better than we had done that which is past, to the glory of Him, who is forever worthy. In the evening was sorrowful, in thinking of my motherless children; but a humble hope revives, that He who is a Judge of the widow, and a Father to the fatherless, will graciously regard the motherless, and not suffer accumulated trials to attend. I commend them and myself unto him, in true contrition of heart.

5th. Have felt solitary yesterday and today, but not desponding; my trust is in the ancient Helper of his people, even for wisdom to direct me in my temporal concerns, about which I have been very thoughtful of late, though not from a desire to seek great things, nor yet from a fear of want; but from a desire to be rightly directed, in order to avoid the difficulties and embarrassments, which hinder the progress of the soul in religion. My situation is such, that thoughtfulness about a comfortable subsistence is necessary;—hith-

erto I have not spent my time in idleness, and may my last days be spent usefully, is still the desire of my heart.

8th. Temporal concerns have engaged my attention this day; yet not so as wholly to divest my mind of desires to stand approved before Him, who is the great Controller of events: whilst an inhabitant of this earth, I hope to prefer the peace consequent upon well doing, to any earthly engagement.

22nd. Returned from a visit to a few newly convinced Friends in the mountains, in the north-eastern part of Dutchess county, and on the manor adjoining. The visit was productive of encouragement to myself, and I trust to the visited; being refreshed by the effusions of heavenly love. We also had meetings with the professors thereaway, to good satisfaction.

24th. Attended the funeral of a child, on which occasion we had a meeting among a very rough set of people—scarcely a religious character amongst them; yet the word of life and salvation was freely preached, and I believe many of their minds were, for the present at least, seriously impressed with considerations on the necessity of being prepared for death.

4th of tenth month. On my way home from the boarding school at Nine Partners, feeling much depressed, a remembrance of past mercies and judgments, dispensed to me by my gracious Lord, brought a seriousness over my mind, which gradually increased as I rode along, so that I was much humbled. The everlasting light of life broke in upon my spirit, in such a manner, that I felt surprised and unworthy of the favour of being thus remembered by the Ancient of days. This blessed light dispelled the darkness which had spread over my mind and produced so much sadness; and praises arose from my grateful heart to the Author of all mercies. I remembered that I had served Jehovah, and had reaped the rich reward of peace; but of late, I had concluded all was gone, and that I should never more enjoy his favour; but now my hope revived, unworthy as I feel myself to be. I once more offered up myself to the disposal of Him, who leads in the paths of peace; saying, send me where and when thou wilt—here I am—I will go, for good is thy will; thou who art pleased to evince to the sons and daughters of men, that thy mercies endure forever; thou art worthy to be served and honoured by all thy creatures. I desire that the residue of my days may be dedicated to thy blessed cause and service; and may I serve thee with all my strength and mind, my will being subject to thy humbling power.

I had been several little journeys since my



return from England, and now having a prospect of a visit to Friends in the southern part of our Yearly Meeting, and also in Burlington, New Jersey, and in the city of Philadelphia, I submitted my prospect to Friends of Stanford Monthly Meeting, who readily gave me a minute expressive of their unity. I left home and spent a few days at Nine Partners' school, and then proceeded to Purchase Quarterly Meeting; visited most of the meetings belonging thereto, and in company with William and Hannah Field, had a few meetings in Connecticut, as far as Bridgeport, most of which were favoured seasons, in which the word of life and salvation was freely preached; and I was comforted in the enjoyment of the Society of my dear friends, and in the possession of peace to my humbling admiration, having for months before I left home, been tried with depression of mind.

My children being settled away from home, and other circumstances appearing to render it proper, I had given up house-keeping; but I now became satisfied it would contribute to my comfort to be again settled, as I saw a snare in being so much at liberty to visit my friends, as there is a possibility of moving in religious engagements too easily, and thus that solid weight which attends the minds of those who go from the constraining power of Gospel love, may be wanting. And although this love is sufficient to support the mind, when called by our Divine Master to sacrifice the society and endearments of home, and our temporal concerns, it never will discharge us from the duties we owe to those we leave behind, when it is our proper place to return home. I saw, therefore, that there was need for me to be on my guard, not to become habituated to living upon my friends' kindness, which was evidenced by frequent invitations to spend a little time with them. I passed from meeting to meeting in New York and on Long Island, and the power of the Gospel was evidenced, so that I was often bowed in reverent thankfulness, particularly after a meeting held in Brooklyn, in which the Gospel was preached in demonstration of the spirit and power.

Accompanied by my kinsman, Wager Hull, I visited Friends in some parts of Jersey, and had meetings at Rahway and New Brunswick; after which I did not feel any engagement to appoint any meeting, but proceeded directly to Burlington, where I spent some time agreeably with dear George Dillwyn.

It does not appear that Henry Hull kept any further account of this journey; he visited the city of Philadelphia and some meetings in its vicinity, and attended the Yearly

Meeting of Philadelphia in the fourth month, 1814. In the ninth month of the same year, he was married to Sarah Cooper, of Newtown, in the State of New Jersey, and soon after settled at Stanford, in New York, the place of his former residence.

In 1815, he set out on a more extensive mission, attending the Yearly Meetings of Baltimore and North Carolina, and a considerable number of the meetings composing them.

While at New Garden, attending the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina, he wrote a letter to his wife, dated eleventh month 5th, 1815, from which the following is taken, viz :

“I trust the motives that led to the present separation, were purely religious, and I have thankfully to acknowledge, that ‘Hitherto the Lord hath helped me;’ although as much ministerial labour has not fallen to my lot as in some former journies. I hope never to plume myself as a favoured servant of Christ, from being able to stand long in the gallery, for the life is certainly more than meat. I had rather speak five words in a language that is intelligible to the true Israelites, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and when the doctrines of Truth open with clearness for the information of strangers, or invitations to the revolting to return to the allegiance due to the sovereign Lord, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, the seas and the fountains of waters, I trust I shall be willing to do the part assigned me.

“From Baltimore we proceeded to the places where meetings had been laid out, viz: Elk-ridge, Sandy-spring, Bush creek, Fairfax and Goose creek. We also attended a meeting at South Fork, in Virginia, where, as George Fox sometimes expresses himself, ‘Truth prevailed,’ and the same evening had a meeting in a private house, where it was said a Friends’ meeting had never been held before; the people in general seemed satisfied and glad of the opportunity.

“In the morning, the roughness of the road, the greatness of the distance, bad inns, numerous slaves, and ignorant and cruel slave-holders, all presented to my mind, and combined to make our setting out for North Carolina, a distance of more than three hundred miles, appear a very great undertaking. We, however, set out, and found the fare for ourselves and horses, better than we expected; the inhabitants generally respectful, and in some instances very attentive, so that we got on our journey much better than we expected. I did not see any of the African race writhing under the lash, nor exposed to the sun without any clothes; though some appeared barely

covered with their rags. It is an affecting truth, that the diabolical dealers in human flesh and blood, pay little or no regard to the ties of nature in their traffic, but husband and wife, parents and children, are often separated, never more to see each other; and the present high prices of cotton and tobacco, elate their minds, while the cries, the sighs, and the lamentations of the bought or the sold, could they but be heard by feeling Christians, would make their hearts ache."

Soon after his return from this trying journey, he visited the meetings of Friends in the northern part of his native state; and in the year 1817, attended the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and some of the meetings within its limits. Few years elapsed, in which this indefatigable labourer in the ministry of the Gospel, was not called abroad, as he believed, by his gracious Lord, to proclaim unto others the glad tidings of salvation, through a crucified and risen Saviour. In 1818, he again visited several of the Quarterly Meetings of his own Yearly Meeting; and in 1819, the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Baltimore.

In a letter written while engaged in this service, dated ninth month 10th, he says:

"I have, from early youth, loved solitude, and in my rambles delighted to view and contemplate the works of nature, and at times have been led thereby to adore the God of nature, and been brought, I trust, to submit to his power, which forms the mind of man, so that from a wilderness, it becomes like Eden and as the garden of the Lord; susceptible of his love, as the garden is refreshed with the dew,—thus fruits are brought forth, to the praise of the Sovereign Lord, and Creator of the hills and the vallies, who causeth them to produce the towering cedar, the sturdy oak, and all the vast variety of vegetable growth, down to the tender plant which bends with the weight of the tiny insect. We are justified in making comparisons, between the natural and the spiritual world, and I feel a humble confidence, that my small labour, being as I trust the product of the heavenly dew, will not be altogether useless. I am sure, the curiosity that prompts to idle rambling, was not the inducement for me to leave the tender connexions of my life, as I prefer their society to any thing else in the world."

From this period, until 1830, he was frequently engaged in visits to Friends in the State of New York and Canada; and also visited the Yearly Meetings of Rhode Island and Philadelphia.

When the disorganizing principles of infi-

delity, promulgated by Elias Hicks, began to spread in the Society, as a faithful watchman upon the walls, he sounded the alarm, endeavouring to arrest their progress and to warn all against being contaminated by their deadly influence. This was a source of much exercise of mind to him, in common with many of his brethren, with whom he heartily united in earnestly contending for the faith, once delivered to the saints; and with Christian magnanimity and boldness, defending the Society from the imputation of holding principles of unbelief, attempted to be fastened upon it by some of its unworthy members. In the long and painful struggle which ensued, he meekly, but firmly stood in the forefront of the contest, patiently enduring contumely and reproach for the name of Christ; evincing even under the most trying circumstances, a patience and gentleness, which won the esteem of all, and which proved that he was under the government of a principle superior to any which belongs to man. For the preservation of the youth from the specious sophistry of unbelief, and the delusive guises under which its principles were propounded to them, he felt an ardent solicitude; often pleading with them in the most earnest and affectionate manner, to beware of the gilded bait; and setting before them the inestimable value of the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrines of the divinity, propitiatory sacrifice, mediation and intercession, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, so abundantly and clearly testified of in those inspired records. As a proof of his solicitude on this subject, the following epistle, which he addressed, under the constraining influence of Gospel love, to Friends of New York, may be adduced, viz:

*To the Monthly Meeting of Friends in New York.*

Under an humbling sense of unmerited goodness, vouchsafed to me in early life, and still mercifully continued, whereby, as in former days, I still feel desirous for the prosperity of Zion and the enlargement of her borders, that peace may be within her walls, and prosperity within her palaces, I once more tender you my endeared love, whilst calling your attention to the present state of our Society, and to a consideration of some of the important testimonies maintained by our ancient Friends, by which they became as lights in the world. Their memory remains to be precious to those who are engaged to walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing; relying humbly upon the holy Head, for renewed qualification to labour for the purpose of bringing forth fruit to the praise of the great Lord of the harvest. Our worthy predecessors were not distinguished by a mere

unmeaning singularity of dress and address, but were restrained from following the vain and changeable fashions and customs of the world, and as a family of love, were engaged to encourage one another to wait upon the Lord for a renewal of strength, to endure the many grievous sufferings which were inflicted upon them.

Much depends upon the unremitting care of you, my dear friends, in the station of parents and heads of families, having the charge of children, to train them up in the fear of the Lord; remembering that ere long the testimonies which the Society has to bear, for the promotion of righteousness, should, in the line of succession, fall upon them; and that it is as much our religious duty to instruct them in the principles of Truth, as held by our ancient Friends, as it was obligatory upon the Israelites to teach their children the laws and statutes, by which they were frequently reminded of the deliverance of their ancestors from Egyptian bondage. I am persuaded it would be profitable to our young people, often to read the history of the Society, and the writings of our predecessors; they would then see, that the Scriptures were highly prized by them, as a means by which they were strengthened in a dependence upon the internal Teacher, encouraging them to turn from darkness and tradition, into the redeemed state of the righteous, enjoying true liberty: and in consequence of the opposition they met with from different professors, they had frequently to recur to those invaluable writings, to prove the consistency of their practices, as well as the soundness of their faith. Much disadvantage would arise, if those writings should be so neglected by us, as to produce in our children a disposition to undervalue them. I am far from desiring that they should be held up as the alone rule of faith and practice, as they are believed to be by some professors; yet they are certainly a means by which intelligent men may be brought to the knowledge of the unerring Guide, and thereby arranged in the ranks of righteousness. Their antiquity places a value upon them also; preserved as they have been amidst the wreck of empires; and they give us a view of the piety of early times, and strengthen the pious of the present day, who in their contemplation aspire in fervent desires to our almighty omnipotent Father and protector; Him who not only blessed the aged patriarch, but whose protecting care was extended to the covenanting youth, whether engaged in a pastoral life, or in the more exposed employ of princely courts. How very different are these sacred writings from those publications that are calculated to lead into

the mazes of speculation, or to bewilder, with reasoning upon the attributes of an Almighty God. We have also cause to bless the Almighty, that he has been pleased to reveal his Truth to our ancestors, and bring them to depend upon the grace and truth that comes by Jesus Christ. But with all the privileges enjoyed by our youth, there is not a uniform engagement to build up one another on the most holy faith that works by love; and it is to be feared, that blindness in part has happened unto some, who under the specious pretence of greater light, and a further advance towards Christian perfection, have unsettled the minds of some, to the grief of the upright hearted.

When I first had an opportunity of attending Yearly Meetings, my mind was often bowed in reverence before Almighty Goodness, who endowed his humble servants with wisdom and ability to conduct so, that different prospects often centered in a conclusion, that was to mutual satisfaction. Here was seen an assembly owning no one to be president or dictator, but Christ Jesus our Lord; under the influence of whose love, all the faithful had a common concern for the general good. My belief is not lessened in the goodness and mercies of the holy Head, vouchsafed for the help of the members of the militant church; but should we substitute our own wills, or the wisdom of this world for his will and wisdom, our conclusions may be very different. It is the duty of all to watch over themselves, and not to suffer the buddings of any evil seed or root in them to spring up and disturb the harmony of the Society; for it is only in subjection to the Divine life and power, that any can be useful in promoting peace on earth and good will towards men.

And, my dearly beloved friends, who are far advanced in years, and who have kept your habitations in the Truth, I tenderly sympathize with you, under the consideration, that some of you have to mourn the state of our Society, under the present trials and provings. The remembrance of former days, contrasted with the present time, may increase your sorrow and solicitude for the rising generation, justly fearing they may not profit, as was happily your case, by a united engagement with the elder members of the militant church, in a humble dependence upon the Author and Finisher of the saints' faith; and through whose gracious condescension, you were favoured to enjoy the sweet influence of his love, to bind you together, as brethren and sisters of a well regulated family, and in contentment with the simplicity of the Truth, as it is in Jesus, enabled you, in the enjoyment of this favour, to say, it is enough.

Dear friends, faint not, for although the Society is proved, it is not forsaken; "the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his;" he will never leave nor forsake those that trust in him. Although the prospect before you is gloomy, and you may fear that the children will be scattered, and you left weeping as with the lamentation that was heard in Ramah, I am comforted in a belief, that there will be a remnant preserved, whose dependence will be upon the sustaining arm of Divine power, faithful in the cause that has been near to your lives; and as ye hold out to the end, ye will be gathered with the faithful of all ages, into enduring rest. Dear aged fathers and mothers, may the God of all consolation comfort you in all your afflictions, granting unto you peace and joy in the holy spirit. And may all of every age, aspire after this, until the end of the warfare, saith your brother, in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

HENRY HULL.

Stanfordville, Eleventh month 26th, 1823.

From this time, it would appear that he kept no memorandums until the sixth month, 1826, when he writes as follows, viz :

Looking over my memorandums, I do not find any account of several extensive journeys in the service of Truth, performed since my second marriage, for which my wife freely gave me up, and I am apprehensive that I did not keep minutes of them, or if I did, they are mislaid. I performed several journeys on a religious account in the State of New York and Vermont, and in Canada, previous to going to Europe; but find no account of them. I feel disposed to mention them, to show that I have spent a considerable part of the best of my days in the cause of my dear Redeemer; not boastingly, but in humility, and under some afflicting considerations respecting the present state of our Society. It is a comfort to me to think, that I have endeavoured to be devoted to the good cause, although I have thereby deprived myself of opportunities I might have had, to accumulate wealth; but a man's life or the happiness thereof, consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth, and perhaps few have enjoyed more contentment than I have.

Accompanied by my dear friend John Gurney, I travelled at almost all seasons of the year, both before and since I returned from England, some thousands of miles in the old settled parts of the States of Vermont and New York, as well as in Canada; and also visited several new settlements forming in di-

vers places, and had many meetings for those not of our Society. In company with my dear friend Henry Warrington, jr., I went into the State of Ohio in the year 1819, attended the Yearly Meeting and a few other meetings in that state and in Pennsylvania; and at another time he was with me in a visit to the meetings in Bucks county; and Smith Upton had an arduous journey with me in the second visit I made to some parts of Maryland, Virginia and Carolina.

I have often reflected upon the precious seasons, in which our spirits were baptized together with Friends, in these journeys, as well as in one I performed with dear Enoch Dorland, in Canada; and that the Shepherd of Israel, who worketh by whom he will work, has been pleased to make use of me as an instrument to convince some, and to awaken others; by whose example and engagement in the Lord's cause, many have been brought to the knowledge of the Truth, as it is in Jesus, and several meetings have been settled where no meetings of Friends had been held; and my spirit has glowed with thankfulness for his goodness to me, an unworthy servant.

And now when I feel the infirmities of age coming upon me, the cause appears as precious to me as ever; but alas! how different is the state of society! Schism is beginning to make its appearance in an appalling manner; and why is it so? Because all have not kept their first love; but giving place to false reasoning, have departed from the Truth, and made innovations in doctrine—the minds of Friends have become alienated one from another, and those who should have been examples to the flock, have been the means of leading others astray. The discipline of the church, if not discarded, is much neglected, and endeavours used to weaken this hedge. Discordant sentiments disturb the quiet of society, and in some places threaten its dissolution. The youth, taking advantage of the commotion, have, in many instances, taken their flight into the customs and fashions of the world, so that they would not be recognized either by their dress or address, as members of our religious Society. An awful responsibility rests upon some of those who stand in the fore ranks; and I have often felt willing to investigate myself, and see wherein I have contributed to this sorrowful change; and now fervently desire not to justify myself, by avoiding a close scrutiny, as respects my conduct and the doctrines I preach. I am not sensible of holding any sentiments different from what I first set out with, and held up to the public in the beginning of my ministerial labours; which doctrines had a good effect to unite me to my friends, and rendered them near to me. Friends

were then united in the covenant of life, and were indeed engaged to keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace, mutually concerned to watch over one another in love for good, and not for evil. Judging of causes from their effects, as well as from an evidence in my own mind, of the soundness of the doctrines of the Society, as set forth in their approved writings, I consider the cause of the present disunity to be a departure from those doctrines. Unsound doctrines teem not only from the press, but from the galleries of our meeting houses. I say, unsound; because the Society of Friends have uniformly acknowledged their belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, without striving to make it appear, that the Divine power with which he was filled, made him the light of the world, whilst he was no more than one of the prophets; that the Divine power only was termed Christ, &c., with divers other vague and indefinite terms, which are used by those who have departed from the faith, and which border on the Unitarian notions, and are contrary to plain Scripture testimony.

Some who advocate these unsound views, aware of the difference between their sentiments and those of our first Friends, strive greatly, by misconstruing and garbling their writings, to make it appear that their doctrines are the same as those of George Fox and other worthies; but with all their ingenuity, their flimsy guises are seen through, even by many who adhere to them, who candidly acknowledge that their notions are new in the Society; but labour hard to allegorize the Scriptures, so as to make them suit their purposes, saying much about an increase of light, and the necessity of walking in the light, it is to be feared, without due consideration of the danger of mistaking darkness for light, and light for darkness. Hence the works of darkness are produced, such as reviling, persecuting, evil speaking, backbiting and evil surmising, &c., and all under the specious pretence of reformation and advancement. Ah! truly, if the light in us be darkness, how great is that darkness!

I truly mourn over the state we are in; but as our religious Society was gathered by an outstretched arm, and our worthy predecessors were supported by the invincible power of Jesus, under the deep sufferings they had to endure, for their faithfulness in the cause of their Lord and Saviour, so I am at times comforted in the belief, that however great the defection, and wide spread the devastation, the Society will yet know the armies of aliens and apostates to be arrested in their career, and turned backward; and that the blessed

Head of the church will raise up judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning.

1828, seventh month 22nd. The present is a time of peculiar trial, and proving of faith and constancy of the Lord's people, in the Society of Friends, among whom, unworthy as I am, I trust I may rank myself. The unsettlement, respecting which I wrote in 1826, has greatly increased since that time. Then the disorder was chiefly evinced by the younger members who had joined themselves to Elias Hicks and his partisans, in their unsound principles; and their endeavours to change the discipline and order of Society, so as to suit their own views. They have now so far obtained their ends, that Friends who have stood firm in endeavouring to maintain the doctrines of the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Christian discipline established by our worthy predecessors, have had to endure much opposition and reproach from them. Elias Hicks continuing to propagate his sentiments, has been much elated by his success; and assuming the character of a reformer, his meetings have been large, though chiefly made up by the irreligious or unbelievers. In his public and private discourses, he pleads for liberty to believe what men please; and likewise saying much about free inquiry, &c., pleasing the libertine class, and also drawing aside from the Truth, as it is in Jesus, many well meaning and unsuspecting persons, who, not discovering his insidious and plausible method of undermining the true Christian's faith, have become so deceived as to believe what he says to be true, and almost to reverence his person; while the professed Deists are exulting and congratulating one another in his success, in declaiming against what they call tradition, superstition, &c., as well as in the irreverent manner in which he speaks of the Scriptures.

In our meetings for discipline, he assumed the office of a dictator, and exercised an influence over his party, beyond what belongs to any mortal man. I have several times known him to produce quiet among them, when much agitated, by the expression of a sentiment, and once in particular, in our Yearly Meeting, when there was a great clamour and commotion among them, a Friend who sat by him, desired he would still them; and Elias perceiving that the clerk would not make a minute to suit them, as the solid sense and judgment of the meeting was in opposition to their wishes, arose and told them to give it up—which they at once did and were quiet, and Friends proceeded in their business without interruption.

Comfortable as it was to Friends to be thus relieved from turbulence and noise, it afforded sorrowful evidence of their being under the control of a mortal man.

It was not only at the Yearly Meeting that his partisans were troublesome to Friends, but in subordinate meetings the disorders increased; and individuals, whom we have reason to believe had known what it was to sit in meetings for discipline, in meekness and in fear of acting without the puttings forth of the heavenly Shepherd, now became immoderately active, frequently evincing a strong unsubdued will, and sometimes a temper incompatible with the love of the Gospel of Christ. Friends who stood firm in endeavouring to support Gospel order, met with much abuse; and in our meetings for Divine worship, when a minister has been speaking, if he said any thing by way of recommending the Scriptures, or the frequent perusal of them, or of his belief in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as our Advocate with the Father, and the Redeemer and propitiation for mankind, however consonant his words were with Scripture, some of these unbelieving professed Quakers, would evince their dissatisfaction, sometimes by a supercilious look, sometimes by restless behaviour, shuffling the feet, &c., and sometimes by leaving the meeting-house; and on some occasions, when approved ministers have been solemnly engaged in prayer, these disaffected persons have kept their seats with their hats on, with other marks of disorder, beyond what I ever before saw.

Thus our meetings continued to be held, until our last Yearly Meeting; when Elias Hicks and some of his followers, laid a plan to gain an ascendancy over the Friends who adhered to our ancient principles, inviting a number of his supporters from Pennsylvania and parts adjacent to attend the meeting, who accordingly were present, though a number of them had been regularly disowned. Friends could not consistently enter upon the business in the company of such intruders, and concluded to remove to the basement story, after the meeting had been regularly opened—but they found the door locked and guarded, and were under the necessity of going to a building offered them, leaving Elias Hicks and his followers, with the abovementioned persons, who formed themselves into what they called a Yearly Meeting of Friends. Friends being thus relieved from their disorderly conduct, were mercifully permitted to transact their business in harmony and brotherly love. It being now evident that a like separation must take place in the subordinate meetings, a committee was appointed to attend them, in order to assist Friends to

support the order of the Society and to sustain their meetings. Those who had separated from us, and departed from our ancient principles, also appointed a committee; and I being one of the committee of our meeting, had an opportunity of witnessing the desolating effects of unbelief, and the unchristian conduct of some of the Separatists, the object of whose committee seemed to be to misrepresent facts, so as to mislead Friends who were not at the Yearly Meeting. At Creek Preparative Meeting, much was said in order to show the grounds of Friends proceedings, that it was in order to support the principles of our Society, as set forth by its approved writers; and that the steps taken by our Yearly Meeting, were in order to transact our business select from those who had not a right to be present. On the other side, much misrepresentation was resorted to, with railing accusations, and the clerk was forced from the table by violent crowding, and another placed there in his stead. Friends, after patient waiting, retired to the youths' gallery, and opened the meeting there, and transacted the business in a regular manner. The day following was our Preparative Meeting at Stanford, where the committee of Friends presented their minute of appointment, but the clerk was ordered not to read it; and there being no prospect that he would do so, another clerk was appointed, and a proposal made to the Separatists for them to go on with their business and we would sit quietly; or we would go on with ours, if they would sit without interrupting us; they acceded to the latter, and we accordingly transacted our business and withdrew quietly.

In the year 1830, in company with several other Friends, he performed a visit to Friends in the western parts of New York and in Canada, during which he wrote the two letters from which the following extracts are made, viz :

“Queenstown, Upper Canada, Eighth month 28th, 1830.

“I find that the mercies of an Almighty and condescending Caretaker of his people, are not withheld in a land of strangers, but mercifully vouchsafed to visitors and visited. Amidst the many causes of depression, which are to be met with as I pass along, I find these are to be relied upon; and when I reflect on the past, with reference to my friends and the unhappy division that has taken place in Society, and unsettled some of them and left them to be tossed as upon the ocean of life, comparable to a bark upon the sea, without compass or rudder, I am increasingly confirmed in the belief, that a spirit of delu-



sion has blinded the eyes of many who have left the Society; and others, from an unjustifiable attachment to individuals, are hurried forward in their opposition to Friends. A humble possession in the Truth is preferable to riches, honours, or the applause of the world; and I am thankful that my mind is stayed on Him, who is strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a present Helper in the needful time, with desires for the establishment of the sincere hearted, upon the immoveable foundation. For the encouragement of these I am frequently engaged; and sometimes, for the information of the misled and misinformed, I have to point out the causes of the division that has taken place. Our meetings are frequently large, and sometimes held in houses belonging to other societies, while the occupancy of them is denied to the Separatists; who say, it is in consequence of our being more like other societies than they are.—Be it so, if our agreement is in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But why then do they endeavour to deceive the world, by saying, there is no difference between them and us? These things have occasioned a full development of the causes of the separation, I believe in the wisdom, and I humbly trust, under the influence of the power, of Truth.

“At Grassy-point, where two prominent leaders of the Hicksites reside, all the few members of Society went off, except three women, who remained firm Friends, neither of their husbands being members. We rode nearly twenty miles to the place in a wagon, and were cordially received by one of them; and while notice was spreading of a meeting to be held next day, we walked a mile or more to see another of them; the third had gone on foot to give notice of the meeting, which was held to our satisfaction.

“From Pickering we went to York, the seat of government for Upper Canada, where we had a large meeting in the house belonging to the Methodists. For a few disjoined members I felt, to use the words of a more worthy man, ‘a travail of soul,’ and shall not easily forget them;—great would be the advantage to these, did but a few real Friends live in the place, to hold a meeting and encourage them to look to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, to bless their endeavours to procure a subsistence for themselves and their children. The advantages held out to enterprising persons, allure many from Europe and the United States to this place, and they often meet with disappointments, and sometimes disagreeable consequences result. I cannot easily forget the emotions of tenderness I felt, on seeing three lovely, plain little Irish girls, who were motherless, and neither

of them above twelve years old, come forward and take their seats near where we sat.”

“Farmington, Ninth month 13th, 1830.

“To loiter my time away, does not seem suited to my natural turn of mind, which has marked my course through life hitherto. I have therefore taken the pen—not to beguile time, but rather to let thee know that time doth not pass heavily away.—With a mind as serene as the unruffled sea, I ruminate on the various views which present respecting the time past, present and to come. The future, though enveloped in darkness, is yet sufficiently unfolded, to show the true believer, that an all-wise Creator, whose providence is marked in the changes of the revolving seasons, will not forsake his humble servants, who like the autumn leaves, are, one after another falling to the ground. The eye of faith is not left to grope in the dark, destitute of that reality which is as bread to the hungry soul, and gives strength to the weak, whilst songs of thanksgiving and praise mitigate the sufferings of decaying nature. As to the past, the consequences of fallen nature, as presented to view by memory, evil as they have been in a greater or less degree, although through grace not of the deepest dye, prostrate me as with my mouth in the dust; while hope, like the anchor which securely stays the once greatly tossed bark, fixes the mind on Him, who died for sinners on Calvary’s mount. When the past presents any thing which will compare, even in a faint manner, with justice, mercy, or humility, and the performance of religious duties, though vile nature may assiduously seek to draw self in for a share of commendation, it is nevertheless, compelled, in great abasedness, to ascribe all to unmerited grace. Then with David we may not only recount the mercies of our God, by whom we have been enabled to run through a troop, or to leap over a wall; but pray for one another, in the strength vouchsafed by Him, who doeth all things aright.

“My prayers are continued for thee and our dear children, and for all the objects of redeeming grace, especially for the household of faith, who are as the salt of the earth. And ascribing glory and honour to Him, who ruleth on high, and taketh cognizance of the actions of men, I trust I may inform thee, that my desire for the prosperity of the cause of the Lord Jesus, is undiminished; it never appeared to me more interesting, than it has through the course of this journey; though its being assailed as it is by pretended friends, has strengthened its enemies to exult over it. But it is my belief, that the prince of the

power of the air, that rules in the children of disobedience, will not be able to remove the chief corner stone. It is surprising, to mark the shifts which the Seceders make use of to support their cause. As it was set up by misrepresentation, so they endeavour to support it by dissimulation. Many are still under a deception in regard to the cause of the division; when to an impartial mind it is as clear as the light at noonday, that unsound doctrines introduced disorder into our meetings; clamour took the place of solid deliberation, so that Friends who were attached to religious order could not submit to confusion and misrule. We hear it pleaded, that a few wanted to rule, and that this was the cause; thus construing the endeavours of Friends to maintain good order, into a wish to rule;—many who make this plea, know better, and only use the argument to cover their selfish views; but what is more extraordinary, many of their preachers disseminate doctrine, and seem to think many words with an extended voice is Gospel ministry—seeking to obtain applause from men, rather than the favour of Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, and who will not justify those who seek their own honour, or neglect the things which are Jesus Christ's. It is certainly doing despite to the good spirit of grace, and crucifying afresh the Son of God, to ridicule the Christian's belief, founded upon Scripture, respecting the coming and sufferings of Jesus Christ, as a propitiatory sacrifice, even though they may affect a belief in his spiritual appearance. The irreverent speeches made in regard to his body and blood, evince that there is little more than a pretended belief in his spiritual appearance. If it was real, they never could rest satisfied in denying his holy offices, and certainly would bring forth fruits consistent with a Christian life. Had they a consistent belief in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they would not disregard the precepts of Christ. Open infidelity is easier borne with, than when combined with dissimulation, and does less mischief; because, by the latter the simple are led astray, many of whom are to be pitied, and for whom I feel a tender regard."

The following address appears to belong to this period, though it is without date, and may with propriety be introduced here.

You, who have kept your habitations in the Truth are near unto my best life, and fervent are my desires that you may be steadfast, immovable, on the everlasting foundation, Christ Jesus—then will the storms and tempests beat in vain; and whilst you remain securely sheltered in the quiet habitation, you may be instrumental in the Lord's hand in

gathering some of the scattered sheep, who are worried by the wild boar out of the forest, whose nature is to rend and devour. Many besetments and discouragements assail you, different from what Friends had to encounter in former times, when their enemies avowed open hostility, and appeared willing it should be known that they considered them as enemies to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and not worthy to be called worshippers of the true and living God. These aspersions, however, were easily refuted; and in process of time Friends came to enjoy liberty of conscience, as a distinct Society of people, and were recognized as such by the powers of the earth, it being obvious that we highly valued the Holy Scriptures, and received them as a test for the doctrines we held and the morality we practised. In our devotions we professed our dependence upon the baptizing power of Him, whom we acknowledged to be the Head of the church; by which power our spirits were humbled, and preservation from an aspiring disposition was witnessed—a disposition which seeks to lord over the heritage of the Most High; and unity, even the unity of the one Spirit, was greatly prized and sought after in the management of the discipline. Good order was promoted and prevailed, so that the feeble minded were encouraged and strengthened, and the unruly were warned of the danger to which they exposed themselves. Then, to use the language of George Fox, "the Seed reigned;" not the wisdom nor the will of man, for that was judged down by the Seed. Ah! then our meetings for Divine worship were solemn, comfortable seasons, and those for discipline were schools of instruction, and many were engaged to join the Society in a perpetual covenant, never to be broken.

Alas! how great the difference now, when we find opposers arrayed against us; not in the character of open enemies, but in appearance as friends, professing to be disposed to improve our situation. I view the state of things with deep regret; and the mournful prospect revives in my mind the plaintive language of the prophet, when he exclaimed, "How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!" and again; "Our silver has become dross; our wine is mixed with water." What can we expect from our present prospects, and the lamentable effects of the spirit which is afloat, but that, instead of an advancement, as is now boasted of, and a more refulgent ray of light, we shall make a retrograde march? Nay—have we not already fallen in the view of a discerning public? Are not our meetings less frequented by serious and seeking minds, and are they not less solemn, and are not those designed for

the management of the discipline, instead of being schools of instruction to the youth, often made rather seasons of discouragement to this interesting class of Society, because of the want of that solemnity which spreads over the minds of the humble believers in the adorable Head of the church, who condescended to declare for the encouragement of his faithful followers, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them?" But, alas! where the wisdom of man is substituted for the wisdom of Jesus, and the will of man for his meekness, lamentable are the consequences. The Gospel privilege of all having liberty to speak one by one, is prostituted to aid the designs of aspiring and ambitious men; and in some instances, such a disregard of the order of our Christian discipline has been shown, that members of Society have been denied their rights, when moving from one place to another; and others have been arraigned as offenders on untenable grounds. The salutary restraint laid on the press, for the commendable purpose of preserving unity, and in order that the doctrines and principles of the Society might not be misrepresented by inexperienced and unqualified, or mischievous persons, has been evaded; persons professing to be Friends, and presuming to write in the name of the Society, have resorted to periodicals professedly Unitarian, to publish doctrines contrary to those held by Friends, as well as many slanders and misrepresentations; and volumes of sermons, containing unsound doctrines, are extensively circulated by persons, whose stations in society ought to have made them guardians of the press: how "are these become as earthen pitchers!"—"their silver has become dross, and their wine is mingled with water!"

I might mention many other inconsistencies, all of which spring out of the same root, anti-christ, and bear the same mark; and which would, if it were possible, take from us the religion of Jesus Christ, whose birth was hailed with the anthem "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men," when the angelic host proclaimed unto the shepherds, the "good tidings of great joy, which was to be unto all people; unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." But, "fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom," and all the combined powers of darkness will never be able to overthrow the immutable foundation. The Lord knoweth them that are his; and although we may have to lament the desolation made by scepticism, under the gilded cover of greater light, yet if we come, with the prophet, truly to mourn

over our situation, we may have confidence to appeal unto Him in the language, "Turn thou us, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old."

We are all more or less involved in the general declension; yet there are here and there, as it were, one of a city and two of a tribe, whose desires are pure; and to these the promise is, "I will give you pastors according to mine own heart, who shall feed you with knowledge and understanding." A recurrence to the history of former days, when all were engaged to walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing, may show us, that it is good to follow the example of our pious predecessors, whose upright, humble walking holds forth the inviting language, "Follow us, as we followed Christ." Then each one labouring to be built up himself upon the most holy faith, which works by love, was more or less instrumental in building up his brother; and the things that were true, the things that were honest, the things that were just, the things that were pure, the things that were lovely and of good report, were kept in remembrance. Now, endeavours are used to pull down the faith, the Scriptures of Truth are undervalued, and the writings of our worthy predecessors, overlooked or misrepresented, and the faithful labourers of the day calumniated, and held up to the irreligious, as superstitious persons.

I do not wish to descend further into particulars, whilst contending for the faith once delivered to the saints; nor am I disposed to quarrel about religious sentiments; but, "leave every one to be fully persuaded in his own mind." Yet I believe it to be consistent for me to stand and plead for the precious privileges we enjoy, as a religious Society, and to testify against that disorganizing spirit, which seeks to gain its ends by clamour and might, rather than by consistency and justice. Nor are the innovations in doctrine less affecting than those in practice; witness the endeavours used to level the character of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah, with that of frail man, and to make the cross of Christ of none effect; as may be seen in the printed sermons before alluded to, as well as repeated assertions made in private as well as public discourses; and at times by persons, who perhaps do not wish to derogate from the truths of the Gospel; but who catch at ideas uttered by others, and do not consider or perceive the unsoundness of them. I would therefore recommend a careful perusal of the epistles of the apostles, and the historical account of the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and it will appear that the wisdom of

man is foolishness with God. If any reject these writings, they are more inconsistent than Mahometans; for no true Musselman will reject the Koran, which, with all its inconsistencies, they rely upon to prove that Mahomet was a true prophet. It is far from my intention to compare the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ with that of Mahomet; but merely to show the great inconsistency of the professed Christian, who doubts the contents of his Bible. The religion of Mahomet is fraught with inconsistencies, and was designed to advance man in worldly grandeur; but the religion taught by our blessed Saviour has a contrary effect; it teaches, that in deep humility, man may glorify his Creator, and become a partaker of the mercy and goodness of a just and merciful God, in and by his dear Son, Jesus Christ; for as the law came by Moses, so grace and truth come by him; whose sufferings and death on the cross, not only disannulled the hand writing of ordinances, but was the bringing in of a better hope, whereby we witness, that we now live under the new covenant spoken of by the divinely inspired prophet, under which we know that our Teacher is not removed into a corner; and that this teacher is Jesus Christ, by his holy Spirit, has always been and is the belief of all true Friends. The true Christian's faith rests upon the one great propitiatory sacrifice, offered upon the cross; as Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. And that this redemption is necessary, is evident to all, as we become sensible that we are by nature prone to evil and to wrath; for how else can we keep the commandments of Christ, in doing good for evil, loving our enemies, &c. Such as believe in him, and are baptized by him, through the operation of his power, represented by John Baptist, as the Holy Ghost and fire, witness redemption from the evil nature which we inherit from Adam.

Sophistry and unbelief may argue against plain Scripture proof; but is it candid or honourable, is there sincerity, in claiming the name of Christians, whilst using means to lessen the character, and denying the power of Jesus Christ, who is acknowledged by all true believers, to be him spoken of by the prophet; upon whose shoulders the government was to be, and whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father and Prince of peace. Therefore, my dear friends, believe not the allegorizings or the sophistry of the unbeliever, lest you be spoiled by that philosophy, which the apostle and servant of Jesus Christ terms vain; but try yourselves, prove yourselves, know ye not

your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates.

During a visit made in the year 1832, to some of the meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, he writes as follows, viz :

“ Mansfield, Ninth month 1st, 1832.

“ Truly, I think an awful responsibility rests upon some of the promoters of the schism. They have come out in open violation of the commands of Him, whose kingdom is not of this world, and whose servants cannot use violence, even to secure to themselves their civil rights. The humble faithful followers of the Lamb, whose allegiance to him is pure, are bound to observe the command, ‘ all things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.’ But Friends have been deprived of their meeting-houses and other conveniences, by those who have departed from the faith of their ancestors. Their fruits manifest of whom they are, and from whence their faith comes. Many who are in their ranks have been deceived, and are to be pitied, seeing they are in danger of partaking with them of the plagues of their self-will, undue liberties and other hurtful things, the fruits of unbelief. If ever the tender minds, who are among them, partake of the heavenly sap which flows from the true vine, and bring forth good fruit, they must come out and be separate from them; and that there are tender plants among them, I have no doubt. Never before now, whilst contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, have I felt more grateful for the privileges which are to be enjoyed in our religious Society; and I esteem it an invaluable favour to possess true faith in ‘ Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews;’ who suffered under Pontius Pilate, who rose again from the dead, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, and who is the preserver and protector of his people.”

“ Pleasant View, New Jersey, Ninth month 15th, 1832.

“ Reproof is sometimes administered by favours unmerited; and whilst thinking of past omissions and deviations, sufficient, as Job said, to humble me and cause me to ‘ repent and abhor myself in dust and ashes,’ I have thankfully to magnify and adore the majesty of heaven, who fainteth not, nor groweth weary; but whose hand, plentifully supplied with blessings, is reached forth liberally to distribute, in order to strengthen and uphold the feeble, who have no might of their own. During several successive nights past, after considerable suffering from a pain in my eye through the day, I have enjoyed re-

freshing sleep, and waked with thankful feelings of peace, flowing gently as a river in my heart. And although sleep is nature's restoring balm, yet I have at times resisted its renewed offers, in order to enjoy the comfort of revived promises to the faithful, recorded in the Holy Scriptures; revived, I say, because they occur to my memory with an evidence, that they flowed from a Divine, inexhaustible source, not only to be read, but enjoyed also. To acknowledge unmerited favours is proper; but this should be accompanied with humble resolutions to endeavour to remember them with desires to give thanks even in tribulation, rejoicing that our Redeemer liveth; a joy unspeakable and full of glory; 'for eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the good things that the Lord hath in store for them that love and serve him.' These things are hid from the wise and prudent of this world; from those who are not willing to learn of Him, who is meek and low of heart. Such, relying on the honours or riches, or pleasures of the world, are not the babes to whom they are revealed, and who obtain their nourishment from the fountain of Divine consolation."

1832. The 24th of eleventh month, accompanied by John Gurney I set out to visit Friends of Purchase Quarterly Meeting, and next day being the first of the week, we were at the meeting at Poughkeepsie, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a young woman, the last child of a respectable family not Friends, to which all the ministers in the town, without distinction as to profession, were invited. A meeting was held, in which several testimonies were borne to the pious and exemplary life of the deceased; and the youth were affectionately invited to walk in the ways of religion. It was a solemn time, in which the distinction of sectarian views was absorbed in the desire for the religious welfare of all, and much sympathy was felt for the bereaved parents, who had followed the remains of several of their beloved children to the silent grave, within a short time.

Second-day morning, rode to Peekskill, and met a kind reception at the house of James Brown, where I had not been since the decease of his valuable father, Stephen Brown, who died a few months before. He left home in usual health to attend their Quarterly Meeting at Purchase, and was brought home a corpse. His removal was not only a sore bereavement to his family, but also a great loss to our Society, to whose concerns he was much devoted, and very liberal in bearing the necessary expenses for the accommodation of

Friends, having contributed the principal part of the cost of two meeting-houses in Peekskill; the first being wrested from Friends by the Separatists, he cheerfully assisted in erecting the second. We remained at this place until fourth-day, and were at two meetings, one of them appointed for the town's-people.

On fourth-day afternoon we rode to the residence of the late Robert Underhill, whose widow was absent from home, but the children entertained us kindly. The house seemed solitary to me, having spent much time there, in days past, when the urbanity, cheerfulness and unfeigned love of dear Robert, rendered the visits truly pleasant. He was indeed a valuable Friend, and a firm believer in the truths of the Gospel. Next day attended Croton meeting, which, notwithstanding its reduced numbers, was a good meeting: the drift of the ministerial labour, was to encourage the little company, from the simile of a tree which had been divested of its withered branches, on which new and vigorous shoots were seen to put forth, that flourished and grew and brought forth fruit. After this favoured season, we rode to the house of our ancient friend Moses Sutton, who with his valued wife, as a father and a mother in Israel, with a few other Friends in this place, remains firm, steadfast and immoveable in the faith of the Gospel, abounding in love unfeigned, and in dedication to the cause of Truth. We had a satisfactory meeting next day, it being held in their house, the meeting-house being taken from them by the Seceders.

First-day, attended the meeting at Purchase, and on third-day took our aged friend Samuel Carpenter, in our carriage, and rode to Richard Mott's. This was the last visit Samuel made to his friends; he was very feeble in health, and died soon after, leaving a good name behind him. On fourth-day we attended the Monthly Meeting of Purchase held at Mamaroneck, on fifth-day the Monthly Meeting at Shappaqua, and on sixth-day that at Amawalk, and in the evening appointed a meeting to be held at the house of Moses Smith at Bedford, expecting to set out in the morning for Oblong and New Milford. But in the night I felt my mind turned homewards, my way seeming closed up from proceeding toward the east, and in the morning we set out accordingly. When we reached the mountains, we found the snow several inches deep, whilst below the highlands the ground was scarcely covered—the further we rode the deeper we found it, and were informed that to the eastward it was so deep, that the roads would have been impassable with our carriage. I was thankful for having attended to the im-

pressions made on my mind, which turned me homeward, fully believing it was the pointing of the good Shepherd, who put me forth and continued to guide me through the course of the visit, and by whose power my mind was made to sympathise with the few Friends left to support the Lord's cause in these parts, and to labour for their encouragement. Not having been there since the separation, I found that Friends were deprived of all the meeting-houses except at Croton, and left comparatively few in number. An awful responsibility rests upon the individuals who have caused the devastation; for many innocent and unsuspecting minds have been darkened and deluded, through the false reasoning and pretensions of those who have departed from the true faith. Alas! how deplorable will be their situation when inquisition for blood shall be made.

I continued through the winter mostly at home, the severity of the weather having such an effect upon my enfeebled frame as to prevent my attending several of our meetings at Stanford. In the fourth month, 1833, I set out to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held in Philadelphia, and taking passage with Philip Hoag in the steam boats, we reached that city in nineteen hours from Poughkeepsie. On first-day was at Newtown meeting, in New Jersey, where I was comforted in meeting with a number of my dear wife's relations, among whom were several young people, who were commendable in their appearance, and whose consistent conduct affords hope of a succession of labourers in the church; such as are concerned to keep up their meetings, and support the testimonies given us as a people to bear, in this day of great declension from primitive purity, which is obvious among the descendants of some of the worthies in our Society, as well as too generally among other professors.

The Yearly Meeting opened on the 23d, and in several of the sittings I found strength afforded, in feelings of much love to the brethren, to labour for the encouragement of the devoted; and also great freedom in Gospel love to invite the dear youth to enlist in the cause of Truth, that so they might be weaned from the world, and strengthened to breathe in humble petitions to God omnipotent, for preservation from its customs and entanglements; for where the power of religion is submitted to, it prepares us to say respecting all these, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." The Lord hath no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, and in great mercy he is pleased to offer life and salvation, even unto those who are treading the paths which lead down to the chambers of death.

After speaking of attending another meeting, he says,

It was not so satisfactory as I could have desired, through the efforts of some, who were zealous to press their own views beyond the true unity, which ever preserves in humility and a due regard for the judgment of exercised labourers in the church. I am more and more confirmed in the belief, that the wisdom of men is foolishness with God; and when relied upon in managing the concerns of the church, frequently leads into confusion, and as often wounds the unity, which sweetens labour in the Lord's cause and makes brethren near and dear unto one another.

In the eighth month, 1833, with the concurrence of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Stanford, I left home to perform a visit to some of the meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. My health being but poor, and the cholera prevailing in the city of New York and some other places, it appeared to my friends as well as myself a serious engagement; but believing that the putting forth of the great Shepherd of the sheep was to be relied upon, I left my dear family and concerns, without any dread of the consequences, and proceeded to Poughkeepsie, where I met with Smith Upton and his devoted wife, Sarah M. Upton, and her companion, Matilda Coleman, who had set out to visit Friends in some parts of Ohio and Indiana. The consideration of the toil and exposure to which they would be subjected, in this long journey in the heat of summer, undertaken from a belief of its being of Divine requiring, caused me to view my undertaking with cheerfulness. I arrived in New York early next morning, and the city exhibited the gloom of solitude, rather than the hum of business, which was so observable when I was here in the fifth month. I took passage in the steam boat and reached Rahway, where I met Richard Hartshorne, and was greeted by him with the cordiality of true Christian friendship, and in the fellowship of the Gospel of peace. I entered on the service which drew me from my home, by attending their Monthly Meeting held at Plainfield, the day following the Quarterly Meeting for business, and afterward one for worship; in which meetings the cementing influence of Gospel love was very precious, an endearing affection engaging the minds of Friends toward each other, in which they encouraged one another to press toward the mark of the prize of their high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

On seventh-day, accompanied by Nathan Vail, I rode to Kingwood, where a few Friends reside; but the meeting is discontinued—also



that at Hardwick, and the one formerly held at Randolph; nearly all the members at these places having left the Society. We had a meeting at each place, to the encouragement of the few Friends left. We returned and had meetings at Plainfield and Rahway, and then rode to Stony-brook, Trenton and Crosswicks, from whence we went to Burlington, and attended the Quarterly Meeting. Here Henry Warrington met me, and accompanied me to all the meetings belonging to the Quarter, except one; also to the meetings on the sea coast, belonging to Haddonfield Quarter. At Tuckerton, we lodged at David Mapps', a coloured man, who with his wife manifested a commendable zeal for the cause of Truth, and appeared cheerfully to do what they could to sustain and encourage their fellow-members, in supporting the testimonies we have to bear for the promotion of righteousness and peace; being at all times ready to open their doors for the accommodation of those who travel in the work of the ministry—to me their house was a quiet resting place. At Haddonfield I was joined by my brother-in-law, Benjamin Cooper, who accompanied me to the meetings of Haddonfield Quarter; after which we went to those in Salem Quarter, where I had an opportunity to sympathize with the dear Friends who had been engaged to sustain the doctrines of the Gospel, and to support their meetings, whilst numbers of their former friends and associates, who had separated from Society, regardless of justice, were occupying their meeting-houses.

Of this journey he has left no further account.

The diligence and zeal with which our beloved friend had laboured in the cause of religion and virtue, while in the vigor of life, might have induced the expectation, that the evening of his day would be passed in quiet repose; but as a faithful steward of the gift committed to his trust by his Divine Master, he cheerfully resigned himself to the call of duty; and though in the seventieth year of his age, set out in the summer of 1834, to visit his brethren in religious profession, in Ohio and Indiana; a service in which he had the unity and near sympathy of his friends at home, expressed in the certificates of his Monthly and Quarterly Meeting.

For some time previous, his health and strength had obviously declined, and he was subject to frequent attacks of a very painful disease, which, with other circumstances, rendered his leaving home, to encounter the privations and exposure of so long and arduous a journey, peculiarly trying. But his dedication to the cause of Truth and righteousness

silenced every objection and fear, when he was favoured with the clear evidence of his Lord's command. With all the discouragements before him, he appears to have experienced something of that blessed state, in which he could say with the apostle, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." Alluding to his prospect, in a letter to a beloved relative, written shortly before leaving home, he remarks; "Nothing less forcibly impressive, than an apprehension of religious duty, would have induced me to give up to a visit so extensive. I have no other motive whatever. My home was never more pleasant to me than it now is; and I had flattered myself that a release from engagements of this kind, would leave me at liberty to enjoy the comforts of home, during the few days I may remain in this mutable state. Reasonings of this kind had nearly brought me to conclude that it was improper for me, in my advanced stage of life, to encounter the difficulties of so long a journey; and my faith has been put to the test, I think as much, if not more than at any former period of my life." Then, as if he had a presentiment that his enfeebled frame would prove unequal to the fatigue and hardships of the undertaking, he adds; "However, I stand resigned to make the attempt, if way opens; and should health and strength fail to carry me through this time, I think I feel a humble confidence, that I have not followed cunningly devised fables—a confidence which is strengthened by the knowledge I have of my utter inability, without Divine assistance, to advance the good cause, which I early espoused, and have long considered pre-eminent."

He left home the latter end of the eighth month; and after arriving at Philadelphia, was joined by his kind friend and former companion, Henry Warrington, who had again obtained a minute to accompany him. They set out on the 23d of that month, and reached Mount Pleasant on sixth-day, the 5th of ninth month. In a letter to his wife, written soon after, he says, "I have according to the measure of faith possessed, and the bodily strength enjoyed, proceeded to this place." And again, "My present home is a very comfortable one, and quietude of mind enhances its worth." In another letter, written previously, he says, "Thou mayest wish to know how I feel, now I have set out on this fatiguing journey:—I am as quiet in my mind, as to the result, as though I did not possess sensi-

bility sufficient to estimate the importance of the undertaking. I hope this is not the case; but rather, that it is in consequence of having at least been desirous of doing right."

He attended all the sittings of the Yearly Meeting, except one sitting of the meeting of ministers and elders on sixth-day, when he was too unwell to go, and was frequently and acceptably engaged in the exercise of his gift, to the comfort and edification of his friends. A Friend of that meeting, in writing respecting his services, says; "My purpose more particularly at present is, to bear my testimony to the life and power which attended his last Gospel labours: our Yearly Meeting had the privilege of these. When I remember the sweetness of the unity which was felt with him, both in and out of meetings, I have been reminded of the precious ointment which was poured upon the feet of our blessed Lord, preparatory to his burial. An evidence of this feeling of unity was manifested by our Meeting for Sufferings, which, at one of its sittings when he was not present, ordered a large number of the Address, which he wrote when in England, to be republished for the use of our members."\*

After mentioning, that he lodged at the same house with Henry Hull, he remarks, "it was an instructive and pleasant season; but above all, the ministerial labours of the dear deceased, are recurred to as strikingly impressive. He was largely engaged in all our public meetings, and eminently favoured. Many of us remember well, the humble and solemn manner in which, on one of these occasions, he expressed his thankfulness that he had from early life endeavoured to promote the cause of his dear Redeemer; observing, at the same time, that he had nothing to boast of."

Another Friend writes, "Many of our hearts were made thankful that his lot was cast among us, his ministry being sound and edifying, and his conduct and conversation, such as becometh the Gospel of Christ." "Though we lament the loss of such a father in Israel, yet we do not mourn as those who have no hope; for we believe that the Scripture language might be applied, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them!'"

His affectionate and kind companion, in a letter to his widow, after reciting the several religious visits in which he had accompanied him, says; "But the last proved the most interesting of all. Previous to his illness, he several times signified to me, that this would

be his last distant visit; and his solemn communications, beside his services in the meetings for business, tended to confirm the impression thus made on his mind, that his day's work was nearly done."

After the close of the Yearly Meeting, his disease, which was a diarrhoea, being somewhat better, he felt his mind attracted to Still Water meeting; and although so weak, that some of his friends doubted his ability to bear the ride, yet with his usual perseverance in the path of duty, he set out and reached the house of our esteemed friend Benjamin Hoyle, with less fatigue than was anticipated. In the evening, several Friends coming in, and it being proposed to send word on for some further meetings, he declined having notice given of any but that at Still Water. In the night his sickness returned with increased violence; and although medical aid was promptly obtained, and every attention rendered him which his kind and sympathizing friends thought would relieve the force of the malady, yet his strength gradually sunk under its wasting effects.

Having "served his generation, according to the will of God," and endeavoured, in the time of health, faithfully to fill up the allotted portion of suffering and of service, he was favoured at this solemn season, with a holy quietude and composure of mind; feeling that the foundation on which he had been concerned to build, even Christ Jesus, the Rock of ages, did not fail him at this trying moment. In the prospect of being taken away, while at such a distance from his beloved wife and children, he appeared to feel deeply for them; observing, "If I am taken here, it will be a great trial to my dear wife and children." For himself, through adorable mercy, he appeared to suffer no anxiety; but in patient resignation to yield himself into the hands of his heavenly Father, to be disposed of, as in inscrutable wisdom, he should see meet. On one occasion he said; "I do not despair of getting better—my trust is in Him who said, 'I will not leave you comfortless.' The foundation of God standeth sure—I have not followed cunningly devised fables." Again, he remarked; "I do not know how it will be at the present; I feel no fear as to the future."

At times the disorder seemed partially arrested, and on one occasion he observed, "I feel so much better, that I do not know but I shall have longer to struggle in time." He appeared not to endure acute pain, but complained much of weakness, often saying, "what a poor creature I am."

On one occasion he said, "I had no outward motive in coming here, it was in obedience; yet I do not trust to a life of dedica-

\* See the conclusion of these Memoirs.

tion, but in the Lord's mercies." Allusion being made to his getting better, he replied, "I do not know how that may be; as to myself, I am resigned; but it will be a great trial to my dear wife and children." Again; "The hope of the hypocrite faileth; but I can say, mine does not. I feel at times, as though I could lift up my voice to praise the Lord, although my strength faileth." At another time; "Let it prove as it will, I am glad I am here—you have done all you could for me, and I am thankful. If I die, I die in peace with all mankind—living praises be unto the Lord!" On being asked how he felt, he answered, "Comfortable; I am comfortable in body and mind; I feel comfortable in the prospect of going." At another time he said to those present, that he had felt resigned during his illness; but when at any time he suffered his mind to look homeward, it produced a conflict.

Throughout the whole course of his illness, the meekness and patience which adorned his Christian character, shone conspicuously, and he was preserved in much sweetness and innocency, not an unguarded expression or impatient look escaping him. It was abundantly evident, that He whom he had long loved and served, was graciously with him in the last conflicts of expiring nature, strengthening and calming his departing spirit, and making all his bed in sickness. The tranquil and redeemed frame of his mind, shed a sweet and calming influence around his dying bed, and rendered it a privilege to be with him, verifying the truth of that Scripture testimony, "Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints."

Although the disease seemed to be arrested, yet his enfeebled frame was too much exhausted to rally again; and after an illness of ten days, on third-day, the 23d of ninth month, 1834, his redeemed spirit was liberated from the trials of mortality, and we doubt not has joined the glorified church triumphant in heaven.

His remains were interred in Friends' burying-ground at Still Water, on which occasion a solemn meeting was held, and several testimonies were borne to the excellency and all-sufficiency of that Divine power, which made him what he was, and through submission to which, he became eminently useful in the church of Christ, and a pillar therein, that should go no more out.

Such was the end of this humble and dedicated disciple of the Lord Jesus. We have traced his Christian course from the first dawning of religious light upon his mind, through various exercises and baptisms, by which he was gradually redeemed from all

dependence upon self and its acquirements, and prepared, as a purified vessel, to receive the precious gifts which the adorable Head of the church saw meet to confer upon him; we have seen his watchful care to mind the putting forth and leading of the heavenly Shepherd, and to keep to the fresh unfoldings of the "anointing which teacheth all things," ministering in the ability which the Lord gives, whereby he was preserved living and weighty in his Gospel labours;—we have viewed him growing up under the baptizing power of the holy Spirit, from the state of a child, to that of a young man, and even attaining to the experience and stability of a father and elder in Christ; and lastly, we have seen also that those Christian principles and practices, by which he endeavoured to regulate his course through the painful vicissitudes and trials of this changeable life, did not fail him in the solemn winding up of all things here below, but proved a stay and solace to his departing spirit—fixing his hopes on a sure and solid foundation, even on the mercy and goodness of that Almighty Saviour and Redeemer, whom he had loved and served; and who died for man, not only that he might make atonement for his sins, but also purchase for him that effusion of the Holy Spirit by which the heart is sanctified, and guided and instructed in those things which pertain to life and salvation.

The dying hours of our beloved friend, prove that he had not followed cunningly devised fables, but living and substantial truth; and though dead, the language of his example speaks to us in the forcible exhortation, "that every one should show the same diligence, to the full assurance of hope unto the end; that we be not slothful, but followers of them, who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises."

The Address which he wrote to the youth of the Society of Friends in England, being fraught with interest and instruction, and containing some further information respecting the illness and death of his wife, it is thought well to insert it—being as follows, viz:

*An Address to the youth of the Society of Friends, in Great Britain and Ireland, especially those who attended the Yearly Meeting in London, in 1812.*

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR friend Henry Hull, who has found his mind engaged to write the following lines, received, near the close of the Yearly Meeting of 1812, which, in the course of his religious service he was attending, the sad intelligence of the decease of his wife, together with that

of his second son, and his own aged mother, by means of a contagious disease prevailing in the parts of his residence, namely, Stan-  
ford, in the State of New York. The afflict-  
ing news excited a general sympathy among  
his friends; who were of course desirous to  
be somewhat more acquainted with particulars  
than they could be by report. To satisfy, in  
some degree, this desire, as well as to express  
the tender feelings of his mind to the young  
people of our Society, the following Address  
was penned, whilst his mind was softened  
with some of his early emotions of grief, but  
warmed with true love for the objects of this  
his renewed concern, as well as for his be-  
loved friends in general, who have shown him  
much sympathy, and afforded him so much  
comfort and support in his present religious  
engagement.

London, 1812.

ALTHOUGH the following address was pen-  
ned by our friend Henry Hull, while in Eng-  
land, and directed especially to the youth of  
Great Britain and Ireland, which had recently  
been the field of his religious labours, yet a  
number of Friends who had an opportunity  
of perusing it on his arrival at New York,  
are of opinion that the republication and  
diffusion of it in this country, would be use-  
ful and acceptable. The afflictive dispensa-  
tion which gave rise to it, is generally known  
by Friends in his native land, among whom  
there are many who have felt the emotions of  
tender sympathy on account of it, and by  
whom it is believed, these pages will be read  
with interest and instruction.

New York, Ninth month 7th, 1812.

#### ADDRESS, &c.

ON receiving the mournful tidings from  
Stanford, respecting the events of the 4th  
and 5th of the fourth month, 1812, which oc-  
curred in my family, I have been very sor-  
rowful. I hope, however, I have not offended,  
although the weakness of human nature may  
have been shown. Indeed, when I consider  
the example of our holy Head, who is touched  
with a feeling of our infirmities, and was seen  
to weep at the tomb of Lazarus, I am rather  
disposed to think it was as much tenderness  
of spirit that operated to the moistening of my  
eyelids, as the weakness of human nature.  
Oh, what occasion for reflection! and in re-  
flecting, is it possible to restrain the flowing  
tear! No: for me it is not. Time and the  
remaining conflicts to be endured may in  
measure divert me from the sad scene, the  
awful event, but nothing will ever be able,  
whilst I have my senses, to efface the remem-  
brance of the dear object now lost to me.

When I recur to the time of our first ac-  
quaintance, and the formation of our union in  
the bands of marriage, I cannot but believe,  
that as the servant of Abraham was directed  
by the favour of Heaven when seeking a wife  
for Isaac, so the goodness of Isaac's God was  
evidenced to me; our union being formed un-  
der the serious consideration of the expedi-  
ency of seeking a blessing, as our prospects  
of a settlement in the world were not flatter-  
ing. There was no disposition on either side  
to deceive: we knew, that although we had  
reputable parents, the calamities occasioned  
by the late war in America had been such,  
that they could do but little for us. They  
had taught us to look to Israel's God for a  
blessing, by seeking to serve him in our day;  
and what better endeavours for our advantage  
could they have bestowed upon us, or what  
could they have given us of greater value to  
engage us to revere their memory, and to re-  
flect upon their examples, so as to endeavour  
to follow them as they had followed Christ?

My dear Sarah entered cheerfully as a help-  
mate into the duties of a wife; cross occur-  
rences sometimes assailed us, which affected  
her tender mind, but I do not remember that  
she ever murmured; if she did she was care-  
ful to conceal it from me. I often admired  
the turn she would give to these occurrences,  
and the pleasant way she had to keep me from  
being discouraged, always manifesting a wil-  
lingness to continue the necessary exertions;  
saying, "Let us not seek for great things; if  
we can live comfortably, and have it in our  
power to entertain travelling Friends," privi-  
leges which she enjoyed in her father's house,  
"these are all the riches I crave; and to ob-  
tain so much, I am willing to labour early and  
late in the management of my domestic con-  
cerns, and more particularly, if it will be a  
means of leaving thee more at liberty to at-  
tend to thy religious engagements." And  
through the blessing of the Lord, we have  
had it in our power to entertain in a plain  
way, those to whom she alluded, when they  
have called upon us; and I believe that no  
one ever did it with more cheerfulness than  
she did. We were so situated, that we often  
had the company of Friends from a great  
distance out of the new settlements, who  
came to attend the Quarterly Meeting; many  
amongst these were poor, and if I observed  
any partiality in her behaviour at such times,  
it was in showing particular attention to these.  
I have sometimes pleasantly remarked this to  
her; when her reply would be, "I know  
how to feel with these—the rich have many  
friends."

In the twenty-seventh year of my age, I  
commenced travelling in the service of the

ministry, being then in a small way of business, which necessarily occupied my attention closely when at home; and having several little dependents, it was a trial of my faith, at times, to leave her with the care that devolved upon her in my absence. But she was so far from holding me back, that she encouraged me to attend to religious duties, saying, "if thou neglect thy religious duties, we may not prosper in the world; and however much I miss thee when from home, I had rather thou shouldst go than stay. I often feel a sweet union with thee when thou art absent; and sometimes partake with thee not only in suffering, but in thy consolations also."

As a mother, she was prudent in the management and government of her children, habituating them early to industry, considering it not only necessary to enable them to provide for their subsistence, but also conducive to health; yet tenderly careful to watch over them, so as to contribute to their comfort; saying, "Too much should not be required of children; I feel much for them in their tender years, and would rather over-exert myself than require too much of them." Her children were particularly attached to her, and she was comforted in them.

As a friend she was firm, slow to believe a report to the disadvantage of any one; truly a peace maker; much respected in the neighbourhood where she was best known; and I believe every person who lived near her, and was acquainted with her, would join me in this testimony to her disposition to promote peace and good-will. Although she had it not in her power to manifest by great liberality, her feeling for the poor, yet her acts of charity were evident, by visiting them in their sickness, as well as by the little she administered to their wants; and when I consider that the widow's mite was accepted, I trust she was not deficient as a steward.

About the thirty-first year of her age she first appeared in the ministry; and although for several years she was not frequent or large in public testimony, she was, I believe, always acceptable to her friends; and her appearances during the last six or eight years of her life, when she laboured in the service of the ministry, were more conspicuous. She was almost destitute of human learning, the extent of her education consisting in being able to read in her mother tongue, and to write very poorly; being, as well as myself, unacquainted with the rules of grammar; yet seeking early, she found the Beloved of souls, and becoming subject to his power, knew his authority to be lovingly exercised over his people; and submitting thereto, she could say, with the apostle, in her religious services,

"The love of Christ constraineth us." Thus, in the school of Christ, she became instructed as a good scribe, to bring forth out of his treasury, "things both new and old;" that some who did not know to the contrary, thought she had all the advantages resulting from a liberal education. She was, however, sensible that she lay under great disadvantages, particularly in maintaining an epistolary correspondence with her friends; and in one of her last letters to me, she said, she was comforted in thinking that the rising generation would not labour under the disadvantages which she did.

It would be well for those who have much pains taken to accomplish them, if they would early submit to the government of Jesus, that so they might know his sanctifying power to prepare them for services that exalt the standard of Truth in the earth. I often regret, that those who are so tenderly cared for, as many of our young Friends are in this day, should forget their privileges, and stand aloof from the humble path that leads to peace. "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls: for my yoke is easy and my burthen is light." Oh! were the rising generation to accept this persuasive invitation from the Messiah, how would they come forth "as an army with banners," turning "to flight the armies of the aliens!" For have not many, even of the professors of Christianity, become alienated from Christ and his government, so that they are making "the cross of Christ of none effect?" which is, nevertheless, the wisdom of God, that brings "to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" Is not this manifest, that "not many wise men after the flesh; not many mighty, not many noble are called?" So that however useful learning is when subservient to the power of the Gospel, it should not be depended upon.

My heart has been often moved in tenderness towards the rising generation, whilst travelling in this land, with desires that they may consider and justly appreciate their privileges. Many of you are in easy circumstances; and some of you are exposed to the dangers and temptations of affluence. I have here presented to your view the example of one I dearly loved; and, as I believe, many of you have tenderly sympathized with me, and have manifested a love for me whilst among you, I trust you will excuse my freedom in presenting you with this token of the continuance of my dear love.

Whilst my mind has been closely beset

with the discouragements that present, in the prospect of returning to my once pleasant home, where sorrow now reigns, perhaps increasingly, from subsequent devastations, caused by the raging pestilence, that has recently deprived me not only of my chiefest earthly joy, but likewise of our dear son, my aged mother, and my brother-in-law; I have looked carefully at the motives that induced me to leave them. I have perused all their letters written to me, which I had not destroyed, and whilst silent meditation has admitted many occurrences to be reviewed, my spirit has at times witnessed an awful silence—a holy solemnity; and I dare not conclude that I have been out of my place in leaving my family, notwithstanding I shall never more see some of them in mutability.

May you, now in the bloom of your days, think of the importance of a well-spent life! and if you are not called into public service, as some have been that are gone before you, consider how you are spending your time: is it to advance the cause of Truth and righteousness; or is it merely to gratify yourselves? When at your toilets, shrink not at the idea of death, which, when reflected upon, sometimes preserves from pride. When poring over light and trifling publications, with which the present age abounds, or when using the pencil or needle merely to amuse, think whether your time might not be more profitably spent in reading the Scriptures, with other pious writings, or useful publications; in working for the poor of your respective neighbourhoods, visiting the sick, and administering to their wants. I believe that such engagements, in a greater or less degree, afford the sensible mind solid satisfaction, promote reflections, which encourage to a continuance in the way of well doing, and may keep you from the dangers in which those are involved, who seek to gratify themselves in vain and idle amusements.

By these laudable pursuits, the mind also becomes prepared for usefulness, in the promotion of the cause of religion, to the glory of God; to the comforting of his people, and to the acknowledgment that Christ's yoke is easy and his burden light. I love you, and am comforted in believing that many of you love the Truth, and are yielding obedience to its restraining power. Dear children, hold on your way; regard not the scorn of the scorner, nor the supercilious brow of the wicked. Suffer not the example of the libertine, nor of the slothful, to draw you aside from following Him, who leadeth in ways of pleasantness, and in paths of peace. There are indeed tribulations to be endured in time, but unto those who live in the fear of the Lord, the

encouraging language still remains, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Thus it is that the humble follower of the Lamb is encouraged to hope that the trials he meets with may work together for good, even to his further refinement and purification.

O! that this may be the case with you, and with your real friend,

HENRY HULL.

Plasnet, near London, 3d of Sixth  
month, 1812.

*The following narrative of the afflicting circumstances which gave rise to the preceding Address, is extracted, with very little variation, from a letter from Ruth Hallock, to her friend Henry Hull, dated Stanford, 16th of fourth month, 1812.*

"I shall now endeavour to give thee the best information of which I am capable, of a very trying visitation that seems spreading over our land, and to have fallen heavily on the neighbourhood of Stanford. The physicians call it a malignant pleurisy, or inflammation on the lungs. The first that fell a victim in our neighbourhood was Henry Clapp, who was on a visit to his mother: he died about the 20th of second month; after which it seemed to spread towards the neighbourhood of Stanford, and up and about J. Gifford's. His wife was very ill, and her recovery was quite despaired of for some time. Thy precious Sarah was with her for several days, until she gave hopes of recovery; she then returned home, visited the sick, and comforted the mourners, after which she attended the funeral of Obadiah Haight, about the 20th of third month, where I understood she appeared in the exercise of her gift to the comfort of many present. About this time thy aged mother was taken ill; she departed this life the 25th of third month; we attended her funeral, which was very solemn, and things appeared very alarming; after which we went to see thy wife and her dear children. We found her violently seized with the prevailing epidemic; on going into the room she seemed glad to see us, and said 'I am very sick, never so sick before, but trust I am prepared for it, I have expected it. If my dear Henry was here . . . . . but what could he do more; every thing is done that can be done. I have kind friends, kind, affectionate children. I am perfectly contented in my situation.' I said, if dear Henry could view the situation we are in at Stanford, he would feel very anxious: she paused a moment and said, 'It is very possible he may have some sense of it.' I do not remember that she ever



mentioned thy name in my hearing afterwards, and although she had to endure much pain and affliction of body, yet her mind appeared perfectly calm, sweet and pleasant, abounding with love to every one, so that her company was truly pleasant; often saying, she now enjoyed the fruits of her former labours; and that what she then enjoyed, was worth more than all the world besides; saying, 'I am now convinced that I have not been following cunningly devised fables, but living and substantial truth.' Her mind seemed often humbled under a sense of the favours she enjoyed. Having many of her friends about her, I felt anxious to come to thy brother John's, whose wife and sister, and many others in the neighbourhood, were very sick with the same disorder. I left her on sixth-day the 27th, and did not return until second-day following. On going into the room she appeared cheerful and pleasant, although very much reduced. She continued so through the day. Thy dear son John seemed poorly that evening, next morning he seemed better. His mother rested pretty well. Between her fits of coughing, her company was very interesting, frequently repeating some passage of Scripture, or a line or two of poetry. Her love seemed to flow towards all, especially to her friends around her. After I had turned her in bed, she said, 'Dear Ruth, thou and I have travelled together through different parts in near unity; I have loved thee as a sister, yes, as a mother. I am afraid I shall wear thee out.' The latter part of the night she appeared a little better, and the next morning she seemed free from pain, but weak and low. About ten o'clock thy daughter Dorcas, on seeing her so weak, seemed very much affected; she said 'Dear Dorcas, don't be troubled, don't weep, we have much to be thankful for; many poor things in this trying time have hardly any thing for their comfort; we have enough of every thing around us, and kind friends who are willing to do any thing for us: we must not complain, we must expect to share sickness with our friends. I do not complain, I am contented, and willing to endure the turning and termination of it.' After which she lay and slept quietly, and continued so through the day. Towards evening I returned home with a comfortable hope that she was a little better. I found my family complaining, and did not return until fifth-day, 2nd of fourth month. We went to meeting with the few Friends that were able to get out; and after meeting I went again to see her, found her very weak and low, and John very sick: we began to apprehend him in danger; medical aid was obtained early but all to no purpose;

he seemed restless and his pain was very excruciating. Sixth-day thy wife was more poorly, appeared to have more fever, and in the afternoon complained of pain in her side, but we still entertained hopes that she would be raised again: but, alas! our hopes were frustrated. Judith Gurney and myself sat up with her that night. About ten o'clock, after the family had retired, we perceived an alteration. We were alarmed, and called the physician, who soon came: at first he thought the change was in consequence of debility, and that giving her stimulants would revive her; but the difficulty of breathing increased; the family were then called, and she peacefully and quietly expired without any apparent struggle. As she lived beloved, so she died lamented by us all. I found it hard to give up so near and dear a friend on my own account, but when I thought of thee and the children, as also the neighbourhood at a time when so many were sick, my feelings, indeed, baffled all description.

"Dear John at that moment lay very sick in an adjoining room; I soon went in to see him, he looked at me with an expressive countenance, and said, 'It is impossible for me to get well without a miracle, and on my own account I am willing to die; but on the account of my dear brothers and sisters, I should be willing to live longer. My faith and confidence are in the mercies of my dear Redeemer.' After which he appeared mostly sensible, and perfectly resigned, and was enabled to arrange his business to good satisfaction.\* I was not much with him afterwards, being quite indisposed myself with a slight touch of the prevailing disorder; there-

\* Although he was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, he was engaged in a considerable line of business, and in addition thereto, he undertook the oversight of his father's concerns, in order to set him at liberty for religious service. This weight of care seemed now to press forcibly upon his mind, so that, after giving his brother direction about his affairs, which, he said, he considered it his duty to do, and felt satisfaction in having done, he advised him to give up all ambitious prospects; to contrive some easy way of procuring a livelihood, and to be content; herein evincing a mind in a suitable situation justly to appreciate the value of time; and that whilst he saw the necessity of providing for a comfortable subsistence, he felt the inconvenience of having his mind charged with much incumbrance at such an awful crisis.

The advice given to his brother is not only worthy of his strict observance, but may be useful to others who may be just entering on the concerns of life, and is consonant with the words of the prophet Jeremiah; "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not."

His father feels it a tribute due to the memory of his son to subjoin this note.

fore, must leave further information, except that he died the next day."

In addition to the foregoing narrative, Henry Hull has received two letters from his daughter, Dorcas Coleman, of which the following are extracts:

"13th of Fourth month, 1812.

"Our family remained in a state of usual health until about the 19th of last month, when my ever loved mother complained of an extreme pain in her head; she however, kept up until the 21st. After returning from Obadiah Haight's funeral, she took her bed: she sat up a little the two following days. On the fourth-day evening she appeared so unwell, that we called in medical assistance. I was the only one up with her that night, and feeling alarmed, she told me she was prepared for death, if it pleased her Divine Master to call her; and was as well satisfied in thy being in thy place as if thou stood by her bedside; hoped thou wouldst hold on thy way, and be favoured to return to us again—it would have been consoling to her to live till that event, but she was resigned."

"Fourth month 24th, 1812.

"During the time of my dear mother's illness, and often, yes, very often since, I have had to revert to the time of our parting, when in solemn supplication my dear deceased parent craved the protection of Heaven for thee, the partner of her life; and in humble resignation expressed her willingness, that it should rest a secret in the Divine sight whether your farewell was to be final or not; and also her desire, that whether you ever met again or not, all might be done in life and in death, to the glory of God. Ah! that was a time never to be forgotten, as long as life and recollection are lengthened out to me, who then did, and still do, feel the great need there is of having the mind stayed on that which will support, when all outward consolation fails."

During the last visit made by Henry Hull to Ohio, the Meeting for Sufferings of that Yearly Meeting directed an edition of the foregoing Address to be published; and as it did not appear until after his decease, that meeting appended to it the following minute, viz:

Soon after this meeting directed the reprinting of the foregoing Address, it pleased Divine Providence to remove the author of it from works to rewards. And as our late

Yearly Meeting had the privilege of his last religious labours, we have been induced to bear our testimony to the life and virtue which attended his ministry in our public meetings, and to the solemnity which also accompanied his communications during our sittings for discipline.

While in common with our brethren of other Yearly Meetings, we are impressed with a mournful sense of the loss the church militant has sustained, in the demise of this faithful servant of Christ; in subjoining this brief notice of the event, it is the fervent desire of this meeting that all our members, and especially our dear youth, may be encouraged, both by the perusal of the Address, and by the account of his peaceful close, to imitate the excellent example which he has set, in a life of dedication to the Lord's work and service—he having expressed in his last public testimony, with much humility, his thankfulness that he had devoted the prime of his life to the cause of his dear Redeemer.

The religious opportunities which he had with us—the great solemnity and baptizing power which was then felt, as well as the near unity which we had with him, have been rendered the more striking from the occurrence of the solemn event which so soon followed.

As in his life he was steadfast in the faith of the Son of God, so it seems that in and near the solemn close, he was enabled by the power and presence of his beloved Saviour to testify, "I have not followed cunningly devised fables—the hope of the hypocrite faileth, but I can say mine does not.—I feel as though I could lift up my voice to praise the Lord, though my strength faileth. I die in peace with all mankind; living praises be unto the Lord." The calm and heavenly frame of his mind shed a sweet influence around his dying bed, verifying the truth of the Scripture testimony, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."

His redeemed spirit was liberated from the trials of this changeful life, on the 23d of ninth month, at the house of our friend Benjamin Hoyle, near Barnesville, and we doubt not, has joined the church triumphant in heaven.

Taken from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of Ohio Yearly Meeting, held at Mount Pleasant, the 16th of eleventh month, 1834.

BENJAMIN W. LADD,  
Clerk for the day.

[Erratum—In the Testimony concerning Henry Hull, page 235 of this volume, thirteenth line from the top, for 1801 read 1810.]

As our beloved friend, in the early part of his Journal, several times speaks of his valuable father, it is thought the reader will be interested in perusing the following memorial respecting this worthy man, viz :

*A Memorial from the Creek Monthly Meeting, in Nine Partners, concerning our friend, TIDDEMAN HULL.*

HE was born in the State of Rhode Island. His parents were John and Damaris Hull, who were members of our religious Society; and in the early part of his life, by their consent, he removed and settled within the verge of Purchase Monthly Meeting; where, and at New York, he resided until the year 1777, when he removed with his family within the limits of this meeting, then a part of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, and became a useful member thereof, being exemplary in the diligent attendance of our religious meetings, and encouraging his family therein. In the year 1781, he appeared in the ministry, and was serviceable therein; the young and rising generation particularly claimed his attention; to many of whom he was endeared by his tender and fatherly advice. He often pressingly entreated those unto whom he ministered, to close in with the day of their visitation; and sometimes in private conversation was heard to say, that he regretted nothing more than that he did not in his youthful days give up to walk in the paths of piety and virtue. He was divers times acceptably engaged in visiting families within the compass of this Monthly Meeting, a service he appeared to be well qualified for; and frequently visited the adjacent meetings, particularly those newly set up. He often not only advised it, but was himself in the practice of retiring in stillness; and at times convened his family upon the same important occasion.

In the year 1793, soon after his return from a religious visit in the western settlements of this state, he was brought very low by a fit of sickness, his life not being expected, either by himself or his friends, to be prolonged; at which time his faith appeared unshaken; saying, "My confidence is in the Lord, and in him will I trust: I feel his presence to be near, which is above all, and I can rejoice in tribulation." At another time, his children being by his bed-side, he looking upon them, said, "If it is the Lord's will that I shall go now, I am entirely willing;" soon after, with an audible voice, "Oh, Lord! be

graciously pleased to take me to thyself, or endure me with patience to bear my pains; yet not my will but thine be done: try me any way that will be most agreeable to thy holy will."

The same day divers Friends coming to see him, he said, "This is a hard struggle between life and death; I do not know which will have the victory; but let which will, I believe I shall be the Lord's;" with much instructive advice and counsel to many that came to see him during his illness: from this sickness he gradually recovered.

He was taken ill of his last sickness, the 18th of the ninth month, whilst sitting in our Monthly Meeting; in which he manifested the same fervency of spirit in his religious labours that had hitherto accompanied them. In the evening he signified to some of his family, he believed that was the last meeting he should attend. His disorder proving to be the dysentery, his strength failed fast. On fourth-day morning following, after a wearisome night, he expressed a desire for stillness and an easy passage, as he believed his time here would not be long. Soon after, being more free from pain, divers Friends being present, he said that at the last Monthly Meeting he attended, he thought at the time, it would be the last; and that he felt his mind impressed with something to deliver, but did not, for the want of an opportunity; which was, that Friends in all appointments in the church, be careful not to appoint such as were in the practice of sleeping in meetings, referring to the frequent advice of the Yearly Meeting on that subject. Then addressing himself to his youngest son, he gave him much instructive counsel and advice. After which, laying still awhile, he was fervently engaged in prayer, that the Lord would be graciously pleased to be near in this trying time, and that he would remember Friends of the little meeting to which he belonged, that the extendings of Divine regard might be to his family, and that they with Friends might be kept as in the hollow of the Lord's hand. After which, his disorder being very sore upon him, he expressed but little; though, at times, he was engaged in prayer, and in the expression of a few words of love and tenderness to such as came to see him, bearing his pains with Christian patience, and waiting for the time to come, that he might be relieved from them. He departed this life, on the 28th of the ninth month, 1795, aged about sixty-two years.

## JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, GOSPEL LABOURS AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,

OF THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

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The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. *Isaiah xxxii. 17.*

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*The Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire, at their Quarterly Meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the third month, 1773, concerning JOHN WOOLMAN, of Mount Holly, in the province of New Jersey, in America, who departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this city, the 7th of the tenth month, 1772, and was interred in the burying-ground of Friends, the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.*

THIS our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time, to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same with the full concurrence and near sympathy of his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he belonged, and from the Spring-meeting of ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London at the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting, and after attending that meeting travelled northward, visiting the Quarterly Meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the west side of this county, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland, from whence he came to our Quarterly Meeting in the last ninth month; and though much out of health, yet was en-

abled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last.

His disorder, which proved to be the small-pox, increased speedily upon him, and was very afflicting; under which he was supported in much meekness, patience and Christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be centered in Divine love, under the precious influence whereof, we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a Friend to write, and then broke forth thus:

“O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony and it was heavier than I could bear—I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, and stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father. I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will. I waited for deliverance from thee, and thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and that thou wast teaching me to follow him: and I said, thy will, O Father, be done.”

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity, and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church. Dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine Hand, so that the spring of the Gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skilful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at other times was seasoned with the like watchful circumspection and attention to the guidance of Divine wisdom, which rendered his whole conversation edifying.

He was fully persuaded, that as the life of Christ comes to reign in the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation will come to an end; but under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, his life was often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state; and on that account we understand he not only wrote some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the Negro masters, especially those in profession with us, sensible of the evil of such a practice; and though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind remained, as appears by a short treatise he wrote in this journey, and his frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people. His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked, that as we as a Society, when under outward sufferings had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby in the Lord's time, had obtained relief, so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to our notice, that as way may open, we may represent their sufferings in an individual, if not a Society capacity to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and superflu-

ties, is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great self-denial, with respect to the things of this life, and earnestly to labour with Friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things; recommending them to the guidance of the blessed Truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein, against contenting themselves with acting up to the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of Truth manifested to them, the measure of their obedience; for said he, "That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth; that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of Society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude with fervent desires, that we as a people may thus, by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in his infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church, by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, he may be pleased to send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of said meeting.

THOMAS BENNETT,	SAMUEL BRISCOE,
JOHN STORR,	JOHN TURNER,
JOSEPH EGLIN,	JOSHUA ROBINSON,
THOMAS PERKINSON,	THOMAS PRIESTMAN,
JOSEPH WRIGHT,	

And divers other Friends.

*A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the 1st day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord, 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, JOHN WOOLMAN, deceased.*

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West New Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his young years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through

the workings of the enemy, and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a godly sorrow not to be repented of, and so became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true Gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age, and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto; dispensing milk to babes, and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his people."

He was a loving husband, a tender father, and very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them; and he frequently relieved them by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he sometimes mentioned, lay almost continually upon him, and to obtain liberty to those captives, he laboured both in public and private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burthens on this oppressed people, but remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence, for his interposition and relief; being particularly careful as to himself, not to countenance slavery, even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind, and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also, which appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture and feasting; thereby endeavouring to become an example

of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto, and was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiousness after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor Friends' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them, to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children," and "to labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into; frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss: he visited such in a private way in that plainness which Truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly useful; assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe had good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned



with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following observation and reflections. "As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body, hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away; so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I and the rest of the persons above-named, are centered in another state of being.—The Lord, who was the guide of my youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; he hath healed me of wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time, and in eternity.

"Signed, JOHN WOOLMAN."

In the twelfth month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the first month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and endorsed by our Quarterly Meeting, and by the Half-year's meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the

fifth, and arrived in London in the sixth month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of Friends at York, in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the small-pox, on the 7th day of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in Friends' burying-ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a large and solid meeting held on the occasion, aged nearly fifty-two years; a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular Meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed Truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of the said meeting, by  
SAMUEL ALLINSON, Clerk.

Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held at Burlington the 29th of the eighth month, 1774.

Signed by order of said meeting,  
DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.

## LIFE OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

### CHAPTER I.

*His birth and parentage, with some account of the operations of Divine grace on his mind in his youth—his first appearance in the ministry—considerations while young on keeping slaves.*

I HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God; and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington county, West Jersey, in the year 1720; and before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one seventh-day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down, I read the twenty-second

chapter of the Revelations; "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c.;" and in reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which, I then believed, God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an effect upon me, that when boys used ill language, it troubled me; and through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from it.

The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. My parents having a large family of children, used frequently on first-days after meeting, to put us to read in the Holy Scriptures, or some religious books, one after an-

other, the rest sitting by without much conversation; which, I have since often thought, was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God, in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of, now living: and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages, often troubled me while I was a child.

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, that once going to a neighbour's house, I saw on the way, a robin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off, but, having young ones, flew about and with many cries expressed her concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, till one striking her, she fell down dead: at first I was pleased with the exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with horror, for having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them; and after some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds and killed them, supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably; and believed, in this case, that Scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for some hours, could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He, whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved me for some misconduct, to which I made an un dutiful reply; and the next first-day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advised me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and getting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me; and do not remember that I ever, after that, spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attained the age of sixteen years,

I began to love wanton company; and though I was preserved from profane language, or scandalous conduct, still I perceived a plant in me which produced many wild grapes. Yet my merciful Father forsook me not utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow; but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the Truth, and I hastened toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had found comfort in reading the Holy Scriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now estranged therefrom. I knew that I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return; hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions my greatest pleasure. Running in this road I found many like myself; and we associated in that which is the reverse to true friendship.

But in this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovering; and then did darkness, horror and amazement, with full force, seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but in a deep sense of my great folly, I was humbled before him: and at length, that word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition; and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a considerable time; but by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and had spoken peace to me in the time of my distress; and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; on which account, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy

as to commit things scandalous; but to exceed in vanity and promote mirth, were my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people; and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents, several times admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter, when he came, found entrance. I remember that once, having spent a part of the day in wantonness, as I went to bed at night, a Bible lay in a window near my bed, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "we lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us;" this I knew to be my case; and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience; which I soon cast off again.

Thus time passed on: my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire; and looking over my past life, the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again, my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly; and then sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while, I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities; but there was a secret reserve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus, for some months, I had great troubles, there remaining in me an unsubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitless, till at length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in spirit before the Lord. I remember one evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from his presence; but not keeping in that strength which gave victory, I lost ground again; the sense of which greatly affected me; and I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God, and humbly craved help of him. I may say with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in those times of humiliation opened my ear to discipline. I was now led to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned this, that if I would live in the life

which the faithful servants of God lived in, I must not go into company as heretofore in my own will; but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a Divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness; and being young, and believing, at that time, that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings; spent first-day afternoon chiefly in reading the Scriptures and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures. That as the mind is moved by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible incomprehensible Being; by the same principle it is moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world. That, as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in all sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and, at the same time, exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, is a contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions; but believed, that sincere upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed the openings of Truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private, and to keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to [describe] it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me; my heart was tender and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me: this will be understood by such who have trodden in the same path.

Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which Divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated; yet all these do not fully show forth that inward life to such who have not felt it: but this white stone and new name are known rightly to such only who have them.

Though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve it in winter evenings, and other leisure times; and being now in the twenty-first year of my age, a man, in much business at shop-keeping and baking, asked me if I would hire with him to tend shop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the proposal; and, after some deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired; and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of mercies, that he would preserve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial, with which I had been, in a small degree, exercised in a more private life. The man, who employed me, furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father's house, and six from his own; and there I lived alone, and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here, I was visited by several young people my former acquaintance, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever; and, at these times, I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of time past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people: and as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much amongst people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings, I was mostly alone, and may with thankfulness acknowledge, that, in those times, the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen as servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell; one of whom was taken sick, and died.

In the latter part of his sickness, he, being delirious, used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial, I was left to sleep alone in the same chamber

where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness; I knew, however, that I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity; and was not free to ask any one, on that occasion, to sleep with me: nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After awhile, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. As I had experienced the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succour to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted, and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compassion for the youth, who remained entangled in snares like those which had entangled me from one time to another: this love and tenderness increased; and my mind was more strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd; and one day, being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the Divine opening, I said more than was required of me; and being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to such a degree that I could not take satisfaction in anything. I remembered God and was troubled; and, in the depth of my distress, he had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies; and after this, feeling the spring of Divine love opened, and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace; this, I believe, was about six weeks from the first time. As I was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the pure Spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and taught me to wait in silence, sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and a steadfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others: all the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but

wherever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his Spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true Gospel ministry. In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment, that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than Truth opened my way therein.

About the time called Christmas, I observed that many people from the country, and dwellers in town, resorting to public-houses, spent their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to go and speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly Friends in town had an opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy: and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly; and then, with prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, who, in loving-kindness, gave me a resigned heart. Then, at a suitable opportunity, I went to the public-house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I went to him, and told him I wanted to speak with him; so we went aside, and there, in the fear and dread of the Almighty, I expressed to him what rested on my mind; which he took kindly, and afterward showed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was hum-

bly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the executing of it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said, before my master and the Friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This in some degree abated my uneasiness; yet, as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was. Some time after this, a young man of our Society, spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his house. I told him, I was not easy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept slaves, I still believed the practice was not right; and desired to be excused from the writing. I spoke to him in good will; and he told me, that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted of her.

## CHAPTER II.

*His first journey, on a religious visit, into East Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington—thoughts on merchandizing, and learning a trade—second journey, with Isaac Andrews, into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of West and East Jersey—some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death—fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New York and Long Island, to New England—fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware.*

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to Friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly Friends, I agreed to go. We set out the 5th day of the ninth month, in the year 1743; and had an evening meeting at a tavern in

Brunswick, a town in which none of our Society dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, they being in town on the public affairs of the province: in both these meetings my ancient companion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the Gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield; and had six or seven meetings in places where Friends' meetings are not usually held, being made up chiefly of Presbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings; and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what Truth opened: my mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable Friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; but after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject; so that I expressed what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years: and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less at merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful of some other way of business; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind, through the power of Truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not costly; so that a way of life free from much entanglement, appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but did not see my way clear to accept of them; believing the business proposed would be attended with more outward care and cumber than it was required of me to engage in.

I saw that a humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little: and that where the heart was set on greatness, success

in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man at that business; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting, that if I should settle, I might, by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms; and then, when I had leisure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with this man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me; and was taught to be content with it, though I felt, at times, a disposition that would have sought for something greater. But, through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deeply into it; and, at times, this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation, that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time, my employer's wife died; she was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and soon after this, he left shop-keeping; and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of Gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit Friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend Isaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the same places; and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After considerable time passed, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the case in our Monthly Meeting, and Friends expressing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the 12th day of the third month, in the year 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester county, and near Lancaster; in some of which, the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in his service. Then we crossed the river Susquehanna, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red-lands; the oldest of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer sort of



people who commonly begin to improve remote deserts: with a small stock they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate; that Friends, who visit such, may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness; and though the best entertainment such can give, may seem coarse to some who are used to cities, or old-settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be content with it. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongst these people; and the sweet influence of his Spirit supported us through some difficulties: to him be the praise.

We passed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanandoah, and had meetings; some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shanandoah, we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements of Friends in Virginia; and the first night, we, with our pilot, lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young and having good horses, were free to part with him; and next day did so. In two days after, we reached our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia; and taking the meetings in our way through Virginia, were in some degree, baptized into a feeling of the conditions of the people; and our exercise in general was more painful in these old settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants: but through the goodness of our heavenly Father, the well of living waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North Carolina; had several meetings, which were large, and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. We turned again into Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongst Friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given; and thence went to the mountains, up James River, to a new settlement, and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our Society. In our journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted Friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of Truth, among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Potomac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general visit to the meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland, and were at their Quarterly Meeting. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened, in the love of truth. Taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed homeward, where, through

the favour of Divine Providence, we reached, the 16th day of the sixth month, in the year 1746; and I may say, that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment; when I eat, drank, and lodged free-cost, with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burthen, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burthens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them, in private, concerning it. Secondly; the trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labour, were frequently the subjects of my serious thoughts; and I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, or twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increasing concern for Friends on our sea-coast; and on the 8th day of the eighth month, in the year 1746, with the unity of Friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before-mentioned, I set forward, and visited meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbour; and had meetings at Barnagat, Mannahockin, and Mane-Squan, and so to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord way was opened, and the strength of Divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting, we met with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

The winter following died my eldest sister, Elizabeth Woolman, jun., of the small-pox, aged thirty-one years. She was, from her

youth, of a thoughtful disposition, and very compassionate to her acquaintance in their sickness or distress, being ready to help as far as she could. She was dutiful to her parents; one instance whereof follows:—It happened that she, and two of her sisters, being then near the estate of young women, had an inclination one first-day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance off, whose company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expressed their desire to our parents; who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and stopped them. The same day, as my sisters and I were together, and they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her contentment under it; signifying, she believed it might be for their good.

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the gracious visitations of God's love, she was strengthened to live a self-denying exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may show, in some degree, her disposition :

Haddonfield, Eleventh Month 1st, 1743.

Beloved brother, John Woolman,

In that love which desires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee. I received thine, dated 2nd day of the tenth month last, with which I was comforted. My spirit is bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodness is extended to the meanest of his creation; therefore, in his infinite love, he hath pitied and spared and showed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite lost; but, at times, I am refreshed and comforted as with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: so, with desires for thy preservation with my own, I remain

Thy affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH WOOLMAN, JUN.

The fore part of her illness she was in great sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her intimate friends, and said, when I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it; and added, I have of late had great satisfaction in meetings. Though she was thus disconsolate, still she retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her: and some time after, the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former expressions, and said, it is otherwise now, for the Lord hath rewarded me seven-fold; and I am unable to express the greatness of his love

manifested to me. Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowful, she took notice of it, and said, dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God: and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A Friend coming some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her, how she did? She answered, I have had a hard night, but shall not have another such, for I shall die, and it will be well with my soul; and accordingly she died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongst her writings; written, I believe, at four times:

I. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

II. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy presence; or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul.

III. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

IV. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be seasoned with thy salt, that thy grace may abound in me.

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit Friends in New England, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we obtained certificates from our Monthly Meeting, and set forward on the 16th day of the third month, in the year 1747, and reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island; at which were our friends Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson, from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews, from Chesterfield; several of whom were favoured in their public exercise; and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had some edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I visited Friends on Long Island; and, through the mercies of God, were helped in the work.

Besides going to the settled meetings of Friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other societies, and had a meeting at Oyster Bay, in a dwelling-house, at which were many people: at the first of which there was not much said by way of testimony; but it was, I believe, a good meeting: at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the island, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way to Oblong, Nine-Partners and New Milford.—In these back settlements we met with several people, who, through the immediate workings of the Spi-

rit of Christ on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him: they were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that Society, were used to spend their time often together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of that company being visited by the powerful workings of the Spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up his cross, could no longer join in those vanities; and as these stood steadfast to that inward conviction, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that, through the power of Truth, several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them: but, in time, their judgment in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that Society; and such of them who stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. Their meetings were in a while dropped; some of them returning to the Presbyterians, and others, after a time, joined our religious Society.

I had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in Spirit and in Truth. From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a Friend from Long Island, we rode through Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians; who were generally civil to us, so far as I saw: and after three days riding, we came amongst Friends in the colony of Rhode Island. We visited Friends in and about Newport and Dartmouth, and generally in those parts; and then went to Boston; and proceeded eastward as far as Dover: then returned to Newport, and not far from thence, we met our friend Thomas Gawthrop, from England; who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there nearly a week, and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and having finished our visit in these parts, we crossed the sound from New London to Long Island; and taking some meetings on the island, proceeded homeward; where we reached the 13th day of the seventh month, in the year 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may say in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragements; and at other

times, through the renewed manifestations of Divine love, we had seasons of refreshment, wherein the power of Truth prevailed.

We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the Spirit of Truth, and utter that to the people which Truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work: he was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burthen, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit Friends in the lower counties on Delaware, and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the 7th day of the eighth month, in the year 1748; were at the meetings of Friends in the lower counties, attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to most of the meetings on the Eastern Shore; and so home by the way of Nottingham: were abroad about six weeks; and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise, at times, was heavy; but, through the goodness of the Lord, we were often refreshed: and I may say, by experience, "He is a strong hold in the day of trouble." Though our Society, in these parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet, I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labour to serve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

### CHAPTER III.

*His marriage—the death of his father—his journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—considerations on keeping slaves—visits to the families of Friends at several times and places—an epistle from the General Meeting—journey to Long Island—considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel—letter to a Friend.*

ABOUT this time believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord, with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeably to his will; and He was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the 18th day of the eighth month, in the year 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750, died my fa-

ther, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life-time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina, in the year 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which some time before his decease I showed him. He perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account. In his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of Friends in publishing it? and, after some conversation thereon, said, I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever.

He made mention of his end, which he believed was now near; and signified, that though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of Truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even until now, was such, that he had no doubt but that in leaving this life he should enter into one more happy.

The next day his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Ann; who died a few days before. He said, I reckon sister Ann was free to leave this world? Elizabeth said, she was: he then said, I also am free to leave it; and being in great weakness of body said, I hope I shall shortly go to rest. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible until near the last.

On the 2nd day of the ninth month, in the year 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to visit Friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of West Jersey, with the unity of our Monthly Meeting, I went there; and had some searching laborious exercise amongst Friends in those parts, and found peace therein.

In the ninth month of the year 1753, in company with my well-esteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of Friends, I travelled about two weeks, visiting Friends in Bucks County. We laboured in the love of the Gospel, according to the measure received; and, through the mercies of Him, who is

strength to the poor who trust in him, we found satisfaction in our visit. In the next winter, way opening to visit Friends' families within the compass of our Monthly Meeting, partly by the labours of two Friends from Pennsylvania, I joined in some part of the work; having had a desire for some time that it might go forward amongst us.

About this time, a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves; and asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his testimony. I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right, and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind: that though many in our Society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it; and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I said, but went away: he also had some concern in the practice; and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had a fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of Divine love and in regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure better than silver and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before mentioned having laid by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the revisal of Friends, who, having examined and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published and dispersed amongst Friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their Monthly Meeting in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one Friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret; and going with a Friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction; and in the morning I felt easy to pro-

ceed on the visit, being very low in my mind: and as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, he was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service; part of which time was employed near home. In the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend John Sykes; and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of the Lord, our hearts, were, at times, enlarged in his love; and strength was given to go through the trials, which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent; and an epistle to Friends went forth from our General Spring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

*An Epistle from our General Spring meeting of ministers and elders, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29th of the third month, to the 1st of the fourth month, inclusive, 1755: To Friends on the continent of America.*

Dear Friends,

In an humble sense of Divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the Truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that Life which is the Light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers."

We, being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven, have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to his seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave

thee, nor forsake thee." And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on "not by *earthly* might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts;" by which operation, that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever; in a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability and peace there is in it, we are desirous that all who profess the Truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession. And we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," to the completion of those prophecies already begun, that "nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, nor learn war any more."

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly possessions or enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation, and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed; then may we say, "Our Redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us." And if, for the further promoting of his most gracious purposes in the earth, he should give us to taste of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partaken of; O that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat; "but repose ourselves in the munition of that Rock, that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world: for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the Truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it; and as many as do partake of it, will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the Truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts,

shall rejoice in the midst of adversity," and have to experience with the prophet, that "Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stall: yet will they rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of their salvation."

If, contrary to this, we profess the Truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves therein, our confidence will be vain. For He, who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reason of the wild grapes it produced, Isaiah v. 5., remains unchangeable: and if, for the chastisement of wickedness, and further promoting his own glory, he doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him, and prosper!

We remain, in the love of the Gospel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen Friends.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, having been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have evidently felt my own will set aside, I think it good to mention a few of them. Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under a necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such who have a fair reputation. Deep rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of every one to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motives than the negro's good; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness, necessary rightly to exercise such power. Hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn, in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood, came to my house to get his will wrote. He had young negroes; and I asked him privately, how he purposed to dispose of them? he told me: I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace, and respectfully

gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have written it; but as I could not, consistent with my conscience, he did not desire it: and so he got it written by some other person. A few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will: his negroes were yet young, and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine, become a sober young man; and he supposed that I would be free, on that account, to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it: a few days after, he came again and directed their freedom; and so I wrote his will.

Near the time the last mentioned Friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him; which being done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes; and amongst other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end; so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his slave, and carrying it to his bed-side, read it to him; and then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done; and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed: we then had a serious conference on the subject; and at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to visit Friends on Long Island, after obtaining a certificate from our Monthly Meeting, I set off on the 12th day of the fifth month, in the year 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend Richard Hallet. Next day being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Newtown; in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, we crossed the ferry at White-stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the island, where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts, who are honestly inclined to serve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward, bearing the cross, in such faithfulness as he calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit,



both in public and private, and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that subject; expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it, manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week, their Yearly Meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarborough, Jane Hoskins and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania: the public meetings were large, and measurably favoured with Divine goodness.

The exercise of my mind at this meeting, was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the Society: and in a meeting of ministers and elders, way opened, so that I expressed in some measure what lay upon me; and at a time when Friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat awhile silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear myself of a burthen, which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for his service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakness of nature, thought of desisting from his prophetic office; but, saith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay." I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which Truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of Divine love was manifested; in an humbling sense whereof I went home: having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While I was on this journey, my heart was much affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I

had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open; but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living: I had but a small family; and on serious consideration, I believed Truth did not require me to engage in many cumbering affairs. It had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful; things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did, I found it to weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burthen; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandizing, yet I believed Truth required me to live more free from outward cumber; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. In this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to his holy will: then I lessened my business; and as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to: and in awhile, wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a tailor, myself only, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees; in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming and inoculating. In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences; and these two things appear to be often connected one with the other. By not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour, which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us: by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is, even among such who are not drunkards, a craving of some liquors to revive the spirits: that, partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, led to it through immoderate labour, very great quantities of rum

are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or in civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied; and where such whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows; this also, as it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath some connexion with evil; for those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them, which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for Divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided; and I have felt an increasing care to attend to that holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great estates, attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind, that men love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage, without finding occasion to employ some people in the luxuries of life, or to make it necessary for others to labour too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of Divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ; yet, through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe; "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with Friends in visiting families; and through the goodness of the Lord, we had oftentimes

experience of his heart-tendering presence amongst us.

*A copy of a letter written to a Friend.*

IN this thy late affliction I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee; and had a secret hope throughout, that it might please the Father of mercies to raise thee up, and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, may feel the clothing of Divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting Truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance; but things impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made subject to his, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which, through fervent heat, is reduced from its first principle: "He refines them as silver is refined—He shall sit as a refiner, and purifier of silver." By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore him, and to manifest that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that spirit, in all its workings, which is not of him. To forward this work, the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death, that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction, which otherwise would not be received. If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He, who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions, doth assuredly direct their use. Are the righteous removed by it, their change is happy; are the wicked taken away in their wickedness, the Almighty is clear. Do we pass through with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover, he intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now on thy part, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored; forget not Him who hath helped thee, but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, thereby to shun those by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company, to which one in thy business must be exposed: I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly

mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts, in that much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the simplicity of Truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare; by halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd, so that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expressions; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation, to advance in Christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark; and as we enter into it, we find safety and true exaltation: the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, therein we find that power to arise, which gives health and vigor to us.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*His visiting the families of Friends at Burlington—His journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina—Considerations on the state of Friends there, and the exercise he was under in travelling among those concerned in keeping slaves: with some observations on this subject—His epistle to Friends at New Garden and Cane creek—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.*

THE 13th day of the second month, in the year 1757, being then in good health, and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a Friend's house in Burlington; and going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord; in a sense whereof my heart was contrite. After this, I went to sleep again; and sleeping a short time, I awoke; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day or moonshine; and as I opened mine eyes, I saw a light in my chamber at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear easy brightness, and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprise looking upon it, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward

man: they were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind; the words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH; and were again repeated exactly in the same manner; whereupon the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the southern provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion seemed some difficulty with me. I had conversation with him at sundry times, and at length, feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject; and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the fifth month of the year 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's, and here I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the southern provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland; and soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, of which I had often had some feeling since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the southern provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, which to me appeared to be the gain of oppression.

Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that Divine prohibition; "Thou shalt not receive any gift: for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their la-

bour in the Gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: The entertainment the disciples met with, was from such whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them, and the truth they published. But we, considered as members of the same religious Society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight;" but I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the Divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty, for his gracious and fatherly assistance; and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist, more clearly than ever I had before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child." Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of Society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. And as I copy this after my return, I may add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired him to accept of some pieces of silver, and give them to such of the negroes as he believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them

to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them: but the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some talk, accepted of them.

The 7th day of the fifth month, in the year 1757, I lodged at a Friend's house; and the next day being the first of the week, was at Patapsco meeting; then crossed Patuxent river, and lodged at a public house.

On the 9th breakfasted at a Friend's house; who putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves; in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of speech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me. On the 11th day of the fifth month, we crossed the rivers Potomac and Rappahannock, and lodged at Port Royal: and on the way happening in company with a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the difference in general between a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life: with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation, I said that men having power, too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally; which he did not deny; but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there. I only

said there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add, that another person, some time afterward, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves; to which I then replied, if compassion on the Africans, in regard to their domestic troubles, were the real motives of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly, that as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us; and as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein. But while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates those parties to push on that war, and increase desolation amongst them; to say they live unhappily in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour. I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burthensome stone to such who burthen themselves with them, and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burthen will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. At this the person appeared very serious, and owned, that in considering their condition and the manner of their treatment in these provinces, he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar creek in Virginia, on the 12th day of the fifth month; and the next day rode, in company with several Friends, a day's journey to Camp creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of Divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me; and in an uncommon distress of mind, I cried in secret to the Most High, O Lord! be merciful, I beseech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature. After some time, I felt inward relief; and soon after, a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark God set upon him after he murdered Abel, his brother, and that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the

race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which, I replied in substance as follows: Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said, that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose they were spared: as to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family, before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith, "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declare, "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father; but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations; and in some pressure of spirit said, the love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the Truth; and as I believe liberty is their right, and see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppressed, will in his own time, plead their cause; and happy will it be for such, who walk in uprightness before him: thus our conversation ended.

On the 14th day of the fifth month I was at Camp creek Monthly Meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James river, and had a meeting at a Friend's house; in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork creek, and so to Cedar creek again; at which place I now had a meeting. Here I found a tender seed; and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the Truth, the same Truth in their hearts answered it, so that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Stanley's, father of

William Stanley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer, on account of their testimony against fighting; and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp and Wainoak meetings; and then crossed James river, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me, that my mind was almost overwhelmed; and I may say with the psalmist, "in my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God;" who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief; for which I humbly bless his holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches, brought a weight of distress upon me: the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed; and though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavily upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to inward desolation; and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in error, great buildings by degrees, are raised, and from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people. As men obtain reputation by their profession of the Truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah rise to such a height in wickedness, as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth:" or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem, just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth judgment, that seeketh the Truth, and I will pardon it." The prospect of a road lying open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct toward the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though to relate briefly how these people are treated is no agreeable work, yet after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after

their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labour is heavy, being followed at their business in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first-day of the week.

The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarcely clothes enough to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the Society called New Lights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life: these are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of: these are the souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct toward them, we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons.

They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, Gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty; and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet resigned state; and after long silence, I felt an engagement to stand up; and through the powerful operation of Divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black Water; and so to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When its business began, some queries were considered by some of their members, to be now produced; and if approved, to be answered hereafter by their respective Monthly Meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting appointed last year, who made some alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any



concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say, that as we professed the Truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned the alteration; and referring to the last mentioned query, added, as purchasing any merchandize taken by the sword, was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles; negroes being captives of war, or taken by stealth, those circumstances make it inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow creatures, who are sold as slaves, adds greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection, by way of reply to what I said; but the query was admitted as they had altered it. As some of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query, being admitted, will be one step further than they have hitherto gone. I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration; but felt easy to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and to make way for the spreading of Truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wisdom. But in regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them; and said, that, as we believe the Scriptures were given forth by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them; I believe that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good Spirit that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them: there were some amongst them who, at this time, manifested a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of their negroes.

On the 29th day of the fifth month, at the house where I lodged, was a meeting of ministers and elders, at the ninth hour in the morning; at which time I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning their slaves; mentioning how they, as the first rank in the Society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the stronger obligations to look

carefully to themselves: expressing how needful it was for them, in that situation, to be thoroughly divested of all selfish views; that living in the pure Truth, and acting conscientiously toward those people in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceedingly necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worship began, which was solid.

On the 30th day, about the tenth hour, Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a laborious time; but through the goodness of the Lord, Truth, I believe, gained some ground; and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows:

*To Friends at their Monthly Meeting at New Garden and Cane creek, in North Carolina.*

Dear Friends,

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of Truth. First, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace, such walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting; their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of his holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a Divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants around about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the spreading influence of Divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is opened for maintaining good order in the Society. And though we meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness, will be greater than all our difficulties.

Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come fresh in my way.—Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love his Truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such who serve him in uprightness; and shun, as most dangerous, the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savour; for by frequenting such company, some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of, in fully resigning ourselves to the Divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the Truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, wisely to consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country, yea, a great favour and a blessing, when customs first settled, are agreeable to sound wisdom; so when they are otherwise, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of true wisdom, is useful both to mind and body; so by this means in general, the real wants of life are easily supplied; our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that, keeping in the true medium, we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family, and such who claim the mastery over them: and thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you to keep clear from purchasing any. Look, my dear friends, to

Divine Providence; and follow in simplicity that exercise of body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue, are sweet in the possession; and while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and satisfaction. Here, neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor the throbbing of an uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the event of things, hinder the enjoyment of life.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors; if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before him, we may consider it as his gift to us; and with a single eye to his blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain way of true virtue. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for he is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him.

Isle of Wight county, in Virginia, 29th of the Fifth month, 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina; and on the 1st day of the sixth month, was at Wells Monthly Meeting, where the spring of the Gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced amongst us: to his name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some Friends from New Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons creek Monthly Meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship. When business came on, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves; but I did not feel my way clear to speak: in this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward supplication besought him, so to open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business, a member of the meeting expressed a concern, that had some time lain upon him, on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves, and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only

attended by some Friends to be named in their Monthly Meetings. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal: one said he had often wondered that they, being our fellow creatures and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected: another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that Friends in future, might more closely consider it: at length a minute was made; and the further consideration of it referred to their next Monthly Meeting. The Friend who made this proposal has negroes: he told me that he was at New Garden; about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this solitary journey, this exercise in regard to the education of their negroes, was, from time to time, renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who has slaves, told me, that he being far from home on a lonesome journey, had many serious thoughts about them; and that his mind was so impressed therewith, that he believed he saw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; then I felt Truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till, at length, through the increase of Divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. From thence I went to the head of Little river, where was, on a first-day, a crowded meeting; and I believe, through Divine goodness, it was made profitable to some. Thence to the Old Neck; where I was led into a careful searching out the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit, which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. From thence to Piney-woods; which was the last meeting I was at in Carolina, and was large; and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth in fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun creek, a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day, and as we rode together, signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, and related it nearly as follows: to wit, That as monies had been raised by a tax of late years to carry on war, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer restraint of his goods than pay it; and as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy

trial to him, and more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added, that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of querying concerning Friends in our parts. I told him the state of Friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also, that I had for some time been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him; his name was Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering; but through the goodness of the Lord, I was made content: then to another meeting; where, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord and contented with his will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by humble resignation, is united to him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and require close attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led may tend to our own abasement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting; which, though small, was reviving to the honest hearted. Thence to Black creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Stanley, before mentioned, we rode to Goose creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night, at a public house; the second in the woods; and the next day we reached a Friend's house, at Goose creek. In the woods we lay under some disadvantage, having no fire-works nor bells for our horses; but we stopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild grass which was plenty; in the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied them; and gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down; but the mosquitoes being plenty and the ground damp, I slept but little. Lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate the condition of our first parents, when they were sent forth from the garden; but the Almighty, though

they had been disobedient, continued to be a Father to them, and showed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom is good; and the gift of improving in things useful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world: but some not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation, sought out many inventions; which inventions of men, distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, as the first motion to them was evil, so the effects have been and are evil. At this day, it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose creek; and next at a Monthly Meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manaquacy and Pipe creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cause humbly to adore Him, who supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others: there were some hopeful young people in those parts. I had meetings at John Everit's in Monallen, and at Huntingdon; and was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest minded.

At Monallen, a Friend gave me some account of a religious society, among the Dutch, called Mennonists; and amongst other things, related a passage in substance as follows:—One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonist, told him of it; adding, he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance in former time, he wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied, ever since I lodged by thy field, I have wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I intended to come to thy house for entertain-

ment, but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee: he then admonished him to use them with more humanity, and added, as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance, thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they.

From hence I was at three meetings in my way, and so went home, under a humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

## CHAPTER V.

*Considerations on the payment of a tax laid for carrying on the war against the Indians—Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huss—Meetings of the committee of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia—The present circumstances of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very different from those of our predecessors—The drafting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army; with some observations on the state of the members of our Society at that time—His visit to Friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.*

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told, that Friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the deeps of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men, who paid such taxes; but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the Spirit of Truth required of me,

as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion: and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit; as fully so, as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church.

All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; Jesus Christ appointing to each one their peculiar office, agreeably to his infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors crept into the church, in opposition to the council of Constance; which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct toward his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words; "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for his sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the emperor: "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward spiritual religion: and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ.

True charity is an excellent virtue: and to labour sincerely for their good, whose belief, in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid, was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me. Under this exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each quarter, to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in London; and another to visit our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings; and after their appointment,

before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed that these two committees should meet together in Friends' school-house in the city, at a time then concluded on, to consider some things in which the cause of Truth was concerned. These committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time, I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned.\*

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against war, in their time; I may here note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful Friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world; and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age, to take heed to their own spirit; and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me that there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no share in civil government; and many of them declared, they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of Truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. Their profession for a time, was accounted reproachful; but at length, the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and sciences, amongst which are many things useful, being followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars. Such

\* Christians refused to pay taxes to support Heathen temples. See Primitive Christianity, part III. page 327.

being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case not much different, and so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds; and thus, by small degrees, there might be an approach toward fighting, until we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded, if by our fighting, there was a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it, does, in some degree, feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us; and through Divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson. But many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, a day being appointed and letters written to distant members, the said committees met at Philadelphia; and by adjournments, continued several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city, in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England. Still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it: it was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments withdrew, others of them continued till the last. At length, an epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn by some Friends concerned, on that

subject; and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

On the 9th day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington) directing them to draft the militia and prepare a number of men to go as soldiers, to the relief of the English at fort William Henry, in New York government. A few days after, there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came; and on the 17th day of the eighth month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draft, and orders were sent to the men so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places; those in our township to meet at Mount Holly; amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, is a painful task, and likely to be avoided as much as easily may be. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

Officers, who, in great anxiety, are endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, seeing men who are insincere, pretend a scruple of conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, are likely to handle them roughly. In this time of commotion some of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; some came and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of these to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town, some of those last-mentioned went and told him in substance as follows:—That they could not bear arms for conscience-sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places,



being resigned as to the event of it: at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and to be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed this trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away: the company of men first drafted, after some days march, had orders to return home; and those on the second draft, were no more called upon on that occasion.

On the 4th day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to some officers in Mount Holly, to prepare quarters a short time, for about one hundred soldiers: an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house; and the officer told me that he came to speak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly; but sat a time silent, my mind being turned inward. I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time, I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house; but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it consistently with my religious principles; to which I made no reply, believing silence, at that time, best for me. Though they spoke of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spoke to me; and as I turned from him, he said, he was obliged to me: to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening in company with a Friend, to visit a sick person; and before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had been disconsolate several days, oc-

casioned by a dream; wherein death and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner. Her sadness on that account being worn off, the Friend with whom I was in company, went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband: with this visit they were somewhat affected; and the man, with many tears expressed his satisfaction: and in a short time after, the poor man being on the river in a storm of wind, he with one more was drowned.

In the eighth month of the year 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly Meeting in Chester county, and at some meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went first to said Quarterly Meeting, which was large; and several weighty matters came under consideration and debate; and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of his servants with strength and firmness, to bear the burthen of the day. Though I said but little, my mind was deeply exercised; and under a sense of God's love, in anointing and fitting some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the Youths' meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the visit. We were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth and Abington meetings; and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends, who this summer, 1758, had bought negro slaves; the said meeting moved it to their Quarterly Meeting, to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was made last on that subject. The said Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to consider it, and report to their next; which committee having met once and adjourned, and I going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly Meeting's committee met the second time; and finding an inclination to sit with them, was with some others admitted; and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next Quarterly Meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting; which brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the

Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to strengthen me; that setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting several weighty matters were considered; and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. When this case was opened, several faithful Friends spoke weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance, as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire, that in this weighty matter, we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the Society than any medium not in the clearness of Divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have slaves; but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together, when Truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties."

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of Truth and universal righteousness on the earth. Though none openly justified the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alleging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, he hath opened our understandings from one time to another,

concerning our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be that God may answer us, in this matter, by terrible things in righteousness."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness; and the love of Truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several Friends who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made into the circumstances of such Friends who kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several Friends expressed their desire, that a visit might be made to such as kept slaves; and many Friends said that they believed liberty was the negroes right; to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was made on that subject, more full than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such who kept slaves.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*His visiting the Quarterly Meetings in Chester county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in a visit to such as kept slaves there—Some observations on the conduct those should maintain who are concerned to speak in meetings for discipline—Several visits to such who kept slaves: and to Friends near Salem—Some account of the Yearly Meeting in the year 1759; and of the increasing concern, in divers provinces, to labour against buying and keeping slaves—The Yearly Meeting epistle—His thoughts on the small-pox spreading—and on inoculation.*

ON the 11th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, I set out for Concord; the Quarterly Meeting heretofore held there, was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of Friends, at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to Friends in England; and

through Divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in visiting Friends who had slaves; and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of Divine favour; after which, we visited some who had slaves; and at night had a family meeting at a Friend's house, where the channel of Gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen Monthly Meeting: and thence on the 18th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, attended the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, it being the first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before mentioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of Truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to his business, as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of Truth, in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men, in these days of calamity and distress; wherein God is visiting our land with his just judgments.

Each of these Quarterly Meetings were large, and sat nearly eight hours. Here I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business. Except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid.

If selfish views or a partial spirit have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, it behoves us to avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from afar, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; especially when it has sat six or

seven hours, and Friends have a great distance to ride home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month of the year 1758, I joined my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such who had slaves: some whose hearts were rightly exercised about them, appeared to be glad of our visit; but in some places our way was more difficult; and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cause, in reverent thankfulness, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me, toward some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

In the first month of the year 1759, having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our Society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by an agreement; and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families; and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such who had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, looking often to the Lord for his assistance; who, in unspeakable kindness, favoured us with the influence of that spirit, which crucifies to the greatness and splendour of this world, and enabled us to go through some heavy labours, in which we found peace.

On the 24th day of the third month, of this year, I was at our general spring meeting at Philadelphia; after which I again joined with John Churchman on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, in Philadelphia; and with thankfulness to our heavenly Father, I may say that Divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart, prevailed at times in this service.

Having, at times, perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note, towards me, I found an engagement in Gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go. I went and told him in private, that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to which he readily agreed: and then in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom; and we had a large conference, which, I believe, was of use to both of us; and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the 14th day of the sixth month, in the same year, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the

approbation of our Monthly Meeting therein, I attended their Quarterly Meeting, and was out seven days, and at seven meetings; in some of which I was chiefly silent, and in others, through the baptizing power of Truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

In the seventh month, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who had slaves; and having no opportunity of the company of such who were named on the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under: and thus, sometimes by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden.

After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting in the year 1759, we had some weighty seasons, where the power of Truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest minded. As Friends read over the epistles to be sent to the Yearly Meetings on this continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, that it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves; and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account, and at times, in some meetings, been almost alone therein, observing now the increasing concern in our religious Society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of Truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness before him. This meeting continued nearly a week; and for several days, in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness; and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business way opened, that in the pure flowings of Divine love, I expressed what lay upon me; which, as it then arose in my mind, was "first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though in their different growths they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. I was led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives

for the testimony of Jesus; and yet, in some points, held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold; and that in all ages where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with him; and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us. If such who were at times under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct." In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world; and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord toward his poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal; being as follows:

"From the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22nd day of the ninth month, to the 28th day of the same, inclusive, 1759.

*"To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends belonging to the said Yearly Meeting.*

"Dearly beloved friends and brethren.

"In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

"The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh; and deals with his people agreeably to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We in these provinces, may say he hath, as a gracious and tender Parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was he who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress.

It was by the gracious influences of his holy Spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives, and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion; and thereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessities of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

“If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the Gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, ‘What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?’

“Our own real good, and the good of our posterity in some measure depend on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to his service and engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, ‘it is righteousness which exalteth a nation;’ and though he doth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see by many instances, that where ‘men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies.’ As a proud selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, ‘Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts.’

“The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice, doth now mer-

cifully call upon us to serve him more faithfully. We may truly say with the prophet, ‘it is his voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name: They regard the rod, and him who hath appointed it.’—People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but such who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but of late they have reached our borders. Many of our fellow subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women, who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since it was the case of many young men in one of these provinces to be drafted, in order to be taken as soldiers. Some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the Truth’s sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider, that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

“Let us not forget that ‘the Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick darkness’—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that these loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect; yet while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there

can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness, which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal and whose anger is now kindled, because of our backslidings; let us then awfully regard these beginnings of his sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to him whom we have offended.

“Contending with one equal in strength, is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord becomes our enemy, if we persist to contend with him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

“Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity; and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution; and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it. Let us labour in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruption; that as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

“In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders those enemies to the cross of Christ, who submit to the influence of it.

“To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for ‘here we have no continuing city;’ may we therefore diligently ‘seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God.’

“‘Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are

true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you.’

“Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by seven Friends.”

On the 28th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1759, I was at the Quarterly Meeting in Bucks county. This day being the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ; and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn; who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county who had negroes; and as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the said county, I came home and put things in order. On the 11th day of the twelfth month following, I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this visit appeared weighty; and before I left home my mind was often sad; under which exercise I felt at times, the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; through which, in private, my prayers were at times put up to God, that he would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members throughout the county who had negroes; and through the goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White’s family, he being in England; had also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and was at Makefield on a first-day; at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us, his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.

In the winter of this year, the small-pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of which a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follow:

The more fully our lives are conformable



to the will of God, the better it is for us. I have looked on the small-pox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time in such things only as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness.

Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are duties incumbent on us: and under these general heads, are many branches of business, in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, it incites me to think, whether this business is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conformity to some custom which would be better laid aside; or whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding, and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves; to be brought to a sense of it, and stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness; for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience, that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think, whether my manner of life in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ? Or do I sit too much idle, while some persons who labour to support me, have too great a share of it? If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to consider it, is a favour to me.

Employment is necessary in social life; and this infection which often proves mortal, incites me to think, whether these social acts of mine are real duties: if I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish views? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking, whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty; or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people; and whether to support my reputation as a religious man, has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society, call me

near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life; and it becomes me to think seriously, whether love to Truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable; or whether ought of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names or distinctions among men, stains the beauty of those assemblies, and renders it doubtful in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not.

Whenever there are blemishes which remain for a series of time, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities, to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that mean.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature; and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men:" chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented.

By an earthquake, hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people perish suddenly; and many more being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged, merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more been pressed with poverty and grief.

By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that through fear, grief and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins.

By famine, great numbers of people, in some places, have been brought to the utmost distress, and pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, where the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, his sore judgments have at times, been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society, and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of Truth and righteousness; while many, professing Truth, are declining from that ardent love and heavenly mindedness, which were amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ, it is a

time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but if we humbly meditate on his perfections, consider that he is perfect wisdom and goodness, and that to afflict his creatures to no purpose, would be utterly averse to his nature, we shall hear and understand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy chastisements; and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies, such discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us, when in health, a distemper of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge, that it is our duty to do so.

#### CHAPTER VII.

*His visit in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c., in New England—Remarks on the slave trade at Newport, and his exercise on that account; also on lotteries—Some observations on the island of Nantucket.*

HAVING for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting; and obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th day of the fourth month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway and Plainfield; and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement; but through the invisible power of Truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day, to say no more nor less than what the Spirit of Truth opened in me, being jealous over myself, lest I should speak any thing to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low; and through the subjecting power of Truth, we were kept low with it; and from place to

place, such whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labours; and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet through His goodness, who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried; and sometimes found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families, or in the Society was such, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed Truth. At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows:

“24th of the Fourth month, 1760.

“Dearly beloved wife,

“WE are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey, and on this island: my mind hath been much in an inward watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our heavenly Father.

“As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, “Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord.” As this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his internal presence on our minds, is a delight of all others the most pure; and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He who regards the helpless and distressed, reveals his love to his children under affliction, and they delight in beholding his benevolence, and feeling Divine charity moving upon them. Of this I may speak a little; for though, since I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection toward thee and my daughter, and friends about home, that going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion, that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me; which, though small, compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I trust, cares for you; and under a sense of his heavenly love, remain

“Thy loving husband,

“J. W.”

We crossed from the east end of Long

Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, and to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was at that time, turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to him: and as he was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time and all I had to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset; and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on him through deep exercises, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private concerning their slaves; and through Divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto. Though, in this concern, I appear singular from many whose service in travelling I believe is greater than mine, I do not think hard of them for omitting it; nor do I repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him, who appoints to his servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, and had comfortable sittings with them; and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend.

The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; where the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength given to declare the word of life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey; but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in secret, that he would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully, in such way as he might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown and Taunton, in our way to Boston; where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of Truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, laying things closely home to such as were stout against the Truth; yet through the goodness of God, we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with them who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends

in the nearness of true Gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston, and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends east; and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I considering it, expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him; we did this, believing the journey would be hard to him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts, and were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the Society; and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport; where I understood that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our Society. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman from our parts, all ministers of the Gospel, of whose company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habbakuk, as thus expressed; "When I heard my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed; and was desirous that Friends might petition the legislature, to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves; for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles and bring distresses on the people in those parts, for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning; and such was the exercise of my mind, that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town. This exercise came upon me in the afternoon, on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and going to bed, I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned therein; and in the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly were likely to continue sitting; who told me, they were expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived that the Assembly were likely to depart before the business was over; after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting. I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way opened; and being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting, to speak with those in authority, in cases re-

lating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made; and afterward opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

“I have been under a concern for some time, on account of the great number of slaves who are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of heaven without speaking to it. I have prepared an essay of a petition, if way open, to be presented to the legislature; and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting; if they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to consider whether to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not.” After a short conference some Friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read; which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal; and some signified, that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and to be signed out of meeting by such who were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first, that if it was done it would be in that way; yet such was the exercise of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled, appeared to me a duty. My heart yearned toward the inhabitants of these parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and a way made easy for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility, which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to dispose of as they believed best. And now an exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had moved it in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused, who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. On moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members; and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confusion and darkness of understanding; and that pleading for it in our meetings, set apart for the Lord's

work, was not right: and in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down, I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity; and after this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was agreed to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up and reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us, after a warm debate.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there remained on my mind a secret, though heavy exercise in regard to some leading active members about Newport, being in the practice of slave-keeping. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those Friends: and thereupon, one of those country Friends and I, consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves; and he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. I had had, near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, a private conference with this elder and his wife, concerning theirs; so that the way seemed clear to me, to advise with him about the manner of proceeding. I told him, I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private house; or if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of each other, I was free to spend some time among them, and visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and as I proposed a visit to ministers, elders and overseers only; he named some others, whom he desired might be present also. As a careful messenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them; and did so. About the eighth hour next morning, we met in the meeting-house cham-

ber, and the last mentioned country friend, also my companion and John Storer, with us; when, after a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, opened the concern I was under, and we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length feeling my mind released from the burthen which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them; and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind, and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou, who sometimes travels in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, and seest many tokens of their satisfaction, in having thee for their guest; it is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe Truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have seen, that in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward interest, is hard labour; and sometimes when I have felt Truth lead toward it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship. As the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his sake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burthen of the word, in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.

The office of a minister of Christ is weighty; and they who now go forth as watchmen, had need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting we were at meet-

ings at Newtown, Acushnet, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, and several other Friends: the wind being slack, we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public house, and beds for a few of us, the rest sleeping on the floor. We went on board again about break of day; and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large boat going off, brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days; the last of which was the Monthly Meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart: the longer I was on the island, the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits, but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort.

My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day, if the weather was suitable and we well; and being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a vessel, being in all about fifty; but the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered; so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my heavenly Father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends, who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the Gospel. The next morning about break of day, going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the main before night; where our horses being brought, we

proceeded toward Sandwich Quarterly Meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal, which encloses their harbour, prevents their going in with sloops, except when the tide is up. Waiting without this shoal for the rising of the tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms: waiting within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that on this small island was a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile; the timber so gone, that for vessels, fences and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the main; to answer the cost whereof, with most of their other expences, they depend principally upon the whale fishery. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, it would require more labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales being much hunted, and sometimes wounded and not killed, grew more shy and difficult to come at: I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays and rivers, the motion of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to his heavenly instruction, and put their trust in him, he provides for them in all parts, where he gives them a being. In this visit to these people, I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation; and besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends, in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the disuse of all superfluities, reminding them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea; and that the more plain and simple their way of living was, the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them in it. I encouraged the young women in their neat decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmness of mind, than they have had who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves in it.

As I observed they had few or no slaves amongst them, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations, which frequently attend the minds of people, who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were, in various ways exercised amongst them in Gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us; and were at times, overshadowed with the virtue of Truth, to the comfort of the sincere and the stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time; and reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it; and after that had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found peace; and was in some degree comforted in a belief, that a good number remain in that place, who retain a sense of Truth; and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was select; and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love, the hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried during the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me to be a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me. I was led into a deep search, whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself, what should be the cause of such inward poverty; and greatly desired that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind which prepared the way to some duties, that in more easy and prosperous times as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut and Warwick; and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer; and then, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at



Ryewoods; and through the gracious extendings of Divine help, had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We visited Friends at New York and Flushing; and thence to Rahway; and here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yoke-mate Samuel Eastburn; and reached home on the 10th day of the eighth month, 1760, where I found my family well: and for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgements; and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before him.

### CHAPTER VIII.

*His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury and Squan—publishes the second part of his Considerations on keeping negroes—The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress—visits the families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly meetings—visit to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehanna.*

HAVING felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off. On the 10th day of the fifth month, 1761, being the first-day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and to come home or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three Monthly Meetings; and in the love of Truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted Friends who kept negroes; and as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein from time to time; and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In the eighth month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury, I went there, and was at their Monthly Meeting, and the meeting on first-day; had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squankum; and as way opened, had conversation with some noted Friends concerning their slaves: and I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord.

From the care I had felt growing in me for some years, I wrote Considerations on keeping Negroes, part the second; which was printed during this year 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they

offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, and to be given away; but I being most easy to publish them at my own expense, and offering my reasons they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious Society in general; amongst whom are some who keep negroes, and being inclined to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with those books being spread amongst a people where many of the slaves are taught to read, and especially at their expense; and such receiving them as a gift, often conceal them. But as they who make a purchase, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it best to sell them; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements being signed by order of the overseers of the press, directed to be read in Monthly Meetings of business within our own Yearly Meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them; many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to Virginia, some to New York, and some to Newport, to my acquaintance there; and some I kept, expecting to give part of them away, where there appeared a prospect of service.

In my youth I was used to hard labour; and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others. Being often weary, I was prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors; and with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. During the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender; and my leisure time frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our Society; a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such who have great estates, generally lived in that humility and plainness which belongs to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and monies, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches

of business which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which, at present, seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might in this way of pure wisdom be discontinued. As I have thus considered these things, a query at times hath arisen; Do I in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness at times come over me; because I accustomed myself to some things which occasioned more labour than I believe Divine wisdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with Truth, I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me, against the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this circumstance have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition felt earnest longings for that Divine help, which brings the soul into true liberty. Sometimes in this state, retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me; and under a heavenly covering, I have asked my gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of his wisdom; and in uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, have made lasting impressions on me.

In visiting people of note in the Society who had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs distinguishable from pure wisdom, has entangled many; and that the desire of gain to support these customs, greatly opposed the work of Truth. Sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been such, that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and besought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk; it has revived with strength of conviction, that if I would be his faithful servant, I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable; and cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst religious people.

As he is the perfection of power, of wisdom and of goodness, so I believe he hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for men's support in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, or grasp after wealth in a way contrary to his wisdom, without having connexion with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to self-exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on

countries, by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace; being often sorrowfully affected in thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein; some suddenly destroyed; some wounded, and after much pain remain cripples; some deprived of all their outward substance and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity—thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more clothes in summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me; believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends, was a strait upon me; and thus I remained in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st day of the fifth month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever; and after having it near a week, I was in great distress of body. And one day there was a cry raised in me, that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted, and improve under it. My conformity to some customs which I believed were not right, was then brought to my remembrance; and in the continuation of the exercise, I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful that he had taken hold of me by his chastisement. Feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health, until the design of my correction was answered; and thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus settled in mind in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made; and so continued about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the fur; but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity, felt uneasy to me. Here I had occasion to consider, that things though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by Divine authority, became great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity, while that singularity was only for his sake. On this account I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our General Spring Meeting in 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; and being deeply bowed in spirit be-

fore the Lord, I was made willing to submit to what I apprehended was required of me; and when I returned home, got a hat of the natural colour of the fur.

In attending meetings this singularity was a trial upon me, and more especially at this time, white hats being used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress; and as some Friends who knew not on what motives I wore it, carried shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry. In this condition, my mind being turned toward my heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings; and I felt inward consolation, which to me was very precious under those difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use, which I believed it best to wear till I had occasion for new ones. Some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat savoured of an affected singularity; and such who spoke with me in a friendly way, I generally informed in a few words, that I believed my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many Friends being now uneasy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint some with the manner of my being led into these things; yet upon a deeper thought I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable; and trusting that if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of Friends toward me: since which I have had cause to admire his goodness and loving-kindness, in leading about and instructing, and opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the eleventh month of the year 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the second month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, on a visit to the families of Friends at Ancocas; in both which visits, through the baptizing power of Truth, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of Friends opened to receive us. In the fourth month following, I accompanied some Friends in a visit to the families of Friends in Mount Holly; in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and through the kindness of our heavenly Father, our hearts were at times enlarged, and Friends invited in the flowings of Divine

love, to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having many years felt love in my heart toward the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell; and who for a very small consideration, assigned their inheritance to us; and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month, 1761, on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that Divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature; and at times I felt inward drawings toward a visit to that place of which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to some ripeness. In the winter of 1762, I laid it before Friends at our Monthly and Quarterly, and afterwards at our General Spring Meeting; and having the unity of Friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on business. Being informed thereof by letter, I met them in town in the fifth month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, with the concurrence of Friends in that place, I agreed to join them as companions in their return. On the 7th day of the sixth month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland, in Bucks county. As this visit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Providence in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give some hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness; in which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly support, that I might not fail to follow him wheresoever he might lead me. Being at our Youths' meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, I was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to his Father; "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil." In attending to the pure openings of Truth, I had to mention what he elsewhere said to his Father; "I know that thou hearest me at all times:" so that as some of his followers kept their places, and

as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil. As some of those met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men; it appears that whatsoever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God, as it certainly works for their good, so it may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spoke on this subject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me; and on the first-day of the next week at our own afternoon meeting, my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Assyrians endeavouring to take the prophet captive, were disappointed; and how the psalmist said, "the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him." I parted from Friends in true love and tenderness, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey; and being weary, went early to bed: and after I had been asleep a short time, I was awaked by a man calling at my door; and arising, was invited to meet some Friends at a public house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late that Friends were generally gone to bed. These Friends informed me that an express arrived the last-morning from Pittsburgh, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and slain and scalped English people in divers places, some near Pittsburgh; and that some elderly Friends in Philadelphia knowing the time of my expecting to set off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home, that I might consider them and proceed as I believed best. I went to bed again, and told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly instruction; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours time, my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit, there were great searchings of heart and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the least degree attended to, but that of the pure Spirit of Truth.

The subjects before mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now very fresh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as he saw best. I took leave of my family and neighbours in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our Monthly Meeting at Burlington; and after taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the river accompanied by my friends

Israel and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's; where I met the before mentioned Indians, and we were glad to see each other. Here my friend Benjamin Parvin met me, and proposed joining as a companion, we having passed some letters before on the subject; and now on his account I had a sharp trial; for as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties, would add to my own afflictions. So I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me. It was indeed a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit, that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton and William Lightfoot, of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem. Parting there with John, William and we went forward on the 9th day of the sixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a house about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William. At this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wyoming; and in conversation with him, I perceived that white people often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil; first, they being thereby deprived of the use of their reason, and their spirits violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief; and the bitterness and resentments occasioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, when they become intoxicated, they often sell at a low rate for more rum; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who for the sake of gain, took the advantage of their weakness. Of this their chiefs have often complained, at their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits, and impose that on others which is good for nothing, it is considered as a wickedness; but to sell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the sake of gain, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. While my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outside of a colony, that they may live more independently of such

who are wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. I was renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to sound wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be easy for the inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without that temptation they are often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been purchased of the Indians, or of applying to the wicked practice of selling rum to them.

On the 10th day of the month we set out early in the morning, and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh, near Fort Allen; the water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian, and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us some of it. After travelling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and going to settle at another place; we made them some small presents; and some of them understanding English, I told them my motive in coming into their country; with which they appeared satisfied. One of our guides talking a while with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. So going on we pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge; and by the roughness of the stones and the cavities between them, and the steepness of the hills, it appeared dangerous: but we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of Him whose works in those mountainous deserts appeared awful; toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to and returning from the wars, and of some killed in battle. This being a path heretofore used by warriors; and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red but some in black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world; thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deserts; thinking on their miseries and distresses when wounded far from home by their enemies; and of their bruises and

great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their restless, unquiet state of mind, who live in this spirit; and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other: during these meditations, the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people, arose very fresh in me. This was the first night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the bushes which we purposed to lay under our blankets also wet, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would dispose of me as he saw good, and therein I felt easy. We kindled a fire with our tent open to it; and with some bushes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed; and lying down, got some sleep: and in the morning feeling a little unwell, I went into the river; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well.

The 11th day of the sixth month, the bushes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; when going on, crossed a high mountain supposed to be upward of four miles over; the steepness on the north side exceeding all the others: we also crossed two swamps; and it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren going to Wehaloosing, and an Indian man with him who could talk English; and we being together while our horses eat grass, had some friendly conversation; but they travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood had spent some time this spring at Wehaloosing; and was by some of the Indians, invited to come again.

The 12th day of the sixth month and first of the week, it being rainy, we continued in our tent; and here I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of Truth amongst them. As it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to season my mind, and bring me into a nearer sympathy with them: and as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies,

humbly desiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse, though hobbled, went away in the night; and after finding our own, and searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him: we lodged here again; tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

On the 13th day of the sixth month, the sun appearing, we set forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alteration in the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming in of the English. The lands near the sea, are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the tides, makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. Those natives have in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favourably situated; and in other places been driven back by superior force. As their way of clothing themselves is now altered from what it was, and they are far remote from us, they have to pass over mountains, swamps and barren deserts, where travelling is very troublesome, in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us.

By the extending of English settlements, and partly by English hunters, the wild beasts they chiefly depend on for a subsistence, are not so plenty as they were; and people too often for the sake of gain, open a door for the Indians to waste their skins and furs, in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires being now very much broken, my heart with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I have travelled; and their favourable situation and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and also the negroes, were open before me; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord, while in tender mercies he is yet calling to us; and so attend to pure universal righteousness, as to give no just cause of offence to the Gentiles who do not profess Christianity, whether the blacks from Africa or the native inhabitants of this continent. I was led into a close, laborious inquiry, whether as an in-

dividual, I kept clear from all things which tended to stir up, or were connected with wars, either in this land or Africa; and my heart was deeply concerned, that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure Truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. In this lonely journey this day, I greatly bewailed the spreading of a wrong spirit, believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English, requires a constant attention to Divine love and wisdom to guide and support us in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious and Almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind. Here, luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent: nor have I words sufficient to set forth the longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in his strength; and like faithful messengers, labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

We reached the Indian settlement at Wyoming, and were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an English fort westward and destroying the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another; and also that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehaloosing, and brought news that some Indian warriors from distant parts, came to that town with two English scalps; and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man; and soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off; and I perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk under his matchcoat out of sight, as I approached him he took it in his hand. I however went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way perceived he understood some English: my companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; and then he going into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, and sat down and smoked his pipe. Though his taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him, had a disagreeable appearance, I be-



lieve he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that the Indians living about Wyoming, expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought that to all outward appearance, it was dangerous travelling at this time. After a hard day's journey, I was brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and view over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful disobedience. As I believed I had under a sense of duty come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation, as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay full of thoughts during a great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and slept by me; until the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give me quietness. I was again strengthened to commit my life and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and getting a little sleep toward day, when morning came we arose.

On the 14th day of the sixth month, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with; they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them that true love had made me willing to leave my family to come and see the Indians, and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. We took our leave of these Indians, and went up the river Susquehanna about three miles, to the house of an Indian called Jacob January, who had killed his hog; and the women were making a store of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the spring, which lying dry, was leaky; and being detained some hours, we had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family, and after eating dinner with them, made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses; and swimming them over a creek

called Labawahamunk, we pitched our tent a little above it, there being a shower in the evening: and in a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials and inclining my heart to trust in him, I lay down in an humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the 15th day of the sixth month, we proceeded until the afternoon; when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place and staid there all night; the rain continuing so heavy, that it beat through our tent and wet us and our baggage.

On the 16th day, we found on our way abundance of trees blown down with the storm yesterday; and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a safe place for us in a valley, while this storm continued. By the falling of trees across our path we were much hindered, and in some swamps our way was so stopped, that we got through with extreme difficulty.

I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in the world; and a belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me; and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river: and this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river; and understanding where we expected to lodge, pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work pushing up stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday, and told them that three warriors, coming from some distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past; and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province store at Shamokin. Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from what I had been used to, I grew sick: and the news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though through the strength of Divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine disposal, I still found the want of my strength being renewed, that I might persevere therein; and my cries for

help were put up to the Lord, who in great mercy gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

On the 17th day, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon; and the first Indian we saw was a woman of a modest countenance, with a Bible, who first spoke to our guide; and then with a harmonious voice expressed her gladness at seeing us, having before heard of our coming. By the direction of our guide we sat down on a log, and he went to the town to tell the people we were come. My companion and I sitting thus together, in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us; and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After awhile we heard a conk-shell blow several times, and then came John Curtis and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found, I suppose, about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting a short time, I stood up and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them; all in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I showed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

On the 18th day we rested ourselves in the forenoon; and the Indians knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and that some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, were I believe concerned, that no jarring or discord might be in their meetings: and they I suppose, having conferred together, acquainted me that the people at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings; and also told me, that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. I found a liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow, if I sometimes spoke in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course: whereupon he expressed his good-will toward my speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say. Near evening I was at their meeting, where the pure Gospel love was felt, to the tendering some of our hearts; and the interpreters en-

deavouring to acquaint the people with what I said in short sentences, found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another, and we laboured along, Divine love attending. Afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed if I prayed aright, he would hear me, and expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love. Before the people went out, I observed Papunehang, a man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender, spoke to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in substance; "I love to feel where words come from."

On the 19th day and first of the week, this morning in the meeting the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed; and then the Moravian spoke a short time to the people. In the afternoon they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spoke to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded. In which exercise, I believe the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification, where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord; and after I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I had said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians; who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts; and a near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, did not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble; and though through the mercies of God, I believed that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors, were in times of weakness afflicting to me; and being of a tender constitution, the thoughts of captivity amongst them, were at times grievous; supposing that they being strong and hardy, might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my keeper; and I believed if I went into captivity,

it would be for some good end; and thus from time to time, my mind was centered in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And now, this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed; and one of the interpreters sitting by me, I observed Papunehang spoke with an harmonious voice, I suppose, a minute or two: and asking the interpreter, was told that "he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours he had received that day; and prayed that he would continue to favour him with the same which he had experienced in that meeting." That though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravians, and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

On the 20th day I was at two meetings, and silent in them.

The 21st day. This morning in meeting my heart was enlarged in pure love amongst them, and in short plain sentences expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily; after which the meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord toward us; and believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, to labour amongst these people.

Feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general, at the conclusion of what I said in meeting; and so we prepared to go homeward: but some of their most active men told us, that when we were ready to move, the people would choose to come and shake hands with us; which those who usually came to meeting did; and from a secret draught in my mind, I went amongst some who did not use to go to meeting, and took my leave of them also: the Moravian and his Indian interpreter, appeared respectful to us at parting. This town stands on the bank of Susquehanna, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide; some larger, some less; mostly built of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town

stands, and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, who chose to go in company with us; so they loaded two canoes, which they desired us to go in, telling us, the waters were so raised with the rains, that the horses should be taken by persons who were better acquainted with the fording places: so we with several Indians went in the canoes, and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. We met with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, a little below a stream called Tunkhannock: we lodged there, and some of the young men going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the 22nd day, through diligence we reached Wyoming before night, and understood the Indians were mostly gone from this place: here we went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horses came to us.

On the 23d day in the morning, the horses were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and set forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling were favoured to get nearly half way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass scarce, they chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grassing; and I having sweat much in travelling, and being weary, slept sound. I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better soon.

On the 24th day we passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods.

We forded the westerly branch of the Delaware three times, and thereby had a shorter way, and missed going over the top of the Blue mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the second time fording, where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, he sundry times drove her through the river, and they loaded her with the burthens of some small horses, which they thought not sufficient to come through with their loads.

The troubles westward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, I apprehend was one reason why so many came; expecting that our being in company, would prevent the frontier inhabitants from being surprised.

On the 25th day we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremost, and

to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were: this we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of English being killed by Indians westward.

Amongst our company were some who I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together, and behaving friendly toward them, and making them suitable returns for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

On the 26th day and first of the week, having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately. We got to Richland, and had a very comfortable meeting amongst our friends: here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin; and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well; and they and my friends all along appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous. My mind while I was out, had been so employed in striving for a perfect resignation, and I had so often been confirmed in a belief, that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, would work for good, that I was careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and protector intends for me. Between the English settlements and Wehaling, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it; these, together with the mountains, swamps and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more so, for that rattlesnakes abound there, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places, have but an imperfect idea of them; but I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.

#### CHAPTER IX.

*His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a juggler—John Smith's advice; proceedings of a committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hear-*

*ing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives—Visits the families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield and Burlington, in 1764, and the meetings on the sea coast from Cape May toward Squan in 1765—visit to the lower counties on Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1766, in company with John Sleeper; some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the Southern provinces who kept negroes—visit to the northern parts of New Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767, and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania and the families of Friends at Mount Holly; and again several parts of Maryland in 1768—further considerations on keeping slaves; his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one; and what he did in consequence of it—thoughts on Friends exercising offices in civil government.*

THE latter part of the summer 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly, who had before published by a printed advertisement, that at a certain public house he would show many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man at the time appointed, did, by slight of hand, sundry things, which to those gathered, appeared strange.

I heard of it next day, and understanding that the show was to be continued, and the people to meet about sun-set, I felt an exercise on that account: so I went to the public house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people as they came together, concerning this show; and more coming and sitting down with us, the seats at the door were mostly filled; and I had conversation with them in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that thus assembling to see those tricks or slights of hand, and bestowing their money to support men who in that capacity were of no use in the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, endeavoured by arguments to show the reasonableness of their proceedings; but after considering some texts of Scripture and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. Having spent about an hour amongst them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

At our Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, on the 25th day of the ninth month, 1764, John Smith of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed Friends in substance as follows, to wit: "That he had been a member of the Society upward of sixty years, and well remembered that in those early times Friends were a plain lowly minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings.—That at twenty years from that time, the Society increasing in wealth, and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general not so lively and edifying—that at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing fine costly garments, and using silver and other watches, became customary with them, their sons and their daughters, and many of the Society made a spacious appearance in the world; which marks of outward wealth and greatness, appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and as these things became more prevalent, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the Society—that there had been a continued increase of these ways of life even until now; and that the weakness which hath overspread the Society, and the barrenness manifest amongst us, is matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his dissolution was now near; and having tenderly expressed his concern for us, signified that he had seen in the true light that the Lord would bring back his people from these things into which they were thus degenerated, but that his faithful servants must first go through great and heavy exercises.

On the 29th day, the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service; in which they signified, that in the course of it, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government, inconsistent with our principles; and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings of discipline, had been one means of weakness more and more prevailing in the management thereof in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived on my mind, which at times had attended me for several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and standing up, I spoke in substance

as follows: "I have felt a tenderness in my mind toward persons, in two circumstances mentioned in that report; that is, toward such active members who keep slaves, and such who hold offices in civil government; and have desired, that Friends in all their conduct may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many Friends who keep slaves, are under some exercise on that account; and at times, think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way. The way of living, and annual expenses of some of them are such, that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and at some houses where travelling Friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. Friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment, hath rested as a burthen on my mind for some years past, and I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends now present may duly consider it."

In the fall of this year having hired a man to work, I perceived in conversation that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and in the evening giving a narrative of his captivity amongst the Indians, he informed me that he saw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner.

This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of Divine love spread over my mind; in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and temporal, and gives contentment therein: under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

"Hath He, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures, given me a capacity superior to theirs, and shown me, that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition; and that this, attended with his blessing, may supply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds he hath fixed; and no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world!

"Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, from which they would rather be excused, were the same required of them?"

“Do these proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and spread desolations in the world?”

“Do mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other’s happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their wit and strength to afflict and destroy one another?”

“Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!”

“Doth he condescend to bless thee with his presence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee and walk in thee? Remember then thy station, as a being sacred to God; accept of the strength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakness, in conforming to expensive, unwise and hard hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple? And graciously grant that I may be sacred to him. Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!”

“Remember, O my soul! that the prince of peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his unmixed wisdom to his family; that they living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but may walk as he walked!”

Having felt an openness in my heart toward visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our Monthly Meeting the fore part of the winter 1764; which being agreed to, and several Friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through Divine favour were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care amongst Friends. In the latter part of the same winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a visit to Friends’ families in Mansfield; in which labour I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us.

Having felt my mind drawn to visit Friends along the sea coast from Cape May to near Squan; and also to visit some people in those parts, amongst whom there is no settled worship; I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a visit there, having Friends’ unity therein. We set off the 24th day of the tenth month, 1765, and had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey; feeling at times, through the goodness of the heavenly Shepherd, the Gospel to flow freely toward a poor people scattered in those places. Soon after

our return, I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in visiting Friends’ families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our Society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labour in true Gospel love amongst them.

An exercise having at times for several years attended me, in regard to paying a religious visit to Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; such was the nature of it, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongst them, that by so doing I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse.

The time drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our Monthly Meeting, I perceived in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the same way, and also to go on foot in the form of a servant amongst them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise.

We being thus drawn the same way, laid our exercise and the nature of it before Friends; and obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th day of the fifth month, 1766; and were at meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck creek, Little creek and Motherkill; my heart being at times tendered under the Divine influence, and enlarged in love toward the people amongst whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there and at Marshy creek.

At these our three last meetings, were a considerable number of people, followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher; who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious Society of people, but professes nearly the same principles as our Society doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard Friends speaking of some of their neighbours, who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become sober well behaved men and women.

Some irregularities I hear have been amongst the people at several of his meetings; but from the whole of what I have perceived, I believe the man and some of his followers, are honestly disposed, but that skilful fathers are wanting among them: from hence we went to Choptank and Third Ha-



ven; and thence to Queen Ann's. The weather for some days past having been hot and dry, and in order to attend meetings pursuant to appointment, we having travelled pretty steadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly; at which I was for a time discouraged. But looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this bodily weakness was a kindness to me; and then in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifestation of his love; and in humble submission to his will, my trust was renewed in him.

On this part of our journey I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by Friends who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering, and coming over bought lands of the natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living.

Few Friends, I believe, came from England to settle in any of these Southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times, there were considerable convictions amongst the inhabitants of these parts. Here I remembered my reading of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in these provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was shed, even in the infancy of those colonies. The people inhabiting these places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure Truth, when some of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life, and joined in fellowship with our Society, they had a great work to go through. It is observable in the History of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progress from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers, in attending to the light and understanding given them, opened the way for sincere hearted people to proceed further afterward; and thus each one truly fearing God, and labouring in those works of righteousness appointed for them in their day, findeth acceptance with him. Through the darkness of the times and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in

life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into. Thus for instance; amongst an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters I suppose, are awakened to feel and see their error; and through sincere repentance, cease from oppression and become like fathers to their servants; showing by their example, a pattern of humility in living and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; those without carrying the reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding further; and not only to instruct others by their example in governing well, but also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed, is graciously moving on the hearts of people, to draw them off from the desire of wealth, and bring them into such an humble, lowly way of living, that they may see their way clearly, to repair to the standard of true righteousness; and not only break the yoke of oppression, but know him to be their strength and support in a time of outward affliction.

Passing on we crossed Chester river, and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through my bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, it was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus, and many of his faithful followers; and may say with thankfulness, I was made content.

From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well; and for several weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey: and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink for Christ's sake in those Southern provinces, than we had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity, according to the understanding and strength given me.

On the 13th day of the eleventh month, 1766, with the unity of Friends at our Monthly Meeting, in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to Friends in the upper part of this province, having for

a considerable time had drawings of love in my heart that way: we travelled as far as Hardwick; and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongst them.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of Friends and their servants south-westward; and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the Western shore of Maryland, on a religious visit. Having obtained a certificate from Friends of our Monthly Meeting, I took my leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of Truth; and on the 20th day of the fourth month, 1767, I rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's, at Darby, that evening; and next day pursued my journey alone, and reached Concord week-day meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress, had at times attended me in this lonesome walk; through which afflictions I was mercifully preserved: and now sitting down with Friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; who, in infinite love, was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and renewedly strengthen me to go forward; that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting.

The next day I came to New Garden week-day meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of spirit; and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us a heart tendering season; to his name be the praise.

I passed on, and was at Nottingham Monthly Meeting; and at a meeting at Little Britain on first-day: and in the afternoon several Friends came to the house where I lodged, and we had a little afternoon meeting; and through the humbling power of Truth, I had to admire the loving-kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

On the 26th day I crossed the Susquehanna; and coming amongst people living in outward ease and greatness, chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected; and in awful retiredness, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true resignation I might receive instruction from him, respecting my duty amongst this people.

Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body; yet it was agreeable to the state of my mind.

I went gently on, being weakly; and was covered with sorrow and heaviness, on account of the spreading prevailing spirit of this world, introducing customs grievous and oppressive on one hand, and cherishing pride

and wantonness on the other. In this lonely walk and state of abasement and humiliation, the state of the church in these parts was opened before me; and I may truly say with the prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise, I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Gunpowder; and in bowedness of spirit, I had to open with much plainness, what I felt respecting Friends living in fulness, on the labours of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived; "I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory." Here the sufferings of Christ and his tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings and martyrdom of the apostles and primitive Christians, in labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, was lively revived in me; and according to the measure of strength afforded, I laboured in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected amongst them. The difference between the present treatment which these Gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive Christians for the conversion of the Gentiles, was pressed home, and the power of Truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in those parts; and the meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness toward his humble dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded: in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as he might be pleased to lead me: and I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently amongst them, in which I found inward peace; and the sincere were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe creek, and passed on to the Red Lands; and had several meetings amongst Friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a sense of the Lord's goodness, in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort, and I believe, to the benefit of many others; for I may say with thankfulness, that this visit appeared like a fresh tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the western Quarterly Meeting in Pennsylvania; during the several days of this meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of Truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content. After the Quarterly Meeting of worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of business, which was very full; and here the humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us

to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. From hence I went on, and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence and Haddonfield, and so home; where I found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey, excites réverent thankfulness to him.

On the 2nd day of the ninth month, 1767, with the unity of Friends, I set off on a visit to Friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks; and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way amongst Friends, and made the meetings, I trust, profitable to us. The following winter I joined in a visit to Friends' families in some part of our meeting; in which exercise, the pure influence of Divine love made our visits reviving.

On the 5th day of the fifth month, 1768, I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, having obtained a certificate, in order to visit some meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horse looked clearest to me. I was at the Quarterly Meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Chester river; and crossing the bay with Friends, was at the Yearly Meeting at West river; thence back to Chester river; and taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things appeared very difficult.

In my return I felt a relief of mind very comfortable to me; having through Divine help, laboured in much plainness, both with Friends selected, and in the more public meetings; so that I trust the pure witness in many minds was reached.

The 11th day of the sixth month, 1769. Sundry cases have happened of late years, within the limits of our Monthly Meeting, respecting the exercise of pure righteousness toward the negroes; in which I have lived under a labour of heart that equity might be steadily kept to. On this account I have had some close exercises amongst Friends; in which I may thankfully say, I find peace; and as my meditations have been on universal love, my own conduct in time past, became of late very grievous to me.

As persons setting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in case they have need of relief, some who scrupled keeping slaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service until thirty

years of age, without wages, on that account: and with this custom I so far agreed, that being engaged with another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart I may now say, that sometimes as I have sat in a meeting, with my heart exercised toward that awful Being, who respecteth not persons nor colours, and have looked upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him: and as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution, but in what way I saw not till lately. Being under a concern that I may be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies, and under close engagement of spirit, seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, my joining in the sale aforesaid, came heavily upon me, and my mind for a time, was covered with darkness and sorrow; and under this sore affliction, my heart was softened to receive instruction. Here I saw, that as I had been one of the two executors, who had sold this lad nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer a part of my substance to redeem the last half of that nine years; but as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors, to pay to the man he was sold to, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

The 9th day of the tenth month, 1769. My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling I have had, that the standard of pure righteousness, is not lifted up to the people by us as a Society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been as faithful to the teachings of Christ as we ought to have been. As my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been opened on my understanding; and under this exercise, that of Friends being active in civil society, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteousness, hath for several years been an increasing burthen upon me. I have felt in the openings of universal love, that where a people convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution, which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds: and as my heart hath been thus exercised, and a tender sympathy in me toward my fellow members, I

have within a few months past, in several meetings for discipline, expressed my concern on this subject.

#### CHAPTER X.

*His exercise for the good of the people in the West Indies—communicates to Friends his resignation to visit some of these islands—The state of his mind, and the close considerations he was led into while under this exercise—preparations to embark, and considerations on the trade to these islands; released from the concern he had been under—religious engagements after his return home—His sickness, in which he was brought to a very low state; and the prospects he then had.*

THE 12th day of the third month, 1770, having for some years past, dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, I grew weak in body, and not of ability to travel by land as heretofore. I was at times favoured to look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulness raised in me, for this his fatherly chastisement, believing if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good. While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind being at times exercised for my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto: for though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, as I walked one day in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful Father, that he would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled on my mind as a duty, to open my condition to Friends at our Monthly Meeting; which I did soon after, as follows:

“An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late been more weighty upon me, under which, I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies.” In the Quarterly and General Spring Meeting, I found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me; and having obtained certificates from all the said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly incumbrances, and was often bowed in spirit

before the Lord, with inward breathings to him, that I might be rightly directed. I may here note, that what I have before related of my being when young, joined as an executor with another Friend, in executing a will, our having sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the occasion of great sorrow to me. After having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided sea-stores, a bed, and other things for the voyage; and hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spoke with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak with him again. He told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel; but I felt no inclination to speak with him, but returned home. A while after, I took leave of my family, and going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:

“On the 25th day of the eleventh month, 1769. As an exercise, with respect to a visit to Barbadoes, hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me, under which, I have at times rejoiced that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

“Some years ago, I retailed rum, sugar and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves; but then had not much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been. But of late years being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees there are in the connexions of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephe. v. 11.; and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, it hath appeared to me, that the small gain I got by this branch of trade, should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth; and was the first motion toward a visit to Barbadoes. I believed the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose, which hath been a continued trial for some months past; under which, I have with abasement of mind, from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction; and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself, for that the Lord hid his face from him. During these exercises, my heart hath been often contrite; and I have had a tender feeling of the temp-

tations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under those expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that there is in Christ, 2 Cor. ii. 3., and sometimes in the renewings of Gospel love, I have been helped to minister to others.

“That which hath so closely engaged my mind in seeking to the Lord for instruction is, whether after so full information of the oppression which the slaves who raise the West India produce lie under, as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, written by Anthony Benezet, it is right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade.

“To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to dissuade from their unkind treatment, seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those with whom they have commerce. That complaint of the Lord by his prophet, “They have strengthened the hands of the wicked,” hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years: he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel; and some of his men to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

“It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves which I have seen in several journies southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow-creatures, hath, from time to time, livingly revived on my mind; and under this exercise, I have for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

“I do not censure my brethren in these things; but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing soon to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet

require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace.

“After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord, further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further manifestation.

“The number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even amongst people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive.

“Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread.

“Did we on this continent, and the inhabitants of the West Indies, generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go in ballast have arisen in my mind, I have believed that the labours in Gospel love, yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived to that height.

“If the trade to the West Indies was no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take the advantage of this great trade and small passage money; but as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time.”

The first mentioned owner having read the paper, expressed a willingness to go with me to the other owner; and we going, the other owner read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation; under which, I felt my soul bowed in reverence before the Most High. At length one of them asked me, if I would go and see the vessel; but I had not clearness in my mind to go; but went to my lodgings and retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries that he would graciously help me under these trials.

In this case I believe my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness and the necessity of Divine instruction, were impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ “Take

no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me. I remembered that it was some days before they expected the vessel to sail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness; and having been nearly two days in town, I believed my obedience to my heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward. I went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to sail; and as I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will I should pass through some further exercises near home.

So I went home, and still felt like a sojourner with my family, and in the fresh spring of pure love, had some labours in a private way amongst Friends, on a subject relating to Truth's testimony; under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me, "Whithersoever their faces were turned, thither they went;" and I was graciously helped to discharge my duty, in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

After a few weeks it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought if it was the Lord's will to put an end to my labours, and graciously receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but if it was his will further to refine me under affliction, and make me in any degree, useful in his church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say, that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor; believing if it was the Lord's will, through outward means, to raise me up, some sympathizing Friends would be sent to minister to me; who were accordingly. But though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy, that I had no thoughts of recovery. One night in particular, my bodily distress was great; my feet grew cold, and cold increased up my legs toward my body, and at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. After I had lain nearly ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but in these awful moments my mind was livingly opened to behold the church, and strong engagements were begotten in me, for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-

creatures; and I felt in the spring of pure love, that I might remain some time longer in the body, in filling up according to my measure, that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and in labouring for the good of the church. After this I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived. The next night feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid Friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said; which he did, as follows:

"4th day of the first month, 1770, about five o'clock in the morning.—I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and he commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who, at my request, wrote as follows:

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints were precious incense: and a trumpet was given me, that I might sound forth this language, that the children might hear it, and be invited to gather to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as precious incense, arise up before the throne of God and the Lamb—I saw this habitation to be safe; to be inwardly quiet, when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is sounded, the call goes forth to the church, that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe."

## CHAPTER XI.

*Preparing to visit Friends in England—Embarks at Chester, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound to London—His deep exercise, in observing the difficulties and hardships the common sailors are exposed to—Considerations on the dangers to which youth are exposed, in being trained to a sea-faring life; and its inconsistency with a pious education—Thoughts in a storm at sea; with many instructive contemplations on the voyage—arrival at London.*

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in



order to visit Friends in the Northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire; after weighty consideration, I thought it expedient to inform Friends at our Monthly Meeting at Burlington of it; who having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our Quarterly Meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence therewith. Some time after, at the General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity by a certificate, dated the 24th day of the eighth month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

In the fourth month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; being apprehensive, that as my concern was principally toward the Northern parts of England, it would be most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia deliberating on this occasion, I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., intending to go to London, had taken passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and I feeling a draft in my mind toward the steerage of the same ship, went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spoke to him, and appeared glad that I had thought of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the steerage, where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us; the owner of the ship came and sat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Christ, the heavenly counsellor; and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before him.

A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her; but told the owner, if I took a passage in the ship, I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a Friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage; which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose

helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love strengthened my heart. In the morning I went again with two Friends on board the vessel; and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel, I opened my exercise in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin, which was in substance as follows:

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment, had some relation to the expense in furnishing it to please the minds of such who give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the monies received from the passengers, are calculated to answer every expense relating to their passage, and amongst the rest of these superfluities: and that I felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expences.

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had at several times in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent; at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers. And having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived a desire prevalent to get riches and provide estates for children, to live conformably to customs, which stand in that spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world. In the pursuit of these things, I have seen many entangled in the spirit of oppression, and the exercise of my soul has been such, that I could not find peace in joining in any thing which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing that Joseph White had a desire to see me, I felt the reviving of a desire to see him, and went to his house, and next day home, where I tarried two nights: and then early in the morning, I parted with my family, under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me; and going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel, where I was likely to lodge.

In these opportunities, my mind through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low in an

inward waiting for his help; and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a place more convenient than the steerage, did not urge, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having staid two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Darby Monthly Meeting; where, through the strength of Divine love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then present; under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit. Then lodging at William Horne's, I, with one Friend, went to Chester; where meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board the 1st day of the fifth month, 1772: and as I sat alone on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

7th day of the fifth month: have had rough weather mostly, since I came on board; and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick, more or less, at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved; my afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and in the cabin passengers toward me; we were often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin.

My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, has been preserved in a good degree watchful, and inward; and I have this day, great cause to be thankful that I continue to feel quietness of mind.

As my lodging in the steerage, now nearly a week, has afforded me opportunities of seeing, hearing and feeling, with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors; an inward exercise of soul has attended me, in regard to placing children and youth where they may be likely to be exemplad and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord. Being much amongst the seamen, I have from a motion of love, several times taken opportunities with one of them at a time alone; and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrited under a feeling of Divine love.

Concerning lads being trained up as seamen; I believe a communication by sea from one part of the world to other parts of it, is at times, consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right. But how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! how impure are the channels through which trade has a conveyance! how

great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed, when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing!

Five lads training up for the seas, were now on board of this ship; two of them brought up amongst our Society, and one has a right amongst Friends, by name James Nayler, to whose father, James Nayler mentioned in Sewel's History, appears to have been uncle.

I often feel a tenderness of heart toward these poor lads; and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

O that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! O that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and low of heart! and in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs or honours of this world.

Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged; and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time.

Rising to work in the night, is not commonly pleasant in any case; but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. But if men must go out at midnight to help manage the ship in the rain, and having small room to sleep and lay their garments in, are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch; their garments or some thing relating to their business being wanting, and not easily found; when from the urgency occasioned by high winds, they are hastened and called up suddenly; here is a trial of patience on the poor sailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If after they have been on deck several hours in the night, they come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so closely stowed that proper convenience for change of garment is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments thrown in heaps, and sometimes through much crowding, are trodden under foot, in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and great difficulty at times, each one to find his own; here are trials on the poor sailors.

As I have been with them in my lodge, my heart has often yearned for them; and tender desires been raised in me, that owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and by seek-

ing less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, either to fret or use excess of strong drink; for indeed the poor creatures at times, in the wet and cold, seem to apply to strong drink to supply the want of other conveniences.

Great reformation in the world is wanting, and the necessity of it amongst those who do business on the great waters, has at this time been abundantly opened before me.

The 8th day of the fifth month.—This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-eastward, and before noon increased to a degree that made sailing appear dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails and took down some; and the storm increasing, they put the dead lights, so called, into the cabin windows and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to such a degree, that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent, I believe, about seventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling seamen, had need of all the room in the crowded steerage, and the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceased now from sailing, and put the vessel in the posture called lying-to.

My mind during this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and I felt at times a few words in his love to my shipmates, in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive, that a sparrow falls not without his notice. Thus in a tender frame of mind I spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities, intendeth our refinement.

About eleven o'clock at night I went out on the deck, when the sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves, all around, had in some sort the appearance of fire; but did not give much, if any light. The sailor then at the helm, said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast.

About this time I observed the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on deck; and though he said little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness, in case of any extremity.

Soon after this, the vehemency of the wind abated; and before morning they again put the ship under sail.

The 10th day of the month and first of the week, being fine weather, we had a meeting

in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present; and to me it was a strengthening time.

The 13th day of the month. As I continue to lodge in the steerage, I feel an openness this morning, to express something further of the state of my mind, in respect to lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of some use in the world, a labour of soul attends me, that the pure counsel of Truth may be humbly waited for, in this case, by all concerned in the business of the seas.

A pious father, whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceable mind, place him out to an employment amongst a people, whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. So great is the present defect amongst sea-faring men, in regard to piety and virtue, and through an abundant traffic, and many ships of war, so many people are employed on the sea, that the subject of placing lads to this employment appears very weighty.

Profane examples are very corrupting and very forcible. As my mind, day after day, and night after night, has been affected with a sympathizing tenderness toward children put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds appeared to be so deeply impressed with the almost universal depravity amongst sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me on this subject, revived in my remembrance, that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Under this exercise a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us, hath felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ, hath been raised in me, that all may take heed, lest through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence, as to every motion proceeding from the love of money, and an humble waiting upon God to know his will concerning us, appear necessary: he alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so to direct us in our outward employments, that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the Spirit of Truth, are pure desires; and when a mind, divinely

opened toward a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working and extensively spreading amongst them, how moving is the prospect!

There is a great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves; of which I heard frequent conversation among the sailors!

A great trade in that which is raised and prepared through grievous oppression!

A great trade in superfluity of workmanship formed to please the pride and vanity of people's minds!

Great and extensive is that depravity which prevails amongst the poor sailors!

When I remember that saying of the Most High, through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise," and think of placing children amongst them, to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education, seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate thorny wilderness, how precious, how comfortable, how safe, are the leadings of Christ, the good Shepherd; who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine."

The 16th day of the month. Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, rough sea and frequent rains. This last night was a very trying one to the poor seamen; the water during the chief part of it, running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of Divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, was renewedly wrought in me, whose fatherly care over his children felt precious to my soul. Desires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in his love for the spreading of pure universal righteousness on the earth. The opportunities were frequent of hearing conversation amongst the sailors, in respect to the voyages to Africa, the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands, and their condition on board the vessels, frequently in chains and fetters, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehensions of miserable slavery; and my mind was frequently opened to meditate on these things.

On the 17th day of the month and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin; to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord; whose love at this time, affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of

soul, with my poor wife and family left behind; in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support, through all the difficulties in this world; and a sense of that gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them, to travel in the love of Truth, begot thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

On the 24th day of the month and first of the week, a clear pleasant morning; and as I sat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature; which, through much rainy weather and high winds, being shut up in a close unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing so difficult, that a little after the rising of the second watch, which is about midnight, I got up, and stood, I believe, nearly an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at a small vacancy under the hatch door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage.

I may, with thankfulness to the Father of mercies, acknowledge that in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear the affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel what many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial has been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the fountain of comfort, whose inward help has supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and strong desires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another; that in all business by sea or land, we may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and by faithfully following this safe guide, show forth examples, tending to lead out of those things under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin; in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet, "The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress;" for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before him.

The 28th day of the month: wet weather of late, with small winds inclining to calms; our

seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, but found no bottom: foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men, my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail amongst mankind.

The leading on of a young generation, in that pure way, in which the wisdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counsellor, may example them in the Truth as it is in Jesus, has for several days, been the exercise of my mind. O how safe, how quiet is that state, where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained, not to follow the voice of the stranger!

Here, Christ is felt to be our Shepherd; and under his leading people are brought to a stability; and where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love, to stand still and wait upon him. In the love of money, and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs pushes forward; nor can the mind in this state, discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus; if we give not up those prospects of gain, which in the wisdom of this world are open before us, but say in our hearts, I must needs go on; and in going on, I hope to keep as near to the purity of Truth, as the business before me will admit of; here the mind remains entangled, and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of Christ; where shall a pious father place his son apprentice, to be instructed in the practice of crossing the seas; and have faith to believe, that Christ our holy Shepherd leads him to place his son there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and led safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities of the present age.

In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom; and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment: in Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the

water of separation, a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain, and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation. Then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, were to be burnt without the camp; and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus the crucifying of the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind, which is death.

“He who toucheth the dead body of a man, and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, he defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean.”

If any through the love of gain, go forth into business, wherein they dwell as amongst the tombs, and touch the bodies of those who are dead: if these, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the Divine Leader; here is the judgment of this world—here the prince of this world is cast out.

The water of separation is felt; and though we have been amongst the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man; yet in the purifying love of Christ, we are washed in the water of separation, are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship, which are not agreeable to his holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his visited children, so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that his Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death, as to his own will.

“No man can see God, and live:” This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet; and opened by our blessed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified and prepared to understand clearly. “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” In purity of heart, the mind is Divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. “No man hath seen the Father, save he that is of God; he hath seen the Father.”

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and there is a will in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there re-

mains an obstruction against the clearness of Divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our strength, then in this love we love our neighbours as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people for whom Christ died, even such who as to outward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbour?" See this question answered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30.

In this love we can say, that Jesus is the Lord; and the reformation in our souls is manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God; 2 Cor. v. 18., in this the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of Truth; and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," the name is opened; "This is the name by which he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness." Oh, how precious is this name! It is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments, they become extensively careful to give no offence, either to Jews, or heathen, or the church of Christ.

On the 31st day of the month, and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company; the whole being nearly thirty. In this meeting the Lord, in mercy, favoured us with the extendings of his love.

The 2nd day of the sixth month. Last evening the seamen found bottom at about twenty fathoms.

This morning there was a fair wind, and it was pleasant: as I sat on deck my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before him: and in this state, the prospect of that work, to which I have felt my mind drawn when in my native land, being in some degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preservation, that in a humble dependence on him, my soul may be strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counsel.

This afternoon we saw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-stores: I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times. I observed the cocks crew coming down the Delaware, and while

we were near the land; but afterward, I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the fountain of Goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends even to caring for the sparrows; and I believe, where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness toward all creatures made subject to us will be experienced; and a care felt, that we do not lessen that sweetness of life, in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

The 4th day of the month. Wet weather, with high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of missing the channel; which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter; and they saw the land, and knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously from time to time deliver from them; sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence, we may walk before him, and put our trust in him.

About noon a pilot came off from Dover; where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore, and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

The 7th day of the month, and first of the week. A clear morning; we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company; in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head wind up the Thames; sometimes lay at anchor, and saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live. That lamentable degeneracy, which so much prevails among the people employed on the seas, so affected my heart, that I may not easily convey to another the feeling I have had.

The present state of a sea-faring life in general, appears so opposite to a pious education; so full of corruption, and extreme alienation from God; so full of examples, the most dangerous to young people, that in looking toward a young generation, I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present education of lads at sea: and that all of us, who are acquainted with the pure Gospel spirit, may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable cor-



ruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ, that being delivered from the love of money, from the entangling expences of a curious, delicate and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little; and promote the sea-faring life no further, than that spirit, which leads into all truth, attends us in our proceedings.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Attends the Yearly Meeting in London—proceeds towards Yorkshire, visiting several Quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York—some instructive thoughts and observations—letters on divers subjects—hears of the decease of William Hunt; some account of him—sickness at York; and death there.*

ON the 8th day of the sixth month, 1772, we landed at London; and I went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite: in the afternoon, the meeting of business opened, which by adjournments held nearly a week. In these meetings, I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth; and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship; and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting.

On the 15th day of the month I left London, and went to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford.

The 1st day of the seventh month. I have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury and Sipton, and had sundry meetings between. My mind has been bowed under a sense of Divine goodness manifested amongst us; my heart being often enlarged in true love, both amongst ministers and elders, and in public meetings; and through the Lord's goodness, I believe it has been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

The 17th day of the month. Was this day at Birmingham: have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places; I have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me, and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

The 26th day of the month. I have con-

tinued travelling northward visiting meetings: was this day at Nottingham; which, in the forenoon especially, was through Divine love a heart-tendering season: next day had a meeting with Friends' children and some Friends; this, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The 2nd day of the eighth month, and first of the week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town: I have been at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support, which hath been graciously extended to me.

The 9th day of the month, and first of the week, was at Rushworth: have lately passed through some painful labour; but I have been comforted, under a sense of that Divine visitation, which I feel extended toward many young people.

The 16th day of the month, and first of the week, was at Settle: it has of late been a time of inward poverty; under which, my mind has been preserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader, and find peace in the labours I have passed through.

On inquiry, in many places, I find the price of rye about five shillings, and wheat about eight shillings, per bushel; oatmeal twelve shillings for an hundred and twenty pounds; mutton from three-pence to five-pence per pound; bacon, from seven-pence to nine-pence; cheese, from four-pence to sixpence; butter, from eight-pence to ten-pence; house-rent, for a poor man, from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire, very scarce and dear; coal, in some places, two shillings and six-pence per hundred weight; but near the pits, not a quarter so much. O, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London, are ten-pence per day in common business, the employer finds small-beer, and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time, wages are about one shilling per day, and the labourer has all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work; and appear, in common, to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women, who spin in the factories, get some four-pencé, some five-pence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine or ten-pence per day, and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England, and some in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not taught even to read. May those who have plenty, lay these things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of an hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard Friends say, in several places, that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and many others are driven until they grow blind.

Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter: some boys who ride long stages, suffer greatly during winter nights; and at several places I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quick and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan!

As my journey has been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in stage-coaches; but have not been in them; nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts, in the present way of their riding; the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another as to time, that they commonly go upward of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and in the cold long winter nights, the poor boys suffer much.

I heard in America of the way of these posts; and cautioned Friends in the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though on this account, I may be likely to hear more seldom from my family left behind, yet for righteousness sake, I am through Divine favour made content.

I have felt great distress of mind, since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world, in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and in loading these ships, abundance of people are employed in the factories; amongst whom are many of our Society. Friends in early times refused on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record: but for want of faithfulness some gave way, even some whose examples were of note in our Society; and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them; and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length, Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses; and this has spread from less to more, until superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining state, many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years,

a deep exercise has attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter, and get down to the Rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound. I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only on the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will set an example of a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

The 23d day of the month; was this day at Preston-Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of Friends, who had sundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatness; and as I have kept inward, way has opened for conversation with such in private, in which Divine goodness has favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

The 26th day of the month. Being now at George Crosfield's, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing, that which to me hath been a case uncommon.

In a time of sickness with the pleurisy, a little upward of two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death, that I forgot my name: being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour, between the south and the east; and was informed, that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be, and live; and that I was mixed in with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard before. I believed it was the voice of an angel, who spake to the other angels, and the words were these, John Woolman is dead. I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman; and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean.

I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel; but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians; and

I heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved; for his name to me was precious.

Then I was informed, that these heathen were told, that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ; and they said amongst themselves, If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant.

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bed-side, I asked them if they knew who I was; and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was light-headed: for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one; but was very desirous to get so deep, that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry, that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time, at length I felt Divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak; and then I said, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

Then the mystery was opened; and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented; and that that language (John Woolman is dead) meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after this I coughed, and raised much bloody matter; which I had not done during this vision: and now my natural understanding returned as before. Here I saw, that people getting silver vessels to set off their tables at entertainments, was often stained with worldly glory; and that in the present state of things, I should take heed how I fed myself out of silver vessels.

Soon after my recovery, going to our Monthly Meeting, I dined at a Friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other; and wanting some drink, I told him my case with weeping; and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel.

The like I afterwards went through in several Friends' houses in America, and have also in England, since I came here: and have cause, with humble reverence, to acknowledge the loving-kindness of my heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that occasion.

After this sickness, I spake not in public meetings for worship for nearly one year; but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves, as I sat in meetings: and though under this dispensation, I was shut up

from speaking, yet the spring of the Gospel ministry was many times livingly opened in me; and the Divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and livingly in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

The 30th day of the month. This morning I wrote a letter, in substance as follows;

"Beloved friend,

"My mind is often affected as I pass along, under a sense of the state of many poor people, who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving-kindness of our heavenly Father, in opening a pure Gospel ministry in this nation, hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift, uninterrupted by outward laws, as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude, and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern, that the work of reformation, so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past, may go forward and spread amongst the nations; and may not go backward, through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

"Last evening I had a little opportunity at thy house with some of thy family in thy absence, in which I rejoiced; and feeling a sweetness on my mind toward thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

"I have heard that in these parts, you had, at certain seasons meetings of conference, in relation to Friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one; with which I feel unity. I have in some measure, felt Truth lead that way amongst Friends in America; and have found, my dear friend, that in these labours, all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love toward thee, in which there is freedom.

"I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee, with awfulness before Him who gave it; and feel a care, that we may be so separated to the Gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world, may have no place amongst us.

"Thy friend,

JOHN WOOLMAN."

I rested a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield, who was once

in America : was on the sixth day of the week, at Kendal in Westmoreland ; and at Grayrig meeting the 30th day of the month, and first of the week.

I have known poverty of late, and been graciously supported to keep in the patience ; and am thankful, under a sense of the goodness of the Lord toward those that are of a contrite spirit.

The 6th day of the ninth month and first of the week ; was this day at Counterside, a large meeting-house and very full : and through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

The 13th day of the month. Was this day at Richmond, a small meeting ; but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded : it was a time of heavy labour ; and I believe was a profitable meeting.

At this place I heard that my kinsman William Hunt from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th day of the ninth month instant, of the small-pox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth ; and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern was, in that visit, to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully, that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself ; which words, joined with his example, were a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late travelled often in wet weather, through narrow streets in towns and villages, where there were dirtiness under foot, and the scent arising from that filth, which more or less infects the air of all thickly settled towns ; and being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind, with that which is impure.

In these journies I have been where much cloth has been dyed ; and sundry times walked over ground, where much of the dye stuffs has drained away. I have felt a longing in my mind, that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some who are great, carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet real cleanness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye, and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, travelling in dirtiness and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the practice of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

To hide dirt in our garments, appears opposite to real cleanliness.

To wash garments and keep them sweet, appears cleanly.

Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a spirit which would cover that which is disagreeable, is strengthened.

Real cleanness becometh a holy people : but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments, appears contrary to the sweetness of sincerity.

Through some sorts of dyes, cloth is less useful ; and if the value of dye-stuffs, the expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth were all added together, and that expense applied to keep all sweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be.

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such who are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of peace, and we being no more than ministers, I find it necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof, in the appointment of meetings.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage ; and being through the mercy of God brought safely here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent, and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate in a water course, where a weight of water lay upon it ; and in these labours there appeared a fresh visitation to many, especially the youth ; but sometimes after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature ; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine Leader under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of Truth hath risen higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a visit to England ; but upon the fresh instructions of Christ the Prince of peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I felt a stop in the appoint-

ment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly one after another as I have heretofore.

The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments.

Oh how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and oh how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely!

Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the Gospel ministry, their states are opened to his servants.

Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging.

Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings, may proceed in the pure feeling of duty.

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of Truth has been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are stones here and there, safe to step on; but so situated that one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next.

I find that in the pure obedience, the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place, rightly exercised under the cross, will find nourishment.

The gift is pure, and while the eye is single in attending thereto, the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out; and we rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, for his body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations; and if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure Gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks and walk in the light, not of Christ who is under suffering, but of that fire, which they going from the gift have kindled. And that in hearers which is gone from the meek suffering state into the worldly wisdom, may be warmed with this fire, and speak highly of these labours. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers amongst us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of Truth,

where we may have no desire, but to follow Christ and be with him; that when he is under suffering we may suffer with him; and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as he by the virtue of his own spirit may raise us.

A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend in the course of his religious visit, came to the city of York, and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there; but before it was over, was taken ill of the small-pox. Our friend Thomas Priestman and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness, and of his decease.

First-day, the 27th of the ninth month, 1772. His disorder appeared to be the small-pox: being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to his will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him. But a young man an apothecary coming of his own accord the next day, and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if any thing should be proposed, as to medicine, that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second-day. He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little, and but as a child; and desired if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against.

Third-day he uttered the following prayer. "O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most

affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, thy will O Father be done."

Fourth-day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, I don't know that I have slept this night. I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace. Sometime after he said he was sensible the pains of death must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, and had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the Divine protection; adding, "and though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." A little after he said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; for if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder, but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, "My child thou seems very kind to me a poor creature, the Lord will reward thee for it." Awhile after he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "Oh my Father! my Father!" and soon after he said, "Oh my Father! my Father! how comfortable art thou to my soul in this trying season." Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause he replied, "My child I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his Journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind. I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles; but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had laboured to do whatever was required, according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centred in everlasting love; adding, "and if that be mercifully continued, I ask or desire no more." Another time he said, he had long had a view of visiting this nation, and sometime before he came had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the Gospel was opened in him much as in the beginning of Friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury; and he saw the different states of

the people, as clearly as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears which awakened him.

At another time he said, "my draught seemed strongest towards the North, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there looked like home to me."

Fifth-day night, having repeatedly consented to take medicine with a view to settle his stomach, but without effect; the Friend then waiting on him, said through distress, What shall I do now? He answered with great composure, "Rejoice ever more, and in every thing give thanks; but added a little after, this is sometimes hard to come at."

Sixth-day morning early, he broke forth in supplication on this wise, "O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruises for disobedience, but as I bowed under them thou healed me, continuing a father and a friend. I feel thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto thee." Upon his giving directions to a friend concerning some little things, she said I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself; he replied, "my hope is in Christ, and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if it so happens, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time; he said, "all good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and can work as he sees best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; and perceiving a Friend to weep, he said "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over and matters well settled, and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is his voice and his countenance is comely."

First-day, 4th of the tenth month, being very weak and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness; and added, "how tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say in Job's words, 'Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed unto me;' and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their dis-



tresses at such a time as this, in some degree softened by the administering suitable things.”

Second-day morning, the apothecary who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body, and the apothecary making some remarks implying that he thought it might; he spoke with an audible voice on this wise, “My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for, and if it be his will to raise up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; and if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit:” after which

his throat was so much affected, that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the second hour on fourth-day morning he asked for pen and ink, and at several times with much difficulty wrote thus, “I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ, I know not as to life or death.”

About a quarter before six o'clock the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

## CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES;

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1754.

### INTRODUCTION.

CUSTOMS generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of a soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations: but as the judgments of God are without partiality, by which the state of the soul must be tried, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasures of the soul by the infallible standard, Truth.

Natural affection needs a careful examination: operating upon us in a soft manner, it kindles desires of love and tenderness, and there is danger of taking it for something higher. To me it appears an instinct like that which inferior creatures have; each of them, we see, by the ties of nature, love self best; that which is a part of self, they love by the same tie or instinct. In them it in some measure does the offices of reason, by which, among other things, they watchfully keep and regularly feed their helpless offspring. Thus natural affection appears to be a branch of self-love, good in the animal race, and in us likewise, with proper limitations; but otherwise it is productive of evil, by exciting desires to promote some by means prejudicial to others.

Our blessed Saviour seems to give a check to this irregular fondness in nature, and at the

same time, a precedent for us: “Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?” thereby intimating that the earthly ties of relationship are comparatively inconsiderable to such, who through a steady course of obedience, have come to the happy experience of the spirit of God bearing witness with their spirits that they are his children:—“And he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren: For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, (arrives at the more noble part of true relationship) the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.”

This doctrine agrees well with a state truly complete, where love necessarily operates according to the agreeableness of things, on principles unalterable and in themselves perfect.

If endeavouring to have my children eminent amongst men after my death, be that which no reasons grounded on those principles can be brought to support; then to be temperate in my pursuit after gain, and to keep always within the bounds of those principles, is an indispensable duty, and to depart from it, a dark unfruitful toil.

In our present condition, to love our children is needful; but except this love proceeds from the true heavenly principle which sees beyond earthly treasures, it will rather be injurious than of any real advantage to them:

where the fountain is corrupt, the streams must necessarily be impure.

That important injunction of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33, with the promise annexed, contains a short but comprehensive view of our duty and happiness:—If then the business of mankind in this life, is first to seek another; if this cannot be done but by attending to the means; if a summary of the means is, not to do that to another which, in like circumstances, we would not have done unto us, then these are points of moment, and worthy of our most serious consideration.

What I write on this subject is with reluct-

ance, and the hints given are in as general terms as my concern would allow. I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason I chose to avoid being very particular. If I may happily let drop any thing that may excite such as are concerned in the practice to a close thinking on the subject treated of, the candid amongst them may easily do the subject such further justice, as on an impartial inquiry it may appear to deserve; and such an inquiry I would earnestly recommend.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

“Forasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.” *Matt. xxv. 40.*

As many times there are different motives to the same action; and one does that from a generous heart, which another does for selfish ends; the like may be said in this case.

There are various circumstances among those that keep negroes, and different ways by which they fall under their care; and I doubt not, there are many well disposed persons amongst them who desire rather to manage wisely and justly in this difficult matter, than to make gain of it.

But the general disadvantage which these poor Africans lie under in an enlightened Christian country, having often filled me with real sadness, and been like undigested matter on my mind, I now think it my duty, through Divine aid, to offer some thoughts thereon to the consideration of others.

When we remember that all nations are of one blood, Gen. iii. 20, that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the all-wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of general brotherhood, and a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other's afflictions: but when we forget those things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past, constantly retaining in our minds the distinction between us and them, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things Divine, natural and artificial, our breasts being apt to be filled

with fond notions of superiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.

We allow them to be of the same species with ourselves; the odds is, we are in a higher station, and enjoy greater favours than they. And when it is thus that our heavenly Father endoweth some of his children with distinguished gifts, they are intended for good ends; but if those thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their brethren, not considering themselves as debtors to the weak, nor behaving themselves as faithful stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from ingratitude.

When a people dwell under the liberal distribution of favours from heaven, it behoves them carefully to inspect their ways, and consider the purposes for which those favours are bestowed, lest, through forgetfulness of God and misusing his gifts, they incur his heavy displeasure, whose judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the dust, as he seeth meet.

It appears, by Holy Record, that men under high favours have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Israel, according to the description of the prophet, Isa. lxxv. 5., when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the chosen people of God; and could say, “Stand by thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou.” That this was no chance language, but their common opinion of other people, more fully appears, by considering the circumstances which attended when God

was beginning to fulfil his precious promises concerning the gathering of the Gentiles.

The Most High, in a vision undeceived Peter, first prepared his heart to believe, and at the house of Cornelius showed him of a certainty that God is no respecter of persons.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost upon a people, with whom they, the Jewish Christians would not so much as eat, was strange to them. All they of the circumcision were astonished to see it; and the apostles and brethren of Judea contended with Peter about it, till he having rehearsed the whole matter, and fully shown that the Father's love was unlimited, they are thereat struck with admiration, and cry out, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

The opinion of peculiar favours being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or else the above instance had been less strange to them, for these reasons: First, They were generally acquainted with the writings of the prophets, by whom this time was repeatedly spoken of, and pointed at. Secondly, Our blessed Lord shortly before expressly said, "I have other sheep not of this fold, them also must I bring," &c. Lastly, His words to them after his resurrection, at the very time of his ascension, "Ye shall be witnesses to me, not only in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, but to the uttermost parts of the earth."

These concurring circumstances, one would think, might have raised a strong expectation of seeing such a time; yet when it came, it proved matter of offence and astonishment.

To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favours are peculiar to one nation, and to exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding: for as God's love is universal, so where the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. Again, to conclude a people froward, perverse, and worse by nature than others, who ungratefully receive favours, and apply them to bad ends, will excite a behaviour toward them unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

To prevent such an error, let us calmly consider their circumstance: and the better to do it, make their case ours. Suppose then that our ancestors and we had been exposed to constant servitude, in the more servile and inferior employments of life; that we had been destitute of the help of reading and good company; that amongst ourselves we had had but few wise and pious instructors; that the religious amongst our superiors seldom took notice of us; that while others in ease have plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labour, we had received barely enough to relieve na-

ture; and being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind, should we in that case be less abject than they now are? Again, If oppression be so hard to bear, that a wise man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii. 7., then a series of oppressions altering the behaviour and manners of a people, is what may reasonably be expected.

When our property is taken contrary to our mind, by means appearing to us unjust, it is only through Divine influence, and the enlargement of heart from thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed oppressors. If the negroes fall short in this, an uneasy, if not a disconsolate disposition will be awakened, and remain like seeds in their minds, producing sloth and other habits which appear odious to us; and with which, had they been free men, they would not perhaps have been chargeable. These and other circumstances rightly considered, will lessen the too great disparity which some make between us and them.

Integrity of heart has appeared in some of them; so that if we continue in the word of Christ (previous to discipleship, John viii. 31.) and our conduct towards them be seasoned with his love, we may hope to see the good effect of it. This, in a good degree, is the case with some into whose hands they have fallen; but that too many treat them otherwise, not seeming conscious of any neglect, is alas! too evident.

When self-love presides in our minds, our opinions are biassed in our own favour; and in this condition, being concerned with a people so situated, that they have no voice to plead their own cause, there is danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed partiality, until by long custom, the mind becomes reconciled with it, and the judgment itself infected.

To apply humbly to God for wisdom, that we may thereby be enabled to see things as they are, and as they ought to be, is very needful. Hereby the hidden things of darkness may be brought to light, and the judgment made clear: we shall then consider mankind as brethren. Though different degrees and a variety of qualifications and abilities, one dependent on another, be admitted, yet high thoughts will be laid aside, and all men treated as becometh the sons of one father, agreeably to the doctrine of Christ Jesus.

"He hath laid down the best criterion, by which mankind ought to judge of their own conduct, and others judge for them of theirs, one towards another, viz. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' I take it, that all men by

nature, are equally entitled to the equity of this rule, and under the indispensable obligations of it. One man ought not to look upon another man or society of men, as so far beneath him, that he should not put himself in their place, in all his actions towards them, and bring all to this test, viz. How should I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumstance, and they in mine?"

This doctrine being of a moral unchangeable nature, hath been likewise inculcated in the former dispensation; "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." Had these people come voluntarily and dwelt amongst us, to call them strangers would be proper; and their being brought by force, with regret and a languishing mind, may well raise compassion in a heart rightly disposed: but there is nothing in such treatment, which upon a wise and judicious consideration, will in any way lessen their right to be treated as strangers. If the treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined and compared with those precepts, "Thou shalt not vex him nor oppress him; he shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself;" there will appear an important difference between them.

It may be objected that there is the cost of purchase, and risk of their lives to them who possess them, and therefore it is needful that they make the best use of their time. In a practice just and reasonable, such objections may have weight; but if the work be wrong from the beginning, there is little or no force in them. If I purchase a man who has never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him; and shall I keep him and his posterity in servitude and ignorance? "How should I approve of this conduct, were I in his circumstances, and he in mine?" It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our gain by them would be inconsiderable: and it were, in divers respects, better that there were none in our country.

We may further consider, that they are now amongst us, and people of our nation were the cause of their being here; that whatsoever difficulty accrues thereon, we are justly chargeable with, and to bear all inconveniences attending it with a serious and weighty concern of mind to do our duty by them, is the best we can do. To seek a remedy by continuing the oppression, because we have power to do it, and see others do it, will, I apprehend, not be doing as we would be done by.

How deeply soever men are involved in dif-

ficulties, sincerity of heart, and upright walking before God, freely submitting to his providence, is the most sure remedy. He only is able to relieve, not only persons but nations in their greatest calamities.

David in a great strait, when the sense of his past error, and the full expectation of an impending calamity as the reward of it were united to aggravate his distress, after some deliberation, saith, "Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are his mercies; let me not fall into the hand of man."

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or selfish motives, is a sure token of our being partakers of that salvation which "God hath appointed for walls and bulwarks," and is, beyond all contradiction, a more happy situation than can ever be promised by the utmost reach of art and power united, not proceeding from heavenly wisdom.

A supply to nature's lawful wants, joined with a peaceful humble mind, is the truest happiness in this life; and if we arrive at this, and continue to walk in the path of the just, our case will be truly happy. Though herein we may part with, or miss of the glaring show of riches, and leave our children little else but wise instructions, a good example, and the knowledge of some honest employment; these, with the blessing of Providence, are sufficient for their happiness, and are more likely to prove so, than laying up treasures for them, which are often rather a snare, than any real benefit; especially to those, who instead of being exampled to temperance, are in all things taught to prefer the getting of riches, and to eye the temporal distinctions they give, as the principal business of this life. These readily overlook the true happiness of man, which results from the enjoyment of all things in the fear of God, and miserably substituting an inferior good, dangerous in the acquiring and uncertain in the fruition, they are subject to many disappointments, and every sweet carries its sting.

It is the conclusion of our blessed Lord and his apostles, as appears by their lives and doctrines, that the highest delights of sense, or most pleasing objects visible, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual happiness, suited to man in his primitive innocence, and now to be found in true renovation of mind; and that the comforts of our present life, the things most grateful to us, ought always to be received with temperance, and never made the chief objects of our desire, hope, or love; but that our whole heart and affections be principally looking to that "city, which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." Do we so

improve the gifts bestowed on us, that our children might have an education suited to these doctrines, and our example to confirm it, we might rejoice in hopes of their being heirs of an inheritance incorruptible.

This inheritance, as Christians, we esteem the most valuable; and how then can we fail to desire it for our children? O that we were consistent with ourselves, in pursuing the means necessary to obtain it!

It appears by experience, that where children are educated in fulness, ease, and idleness, evil habits are more prevalent, than is common amongst such who are prudently employed in the necessary affairs of life. If children are not only educated in the way of so great temptation, but have also the opportunity of lording it over their fellow-creatures, and being masters of men in their childhood, how can we hope otherwise than that their tender minds will be possessed with thoughts too high for them; which gaining strength by continuance, will prove like a slow current, gradually separating them from or keeping from acquaintance with that humility and meekness in which alone lasting happiness can be enjoyed.

Man is born to labour, and experience abundantly showeth, that it is for our good: but where the powerful lay the burthen on the inferior, without affording a Christian education, and suitable opportunity of improving the mind, and a treatment which we, in their case, should approve, in order that themselves may live at ease, and fare sumptuously, and lay up riches for their posterity, this seems to contradict the design of Providence, and I doubt not, is sometimes the effect of a perverted mind; for while the life of one is made grievous by the rigour of another, it entails misery on both.

Amongst the manifold works of Providence, displayed in the different ages of the world, these which follow, with many others, may afford instruction.

Abraham was called of God to leave his country and kindred, to sojourn amongst strangers. Through famine, and danger of death, he was forced to flee from one kingdom to another; yet, at length, he not only had assurance of being the father of many nations, but became a mighty prince. Genesis xxiii. 6.

Remarkable were the dealings of God with Jacob in a low estate, the just sense he retained of them after his advancement, appears by his words: "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies."

The numerous afflictions of Joseph are very singular; the particular providence of God therein, no less manifest: he at length be-

came governor of Egypt, and famous for wisdom and virtue.

The series of troubles which David passed through, few amongst us are ignorant of; and yet he afterwards became as one of the great men of the earth.

Some evidences of the Divine wisdom appear in those things, in that such who are intended for high stations, have first been very low and dejected, that Truth might be sealed on their hearts; and that the characters there imprinted by bitterness and adversity, might in after years remain, suggesting compassionate ideas, and in their prosperity, quicken their regard to those in the like condition. This yet further appears in the case of Israel; who were well acquainted with grievous sufferings, a long and rigorous servitude; and then through many notable events, were made chief amongst the nations. To them we find a repetition of precepts to the purpose abovesaid: though for ends agreeable to infinite wisdom, they were chosen as a peculiar people for a time; yet the Most High acquaints them, that his love is not confined, but extends to the stranger; and to excite their compassion, reminds them of times past, "Ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Again, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

If we call to mind our beginning, some of us may find a time, wherein our fathers were under afflictions, reproaches, and manifold sufferings.

Respecting our progress in this land, the time is short since our beginning was small and number few, compared with the native inhabitants. He that sleeps not by day nor night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the apple of his eye. His Almighty arm hath been round about us, and saved us from dangers.

The wilderness and solitary deserts in which our fathers passed the days of their pilgrimage, are now turned into pleasant fields; the natives are gone from before us, and we established peaceably in the possession of the land, enjoying our civil and religious liberties; and while many parts of the world have groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful.

When we trace back the steps we have trodden, and see how the Lord hath opened a way in the wilderness for us, to the wise it will easily appear, that all this was not done to be buried in oblivion; but to prepare a people for more fruitful returns, and the remembrance thereof ought to humble us in prosperity, and excite in us a Christian benevolence towards our inferiors.

If we do not consider these things aright, but through a stupid indolence, conceive views of interest separate from the general good of the great brotherhood, and in pursuance thereof, treat our inferiors with rigour to increase our wealth, and gain riches for our children; "What then shall we do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall we answer him? did not he that made us, make them? and did not one fashion us?"

To our great Master we stand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is most suitable to his wisdom or authority; my inclination is to persuade, and entreat, and simply give hints of my way of thinking.

If the Christian religion be considered, both respecting its doctrines, and the happy influence which it hath on the minds and manners of all real Christians, it looks reasonable to think, that the miraculous manifestation thereof to the world, is a kindness beyond expression.

Are we the people thus favoured? Are we they whose minds are opened, influenced, and governed by the Spirit of Christ, and thereby made sons of God? Is it not a fair conclusion, that we, like our heavenly Father, ought in our degree to be active in the same great cause, of the eternal happiness of, at least our whole families, and more, if thereto capacitated?

If we, by the operation of the Spirit of Christ, become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit joys of this world, and the joy of Christ remain in us, to suppose that one in this happy condition, can, for the sake of earthly riches, not only deprive his fellow-creatures of the sweetness of freedom, which rightly used, is one of the greatest temporal blessings, but therewith neglect using proper means for their acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the advantage of true religion, seems at least a contradiction to reason.

Whoever rightly advocates the cause of some, thereby promotes the good of all. The state of mankind was harmonious in the beginning, and though sin hath introduced discord, yet through the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means appointed to restore us to primitive harmony. That if one suffer by the unfaithfulness of another, the mind, the most noble part of him that occasions the discord, is thereby alienated from its true and real happiness.

Our duty and interest are inseparably united, and when we neglect or misuse our talents, we necessarily depart from the heavenly fellowship, and are in the way to the greatest of evils.

Therefore to examine and prove ourselves, to find what harmony the power presiding in us bears with the Divine nature, is a duty not more incumbent and necessary, than it would be beneficial.

In Holy Writ the Divine Being saith of himself, "I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Again, speaking in the way of man, to show his compassion to Israel, whose wickedness had occasioned a calamity, and then being humbled under it, it is said, "His soul was grieved for their miseries." If we consider the life of our blessed Saviour when on earth, as it is recorded by his followers, we shall find that one uniform desire for the eternal and temporal good of mankind, discovered itself in all his actions.

If we observe men, both apostles and others, in many different ages, who have really come to the unity of the Spirit, and the fellowship of the saints, there still appears the like disposition, and in them the desire for the real happiness of mankind, has out-balanced the desire of ease, liberty, and many times, of life itself.

If upon a true search, we find that our natures are so far renewed, that to exercise righteousness and loving-kindness, according to our ability, towards all men, without respect of persons, is easy to us, or is our delight; if our love be so orderly and regular, that he who doeth the will of our Father who is in heaven, appears in our view to be our nearest relation, our brother, and sister, and mother; if this be our case, there is a good foundation to hope, that the blessing of God will sweeten our treasures during our stay in this life, and that our memory will be savoury, when we are entered into rest.

To conclude, It is a truth most certain, that a life guided by wisdom from above, agreeably with justice, equity and mercy, is throughout consistent and amiable, and truly beneficial to society; the serenity and calmness of mind in it, affords an unparalleled comfort in this life, and the end of it is blessed.

And it is no less true, that they who in the midst of high favours remain ungrateful, and under all the advantages that a Christian can desire, are selfish, earthly and sensual, do miss the true fountain of happiness, and wander in a maze of dark anxiety, where all their treasures are insufficient to quiet their minds: hence from an insatiable craving, they neglect doing good with what they have acquired, and too often add oppression to vanity, that they may compass more.

"O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"



# CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES;

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

PART THE SECOND.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1762.

“Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great: ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God’s.” *Deut. i. 17.*

## PREFACE.

ALL our actions are of like nature with their root; and the Most High weigheth them more skilfully than men can weigh them one for another.

I believe that one Supreme Being made and supports the world; nor can I worship any other Deity without being an idolater, and guilty of wickedness.

Many nations have believed in and worshipped a plurality of deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is wickedness; but it is the thing, not the name, which is so. Real idolatry is to pay that adoration to a creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

He who professeth to believe in one Almighty Creator, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and yet is more intent on the honours, profits and friendships of the world, than he is in singleness of heart to stand faithful to the Christian religion, is in the channel of idolatry; while the Gentile, who under some mistaken opinions, is notwithstanding established in the true principle of virtue, and humbly adores an Almighty power, may be of that number who fear God and work righteousness.

I believe the bishop of Rome assumes a power that does not belong to any officer in the church of Christ; and if I should knowingly do any thing tending to strengthen him in that capacity, it would be great iniquity. There are many thousands of people, who by their profession acknowledge him to be the representative of Jesus Christ on earth; and to say that none of them are upright in heart, would be contrary to my sentiments.

Men who sincerely apply their minds to true virtue, and find an inward support from

above, by which all vicious inclinations are made subject; that they love God sincerely, and prefer the real good of mankind universally to their own private interest; though these through the strength of education and tradition, may remain under some speculative and great errors, it would be uncharitable to say, that therefore God rejects them. He who creates, supports and gives understanding to all men, possesses knowledge and goodness superior to the various cases and circumstances of his creatures, which to us appear the most difficult.

The apostles and primitive Christians did not censure all the Gentiles as wicked men, Rom. ii. 14., Col. iii. 11.; but as they were favoured with a gift to discern things more clearly, respecting the worship of the true God, they with much firmness declared against the worshipping of idols, and with true patience endured many sufferings on that account.

Great numbers of faithful Protestants have contended for the Truth, in opposition to papal errors; and with true fortitude laid down their lives in the conflict, without saying, that no man was saved who made profession of that religion.

While we have no right to keep men as servants for term of life, but that of superior power; to do this with design to profit ourselves and our families by their labour, I believe is wrong; but I do not believe that all who have kept slaves, have therefore been chargeable with guilt. If their motives thereto were free from selfishness, and their slaves contented, they were a sort of freemen; which I believe hath sometimes been the case.

Whatever a man does in the spirit of charity, to him it is not sin: and while he lives

and acts in this spirit, he learns all things essential to his happiness as an individual: and if he doth not see that any injury or injustice to any other person, is necessarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others, who live in

the same spirit of charity, from a clear conviction, may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

As some in most religious societies amongst the English are concerned in importing or purchasing the inhabitants of Africa as slaves; and as the professors of Christianity of several other nations do the like; these circumstances tend to make people less apt to examine the practice as closely as they would, if such a thing had not been, but was now proposed to be entered upon. It is however our duty, and what concerns us individually, as creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the understanding which he hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of those things which we practice. For as justice remains to be justice, so many people of reputation in the world, joining with wrong things, does not excuse others in joining with them, nor make the consequence of their proceedings less dreadful in the final issue, than it would otherwise be.

Where unrighteousness is justified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain till the cause be removed by a reformation, or a change of times, and may feel a desire from a love of equity, to speak on the occasion; yet where error is so strong, that it may not be spoken against without a prospect of some inconvenience to the speaker, this difficulty is likely to operate on our weakness, and quench the good desires in us; except we dwell so steadily under the weight of it, as to be made willing to "endure hardness" on that account.

Where men exert their talents against vices which are generally accounted such, the ill effects whereof are presently perceived in a government, all men who regard their own temporal good, are likely to approve the work. But when that which is inconsistent with perfect equity, has the law or the countenance of the great in its favour, though the tendency thereof be contrary to the true happiness of mankind, in an equal if not greater degree,

than many things accounted reproachful to Christians; yet as these ill effects are not generally perceived, they who labour to dissuade from such things, which people believe accord with their interest, have many difficulties to encounter.

The repeated charges which God gave to his prophets, imply the danger they were in of erring on this hand. "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord." "Speak all the words that I command thee to speak to them; diminish not a word." "And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, nor dismayed at their looks. Speak my words to them, whether they will hear or forbear."

Under an apprehension of duty, I offer some further considerations on this subject, having endeavoured some years to consider it candidly. I have observed people of our own colour, whose abilities have been inadequate to manage the affairs which relate to their convenient subsistence, who have been taken care of by others, and the profit of such work as they could do, applied toward their support. I believe there are such amongst negroes; and that some people in whose hands they are, keep them with no view of outward profit, do not consider them as black men, who as such ought to serve white men; but account them persons who have need of guardians, and as such take care of them: yet where equal care is taken in all parts of their education, I do not apprehend cases of this sort are likely to occur more frequently amongst one sort of people than another.

It looks to me that the slave trade was founded, and has generally been carried on in a wrong spirit; that the effects of it are detrimental to the real prosperity of our country; and will be more so, except we cease from the common motives of keeping them, and treat them in future agreeably to Truth and pure justice.

Negroes may be imported, who for their cruelty to their countrymen, and the evil dis-

position of their minds, may be unfit to be at liberty; and if we as lovers of righteousness undertake the management of them, we should have a full and clear knowledge of their crimes, and of those circumstances which might operate in their favour; but the difficulty of obtaining this is so great, that we have great reason to be cautious therein. But should it plainly appear that absolute subjection is a condition the most proper for the person who is purchased, yet the innocent children ought not to be made slaves, because their parents sinned.

We have an account in Holy Scripture of some families suffering, where mention is only made of the heads of the family committing wickedness; and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, misunderstanding some occurrences of this kind, took occasion to charge God with being unequal; so that a saying became common, "The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inspired prophets, who lived near the same time, were concerned to correct this error. Ezekiel is large on the subject. First, he reproves them for their error. "What mean ye, that ye do so." "As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel." The words, "any more," have reference to time past; intimating, that though they had not rightly understood some things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the proverb to be well grounded; yet henceforth they might know of a certainty, that the ways of God are all equal; that as surely as the Most High liveth, so surely men are only answerable for their own sins. He thus sums up the matter, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

Where men are wicked, they commonly are a means of corrupting the succeeding age; and thereby hasten those outward calamities which fall on nations, when their iniquities are full.

Men may pursue means which are not agreeable to perfect purity, with a view to increase the wealth and happiness of their offspring, and thereby make the way of virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill example of a parent, or of a multitude, does not excuse a man in doing evil, yet the mind being early impressed with vicious notions and practices, and nurtured up in ways of getting treasure, which are not the ways of Truth; this wrong spirit first getting posses-

sion, and being thus strengthened, frequently prevents a due attention to the true spirit of wisdom, so that they exceed in wickedness those who lived before them. And in this channel, though parents labour, as they think, to forward the happiness of their children, it proves a means of forwarding their calamity. This being the case in the age next before the grievous calamity in the siege of Jerusalem, and carrying Judah captive to Babylon, they might say with propriety, This came upon us, because our fathers forsook God, and because we did worse than our fathers. See Jer. vii. 26.

As the generation next before them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in that age continued in those things which necessarily separated from perfect goodness, growing more stubborn till the judgments of God were poured out upon them; they might properly say, "Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities." And yet, wicked as their fathers were, had they not succeeded them in their wickedness, they had not borne their iniquities.

To suppose it right, that an innocent man shall at this day be excluded from the common rules of justice; be deprived of that liberty which is the natural right of human creatures, and be a slave to others during life, on account of a sin committed by his immediate parents; or a sin committed by Ham, the son of Noah; is a supposition too gross to be admitted into the mind of any person, who sincerely desires to be governed by just and solid principles.

It is alleged in favour of the practice, that Joshua made slaves of the Gibeonites.

What men do by the command of God, and what comes to pass as a consequence of their neglect, are different; the case now mentioned was such as the latter.

It was the express command of the Almighty to Israel, concerning the inhabitants of the promised land, "Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods: they shall not dwell in thy land." Those Gibeonites came craftily, telling Joshua that they were come from a far country; that their elders had sent them to make a league with the people of Israel; and as an evidence of their being foreigners, showed their old clothes, &c. "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord; and Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live; and the princes sware to them."

When the imposition was discovered, the congregation murmured against the princes: "But all the princes said to all the congrega-

tion, we have sworn to them by the Lord God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto the congregation."

Omitting to ask counsel, involved them in great difficulty. The Gibeonites were of those cities, of which the Lord said, "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth;" and of the stock of the Hivites, concerning whom he commanded by name, "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them: Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them." Joshua and the princes not knowing them, had made a league with them to let them live; and in this strait they resolved to make them servants. Joshua and the princes suspected them to be deceivers: "Peradventure you dwell amongst us: and how shall we make a league with you?" Which words show that they remembered the command before mentioned; and yet did not inquire at the mouth of the Lord, as Moses directed Joshua, when he gave him a charge respecting his duty as chief man among that people, Numb. xxvii. 21. By this omission things became so situated, that Joshua and the princes could not execute the judgments of God on them, without violating the oath which they had made.

Moses did amiss at the waters of Meribah, and doubtless he soon repented; for the Lord was with him. And it is likely that Joshua was deeply humbled, under a sense of his omission; for it appears that God continued him in his office, and spared the lives of those people, for the sake of the league and oath made in his name.

The wickedness of these people was great, and they were worthy to die, or perfect justice had not passed sentence of death upon them; and as their execution was prevented by this league and oath, they appear to have been contented to be servants: "As it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do."

These criminals, instead of death, had the sentence of servitude pronounced on them, in these words, "Now therefore ye are cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God."

We find, Deut. xx. 10., that there were cities far distant from Canaan, against which Israel went to battle, unto whom they were to proclaim peace, and if the inhabitants made answer of peace, and opened their gates, they were not to destroy them, but make them tributaries.

The children of Israel were then the Lord's host, and executioners of his judgments on

people hardened in wickedness. They were not to go to battle, but by his appointment. The men who were chief in his army, had their instructions from the Almighty; sometimes immediately, and sometimes by the ministry of angels. Of these amongst others, were Moses, Joshua, Othniel and Gideon; see Exod. iii. 2., and xviii. 19., Josh. v. 13. These people far off from Canaan, against whom Israel was sent to battle, were so corrupt, that the Creator of the universe saw it good to change their situation; and in case of their opening their gates, and coming under tribute, this their subjection, though probably more mild than absolute slavery, was to last little or no longer than while Israel remained in the true spirit of government.

It was pronounced by Moses the prophet, as a consequence of their wickedness, "The stranger that is within thee shall get above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low: he shall be the head, and thou the tail."

This we find in some measure verified in their being made tributaries to the Moabites, Midianites, Amorites and Philistines.

It is alleged in favour of the practice of slave-keeping, that the Jews by their law made slaves of the heathen. "Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn amongst you, of them shall ye buy, and of their children which are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession; and you shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them as a possession, they shall be your bondmen for ever." It is difficult for us to have a certain knowledge of the mind of Moses, in regard to keeping slaves, in any other way than by looking upon him as a true servant of God, whose mind and conduct were regulated by an inward principle of justice and equity. To admit a supposition that he in that case was drawn from perfect equity by the alliance of outward kindred, would be to disown his authority.

Abraham had servants born in his house, and bought with his money: "And the Almighty said of Abraham, I know him, that he will order his house after him," which implies, that he was as a father, an instructor, and a good governor over his people. Moses, considered as a man of God, must necessarily have had a prospect of some real advantage in the strangers and heathens being servants to the Israelites for a time.

As mankind had received and established many erroneous opinions and hurtful customs, their living and conversing with the Jews, while the Jews stood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove those

errors, and reform their manners. But for men, with private views, to assume an absolute power over the persons and properties of others, and to continue it from age to age in the line of natural generation, without regard to the virtues or vices of their successors, as it is manifestly contrary to true universal love, and attended with great evils, it requires the clearest evidence to beget a belief in us, that Moses intended that the strangers should be such slaves to the Jews.

He directed them to buy strangers and sojourners. It appears that there were strangers in Israel who were free men; and considering with what tenderness and humanity the Jews, by their law, were obliged to use their servants, and what care was to be taken to instruct them in the true religion, it is not unlikely that some strangers in poverty and distress were willing to enter into bonds to serve the Jews as long as they lived; and in such case the Jews, by their law, had a right to their service during life.

When the awl was bored through the ear of the Hebrew servant, the text saith, "He shall serve for ever;" yet we do not suppose that by the word "for ever," it was intended that none of his posterity should afterwards be free. When it is said in regard to the strangers which they bought, "They shall be your possession," it may be well understood to mean only the persons so purchased; all that precedes relates to buying them, and what follows to the continuance of their service; "You shall take them as an inheritance to your children after you; they shall be your bondmen for ever." It may be well understood to stand limited to those they purchased.

Moses directing Aaron and his sons to wash their hands and feet, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation, saith, "It shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and his seed throughout all generations." And to express the continuance of the law, it was his common language, "It shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations." So that had he intended the posterity of the strangers so purchased to continue in slavery to the Jews, it looks likely that he would have used some terms clearly to express it. The Jews undoubtedly had slaves, whom they kept as such from one age to another; but that this was agreeable to the genuine design of their inspired law-giver, is far from being a clear case.

Making constructions of the law contrary to the true meaning of it, was common amongst that people. Samuel's sons took bribes, and perverted judgment. Isaiah complained that they justified the wicked for reward. Zephaniah, cotemporary with Jeremiah, on account

of the injustice of the civil magistrates, declared that those judges were evening wolves; and that the priests did violence to the law.

Jeremiah acquaints us, that the priests cried peace, peace, when there was no peace; by which means the people grew bold in their wickedness; and having committed abominations, were not ashamed; but through wrong constructions of the law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said, "We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us." These corruptions continued till the days of our Saviour, who told the Pharisees, "You have made the commandment of God of none effect through your tradition."

Thus it appears that they corrupted the law of Moses; nor is it unlikely that among many others this was one; for oppressing the strangers was a heavy charge against the Jews, and very often strongly represented by the Lord's faithful prophets.

That the liberty of man was, by the inspired law-giver esteemed precious, appears in this; that such who unjustly deprived men of it, were to be punished in like manner as if they had murdered them. "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death." This part of the law was so considerable, that Paul the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uses of the law, adds this, "It was made for men-stealers."

The great men amongst that people were exceedingly oppressive; and it is likely exerted their whole strength and influence, to have the law construed to suit their turns. The honest servants of the Lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppression; a few instances follow. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. If you thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour; if you oppress not the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; and shed not innocent blood in this place; neither walk after other gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place." Again this message was sent not only to the inferior ministers of justice, but also to the chief ruler. "Thus saith the Lord, go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word; execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; neither shed innocent blood in this place." Then adds, "That in so doing they should prosper; but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation."

The king, the princes, and rulers were agreed in oppression before the Babylonish captivity; for whatever courts of justice were retained amongst them, or however they decided matters between men of estates, it is plain that the cause of the poor was not judged in equity.

It appears that the great men amongst the Jews were fully resolved to have slaves, even of their own brethren, Jer. xxxiv. Notwithstanding the promises and threatenings of the Lord, by the prophet, and their solemn covenant to set them free, confirmed by the imprecation of passing between the parts of a calf cut in twain; intimating by that ceremony, that on breach of the covenant, it were just for their bodies to be so cut in pieces. Yet after all, they held fast to their old custom, and called home the servants whom they had set free. "And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me, in the house which is called by my name, but ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, whom he had set at liberty at his pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants, and for handmaids: therefore thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his neighbour, and every one to his brother. Behold, I proclaim liberty to you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. The men who transgressed my covenant which they made, and passed between the parts of the calf, I will give into the hands of their enemies, and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth."

Soon after this their city was taken and burnt; the king's sons and the princes slain; and the king, with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Babylon. Ezekiel, prophesying the return of that people to their own land, directs, "Ye shall divide the land by lot, for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn amongst you; in what tribe the stranger sojourns, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." Nor is this particular direction, and the authority with which it is enforced, without a tacit implication, that their ancestors had erred in their conduct towards the stranger.

Some who keep slaves, have doubted as to the equity of the practice; but as they knew men, noted for their piety, who were in it, this, they say, has made their minds easy.

To lean on the example of men in doubtful cases, is difficult: for only admit, that those

men were not faithful and upright to the highest degree, but that in some particular case they erred, and it may follow that this one case was the same, about which we are in doubt; and to quiet our minds by their example, may be dangerous to ourselves; and continuing in it, prove a stumbling-block to tender-minded people who succeed us, in like manner as their examples are to us.

But supposing charity was their only motive, and they not foreseeing the tendency of paying robbers for their booty, were not justly under the imputation of being partners with a thief, Prov. xxix. 24., but were really innocent in what they did, are we assured that we keep them with the same views they kept them? If we keep them from no other motive than a real sense of duty, and true charity governs us in all our proceedings toward them, we are so far safe: but if another spirit, which inclines our minds to the ways of this world, prevails upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward gain more than for their real happiness, it will avail us nothing that some good men have had the care and management of negroes.

Since mankind spread upon the earth, many have been the revolutions attending the several families, and their customs and ways of life different from each other. This diversity of manners, though some are preferable to others, operates not in favour of any, so far as to justify them to do violence to innocent men; to bring them from their own into another way of life. The mind, when moved by a principle of true love, may feel a warmth of gratitude to the universal Father, and a lively sympathy with those nations where Divine Light has been less manifest.

This desire for their real good may beget a willingness to undergo hardships for their sakes, that the true knowledge of God may be spread amongst them: but to take them from their own land, with views of profit to ourselves, by means inconsistent with pure justice, is foreign to that principle which seeks the happiness of the whole creation. Forced subjection, of innocent persons of full age, is inconsistent with right reason; on one side, the human mind is not naturally fortified with that firmness in wisdom and goodness, necessary to an independent ruler; on the other side, to be subject to the uncontrolled will of a man liable to err, is most painful and afflicting to a conscientious creature.

It is our happiness faithfully to serve the Divine Being who made us: his perfection makes our service reasonable; but so long as men are biassed by narrow self-love, so long they are unfit for absolute power over other men.



Men, taking on them the government of others, may intend to govern reasonably, and make their subjects more happy than they would otherwise be; but as absolute command belongs only to him who is perfect, where frail men, in their own wills, assume such command, it hath a direct tendency to vitiate their minds, and make them more unfit for government.

Placing on men the ignominious title of slave, dressing them in uncemely garments, keeping them to servile labour, in which they are often dirty, tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they are a sort of people below us in nature, and leads us to consider them as such in all our conclusions about them. And moreover, where a person who is mean and contemptible in our esteem, uses language or behaviour toward us which is unseemly or disrespectful, it excites wrath more powerfully than the like conduct in one whom we account our equal or superior; and where this happens to be the case, it disqualifies for candid judgment; for it is unfit for a person to sit as judge in a case where his own personal resentments are stirred up; and as members of society in a well-framed government, we are mutually dependent. Present interest incites to duty, and makes each man attentive to the convenience of others; but he whose will is a law to others, and who can enforce obedience by punishment; he whose wants are supplied without feeling any obligation to make equal returns to his benefactor, and whose irregular appetites find an open field for motion, is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labour for his support, and of losing that disposition, in which alone men are fit to govern.

The English government has been commended by foreigners for the disuse of racks and tortures, so much practised in some states; but this multiplying of slaves leads to cruel tortures; for where people exact hard labour of others, without a suitable reward, and are resolved to continue in that way, severity to such who oppose them becomes the consequence; and several negro criminals among the English in America, have been executed in a lingering painful way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy case to set out right, and persevere in the same way: a wrong beginning leads into many difficulties; for to support one evil, another becomes customary; two produce more; and the further men proceed in this way, the greater their dangers, their doubts and fears; and the more painful and perplexing are their circumstances; so that such who are true friends to the real and lasting interest of our country, and candidly consider the ten-

dency of things, cannot but feel concern on this account.

There is a superiority in men over the brute creatures, and some of them are so manifestly dependent on men for a living, that for them to serve us in moderation, so far as relates to the right use of things, looks consonant to the design of our Creator.

There is nothing in their frame which argues the contrary; but in men there is. The frame of men's bodies, and the dispositions of their minds are different; some who are tough and strong, and their minds active, choose ways of life requiring much labour to support them; others are soon weary; and though use makes labour more tolerable, yet some are less apt for toil than others, and their minds less sprightly. These latter labouring for their subsistence, commonly choose a mode of life easy to support, being content with a little. When they are weary they may rest, take the most advantageous part of the day for labour, and in all cases proportion one thing to another, so that their bodies be not oppressed.

Now while each is at liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former; but where men of the first sort have the latter under absolute command, and not considering the odds in strength and firmness, do sometimes in their eager pursuit, lay on them burthens grievous to be borne; and by degrees grow more rigorous; these aspiring to greatness, increase oppression, and the true order of a kind Providence is subverted.

There are weaknesses sometimes attending us, which make little or no alteration in our countenances, nor much lessen our appetite for food, and yet so affect us, as to make labour very uneasy. In such cases, masters intent on putting forward business, and jealous of the sincerity of their slaves, may disbelieve what they say and grievously afflict them.

Action is necessary for all men, and our exhausting frame requires a support, which is the fruit of labour. The earth must be tilled to keep us alive: labour is a proper part of our life; to make one answer the other in some useful mode, looks agreeable to the design of our Creator. Motion rightly managed, tends to our satisfaction, health and support.

Those who quit all useful business, and live wholly on the labour of others, have their exercise to seek; some such use less than their health requires; others choose that which, by the circumstances attending it, proves utterly adverse to true happiness. Thus while some are in divers ways, distressed for want of useful action, those who

support them sigh, and are exhausted with exertions too powerful for nature, spending their days with too little cessation from labour.

Seed sown with the tears of a confined oppressed people, harvests cut down by an overborne discontented reaper, make bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce, or just reward of such voluntary action, as is a proper part of the business of human creatures.

Again, the weak state of the human species, in bearing and bringing forth their young, and the helpless condition of their young beyond that of other creatures, clearly show that Perfect Goodness designs a tender care and regard should be exercised toward them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary power should prevent the cordial effects of that sympathy, which exists in the minds of well-met pairs, to each other, and toward their offspring.

In our species the mutual ties of affection are more rational and durable than in others below us; and the care and labour of raising our offspring are much greater. The satisfaction arising to us in their innocent company, and in their advances from one rational improvement to another, is considerable, when two are thus joined, and their affections sincere. It however happens among slaves, that they are often situate in different places; and their seeing each other depends on the will of men, liable to human passions, and a bias in judgment; who, with views of self-interest, may keep them apart more than is right. Being absent from each other, and often with other company, there is a danger of their affections being alienated, jealousies arising, the happiness otherwise resulting from the care of their offspring frustrated, and the comforts of marriage destroyed. These things being considered closely, as happening to a near friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently observes that goodness manifested by our gracious Creator toward the various species of beings in this world, will see, that in our frame and constitution it is clearly shown that innocent men, capable to manage for themselves, were not intended to be slaves.

A person lately travelling amongst the negroes near Senegal, has this remark; "Which way so ever I turned my eyes on this pleasant spot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by charming landscapes, the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the ease and indolence of the negroes reclining under the shade of their spreading foliage; the simplicity of their dress and manners; the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first pa-

rents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." M. Adanson, page 55.

Some negroes in these parts, who have had an agreeable education, have manifested a brightness of understanding equal to many of us. A remark of this kind we find in Bosman, page 328. "The negroes of Fida, saith he, are so accurately quick in their merchandise accounts, that they easily reckon as justly and quickly in their heads only, as we with the assistance of pen and ink, though the sum amounts to several thousands."

Through the force of long custom, it appears needful to speak in relation to colour. Suppose a white child, born of parents of the meanest sort, who died and left him an infant, falls into the hands of a person, who endeavours to keep him a slave, some men would account him an unjust man in doing so, who yet appear easy while many black people, of honest lives and good abilities, are enslaved in a manner more shocking than the case here supposed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of slavery being connected with the black colour, and liberty with the white; and where false ideas are twisted into our minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly disentangled.

A traveller who in cloudy weather misses his way, makes many turns while he is lost, yet still forms in his mind the bearing and situation of places, and though the ideas are wrong, they fix as fast as if they were right. Finding how things are, we see our mistake; yet the force of reason, with repeated observations on places and things, do not soon remove those false notions so fastened upon us, but it will seem in the imagination as if the course of the sun was altered; and though by recollection we are assured it is not, yet those ideas do not suddenly leave us.

Selfishness being indulged, clouds the understanding; and where selfish men for a long time proceed on their way without opposition, the deceiveableness of unrighteousness gets so rooted in their intellects, that a candid examination of things relating to self-interest is prevented; and in this circumstance, some who would not agree to make a slave of a person whose colour is like their own, appear easy in making slaves of others of a different colour, though their understandings and morals are equal to the generality of men of their own colour.

The colour of a man avails nothing, in matters of right and equity. Consider colour in relation to treaties; by which disputes between nations are sometimes settled. And should the Father of us all so dispose things, that treaties with black men should sometimes be

necessary, how then would it appear amongst the princes and ambassadors, to insist on the prerogative of the white colour?

Whence is it that men, who believe in a righteous Omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it; but because the ideas of negroes and slaves are so interwoven in the mind, that they do not discuss this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for.

To come at a right feeling of their condition, requires humble serious thinking; for in their present situation, they have but little to engage our natural affection in their favour.

Had we a son or a daughter involved in the same case, in which many of them are, it would alarm us and make us feel their condition without seeking for it. The adversity of an intimate friend will excite our compassion, while that of others equally good, in the like trouble will but little affect us.

Again, the man in worldly honour whom we consider as our superior, treating us with kindness and generosity, begets a return of gratitude and friendship toward him. We may receive as great benefits from men a degree lower than ourselves, in the common way of reckoning, and feel ourselves less engaged in favour of them. Such is our condition by nature, and these things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to center in self-love.

The blacks seem far from being our kinsfolks, and did we find an agreeable disposition and sound understanding in some of them, which appeared as a good foundation for a true friendship between us, the disgrace arising from an open friendship with a person of so vile a stock, in the common esteem, would naturally tend to hinder it. They have neither honours, riches, outward magnificence nor power; their dress coarse, and often ragged, their employ drudgery and much in the dirt, they have little or nothing at command, but must wait upon and work for others, to obtain the necessaries of life; so that in their present situation, there is not much to engage the friendship, or move the affection of selfish men. But such who live in the spirit of true charity, sympathise with the afflicted even in the lowest stations of life.

Such is the kindness of our Creator, that people applying their minds to sound wisdom, may in general with moderate exercise live comfortably, where no misapplied power hinders it. We in these parts have cause gratefully to acknowledge it. But where men leave the true use of things, their lives

become less calm, and have less of real happiness in them.

Many are desirous of purchasing and keeping slaves, that they may live in some measure conformably to those customs of the times, which have in them a tincture of luxury; for when we, in the least degree, depart from that use of the creatures, for which the Creator of all things intended them, there luxury begins.

And if we consider this way of life seriously, we shall see there is nothing in it sufficient to induce a wise man to choose it, before a plain, simple way of living. If we examine stately buildings and equipage, delicious food, superfine clothes, silks and linens; if we consider the splendour of choice metal fastened upon raiment, and the most showy inventions of men, it will yet appear that the humble-minded man, who is contented with the true use of houses, food and garments, and cheerfully exerciseth himself agreeably to his station in civil society, to earn them, acts more reasonably, and discovers more soundness of understanding in his conduct, than such who lay heavy burdens on others, to support themselves in a luxurious way of living.

George Buchanan, in his history of Scotland, page 62, tells of some ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were derived from a people that "had a way of marking their bodies, as some said, with instruments of iron, with variety of pictures, and with animals of all shapes, and wear no garments, that they should not hide their pictures; and were therefore called Picts."

Did we see those people shrink with pain, for a considerable time together, under the point or edge of this iron instrument, and their bodies all bloody with the operation; did we see them sometimes naked, suffering with cold, and yet refuse to put on garments, that those imaginary ensigns of grandeur might not be concealed, it is likely we should pity their folly and fondness for those things: but if we candidly compare their conduct, in that case, with some conduct amongst ourselves, will it not appear that our folly is the greatest?

In true Gospel simplicity, free from all wrong use of things, a spirit which breathes peace and good will is cherished; but when we aspire after imaginary grandeur, and apply to selfish means to attain our end, this desire, in its original, is the same with the Picts in cutting figures on their bodies; but the evil consequences attending our proceedings are the greatest.

A covetous mind, which seeks opportunity

to exalt itself, is a great enemy to true harmony in a country: envy and grudging usually accompany this disposition, and it tends to stir up its likeness in others. And where this disposition ariseth so high, as to embolden us to look upon honest industrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labour, to support us in those customs which have not their foundation in right reason, or to use any means of oppression; a haughty spirit is cherished on one side, and the desire of revenge frequently excited on the other, till the inhabitants of the land are ripe for great commotion and trouble; and thus luxury and oppression have the seeds of war and desolation in them.

*Some account of the slave-trade, from the writings of persons who have been at the places where they are first purchased, viz.*

BOSMAN on Guinea, who was a factor for the Dutch about sixteen years in that country, (page 339) thus remarks: "But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors. The first business of one of our factors, when he comes to Fida, is to satisfy the customs of the king, and the great men, which amounts to about one hundred pounds, in Guinea value, as the goods must sell there. After which we have free license to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier. And yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves, at a set price; which is commonly one third or fourth higher than ordinary. After which we have free leave to deal with all his subjects, of what rank so ever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods, to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: for you ought to be informed, that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as they of beasts are with us.

"Most of the slaves which are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty. When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prisons all together; and when we treat concerning them, they are all brought out in a large plain, where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good,

are set on one side. The invalids and maimed being thrown out, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them: in the mean while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others. When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prisons, where, from that time forward, they are kept at our charge, cost us two-pence a day a slave, which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that, to save charges, we send them on board our ships the first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs, so that they come aboard stark naked, as well women as men; in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable, which he commonly is, as to bestow something on them, to cover their nakedness."

Same author, page 310. "The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade, in both which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with more courage, they rob more successfully, and by that means increase their trade: notwithstanding which, to freight a vessel with slaves, requires some months attendance. In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me, that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred."

Bosman, page 440. "We cast anchor at Cape Mizurada, but not one negro coming on board; I went on shore, and being desirous to be informed why they did not come on board, was answered, That about two months before, the English had been there with two vessels, and had ravaged the country, destroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people for slaves; upon which the remainder fled to the inland country. They tell us, they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any other enemy than the English; of which nation they had taken some then: and publicly declared, that they would endeavour to get as many of them, as the two-mentioned ships had carried off of their natives. These unhappy English were in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of their friends, which some of their nation carried off."

*Extracts from a collection of voyages. Vol. 1.*

THE author, a popish missionary, speaking of his departing from the negro country to Brazil, saith, "I remember the duke of Bam-

bay, a negro chief, one day sent me several blacks to be my slaves, which I would not accept; but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make slaves; but rather to deliver those from the slavery of the devil, whom he kept in miserable thralldom. The ship I went aboard was loaded with elephants' teeth, and slaves to the number of six hundred and eighty men, women and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold how all these people were bestowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the whites: the women were between the decks, and the children in the steerage, pressed together like herrings in a barrel; which caused an intolerable heat and stench." Page 507.

"It is now time, saith the same author, to speak of a brutish custom these people have amongst them in making slaves; which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy."

He then describes how women betray men into slavery, and adds, "Others go up into the inland country, and through pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves." Page 537.

The author of this treatise, conversing with a person of good credit, was informed by him, that in his youth, while in England, he was minded to come to America, and happening on a vessel bound for Guinea, and from thence into America, he, with a view to see Africa, went on board her, and continued with them in their voyage, and so came into this country. Among other circumstances he related these. "They purchased on the coast about three hundred slaves; some of them he understood were captives of war, and some stolen by other negroes privately. When they had got many slaves on board, but were still on that coast, a plot was laid by an old negro, notwithstanding the men had irons on their hands and feet, to kill the English and take the vessel; which being discovered, the man was hanged, and many of the slaves made to shoot at him as he hung up.

"Another slave was charged with having a design to kill the English; and the captain spoke to him in relation to the charge brought against him, as he stood on deck; whereupon he immediately threw himself into the sea, and was drowned.

"Several negroes confined on board, were so extremely uneasy with their condition, that after many endeavours used, they could never make them eat nor drink after they came in the vessel; but in a desperate resolution starved themselves to death, behaving toward the last like mad-men."

In Randall's Geography, printed 1744, we are informed, "That in a time of full peace nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them to the Europeans. It is thought that the English transmit annually nearly fifty thousand of these unhappy creatures; and the other European nations together, about two hundred thousand more."

It is through the goodness of God that the reformation from gross idolatry and barbarity hath been thus far effected. If we consider our condition as Christians, and the benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the condition of those people, and consider that our nation trading with them for their country produce, has had an opportunity of imparting useful instructions to them, and remember that but little pains have been taken therein, it must look like an indifference in us. But when we reflect on a custom the most shocking of any amongst them, and remember, that with a view to outward gain we have joined as parties in it; that our concurrence with them in their barbarous proceedings, has tended to harden them in cruelty, and been a means of increasing calamities in their country, we must own that herein we have acted contrary to the precepts of Christ and the examples of those worthies whose lives and substance were spent in propagating Truth and righteousness amongst the heathen. When Saul, by the hand of Doeg, slew four-score priests at once, he had a jealousy that one of them at least was confederate with David, whom he considered as his enemy. Herod slaying all the male children in Bethlehem of two years old and under, was an act of uncommon cruelty; but he supposed there was a male child there, within that age, who was likely to be king of the Jews, and finding no way to destroy him, but by destroying them all, thought this the most effectual means to secure the kingdom to his own family.

When the sentence against the Protestants of Marindol, &c., in France, was put in execution, great numbers of people fled to the wilderness; amongst whom were ancient people, women great with child, and others with babes in their arms, who endured calamities grievous to relate, and in the end some perished with hunger, and many were destroyed by fire and sword; but they had this objection against them, That they obstinately persisted in opposition to the holy mother church, and being hereticks, it was right to work their ruin and extirpation, and raze out their memory from among men. Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 646.

In favour of those cruelties, every one had what they deemed a plea. These scenes of

blood and cruelty among the barbarous inhabitants of Guinea, are not less terrible than those now mentioned. They are continued from one age to another, and we make ourselves parties and fellow-helpers in them; nor do I see that we have any plea in our favour more plausible than the plea of Saul, of Herod, or of the French, in those slaughters.

Many who are parties in this trade, by keeping slaves with views of self-interest, were they to go as soldiers in one of these inland expeditions to catch slaves, must necessarily grow dissatisfied with such employ, or cease to profess their religious principles. And though the first and most striking part of the scene is done at a great distance, and by other hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the circumstances, and notwithstanding joins in it, for the sake of gain only, must in the nature of things, be chargeable with the others.

Should we consider ourselves present as spectators, when cruel negroes privately catch innocent children, who are employed in the fields; hear their lamentable cries, under the most terrifying apprehensions; or should we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by savages, we must needs own, that such proceedings are contrary to the nature of Christianity. Should we meditate on the wars which are greatly increased by this trade, and on that affliction which many thousands live in, through apprehensions of being taken or slain; on the terror and amazement that villages are in, when surrounded by these troops of enterprisers; on the great pain and misery of groaning dying men, who get wounded in those skirmishes; we shall necessarily see, that it is impossible to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of gain, and retain our innocence.

Should we consider the case of multitudes of those people, who in a fruitful soil, and hot climate, with a little labour raise grain, roots and pulse to eat; spin and weave cotton, and fasten together the large feathers of fowls, to cover their nakedness; many of whom, in much simplicity live inoffensively in their cottages, and take great comfort in rearing up their children.

Should we contemplate their circumstances, when suddenly attacked, and labour to understand their inexpressible anguish of soul who survive the conflict: should we think on inoffensive women, who fled at the alarm, and at their return saw that village in which they and their acquaintance were raised up, and had pleasantly spent their youthful days, now lying in gloomy desolation; some shocked at finding the mangled bodies of their near friends amongst the slain; others bemoaning the ab-

sence of a brother, a sister, a child, or a whole family of children, who by cruel men, are bound and carried to market to be sold, without the least hopes of seeing them again: add to this, the afflicted condition of these poor captives, who are separated from family connections, and all the comforts arising from friendship and acquaintance, carried amongst a people of a strange language, to be parted from their fellow-captives, put to labour in a manner more servile and wearisome than what they were used to, with many sorrowful circumstances attending their slavery; we must necessarily see, that it belongs not to the followers of Christ to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of outward gain.

Though there were wars and desolations among the negroes, before the Europeans began to trade there for slaves, yet now the calamities are greatly increased, so many thousands being annually brought from thence; and we by purchasing them with views of self-interest, are become parties with them, and accessory to that increase.

In this case, we are not joining against an enemy who is fomenting discords on our continent, and using all possible means to make slaves of us and our children; but against a people who have not injured us.

If those who were spoiled and wronged, should at length make slaves of their oppressors, and continue slavery to their posterity, it would look rigorous to candid men: but to act that part toward a people, when neither they nor their fathers have injured us, has something in it extraordinary, and requires our serious attention.

Our children breaking a bone; getting so bruised that a leg or an arm must be taken off; lost for a few hours, so that we despair of their being found again; a friend hurt, so that he dieth in a day or two; are circumstances that move us with grief. Did we attend to these scenes in Africa, in like manner as if they were transacted in our presence, and sympathise with the negroes in all their afflictions and miseries, as we do with our children and friends, we should be more careful to do nothing in any degree helping forward a trade productive of so many and so great calamities. Great distance makes nothing in our favour. Willingly to join with unrighteousness, to the injury of men who live some thousand miles off, is the same in substance, as joining with it to the injury of our neighbours.

In the eye of pure justice, actions are regarded according to the spirit and disposition they arise from: some evils are accounted scandalous, and the desire of reputation may keep selfish men from appearing openly to par-



ticipate in them; but he who is shy on that account, and yet by indirect means promotes that evil, and shares in the profit of it, cannot be innocent.

He who with a view to self-interest buys a slave, made so by violence, and on the strength of such purchase holds him a slave, thereby joins hands with those who committed that violence, and in the nature of things becomes chargeable with the guilt.

Suppose a man wants a slave, and being in Guinea, goes and hides by the path where boys pass from one little town to another, and there catches one the day he expects to sail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating circumstances; suppose another buys a man taken by them who live by plunder and the slave-trade; who often steal them privately, and shed much blood in getting them, he who buys the slaves thus taken, pays those men for their wickedness, and makes himself a party with them.

Whatever nicety of distinction there may be, between going in person on expeditions to catch slaves, and buying those with a view to self-interest, which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright mind, that such distinction is in words, not in substance; for the parties are concerned in the same work, and have a necessary connection with and dependence on each other; for were there none to purchase slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of consequence do less at it.

Some would buy a negro brought from Guinea, with a view to self-interest, and keep him a slave, who yet would seem to scruple to take arms, and join with men employed in taking slaves.

Others have civil negroes, who were born in our country, capable and likely to manage well for themselves; whom they keep as slaves, without ever trying them with freedom, and take the profit of their labour as a part of their estates, and yet disapprove of bringing them from their own country.

If those negroes had come here as merchants, with their ivory and gold-dust, in order to trade with us, and some powerful person had taken their effects to himself, and then put them to hard labour, and ever after considered them as slaves, the action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

If those negro merchants should have children after being among us, whose endowments and conduct were like other people's in common, and on their attaining to mature age, and requesting to have their liberty, they should be told they were born in slavery, and were lawful slaves, and therefore their request

should be denied; such conduct toward them would be looked upon as unfair and oppressive.

In the present case, relating to home-born negroes, whose understandings and behaviour are as good as common among other people, if we have any claim to them as slaves, that claim is grounded on their being the children or offspring of slaves, who in general were made such through means as unrighteous, and attended with more terrible circumstances than the case last supposed; so that when we trace our claim to the bottom, these home-born negroes having paid for their education, and given reasonable security to those who owned them, in case of their becoming chargeable, we have no more equitable right to their service, than we should if they were the children of honest merchants who came from Guinea in an English vessel to trade with us.

If we claim any right to them as the children of slaves, we build on the foundation laid by those who made slaves of their ancestors; so that of necessity we must either justify the trade, or relinquish our right to them, as being the children of slaves.

Why should it seem right to honest men to make advantage by these people more than by others? Others enjoy freedom, and receive wages equal to their work, at or near such time as they have discharged these equitable obligations they are under to those who educate them. These have made no contract to serve; been no more expensive in raising up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right use of freedom as other people; how then can an honest man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Most High to his rational creatures?

The upright in heart cannot succeed the wicked in their wickedness; nor is it consonant to the life they live, to hold fast an advantage unjustly gained.

The negroes who live by plunder and the slave-trade, steal poor innocent children, invade their neighbours' territories, and spill much blood to get these slaves: and can it be possible for an honest man to think that with a view to self-interest, we may continue slavery to the offspring of these unhappy sufferers, merely because they are the children of slaves, and not have a share of this guilt?

It is granted by many, that the means used in getting them are unrighteous, and that buying them when brought here is wrong; yet as setting them free is attended with some difficulty, they do not comply with it; but seem to be of the opinion, that to give them food and raiment, and keep them servants without any other wages, is the best way to manage

them that they know of; and hoping that their children after them will not be cruel to the negroes, conclude to leave them as slaves to their children.

While present outward interest is the chief object of our attention, we shall feel many objections in our minds against renouncing our claim to them, as the children of slaves; for being prepossessed with wrong opinions, prevents our seeing things clearly, which to indifferent persons are easy to be seen.

Suppose a person seventy years past, in low circumstances, bought a negro man and woman, and that the children of such person are now wealthy, and have the children of such slaves; admit that the first negro man and his wife did as much business as their master and mistress, and that the children of the slaves have done more than their young masters: suppose on the whole, that the expense of living has been less on the negroes side than on the other, all which are no improbable suppositions, it follows, that in equity these negroes have a right to a part of this increase of worldly substance; that should some difficulties arise on their being set free, there is reason for us patiently to labour through them.

As the conduct of men varies, relating to civil society, so different treatment is justly due to them. Indiscreet men occasion trouble in the world; and it remains to be the care of those who seek the good of mankind, to admonish such as they find occasion.

The slothfulness of some of them, in providing for themselves and families, it is likely would require the notice of their neighbours; nor is it unlikely that some would, with justice, be made servants, and others punished for their crimes. Pure justice points out to each individual their due; but to deny a people the privilege of human creatures, on a supposition that being free, many of them would be troublesome to us, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and to treat the whole as the worst of them deserve.

If we seriously consider that liberty is the right of innocent men; that the mighty God is a refuge for the oppressed; that in reality we are indebted to them; that they being set free, are still liable to the penalties of our laws, and as likely to have punishment for their crimes as other people; these may answer all our objections; and to retain them in perpetual servitude, without just cause for it, will produce effects, in the event, more grievous than setting them free would do, when a real love to truth and equity is the motive to it.

Our authority over them stands originally in a purchase made from those who, as to the general, obtained theirs by unrighteousness. Whenever we have recourse to such authority, it tends more or less to obstruct the channels through which the perfect plant in us receives nourishment.

There is a principle, [the Spirit of Truth] which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is however pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, where the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren, in the best sense of the expression. Using ourselves to take ways which appear most easy to us, when inconsistent with that purity which is without beginning, we thereby set up a government of our own, and deny obedience to Him, whose service is true liberty.

He that hath a servant made so wrongfully, and knows it to be so, when he treats him otherwise than a free man, when he reaps the benefit of his labour, without paying him such wages as are reasonably due to free men for the like service, clothes excepted; these things, though done in calmness, without any show of disorder, do yet deprave the mind in like manner, and with as great certainty, as prevailing cold congeals water. These steps taken by masters, and their conduct striking the minds of their children whilst young, leave less room for that which is good to work upon them. The customs of their parents, their neighbours, and the people with whom they converse, working upon their minds; and they from thence conceiving similar ideas of things and modes of conduct, the entrance into their hearts becomes in a great measure, shut up against the gentle movings of uncreated purity.

From one age to another, the gloom grows thicker and darker, till error gets established by general opinion; that whoever attends to perfect goodness and remains under the melting influence of it, finds a path unknown to many, and sees the necessity to lean upon the arm of Divine strength, and dwell alone or with a few, in rightly committing their cause to Him, who is a refuge for his people in all their troubles.

Where through the agreement of a multitude, some channels of justice are stopped, and men may support their characters as just men, by being just to a party, there is great danger of contracting an alliance with that spirit, which stands in opposition to the God

of love, and spreads discord, trouble and vexation among such who give up to the influence of it.

Negroes are our fellow creatures, and their present condition amongst us requires our serious consideration. We know not the time when those scales, in which mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of mankind is gracious: his care is over his smallest creatures; and a multitude of men escape not his notice. And though many of them are trodden down and despised, yet he remembers them: he seeth their affliction, and looketh

upon the spreading increasing exaltation of the oppressor. He turns the channels of power, humbles the most haughty people, and gives deliverance to the oppressed, at such periods as are consistent with his infinite justice and goodness. And wherever gain is preferred to equity, and wrong things publicly encouraged to that degree, that wickedness takes root and spreads wide amongst the inhabitants of a country, there is real cause for sorrow to all such, whose love to mankind stands on a true principle, and who wisely consider the end and event of things.

## CONSIDERATIONS

ON PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY; ON LABOUR; ON SCHOOLS; AND ON THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1768.

“The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.” *James iii. 17.*

### INTRODUCTION.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living, attended with unnecessary labour, and which draws forth the minds of many people to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppression, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who in infinite love visited me in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience a state of inward purity may be known in this life, in which we may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn resignation to endure hardships for the real good of others.

“While the eye is single, the whole body is full of light;” but for want of this, selfish desires and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind; hence injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is the case, to convince the judgment, is the most effectual remedy.

Where violent measures are pursued in opposing injustice, the passions and resentments of the injured, frequently operate in the pro-

secution of their designs; and after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of Divine love, as they were before; but where people walk in that pure light in which all their “works are wrought in God,” and under oppression persevere in the meek spirit, and abide firm in the cause of Truth, without actively complying with oppressive demands, through these the Lord hath often manifested his power, in opening the understandings of others, to the promoting of righteousness in the earth.

A time I believe is coming, wherein this Divine work will so spread and prevail, that “Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more.” And as we, through the tender mercies of God, do feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and sisters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may so live under the sanctifying power of Truth, as to be redeemed from all unnecessary cares; that our eye being single to him, no customs, however prevalent, which are contrary to the wisdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his holy leadings, in whatsoever he may graciously appoint for us.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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To have our trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after nor desire outward treasures, any further than his holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy state, as saith the prophet, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is."

Pure wisdom leads people into lowliness of mind, in which they learn resignation to the Divine will, and contentment in suffering for his cause, when they cannot keep a clear conscience without suffering.

In this pure wisdom the mind is attentive to the root and original spring of motions and desires; and as we know "the Lord to be our refuge," and find no safety but in humbly walking before him, we feel an holy engagement, that every desire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgment.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from every thing which defiles, all prospects of gain that are not consistent with the wisdom from above, are considered as snares, and an inward concern is felt, that we may live under the cross, and faithfully attend to that holy Spirit, which is sufficient to preserve out of them.

When I have considered that saying of Christ, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," his omnipotence hath often occurred to my mind.

While we believe that he is every where present with his people, and that perfect goodness, wisdom and power, are united in him, how comfortable is the consideration.

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater. We may be oppressed and despised, but he is able to turn our patient sufferings into profit to ourselves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people who feel the power of his cross, to crucify all that is selfish in them, who are engaged in outward concerns, from a conviction that it is their duty, and resign themselves and their treasures to him; these feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us, which craves riches and greatness in this world.

As the heart truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ and the fellowship of his sufferings," so far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them; as such feel that it is their interest to put their trust in God, and to seek no gain but that which he by his holy

Spirit, leads into; so on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this Divine Teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ," in patiently suffering for the promotion of righteousness in the earth; but have an eye toward the power of men and the outward advantage of wealth, these are often attentive to those employments which appear profitable, even though the gains arise from such trade and business as proceed from the workings of that spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying life of an humble contrite Christian.

While I write on this subject, I feel my mind tenderly affected toward those honestly disposed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with these difficulties.

To such I may say, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myself with you, O that our eyes may be single to the Lord! may we reverently wait on him for strength to lay aside all unnecessary expense of every kind, and learn contentment in a plain simple life.

May we in lowliness submit to the leadings of his spirit, and enter upon any outward employ which he graciously points out to us, and then whatever difficulties arise in consequence of our faithfulness, I trust they will work for our good.

Small treasure to a resigned mind is sufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, to live in humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this language, Abba! Father.

If that called the wisdom of this world, had no resemblance of true wisdom, the name of wisdom, I suppose, had not been given to it.

As wasting outward substance to gratify vain desires, on one hand; so slothfulness and neglect on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and distress. To shun both these vices is good in itself, and hath a resemblance of wisdom; but while people thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches and power, and the friendship of this world, and do not humbly wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them in purity; these, through an anxious care to obtain the end desired, reach

forth for gain in worldly wisdom, and in regard to their inward state, fall into divers temptations and snares. And though such may think of applying wealth to good purposes, and to use their power to prevent oppression, yet wealth and power are often applied otherwise; nor can we depart from the leadings of our holy Shepherd, without going into confusion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing but Divine love can qualify the mind to use rightly; and as to the humility and uprightness of our children after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of Truth, and example our children herein, we have great cause to apprehend that wealth may be a snare to them, and prove an injury to others, over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wisdom which is from beneath, and to walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious situation; thus his people are brought to put their trust in him; and in this humble confidence in his wisdom, goodness and power, the righteous find a refuge in adversities, superior to the greatest outward help, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

#### ON LABOUR.

HAVING from my childhood been used to bodily labour for a living, I may express my experience therein.

Right exercise affords an innocent pleasure in the time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the sweetness of rest; but from the extremes each way, arise inconveniences.

Moderate exercise opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and enables us to judge rightly respecting that portion of labour which is the true medium.

“The fowls of the air sow not, nor gather into barns, yet our heavenly Father feedeth them;” nor do I believe that infinite goodness and power would have allotted labour to us, had he not seen that labour was proper for us in this life.

The original design and true medium of labour, is a subject that to me appears worthy of our serious consideration.

Idle men are often a burthen to themselves, neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burdensome to others also.

As outward labour directed by the wisdom from above, tends to our health and adds to our happiness in this life; so on the contrary, entering upon it in a selfish spirit, and pursu-

ing it too long, or too hard, have a contrary effect.

I have observed that too much labour not only makes the understanding dull, but so intrudes upon the harmony of the body, that after ceasing from our toil, we have another to pass through, before we can be so composed as to enjoy the sweetness of rest.

From too much labour in the heat, frequently proceed immoderate sweats, which often I believe open the way for disorders and impair our constitutions.

When we go beyond the true medium, and feel weariness approaching, but think business may suffer if we cease, at such a time spirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to support nature under these fatigues.

I have found that too much labour in the summer heats the blood, that taking strong drink to support the body under such labour, increaseth that heat, and though a person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least disorder, yet the mind in such a circumstance, doth not retain that calmness and serenity, in which we should endeavour to live.

Thus toiling in the heat and drinking strong liquor, make men more resolute and less considerate, and tend very much to disqualify for following him who is meek and low of heart.

As laying out more business than is consistent with pure wisdom is an evil, so this evil frequently leads into more. Too much business leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil strong drink is often used, and hereby many proceed to noise and wantonness, and some, though more considerate, do often suffer loss, as to a true composedness of mind.

I feel sincere desires in my heart that no rent or interest may be laid so high as to be a snare to tenants; and that no desires of gain may draw any too far in business. That no cares to support customs, which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, may have place in our minds, but that we may build on the sure foundation, and feel our holy Shepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preserve us, and bring forth from every thing which defiles.

Having several times in my travels, had opportunity to observe the labour and manner of life of great numbers of slaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many, who assign them their portion of labour.

Without saying much at this time, concerning buying and selling men for term of life, who have as just a right to liberty as we have; nor about the great miseries and effusion of blood, consequent on promoting the slave-

trade; and to speak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing those in bondage who are amongst us, we cannot say there is no partiality in it: for whatever tenderness may be manifested by individuals in their life time toward them, yet for people to be transmitted from a man to his posterity, in the helpless condition of slaves, appears inconsistent with the nature of the Gospel spirit. From such proceedings it often follows, that persons in the decline of life, are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and subjected to the absolute power, of young inexperienced men, who know but little about the weakness of old age, nor understand the language of declining life.

Where parents give their estates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they sometimes meet with great inconveniences; but if the power of possession thus obtained, often reverses the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and makes manifest that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the case of ancient negroes who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people, who have been used to look upon them as their inferiors.

For men to behold the fruits of their labour withheld from them, and possessed by others, and in old age to find themselves destitute of those comfortable accommodations, and that tender regard, which their time of life requires;

When they feel pains, and stiffness in their joints and limbs, weakness of appetite, and that a little labour is wearisome, and still behold themselves in the neglected uncomfortable condition of a slave, and oftentimes to a young unsympathizing man;

For men to be thus treated from one generation to another who, besides their own distresses, think on the slavery entailed on their posterity, and are grieved, what disagreeable thoughts must they have of the professed followers of Jesus! and how must their groans ascend to that Almighty Being, who "will be a refuge for the oppressed."

#### ON SCHOOLS.

"Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." *Mark x. 14.*

To encourage children to do things with a view to get the praise of men, to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the Spirit of Truth. For it is the work of the holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceedings we may have a single eye to him; to give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Sa-

viour, "But all their works they do for to be seen of men."

That Divine light which enlightens all men, I believe does often shine in the minds of children very early, and humbly to wait for wisdom, that our conduct toward them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and to strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on all of us.

By cherishing the spirit of pride, and the love of praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than otherwise they would, but to take measures to forward children in learning, which naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savour of the wisdom of this world.

If tutors are not acquainted with sanctification of spirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of Truth, but follow the maxims of the wisdom of this world, children who are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts and apprehensions reverse to that meekness and lowliness of heart, which is necessary for all the true followers of Christ.

Children at an age fit for schools, are in a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people, and if we commit them to the tuition of those whose minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly Father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the wisdom of this world, and through wrong apprehensions, take such methods in education, as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children; and when they are sent to schools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led astray by tutors, who do not live a self-denying life, or by the conversation of children who do not live in innocence, it is a case much to be lamented.

While a pious tutor has the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the Truth, the good spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of such who are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their understanding with respect to the true Christian life. But where a person has charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are so much employed in the outward affairs of his school, that he does not so weightily attend to the spirit and conduct of each individual, as



to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due season; through such omissions he not only suffers, as to the state of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of suffering also.

To watch the spirit of children, to nurture them in Gospel love, and labour to help them against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them; and a faithful performance of our duty, not only tends to their lasting benefit, and our own peace, but also to render their company agreeable to us.

Instruction thus administered, reaches the pure witness in the minds of children who are not hardened, and begets love in them toward those who thus lead them on; but where too great a number are committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of the children, there is a danger of disorders gradually increasing amongst them, until the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too strong to be easily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents at home, and by tutors at school, in weightily attending to the spirit and inclinations of children, and that we may so lead, instruct and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted which is in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father, who is in heaven.

Meditating on the situation of schools in our provinces, my mind has at times been affected with sorrow, and under these exercises it has appeared to me, that if those who have large estates were faithful stewards, and laid no rent, or interest, or other demand, higher than is consistent with universal love; and those in lower circumstances would, under a moderate employ, shun unnecessary expense, even to the smallest article, and all unite in humbly seeking to the Lord, he would graciously instruct us, and strengthen us, to relieve the youth from various snares in which many of them are entangled.

*On the right use of the Lord's outward gifts.*

As our understandings are opened by the pure light, we experience that through an inward approaching to God, the mind is strengthened in obedience; and that by gratifying those desires which are not of his begetting, these approaches to him are obstructed, and the de-ceivable spirit gains strength.

These truths being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlasting interest in Christ evidently concerned therein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed pride or self-

love in us. Thus in pure obedience, we are not only instructed in our duty to God, but also in the affairs which necessarily relate to this life, and the Spirit of Truth which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that "whatsoever we do in word or deed, may be done in His name."

Hence such buildings, furniture, food and raiment, as best answer our necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish spirit which is our enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this state the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any business which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus the way gradually opens to cease from that spirit which craves riches and things fetched far, which so mixes with the customs of this world, and so intrudes upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labour is very much departed from. As the minds of people are settled in a steady concern, not to hold or possess anything but what may be held consistently with the wisdom which is from above, they consider what they possess as the gift of God, and are inwardly exercised, that in all parts of their conduct they may act agreeably to the nature of the peaceable government of Christ.

A little supports such a life; and in a state truly resigned to the Lord, the eye is single to see what outward employ he leads into as a means of our subsistence, and a lively care is maintained to hold to that, without launching further.

There is a harmony in the several parts of this divine work in the hearts of people: he who leads them to cease from those gainful employments, carried on in that wisdom which is from beneath, delivers also from the desire after worldly greatness, and reconciles the mind to a life so plain, that a little suffices.

Here the real comforts of life are not lessened. Moderate exercise, in the way of true wisdom, is pleasant both to mind and body.

Food and raiment sufficient, though in the greatest simplicity, is accepted with contentment and gratitude.

The mutual love subsisting between the faithful followers of Christ, is more pure than that friendship which is not seasoned with humility, how specious soever the appearance.

Where people depart from pure wisdom in one case, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more; and thus a spirit which seeks for outward greatness, and leads into worldly wisdom to attain it and support it, gets possession of the mind.

In beholding the customary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unnecessary toil which many go through, in supporting outward greatness, and procuring delicacies; in beholding how the true calmness of life is changed into hurry, and how many, by eagerly pursuing outward treasure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward state of the mind; in meditating on the works of this spirit, and on the desolations it makes amongst the professors of Christianity, I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart, for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Christ, and an engagement to labour according to the gift bestowed on me, for promoting an humble, plain, temperate way of living: a life where no unnecessary cares or expenses may encumber our minds, or lessen our ability to do good; where no desires after riches, or greatness may lead into hard dealing; where no connexions with worldly minded men, may abate our love to God, or weaken a true zeal for righteousness: a life wherein we may diligently labour for resignedness to do and suffer whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to himself.

When the prophet Isaiah had uttered his vision, and declared that a time was coming wherein "swords should be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;" he immediately directs the minds of people to the Divine teacher, in this remarkable language: "O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

To wait for the direction of this light, in all temporal as well as spiritual concerns, appears necessary; for if in any case we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this Spirit of Truth to open our way therein, and through the love of this world proceed on, and seek for gain by that business or traffic, which "is not of the Father, but of the world," we fail in our testimony to the purity and peace of his government, and get into that which is for chastisement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident, that a life less humble, less

simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his sheep into, necessarily requires a support, for which pure wisdom does not provide; hence there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people, so zealous of good works, as to have no fellowship with works of darkness," while we have wants to supply which have their foundation in custom, and do not come within the meaning of those expressions, "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Those things which he beholds to be necessary for his people, he fails not to give them in his own way and time; but as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, so imaginary wants are different "from those things which he knoweth that we have need of."

As my meditations have been on these things, compassion hath filled my heart toward my fellow-creatures, involved in customs, which have grown up in "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God." O that the youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know him to be their refuge, their safe unfailing refuge, through the various dangers attending this uncertain state of being.

If those whose minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are contented with a plain, simple way of living, find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceedings, or having fellowship with works of darkness, the most diligent care is necessary;

If customs, distinguishable from universal righteousness, and opposite to the true self-denying life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with trade, and with almost every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of Truth, that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support an uniform testimony to the peaceable government of Christ; if this be the case, how lamentably do they expose themselves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expensive living, and reach forth for gain, to support customs which our holy Shepherd leads not into.

# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND; AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1770.

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“And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.” *Micah* v. 7.

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## INTRODUCTION.

As mankind, though descended from one parent, are divided into many families, and as trading to sea is greatly increased within a few ages past; amidst this extended commerce, how necessary is it that the professed followers of Christ keep sacred his Holy name, and be employed about trade and traf-

fic no farther than justice and equity evidently accompany them; that we may give no just cause of offence to any, however distant, or unable to plead their own cause; and may continually keep in view, the spreading of the true and saving knowledge of God and of his son Jesus Christ, amongst our fellow-creatures, which through his infinite love, some feel to be more precious than any other treasure.

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## CONSIDERATIONS ON TRUE HARMONY.

### CHAPTER I.

*On serving the Lord in our outward employments.*

UNDER the humbling dispensations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow-creatures, and a concern that the holy Spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may with singleness of heart be waited for and followed.

I trust there are many under that visitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify them with firmness to be true patrons of the Christian life, who, in living and walking, may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

That which I feel first to express is, a care for those who are in circumstances which appear difficult, with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom, that they may not be discouraged, but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth us as his friends; “Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you;” and to be a friend to Christ, is to be

united to him who has all power in heaven and in earth; and though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities has often affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire that resignation may be laboured for; and where the holy Leader directeth to a country life or some change of employ, he may be faithfully followed; for under the refining hand of the Lord, I have seen that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly increased through some branches of business which his holy Spirit doth not lead into, and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy Leader, and obstructs the coming of the kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven.

If we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbours in those things which harmonize not with the true Christian walking, these entanglements may hold fast to us, and some who in an awakening time, feel tender scruples with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from

every degree of dross; and by looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them, and of their departing from that pure feeling of Truth, which if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the Divine will, even in a very low estate.

One formerly speaking on the profitableness of true humility, saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels; whilst by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." Cave's Primitive Christianity, page 31.

"It is not enough, says Tertullian, that a Christian be chaste and modest, but he must *appear* to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience, into the superficialities of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear, says Clemens, ought to be mean and frugal—that is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is the farthest from curiosity." Page 49.

Though the change from day to night, is by a motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come we behold it very different from the day; and thus as people become wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread by little and little, until a departure from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as light from darkness, to such who are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd, to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance, reminds them of his love for them; "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love;" and in another place he graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unsuitable employments. This he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful active member, the hand; and to fix the instruction the deeper, he names the right hand; "If thy right hand offend thee cut it off and cast it from thee:"—If thou feelest offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all Truth, and is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to him.

Again, he points out those things which appearing pleasant to the natural mind, are not best for us, in the similitude of offence from the eye; "If thy right eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out

the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain; and how precious is the instruction which our Redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful trials, but put our trust in him, even in him who sent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness; who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites toward the poor, as the fruits of an effeminate life; "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them; what mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornaments as instances of their vanity, to uphold which, the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness and inability to help themselves, in the similitude of a man maimed by violence or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

I may here add, that at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and lasting impressions on my mind.

I have beheld how the desire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring; and though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appeared desirous at times to be helped out of them; yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of Truth, they have continued in these entanglements; for in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living, in parents and in children, hath called for a large supply, and in answering this call "the faces of the poor" have been ground away and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a physician; and O what longings do I feel that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing; know that removed which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to heaven against their oppressors, and that we may see the true harmony restored.

Behold "how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle, "If we walk in the light, as He [God]

is in the light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but those who "walk in the light as Christ is in the light," they know the "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world."

Walking is a phrase frequently used in Scripture to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Christ being the light dwells always in the light, and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine Leader; he preserves from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us; and where this foundation is laid and mutually kept to, by families conversant with each other, the way is open for those comforts in society, which our heavenly Father intends as a part of our happiness in this world; and we may experience the goodness and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity. But where ways of living take place which tend to oppression, and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them inequitable burdens; here a fear lest that measure should be meted to them, which they have measured to others, incites a care to support that by craft and cunning devices which stands not on the firm foundation of righteousness: thus the harmony of society is broken, and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

"Come out of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." This babel, or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name." In departing from an humble trust in God, and in following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the upper-hand of their fellow creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is represented as a place of business, and those employed in it as merchants of the earth: "The merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies."

It is remarkable in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies is, "*my* people," "Come out of Babylon *my* people!"

Thus his tender mercies are toward us in an imperfect state; and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, represented by the inspired prophet, in the "returning of a pure language."

Happy for those who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon my people." For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet as we bow in true humility and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise; and that in weaning us from all that is selfish, he prepares the way to a quiet habitation where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. An exercise of spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of Truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us and be instructed. And O that such who have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking.

Our blessed Saviour speaking on worldly greatness, compares himself to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth."

Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men aspiring to outward greatness are wont to oppress others to support their designs, he who was of the highest descent, being the Son of God, and greater than any amongst the greatest families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any show of outward greatness, and from any supposed superiority in themselves, or derived from their ancestors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world.

Such was the example of our blessed Redeemer, of whom the beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in him, ought also to walk even as he walked."

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions; "Consider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore to think, speak, or do any thing unseemly, for God's

children and the members of Christ." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

## CHAPTER II.

### *On the example of Christ.*

My mind has been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, as to the things of this life, who are under trials in regard to getting a living in a way answerable to the purity of Truth; and a labour of heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in those who are tried with plentiful estates, but that they with tenderness of heart may sympathize with them.

It is the saying of our blessed Redeemer, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wisdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the Spirit of Truth, and is "called the way of holiness;" a way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey, is considered as a trust committed to us by Him, who formed and supports the world, and is the rightful director of the use and application of the products of it.

Except the mind be preserved chaste, there is no safety for us; but in an estrangement from true resignation, the spirit of the world casts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a selfish application of outward treasures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of society, is that exhortation of the apostle, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

A person in outward prosperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but the same mind being in him which was in Christ Jesus, he may feel a tenderness of heart towards those of low degree; and instead of setting himself above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour that his way through life is more easy than the way of many others; may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of those customs which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth such a perfect example of humiliation, that the pure witness may be reached in many minds, and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jesus Christ in promoting the happiness of others, was not deficient in looking for the helpless, who lay in obscurity, nor did he

save any thing to render himself honourable amongst men, which might have been of more use to the weak members in his Father's family; of whose compassion towards us I may now speak a little. He who was perfectly happy in himself, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of angels," but our imperfect natures, and therein wrestled with the temptations which attend us in this life; and although he was the Son of Him who is greater than earthly princes, yet he became a companion to poor, sincere hearted men; and though he gave the clearest evidence that Divine power attended him, yet the most unfavourable constructions of his acts were framed by a self-righteous people; his miracles represented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavours used to render him hateful, as having his mission from the prince of darkness; nor did their envy cease until they took him like a criminal and brought him to trial. Though some may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehension of distress, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly sincere, having the same human nature which we have, and feeling, a little before he was apprehended, the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "sorrowful even unto death." Here the human nature struggled to be excused from a cup so bitter; but his prayers centered in resignation, "Not my will but thine be done." In this conflict, so great was his agony that "sweat like drops of blood fell from him to the ground."

Behold now, as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the transgressors." Behold him as some poor man of no reputation, standing before the high priest and elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witnesses appear against him, and he, mindful of the most gracious design of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence, "but as a sheep that is dumb before his shearer," so under many accusations, revilings and buffetings, he remained silent. And though he signified to Peter that he had access to power sufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet retaining a resignation to suffer for the sins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them to go on in their malicious designs, and pronounce him to be worthy of death, even him who was perfect in goodness. Thus, "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away," and like some vile criminal, "he was led as a lamb to the slaughter." Under these heavy trials, though poor unstable Pilate was convinced of his innocence, yet the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver and a blasphemer, and the approaching punishment



as a just judgment upon him, "They esteemed him smitten of God and afflicted." So great had been the surprise of his disciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forsook him and fled:" thus they hid their faces from him, he was despised, and by their conduct it appeared as though "they esteemed him not."

But contrary to that opinion, of his being smitten of God and afflicted, it was for our sakes that "he was put to grief; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities;" and under the weight of them, manifesting the deepest compassion for the instruments of his misery, he laboured as their advocate, and in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

Now this mind being in us, which was in Christ Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of superiority, worldly honour or greatness; a deep attention is felt to the Divine Counsellor, and an ardent engagement to promote as far as we may be enabled, the happiness of mankind universally. This state, where every motion from a selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may with gratitude to the Father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that amongst the many nations and families on the earth, those who believe in the Messiah, that "he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil," and thus to "take away the sins of the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father, "to be done on earth as it is in heaven." Strong are the desires I often feel, that this holy profession may remain unpolluted, and that the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure inward feeling of his Spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *On Merchandising.*

WHERE the treasures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow Him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaste; and a care is felt, that the unction from the Holy one may be our leader in every undertaking.

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that friendship which is enmity with God, and dead to the customs and fashions which have not their foundation in the Truth; the way is prepared to lowliness in outward living, and to a disentanglement from those

snares which attend the love of money; and where the faithful friends of Christ are so situated that merchandising appears to be their duty, they feel a restraint from going farther than he owns their proceeding; being convinced that "we are not our own, but are bought with a price, that none of us may live to ourselves, but to Him who died for us." Thus they are taught not only to keep to a moderate advance and uprightness in their dealings, but to consider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate against the cause of universal righteousness, and to keep continually in view the spreading of the peaceable kingdom of Christ amongst mankind.

The prophet Isaiah spoke of the gathered church, in the similitude of a city, where many being employed were all preserved in purity; "They shall call them the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord, and thou shalt be called, sought out, a city not forsaken." The apostle after mentioning the mystery of Christ's sufferings, exhorts "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." There is a conversation necessary in trade; and there is a conversation so foreign from the nature of Christ's kingdom, that it is represented in the similitude of one man pushing another with a warlike weapon; "There is that speaketh like the piercing of a sword." In all our concerns it is necessary that the leading of the spirit of Christ be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preserved chaste as an holy people, who "in all things are circumspect," that nothing we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedness, make the unrighteous more at ease in unrighteousness, or occasion the injuries committed against the oppressed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to and supported by the inhabitants of a country, there is a certain reproach attends those individuals amongst them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. Thus if a person of good report is charged with stealing goods out of an open shop in the day time, and on a public trial is found guilty, and the law in that case is put in execution, he therein sustains a loss of reputation; but if he be convicted a second and third time of the like offence, his good name would cease amongst such who knew these things. If his neighbour, reputed to be an honest man, is charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaser knew they were stolen, and on a public trial is found guilty, this purchaser would meet with disesteem; but if he persisted in buying stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and was publicly convicted thereof a second and third

time, he would no longer be considered as an honest man by those who knew these things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, or buying his traffic, until some evident tokens of sincere repentance appeared in him. But where iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to justice or put to shame, their hands grow strong. Thus the general corruption of the Jews shortly before their state was broken up by the Chaldeans, is described by their boldness in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedness, they strengthened one another and grew confident. "Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush;" on which account the Lord thus expostulates with them, "What hath my beloved to do in my house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many? and the holy flesh is passed from thee: when thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest."

The faithful friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and inwardly breathe that his kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven, are taught by him to be quick of understanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteousness in the earth; and as shame is due to those whose works manifestly operate against the gracious design of his sufferings for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong customs, however supported, may bias their judgments, but that they may humbly abide under the cross, and be preserved in a conduct which may not contribute to strengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedness, or to remove shame from those to whom it is justly due. The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expression, "The Lord our righteousness," and feel him to be "made unto us wisdom and sanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in business their company gives encouragement to others; and as one grain of incense deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that state unacceptable, and from those esteemed leaders of the people may be injurious to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart to follow him faithfully, who alone gives sound wisdom and the spirit of true discerning. O how necessary it is to consider the weight of a holy profession!

The conduct of some formerly, gave occasion of complaint against them, "Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of

thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic." And in several places it is charged against Israel that they had polluted the holy Name.

The prophet Isaiah represents inward sanctification in the similitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and particularly describes the outward fruits, brought forth by those who dwell in this inward holiness, "they walk righteously, and speak uprightly." By walking he represents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and "by speaking uprightly," seems to point at that which Moses appears to have had in view, when he thus expressed himself, "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, nor speak in a case to decline after many to wrest judgment:"

He goes on to show their firmness in equity; representing them as persons superior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteousness for their foundation; "They despise the gain of oppressions:" and he further shows how careful they are that no prospects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgment respecting an injury; "They shake their hands from holding bribes."

Again, where any interest is so connected with shedding blood, that the cry of innocent blood goes also with it; he points out their care to keep innocent blood from crying against them, in the similitude of a man stopping his ears to prevent a sound from entering his head, "They stop their ears from hearing of blood;" and where they know that wickedness is committed, he points out with care, that they do not by an unguarded friendship with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people so deeply affected with sorrow, that they cannot endure to stand by and behold it; this he represents in the similitude of a man "shutting his eyes from seeing evil."

"Who amongst us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly. He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil."

He proceeds in the spirit of prophecy to show how the faithful being supported under temptations, would be preserved from the defilement which there is in the love of money; that as they who, in a reverent waiting on God, feel their strength renewed, are said to "mount upward;" so here their preservation from the snare of unrighteous gain, is represented in the likeness of a man, borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another, "They shall dwell on

high;" and he points out the stability and firmness of their condition, "His place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks;" and that under all the outward appearances of loss, in denying himself of gainful profits for righteousness sake, through the care of Him who provides for the sparrows, he should have a supply answerable to infinite wisdom, "Bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure." And as our Saviour mentions the sight of God to be attainable by "the pure in heart," so here the prophet pointed out, how in true sanctification the understanding is opened, to behold the peaceable harmonious nature of his kingdom, "thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty;" and that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to "a habitation eternal in the heavens," with an eye divinely opened, they "shall behold the land that is very far off."

"He shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks, bread shall be given him, his water shall be sure. Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off."

I often remember, and to me the subject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right, and that he "before whom the nations are as the drop of a bucket," is "no respecter of persons." Happy for them, who like the inspired prophet, "in the way of his judgments, wait for him."

When we feel him to sit as a refiner with fire, and know a resignedness wrought in us, to that which he appoints for us, his blessing in a very low estate, is found to be more precious than much outward treasure in those ways of life where the leadings of his Spirit are not followed.

The prophet, in a sight of the Divine work amongst many people, declared in the name of the Lord, "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." And again, "from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great amongst the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering."

Behold here how the prophets had an inward sense of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ; and how he was spoken of as one who should "take the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession." That "he was given for a light to the Gentiles; and for salvation to the ends of the earth."

When we meditate on this Divine work, as a work of ages; a work that the prophets felt long before Christ appeared visibly on earth, and remember the bitter agonies he endured

when he "poured out his soul unto death," that the heathen nations as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved; when we contemplate this marvellous work, as that which "the angels desire to look into," and behold people amongst whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our heavenly Father, not only indifferent with respect to publishing the glad tidings amongst the Gentiles, as yet sitting in darkness and entangled with many superstitions; but aspiring after wealth and worldly honours, and taking means to obtain their ends, tending to stir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of Christianity—when these things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the subject?

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptised into the nature of that work for which Christ suffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for promoting it in the earth.

Policarp, who was reputed a disciple of St. John, having attained to great age, was at length sentenced to die for his religion, and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows, "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all sorts of just men who live in thy presence; I thank thee! that thou hast graciously vouchsafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Christ, unto the resurrection of everlasting life; among whom I shall be received in thy sight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable sacrifice: wherefore for all this, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee through the everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end. Amen."

Bishop Latimer, when sentence of death by fire, was pronounced against him, on account of his firmness in the cause of religion, said, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may, in this case glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Monuments, 936.

William Dewsbury, who had suffered much for his religion, in his last sickness, encouraging his friends to faithfulness, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving-kindness of God to him in the course of his life, and that through the power of Divine love, he for Christ's sake had joyfully entered prisons.

I mention these, as a few examples, out of

many, of the powerful operation of the Spirit of Christ, where people are fully devoted to it, and of the ardent longings in their minds for the spreading of his kingdom amongst mankind. Now to those, in the present age, who truly know Christ, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loud is the call wherewith we are called to faithfulness; that in following this pure light of life, "we as workers together with him," may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a sacrifice on the cross; and that his peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of Christianity has become hateful to many of the heathen.

When Gehazi had obtained treasures which the prophet under Divine direction had refused, and was returned from the business; the prophet, troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for specious living. "Is it a time to receive money and garments, men servants and maid servants? The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever." O that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time, and humbly follow His counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *On Divine admonitions.*

SUCH are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that in all the dispensations of his providence, it is our duty, "in every thing, to give thanks." Though from the first settlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his judgments to the degree of famine, yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and laid waste fields of grain and grass, where they have appeared: another kind, in great multitudes, working out of sight, in grass ground, have so eaten the roots that the surface, being loosened from the soil beneath, might be taken off in great sheets.

These devouring creatures appearing seldom, and coming in such multitudes, their generation appears different from most other reptiles, and by the prophet they were called "God's army sent amongst the people."

There have been tempests of hail, which have very much destroyed the grain where they extended. Through long drought in summer, grain in some places has been less than half the usual quantity;\* and in the

\* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the case of poor tenants may be mercifully considered.

continuance thereof, I have beheld with attention, from week to week, how dryness from the top of the earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languished; and with reverence my mind has been turned toward Him, who being perfect in goodness, in wisdom and power, doeth all things right. After long drought, when the sky has grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds like lakes of water have hung over our heads, from whence the thirsty land has been soaked; I have at times, with awfulness beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made sometimes to accompany these blessings, as a messenger from Him who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right use of those benefits, and to give striking admonitions, that we do not misapply those gifts, in which an Almighty power is exerted, in bestowing them upon us.

When I have considered that many of our fellow-creatures suffer much in some places, for want of the necessaries of life, whilst those who rule over them are too much given to luxury and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wisdom amongst us, in the use of the outward gifts of God; those marks of famine have appeared like humbling admonitions from him, that we might be instructed by gentle chastisements, and might seriously consider our ways; remembering that the outward supply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we should not venture to use, or to apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wisdom.

Should we continue to reject those merciful admonitions, and use his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious design of the giver, or send them abroad in a way of trade, which the Spirit of Truth doth not lead into; and should he whose eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chastisements so far as to reduce us to much greater distress than hath yet been felt by these provinces; with what sorrow of heart might we meditate on that saying, "Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts."

My mind has often been affected with sorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and those expressions concerning the defilement of the earth have been opened to my understanding, "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence." Again, "The

earth also, is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have broken the everlasting covenant."

The earth being the work of a Divine power, may not as such be accounted unclean; but when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteousness so obstructed, that "in our skirts are found the blood of the souls of poor innocents; not by a secret search but upon all these"\*—when blood, shed unrighteously, remains unatoned for, and the inhabitants are not effectually purged from it, when they do not wash their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law, in the

case of one being found slain; but seek for gain arising from scenes of violence and oppression, here the land is polluted with blood. Deut. xxi. 6.

Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to support unrighteous purposes; here the gracious design of Infinite Goodness, in these his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable; "Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins; thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities."

## REMARKS ON SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

FIRST PRINTED IN LONDON, 1773.

### CHAPTER I.

#### *On loving our neighbours as ourselves.*

WHEN we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preserved in tenderness both toward mankind and the animal creation; but if another spirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of disordering the affairs of society.

If a man, successful in business, expends part of his income in things of no real use, while the poor employed by him pass through great difficulties in getting the necessaries of life, this requires his serious attention.

If several principal men in business unite in setting the wages of those who work for hire, and therein have regard to a profit to themselves answerable to unnecessary expense in their families, while the wages of the others on a moderate industry will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; this is like laying a temptation in the way of some to strive for a place higher than they are in, when they have not stock sufficient for it.

I feel a concern in the spring of pure love, that all who have plenty of outward substance, may example others in the right use of things; may carefully look into the condition of poor people, and beware of exacting on them with regard to their wages.

While hired labourers, by moderate indus-

try, through the Divine blessing, may live comfortably, rear up families, and give them suitable education, it appears reasonable for them to be contented with their wages.

If they who have plenty, love their fellow-creatures in that love which is Divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind universally, their place in society is a place of care, an office requiring attention, and the more we possess, the greater is our trust, and with an increase of treasure, an increase of care becomes necessary.

When our will is subject to the will of God, and in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view, but a comfortable living equally with the rest of our fellow-creatures, then outward treasures are no further desirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the trust, and strength to act as dutiful children in His service, who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a subsistence for us in this world.

A desire for treasures on any other motive, appears to be against that command of our blessed Saviour, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth."

He forbids not laying up in the summer against the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful in that which properly relates to our being in this world; but in this prohibition he puts in *yourselves*, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth."

Now in the pure light, this language is understood, for in the love of Christ there is no respect of persons; and while we abide in his

\* See a Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her colonies, page 31.

love, we live not to ourselves, but to him who died for us. And as we are thus united in spirit to Christ, we are engaged to labour in promoting that work in the earth for which he suffered.

In this state of mind our desires are, that every honest member in society may have a portion of treasure and share of trust, answerable to that gift, with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great treasure, there is a great trust.

A great trust requireth great care.

But the laborious mind wants rest.

A pious man is content to do a share of business in society, answerable to the gifts with which he is endowed, while the channels of business are free from unrighteousness, but is careful lest at any time his heart be overcharged.

In the harmonious spirit of society "Christ is all in all."

Here it is that "old things are put away, all things are become new, all things are of God," and the desire for outward riches is at an end.

They of low degree who have small gifts, enjoy the help of those who have large gifts; those with small gifts, have a small degree of care, while those with large gifts, have a large degree of care: and thus to abide in the love of Christ, and enjoy a comfortable living in this world, is all that is aimed at by those members in society, to whom Christ is made wisdom and righteousness.

But when they who have much treasure, are not faithful stewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend.

This matter hath deeply affected my mind. The Lord, through merciful chastisements, hath given me a feeling of that love, in which the harmony of society standeth, and a sight of the growth of that seed which bringeth forth wars and great calamities in the world; and a labour attends me to open it to others.

To act with integrity, according to that strength of mind and body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears necessary for all, and he who thus stands in the lowest station, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living, as he whose gifts of mind are greater, and whose cares are more extensive.

If some endowed with strong understanding as men, abide not in the harmonious state, in which we "love our neighbours as ourselves," but walk in that spirit in which the children of this world are wise in their generation; these by the strength of contrivance may sometimes gather great treasure. But the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; and if we gather treasures in worldly wisdom, we lay up "treasures for ourselves;"

and great treasures managed in any other spirit, than the Spirit of Truth, disorder the affairs of society, for hereby the good gifts of God in his outward creation are turned into the channels of worldly honour, and frequently applied to support luxury, while the wages of poor labourers are such, that with moderate industry and frugality they may not live comfortably, rear up families, and give them suitable education, but through the straightness of their condition, are often drawn on to labour under weariness, to toil through hardships themselves, and frequently to oppress those useful animals with which we are entrusted.

From age to age, throughout all ages, Divine love is that alone, in which dominion has been, is, and will be rightly conducted.

In this the endowments of men are so employed, that the friend and the governor are united in one, and oppressive customs come to an end.

Riches in the hands of individuals in society, are attended with some degree of power; and so far as power is put forth separate from pure love, so far the government of the Prince of peace is interrupted; and as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that state in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be against the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labour of men, under the blessing of Him who formed it, yieldeth a supply for the inhabitants from generation to generation, and they who walk in the pure light, have their minds prepared to taste and relish not only those blessings which are spiritual, but also feel a sweetness and satisfaction in a right use of the good gifts of God in the visible creation.

Here we see that man's happiness stands not in great possessions, but in a heart devoted to follow Christ, in that use of things, where customs contrary to universal love have no power over us.

In this state our hearts are prepared to trust in God, and our desires for our children and posterity are, that they, with the rest of mankind in ages to come, may be of that number of whom he hath said, "I will be a father to them, and they shall be my sons and daughters."

When wages in a fruitful land bear so small a proportion to the necessaries of life, that poor honest people who have families, cannot by a moderate industry attain to a comfortable living, and give their children sufficient learning, but must either labour to a degree of oppression, or else omit that which appears to be a duty; while this is the case with the poor, there is an inclination in the minds of most people, to prepare at least so much trea-



sure for their children, that they with care and moderate industry may live free from the hardships which the poor pass through.

This subject requires our serious consideration: to labour that our children may be put in a way to live comfortably, appears in itself to be a duty, so long as our labours are consistent with universal righteousness; but if in striving to shun poverty, we do not walk in that state where "Christ is our life," then we wander. "He that hath the Son, hath life." "This life is the light of men." If we walk not in this light, we walk in darkness, and "he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth."

To keep to right means in labouring to attain a right end is necessary: if in striving to shun poverty, we strive only in that state where Christ is the light of our life, our labours will stand in the true harmony of society; but if people are confident that the end aimed at is good, and in this confidence pursue it so eagerly, as not to wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them, then they come to loss. "Christ is given to be a leader and commander of the people." Again, "The Lord shall guide thee continually." Again, "Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us, for thou also hast wrought all our works in us." "In the Lord have we righteousness and strength."

In this state our minds are preserved watchful in following the leadings of his spirit in all our proceedings, and a care is felt for a reformation in general; that our own posterity, with the rest of mankind in succeeding ages, may not be entangled by oppressive customs, transmitted to them through our hands. But if people in the narrowness of natural love, are afraid that their children will be oppressed by the rich, and through an eager desire to get treasures, depart from the pure leadings of Truth in one case, though it may seem to be a small matter, yet the mind even in that small matter may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding, without waiting for the Divine Leader.

Thus people may grow expert in business, wise in the wisdom of this world, retain a fair reputation amongst men, and yet being strangers to the voice of Christ, the safe leader of his flock, the treasures thus gotten, may be like snares to the feet of their posterity.

In keeping faithful to the pure Counsellor, and under trying circumstances suffering adversity for righteousness sake, there is a reward.

If we being poor, are hardly dealt with by those who are rich, and under this difficulty are frugal and industrious, and in true humility open our case to them who oppress us, this may reach the pure witness in their minds;

and though we should remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the love of Christ, all will work for our good.

When we feel what it is to suffer in the true suffering state, we experience the truth of those expressions, that "as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation aboundeth by Christ."

But if poor people who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true suffering state, do not labour in true love with those who deal hardly with them, but envy their outward greatness, murmur in their hearts because of their own poverty, and strive in the wisdom of this world to get riches for themselves and their children; this is like wandering in the dark.

If we who are of a middle station between riches and poverty, are affected at times with the oppressions of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our posterity after us; O how necessary is it that we wait for the pure counsel of Truth!

Many who have seen the hardships of the poor, have felt an eager desire that their children may be put in a way to escape these hardships; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our understandings to proceed rightly under these difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that holy Leader who prepares his people to labour for the restoration of true harmony amongst our fellow-creatures!

"In the pure Gospel spirit we walk by faith and not by sight."

In the obedience of faith we die to the narrowness of self-love, and our life being hid with Christ in God, our hearts are enlarged toward mankind universally; but in departing from the true light of life, many in striving to get treasures have stumbled upon the dark mountains.

That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom, this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where we may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us.

Through departing from the Truth as it is in Jesus, through introducing ways of life attended with unnecessary expences, many wants have arisen, the minds of people have been employed in studying to get wealth, and in this pursuit some departing from equity, have retained a profession of religion; others have looked at their example, and thereby

been strengthened to proceed further in the same way: thus many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa and selling them as slaves.

It has been computed that nearly one hundred thousand Negroes have of late years been taken annually from that coast, by ships employed in the English trade.

As I have travelled on religious visits in some parts of America, I have seen many of these people under the command of overseers, in a painful servitude.

I have beheld them as Gentiles under people professing Christianity, not only kept ignorant of the holy Scriptures, but under great provocations to wrath; of whom it may truly be said, "They that rule over them make them to howl, and the holy Name is abundantly blasphemed." Where children are taught to read the Sacred Writings while young, and exemplified in meekness and humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a debt due from us to a succeeding age.

But where youth are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, forced to labour hard under the harsh rebukes of rigorous overseers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings; in such an education how great are the disadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do these things work against the increase of the government of the Prince of peace.

Humphrey Smith, in his works, page 125, speaking of the tender feelings of the love of God in his heart when he was a child, said, "By the violent wrathful nature that ruled in others, was my quietness disturbed, and anger begotten in me toward them, yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-mindedness and wrathful nature so provoked me, that I was estranged from it.

"And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that in the fear of the living God you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into such alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the present age, and in labouring to support a way of living conformable to the present world, the departure from that wisdom that is pure and peaceable, has been great.

Under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, my life has been often a life of mourning, and tender desires are raised in me, that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have read some books written by people who were acquainted with the manner of getting slaves in Africa. I have had verbal re-

lations of this nature from several negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk English.

I have sundry times heard Englishmen speak on this subject, who have been in Africa on this business; and from all these accounts it appears evident that great violence is committed, and much blood shed in Africa in getting slaves.

When three or four hundred slaves are put in the hold of a vessel in a hot climate, their breathing soon affects the air. Were that number of free people to go passengers with all things proper for their voyage, there would inconvenience arise from their number; but slaves are taken by violence, and they frequently endeavour to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are kept under confinement, by means of which a scent ariseth in the hold of a ship, and distempers often break out amongst them, of which many die. Of this tainted air in the hold of ships freighted with slaves, I have had several accounts, some in print and some verbal, and all agree that the scent is grievous. When these people are sold in America and in the islands, they are made to labour in a manner more servile and constant, than that which they were used to at home, that with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labour, some thousands are computed to die every year, in what is called the seasoning.\*

\* In perusing the writings of this worthy man, the reader cannot fail to observe how large a portion of his attention was occupied in contemplating the wrongs and cruelties of negro slavery and the slave trade, and how deeply and tenderly he sympathised with the suffering victims of those crying evils. The firm but temperate tone of his writings in relation to them, and his earnest and moving remonstrances with the oppressors, are models worthy of imitation. It is the benign, the just and the merciful spirit of the Gospel which must eradicate slavery from our country if it is done by peaceful methods; and the closer we keep to the leadings of this spirit, the more successful will be our efforts in this righteous cause. If the evils attendant on slavery, occasioned so much painful concern and exercise of mind to John Woolman, at the time in which he lived, how much more deeply would he suffer now, when the number of its helpless victims is so vastly multiplied. We must not admit the idea, that praiseworthy as were his sympathy and benevolent exertions on behalf of these oppressed people, they were suited to other times and other circumstances than those under which we live, and that we are exempted from the obligation of those principles and feelings which actuated him and his fellow-labourers in the cause of suffering humanity. Within these United States, more than two millions of our fellow-beings are groaning under the wrongs and cruelties of hopeless, unconditional bondage, and we cannot

Thus it appears evident, that great numbers of these people are brought every year to an untimely end; many of them being persons who never injured us.

Where the innocent suffer under hard-

doubt but that the sighs and the tears extorted from them by the iron hand of oppression, are noticed by that gracious and impartial Being, who made of one blood all the families of the earth, and who declares himself to be the refuge of the poor, the refuge of the needy in his distress.

Since the enactment of laws for the abolishment of the foreign slave trade and declaring it piracy, it has claimed but a small share of the public attention, and the idea seems to have obtained considerable currency, that it had nearly ceased. But the truth is, that not only the extent of the traffic is greatly increased, but the horrors and cruelties attendant on its prosecution are dreadfully aggravated. The trade being contraband, the vessels employed in it are constructed for fast sailing, in order to elude the vigilance of the cruisers who are watching them. This mode of construction diminishes the space allowed the poor slaves and increases their sufferings to a frightful degree, while the laws which regulated the number of slaves taken on board, in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, and made some other humane provisions to lessen their sufferings, are of course all inoperative. Thus the wretched victims of this abominable traffic are wholly at the mercy of a class of men, who seem actuated only by cupidity and the worst passions which degrade the human species.

The following statements founded mainly on official documents, will give some idea of the present state of the foreign slave-trade.

It appears that after making ample allowance for all doubtful cases, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand slaves are annually imported from Africa into Cuba, Brazil and Porto Rico, besides a large number, (not less than fifty thousand more) who are carried every year to Texas, the United States and other countries.

As these slaves are chiefly the victims of rapine, or prisoners taken in predatory warfare, the number who are killed in procuring them is great, not less probably than those who are captured. During the long forced marches to the sea coast, over burning sands, destitute of food and of water, and subjected to great cruelties, vast numbers perish; and while waiting for a market at the places of deposit on the sea-board, contagious diseases and sickness occasioned by grief, confinement and starvation, occasion great mortality.

On the passage across the Atlantic, it is well ascertained, that the deaths are fully twenty-five per cent. of the whole number shipped; and of those who are landed at the places of destination, twenty per cent. die in the seasoning and from other causes.

Thus we are warranted in the conclusion, that at a moderate estimate, for the two hundred thousand slaves annually taken from Africa, three hundred thousand are sacrificed, and that the continent is thus despoiled of half a million of its inhabitants every year.

hearted men, even unto death, and the channels of equity are so obstructed, that the cause of the sufferers is not judged in righteousness, "the land is polluted with blood."

Where blood hath been shed unrighteously,

We have already said that many of the slaves were prisoners of war:

These wars are not the consequence of a disposition naturally quarrelsome, but are the immediate offspring of cupidity, sharpened up and roused to action by the arrival of a slave ship. Others of these wretched beings are the innocent victims of a corrupt system of jurisprudence, which owes its existence to the same fruitful source of human misery. This unjust system places the poor natives wholly at the mercy of the petty despots who rule the country. He who has enriched himself by his industry, or who has a numerous family of fine children, the sale of which would produce a handsome sum, seldom escapes the notice of his chieftain. Crimes are invented and promoted, and accusations multiplied, solely with the hope of procuring condemnations, the punishment annexed to which is, 'Sale to the Slave Merchant.' Many are the victims of a system of avowed rapine and plunder—peacefully pursuing their agricultural or mechanical occupations, they are seized by ruffians who had concealed themselves in ambush, are gagged, bound, and borne away to the slave ship. All these are the effects of the strong temptations held out by the white men who visit their shores, to procure cargoes of slaves; for the natives, when unprovoked by their artifices, evince mild and pacific dispositions; but no sooner does a ship drop anchor, than avarice, hatred, revenge, and all the malevolent passions which agitate the human breast, seem at once roused into action.

Upon the authority of Mungo Parke, an eye witness of the facts, and whose interesting travels in Africa are before the public, we state the following facts:—Those who are captured or stolen in the vicinity of the sea coast, suffer comparatively but little from the fatigue of travelling; but such as are brought from the interior of the country endure the most grievous sufferings during a journey of several moons, over rugged rocks and burning sands, and through inhospitable and dangerous deserts. They are secured by locking the right leg of one and the left leg of another in the same pair of fetters, which they must support by a string in order to enable them to walk without very great torture. Every four slaves are tied together by a rope of strong twisted thongs, passed round their necks, and at night an additional pair of fetters is put upon their hands. The scorching heat of the sun and sand, the weight of their irons, added to the burdens which they are compelled to carry, weary and oppress them to so dreadful a degree as to induce sickness, vomiting, and frequently fainting; but regardless of their sufferings, they are goaded and spurred along by the cruel application of the lacerating lash, till many actually expire under their complicated miseries.

In an investigation into the character and effects of the slave-trade, which took place before a committee of the British Parliament, numerous witnesses who were examined under the solemn

and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel a concern to open, as I may

be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When "the iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah was exceedingly great, when the land was defiled with blood, and the

obligation of an oath or affirmation, agree in stating that when on board the vessels, the slaves appear melancholy and dejected, that many continue so during the whole of the voyage, and that their dejection evidently arises from the anguish of their feelings on being separated forever from their country, their homes, their beloved families and friends. From the same respectable and authentic source we draw the following information: The men are chained together in pairs—the right leg of one is fettered to the left leg of another, in which situation they are stowed into the hold of the vessel—the women and children, however, are not chained and ironed like the men. When the weather is fair, they are brought up out of their prisons for the benefit of a pure air, and to take their meals. For this purpose the men are distributed on the deck in long rows, two by two, from head to stern, but to prevent their rising, and to secure them from jumping overboard, which they often attempt, a long chain is passed through the irons of each couple and locked down to the deck at both ends.

When the vessel is full, their condition is wretched indeed. In the best regulated ships, a full grown man has no more space allowed him to lie upon than sixteen inches, which is less than he would have in a coffin—while the height of the apartment is about thirty-two inches. There are few vessels, however, in which even this limited space is allowed them. In many they are so closely stowed that the poor creatures are compelled to lie upon their sides, while the top of the hold in which they are crammed is so very low as wholly to prevent their sitting upright. Beside all these evils, they are entirely naked, and lie upon the bare boards, in which situation the constant motion of the vessel bruises and excoriates different parts of their bodies—the rubbing of their irons lacerates and inflames their legs, occasioning constant torture, from which they can seldom procure even the smallest intermission.

But horrible beyond all description, are the agonies which they endure, when it blows a heavy gale, and the hatches and gratings are of necessity shut down. No language can possibly portray even a faint picture of their deplorable condition. In the extremity of anguish they are often heard to cry out in the language of their country, "We are dying! We are dying!" Imagine to yourselves several hundreds of human beings shut up close in the hold of a vessel in a warm climate, the circulation of air wholly excluded, while the heat, the excretions of their bodies, and the filth of the boards they lie upon, are emitting the most noisome effluvia—add to this, the dreadful effects of the increased motion of the vessel, the shrieks of the swooning, and the groans of the dying, and your imagination may present some idea of what these miserable beings are compelled to suffer in a voyage to our country. The steam which comes at this time from their bodies, and which ascends

through the little crevices of the gratings, has been compared by some of the witnesses, to that which issues from the mouth of a furnace. Many of them fainting from the heat, stench and corrupted air, have been brought upon deck in a dying state, while others have actually expired of suffocation, who but a few hours before were in apparent health. Horrible as this description may appear, many circumstances are omitted which would greatly aggravate it. We can refer to the most credible testimony for cases, where they have been afflicted with contagious diseases, especially the flux, when, says one of the witnesses, the floor of their prison was covered with blood and mucus like that of a slaughter-house.—See the Evidence before the Committee of Parliament before referred to.

It is not surprising that these poor creatures, groaning under the horrors of such complicated misery should seek that relief in death, which they have no reason to hope for from any other source, and hence it is that opportunities for destroying themselves are anxiously watched for and seized with an avidity almost beyond belief. The most common method of effecting this, is by throwing themselves into the sea, although every avenue of escape by such means is carefully guarded. The men are not only locked to the deck as before mentioned, but strong nettings are fastened around the ship which reach from the deck to a considerable height in the rigging. But notwithstanding these precautions, and the terrible example of shooting some who attempt to leap overboard, the instances where they thus destroy themselves are numerous, and where they are frustrated in the attempt this way, they resort to other means to obtain their object. The keenest foresight on the part of their oppressors cannot always prevent them. When ropes have been left about the deck, some have seized the opportunity and strangled themselves—when small instruments, or even pieces of iron have come within their reach, others have been discovered to have made mortal wounds with them upon their bodies, and many to whom all these means have failed, resolutely refuse to take any sustenance, when after pining in great misery for several days, the welcome hand of death has at last terminated their sufferings. Numerous are the instances of females of very delicate temperament of body and mind, whose feelings are more tender, and who have a more acute sense of their situation, but possess less resolution, where a continually increasing melancholy has terminated in madness, in which pitiable condition they have remained for the short remnant of their days. Such are the melancholy scenes which are continually passing on board the slave ships from the period of leaving the coast of Africa, until they arrive at the place of destination, during which time a considerable mortality occurs. From the evidence before quoted, it appears that out of seven thousand nine hundred and four slaves who sailed with

city full of perverseness; some were found sighing and crying for the abominations of the times." And those who live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, I trust will be sensible that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad customs when

they become general, that people growing bold through the example one of another, have often been unmoved at the most serious warnings.

Our blessed Saviour speaking of the people of the old world, said, "They eat, they drank, they married and were given in marriage,

the witnesses at different times, two thousand and fifty-three perished in the short space of six or eight weeks, though all of them were young and healthy when brought on board—the oldest slave seldom being more than twenty-five years of age. What a murderous, what a cruel devastation of the human race is hereby occasioned! What an impious rebellion against the will and the designs of a beneficent Providence!

It is impossible that men can frequently participate in such scenes as those we have been endeavouring to describe, without becoming hardened in cruelty and in wickedness. There is no doubt that many when they first commence this diabolical employ, find it necessary to suppress and stifle the feelings of humanity; but every suppression of benevolent feeling does violence to the tenderness of the human heart; it steels and blunts its virtuous sensibility, and prepares it for the commission of acts of greater atrocity. Such is precisely the case of slave traders. By degrees they are brought to view with indifference, and then to perpetrate acts of the most shocking barbarity—acts, the bare recital of which would cause a feeling mind to shudder with abhorrence.—They are taught by repeated cruelties, to regard the cries, the tears, and the sufferings of a fellow-creature whom they have purchased, no more than they would the drowning of a fly! To the truth of our assertions let the following facts testify:

"On board a foreign ship called the *Zong*, many of the slaves had died, and the mortality was spreading so rapidly that the captain began to fear he should lose them all. He therefore came to the diabolical resolution of selecting those who were the most sickly and throwing them into the sea, conceiving that if he could plead a necessity for the deed, the loss of the slaves would fall upon the underwriters. The plea which he proposed to set up, was want of water, though neither the crew nor the slaves had been put upon allowance. He selected accordingly one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly, fifty-four of whom were immediately thrown overboard, and forty-two on the succeeding day. But here the wretch was left without the shadow of an excuse, for a shower of rain came on, which lasted for three days. Notwithstanding this, the remaining twenty-six were brought on deck to share the same fate. The first sixteen submitted to be thrown into the sea, but the remainder would not permit any of the crew to touch them, but leaped in after their companions. These circumstances were all fully proved before a court of justice, held at Guildhall, in London, in the prosecution of a suit brought to recover their value from the insurers—the result of which however, was, that the loss was adjudged to fall upon the owners.

"The case of the *Rodeur*, captain B——, a French vessel of two hundred tons burden, is remarkable.

She left Havre for the coast of Africa, where she arrived and anchored before Bonny, in the river Calabar, and took in a cargo of slaves, contrary to the French law for the abolition of the trade. She soon after sailed with them for Gaudaloupe. In about a fortnight, when the vessel had nearly reached the Equator, a dreadful ophthalmia, sore eyes, broke out among the negroes, and spread with alarming rapidity. By the advice of the surgeon to the ship, the negroes, who till then had been confined to the hold, were successively brought upon deck, in order that they might breathe a purer air; but it soon became necessary to abandon this salutary measure, for many of them leaped into the sea, embracing each other, undaunted by the severity of the captain, who made a terrible example by shooting some and hanging others who attempted it. The danger of the disease, and probably the cause of the contagion were increased, by a violent dysentery, which now broke out among them. The disorder increased daily, as well as the number of those who became blind; and it spread with such alarming rapidity among the crew, that in a little time there was only one man left who could steer the ship. At this period a large ship approached the *Rodeur*, which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the winds and waves. She was the Spanish slave ship *St. Leon*. Her crew, hearing the voices of the *Rodeur*'s men, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale as they passed along, that the contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, and that there was not one individual left, either sailor or slave, who could see! But alas—this pitiable tale of woe was utterly in vain—no help could be given them—the *St. Leon* passed on and was never heard of more!

"At length by a concurrence of very favourable circumstances, and the skill and perseverance of one man, who only preserved his sight unimpaired, the *Rodeur* reached Gaudaloupe. By this time thirty-nine of the slaves had become blind, twelve had lost one eye and fourteen were affected with blemishes. Out of the crew consisting of twenty-two, twelve had lost their sight, among whom was the surgeon, five had become blind of one eye, and four others were partially injured.

"Now what will the reader suppose was the first act of this captain and crew when they found themselves safely entering the port of Gaudaloupe? Doubtless he will imagine they were employed in returning unfeigned thanks to God for so signal and so unmerited a deliverance. But he will mistake if he thinks so. They possessed neither gratitude to God nor humanity towards his creatures. Destitute of every virtuous and tender feeling, they evinced their impious ingratitude by absolutely throwing into the sea all those slaves, to the number of thirty-nine, who were incurably blind. This they did upon the wicked plea that if

until the day that Noah went into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all."

The like he spoke concerning the people of Sodom, who are also represented by the prophet, as haughty, luxurious and oppressive;

"This was the sin of Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was found in her, and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy."

they carried them on shore nobody would purchase them, and they would of course be at the expense of their maintenance; and further, by feigning an act of necessity, they might claim their value from the underwriters."

Sir George Collier of the Tartar frigate, gave chase to a vessel supposed to be a slave ship. In the course of the chase several casks were observed to be floating in the sea, which the Tartar passed. After a long pursuit they boarded her, and she proved to be the *La Jeune Estelle*, of Martinique, Olympia Sanguines, master. The captain declared that he had no slaves on board, having been plundered of them by a Spanish pirate. The agitation and alarm which marked every countenance on board the vessel, excited strong suspicions in the mind of the chief officer of the Tartar, and he ordered the hold to be searched. During the examination one of the sailors happened to strike a cask which was tightly closed up, when he heard a faint sound issue from it like the voice of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, in the last stage of suffocation were found packed up in it. They were carried on board the Tartar, revived by the fresh air, and were thus saved from a miserable death. These girls, when brought on the deck of the Tartar, were recognised by a person who had seen them in their own country, and who had been taken from another slave ship, as being the property of captain Richards, of the schooner *Swift*, of New York. An investigation afterwards took place, in the course of which, it appeared in evidence that captain Richards had died at Trade town on the coast of Africa, leaving behind him fourteen slaves of whom these girls were a part; and that after his death, captain Sanguines had landed his men armed with swords and pistols, and carried off the whole fourteen slaves on board the *Jeune Estelle*. Sir George Collier conceiving that the other twelve might possibly be concealed in the vessel, ordered her re-searched. The result was that a negro man, not however of the twelve, was rescued from death. A platform of loose boards had been raised upon the water casks of the vessel, forming a between-decks of about twenty-three inches in height, which was the intended receptacle of the cargo of human beings which captain Sanguines designed to procure. Beneath this platform, with one of the boards resting upon his body, jammed into the crevice between two water casks, was found this wretched negro, in a situation so extremely distressing, that it was matter of great astonishment to find him alive. The search for the other twelve proving fruitless, the officers and crew of the Tartar recollected with feelings of horror the casks which they had seen floating on the ocean; the painful conviction now forced itself upon their minds that the captain, fearing lest he should be captured by the Tartar and detained, had during the chase, packed up his

slaves in casks and thrown them into the sea; an apprehension which is corroborated by the reflection, that had he thrown them overboard without some such covering, their bodies would in all probability have met the view of the officers and crew of the Tartar, and disclosed the horrid catastrophe. But alas! it was now too late to attempt any plan for rescuing them. The chase had carried them many leagues to the windward of the casks, and should they even fall in with them, which was scarcely possible, there was not the smallest probability of finding any of the wretched negroes alive, for the casks being tight they must have perished from suffocation. See Papers laid on the table of the House of Commons—Report of Sir George Collier—Speech of Duc de Boglie—Report of African Institution, vol. 16.

The schooner —, *Don Morales*, master, arrived in the Rio Pongos, where she took on board two hundred slaves. Our informant states, that Morales while trading for the cargo, exhibited many instances of savage ferocity toward the slaves, but after leaving the river, his cruelty seems to have had full scope.

The number of slaves on board being greatly disproportioned to the stowage of the schooner, he was obliged from the first to issue short rations of water and rice, in consequence of which some of the slaves evinced some signs of discontent. Morales, deaf to their wants, kept them all below for three days without food of any kind, and with a barbarity unparalleled except among slave traders, discharged all the fire arms in his vessel among the wretched beings, bound down and chained together as they were. Some of the sailors presumed to interfere, but the barbarian silenced their complaints by killing the foremost of them with his sabre. He then made sail again for the Rio Pongos, where, with the assistance of the slave factors, he got every thing put to rights, took in slaves to supply the number he had killed, and bore away for Havanna.

Captain Hayes, R. N., mentions the case of a slaver, having a large cargo of human beings chained together: 'The master of the vessel, with more humanity than his fellows, permitted some of them to come on deck, but still chained together, for the benefit of the air, when they immediately commenced jumping overboard, hand in hand, and drowning in couples.' He explains the cause of this circumstance by saying, 'they were just brought from a situation between decks, and to which they knew they must return, where the scalding perspiration was running from one to the other, covered also with their own filth, and where it is no uncommon occurrence for women to be bringing forth children, and men dying by their side, with, full in their view, living and dead bodies chained together, and the living, in addition to all their other torments, labouring under the most famishing thirst, being in very few instances allowed more than a pint of water a day.' He



In a revolt so deep as this, when much blood has been shed unrighteously, in carrying on the slave trade, and in supporting the practice of keeping slaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth and from the seas against the oppressor; while this practice is continued, and under a great load of guilt there is more unrighteousness committed, the state of things is very moving.

There is a love which stands in nature, and a parent beholding his child in misery hath a feeling of the affliction; but in Divine

love the heart is enlarged towards mankind universally, and prepared to sympathize with strangers, though in the lowest stations in life.

Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling, when he said, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every man with his brother, in profaning the covenant of our fathers?"

He who of old heard the groans of the children of Israel under the hard task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miseries of these deep-

goes on to say, "I have now an officer on board the 'Dryad,' who, on examining one of these slave-vessels, found not only living men chained to dead bodies, but the latter in a putrid state; and we have now a case which, if true, is too horrible and disgusting to be described."

In a letter from captain Wauchope, dated 13th of eighth month, 1838, he says, "In second month, 1836, I was informed by Commander Puget, that the Spanish slaver, Argus, three months before this date, was chased by the Charybdis, Lieutenant Mercer; that during the chase ninety-seven slaves had been thrown overboard, and that a Spanish captain he had captured, declared he would never hesitate to throw the slaves overboard, to prevent being taken."

"Captain Wauchope in the same letter informs, that on the 18th of ninth month, 1836, the Thalia captured the Portuguese brig Felix, five hundred and ninety slaves on board. 'After capture,' he says, 'I went on board, and such a scene of horror it is not easy to describe; the long-boat on the booms, and the deck aft, were crowded with little children, sickly, poor little unhappy things, some of them rather pretty, and some much marked and tattooed; much pains must have been taken by their miserable parents to ornament and beautify them.

"The women lay between decks aft, much crowded, and perfectly naked; they were not barred down, the hatchway, a small one, being off; but the place for the men was too horrible, the wretches, chained two and two, gasping and striving to get at the bars of the hatchways, and such a steam and stench as to make it intolerable even to look down. It requires much caution at first, in allowing them to go on deck, as it is a common practice for them to jump overboard to get quit of their misery.

"The slave-deck was not more than three feet six inches in height, and the human beings stowed, or rather crushed as close as possible; many appeared very sickly. There was no way of getting into the slave-room but by the hatchway. I was told, when they were all on deck to be counted, that it was impossible for any of our people to go into the slave-room for a single minute, so intolerable was the stench. The colour of these poor creatures was of a dark squalid yellow, so different from the fine glossy black of our liberated Africans and Kroomen. I was shown a man much bit and bruised; it was done in a struggle at the gratings of their hatchways, for a mouthful of fresh air."

"The Carolina, captured in 1834, off Wydah. This vessel was only seventy-five tons burden, yet she had three hundred and fifty negroes crammed on board of her, one hundred and eighty of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up, when in a sitting posture. The poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues parched for want of water, presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery.

"In a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, of date 20th of first month, 1837, we find it stated that the British brig Dolphin, had lately captured the corvette Incomprehensible; and that on taking possession of her, 'the scene presented on board was harrowing in the extreme. One hundred had died from sickness, out of the eight hundred embarked; another hundred were lying nearly lifeless on her decks, in wretchedness and misery, and all the agony of despair; the remaining six hundred were so cramped from the close manner in which they were packed, like herrings in a barrel, and the length of time they had been on their voyage, and the cold they had endured in rounding the Cape, in a state of nudity, that it took the utmost exertions of the English sailors, favoured by a hot sun, to straighten them.'

In a letter from Colonel Nicolls, at the Bahamas, of date 1st of eighth month, 1837, it is stated that 'the Esperanza, a Spanish slave schooner, had been wrecked on one of these islands during the preceding month. It was ascertained that this vessel had embarked three hundred and twenty negroes on the coast of Africa; of these only two hundred and twenty were landed at the time of the wreck. It appears that between sixty and seventy murders had been committed during the voyage on the helpless Africans; and in this manner:—When any of the slaves refused their food or became sick, the boatswain's mate, with a weighty club struck them on the back of the neck, when they fell, and were thrown overboard.'

Shocking as these details are, the truth of them is indisputable; and while a system exists which inflicts such sufferings upon our innocent fellow-creatures, it cannot be a matter of indifference or unconcern to us. But especially are we called upon deeply to ponder this affecting subject, and to dwell under the weight of it, by the fact that our own country is implicated, in no small degree in the guilt of the traffic, it being well ascertained that American vessels, American capital and American citizens, are employed in its prosecution.

ly oppressed people. Many lives have been shortened through extreme oppression, while they laboured to support luxury and worldly greatness; and though many people in outward prosperity may think little of those things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men.

The Lord in the riches of his goodness is leading some into the feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot rest without labouring as their advocates; of which in some measure I have had experience, for in the movings of his love in my heart, these poor sufferers have been brought near to me.

The unoffending aged and infirm are made to labour too hard, kept on a diet less comfortable than their weak state requires, and exposed to great difficulties under hard-hearted men, to whose sufferings I have often been a witness, and under the heart-melting power of Divine love, their misery hath felt to me like the misery of my parents.

Innocent youth are taken by violence from their native land, from their friends and acquaintance; put on board ships with hearts laden with sorrow; exposed to great hardships at sea, and placed under people where their lives are attended with great provocation to anger and revenge.

With the condition of these youth my mind has often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children, and in a feeling of the misery of these people, and of that great offence which is ministered to them, my tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That holy Spirit which affected my heart when I was a youth, I trust is often felt by the negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous; and had the professed followers of Christ in all their conduct toward them, manifested a disposition answerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the holy Name have been honoured amongst the Gentiles, and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy, "I the Lord love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt-offerings, and I will direct their work in truth, and make an everlasting covenant with them. Their seed shall be known amongst the Gentiles, and their offspring amongst the people; all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed."

But in the present state of things, how contrary is our practice to that meek spirit, in which our Saviour laid down his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know salvation in his name!

How are the sufferings of our blessed Re-

deemer set at naught, and his name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his professed followers!

My mind has often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a sense of that marvellous work, for which God in infinite goodness sent his Son into the world.

The opening of that spring of living waters, which the true believers in Christ experience, by which they are redeemed from pride and covetousness, and brought into a state of meekness, where their hearts are enlarged in true love toward their fellow creatures universally; is a work that to me has been precious, and spreading the knowledge of the Truth amongst the Gentiles, is very desirable. And the professed followers of Christ joining in customs evidently unrighteous, which manifestly tend to stir up wrath and increase wars and desolations, has often covered my mind with sorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and as Job proposed to his friends, "Put our soul in their soul's stead;" if we consider ourselves and our children as exposed to the hardships which these people lie under in supporting an imaginary greatness, and in such case, beheld an increase of luxury and superfluity amongst our oppressors, and therewith felt an increase of the weight of our burdens, and expected our posterity to groan under oppression after us; under all this misery, had we none to plead our cause, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries ascend to the God of the spirits of all flesh, who judgeth the world in righteousness, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppressed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim to religion, and were assisted in their business by others, esteemed pious people, who through a friendship with them strengthened their hands in tyranny; if when we were hunger-bitten, we could not have sufficient nourishment, but saw them in fullness pleasing their taste with things fetched from far; if when we were wearied with labour, we were denied the liberty to rest, and saw them spending their time at ease; if garments answerable to our necessities were denied us, while we saw them clothed in that which was costly and delicate; under such affliction, how would these painful feelings rise up as witnesses against their pretended devotion! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it sound in our ears like a word which signified self-exaltation and hardness of heart!

When a trade is carried on productive of much misery, and they who suffer by it are

some thousands of miles off, the danger is the greater, of not laying their sufferings to heart.

In procuring slaves on the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged amongst the negroes, but all is at a great distance.

Many groans arise from dying men, which we hear not.

Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears.

Many cheeks are wet with tears and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not.

Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened, and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the term of one year only to be eye witnesses to what passes in getting these slaves;

Was the blood which is there shed to be sprinkled on our garments;

Were the poor captives bound with thongs and heavy laden with elephants' teeth, to pass before our eyes on their way to the sea:

Were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping:

Were we to hear the sound of the tumult when the slaves on board the ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the issue of those bloody conflicts:

What pious man could be a witness to these things, and see a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with sorrow?

Through abiding in the love of Christ we feel a tenderness in our hearts toward our fellow-creatures, entangled in oppressive customs; and a concern so to walk, that our conduct may not be a means of strengthening them in error.

It was the command of the Lord through Moses, "Thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy brother: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and shalt not suffer sin upon him."

Again; "Keep far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not."

The prophet Isaiah mentions oppression as that which the true church in time of outward quiet should not only be clear of, but should be far from it; "Thou shalt be far from oppression." Now these words, *far from*, appear to have an extensive meaning, and to convey instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished."

It was a complaint against one of old, "When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him."

The prophet Jeremiah represents the de-

grees of preparation toward idolatrous sacrifice, in the similitude of a work carried on by children, men and women. "The children gather wood, the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough to bake cakes for the queen of heaven."

It was a complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his prophet Ezekiel, that "they strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the hearts of the righteous sad."

Some works of iniquity carried on by the people were represented by the prophet Hosea, in the similitude of ploughing, reaping and eating the fruit; "You have ploughed wickedness, reaped iniquity, eaten the fruit of lying, because thou didst trust in thy own way, to the multitude of thy mighty men."

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves; and in loading these ships abundance of people are employed in the manufactories.

Friends in early time refused on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record, but for want of faithfulness some gave way, even some whose examples were of note in society, and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses, and this hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining state many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter and get down to the rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound.

I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only on the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial, in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages to those whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

The prophet speaking of the true church,

said, "Thy people also shall be all righteous." Of the depth of this Divine work several have spoken.

John Gratton, in his Journal, page 45, said "The Lord is my portion, I shall not want. He hath wrought all my works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him."

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful operations of the spirit of Christ in his soul, was brought to that depth of self-denial, that he could not join with that proud spirit in other people, which inclined them to want vanities and superfluities. This Friend was often amongst the chief rulers of the nation in times of persecution, and it appears by the testimony of Friends, that his dwelling was so evidently in the pure life of Truth, that in his visits to those great men, he found a place in their minds; and that King James the second, in the times of his troubles, made particular mention in a very respectful manner of what Gilbert once said to him.

The said Gilbert found a concern to write an epistle, in which are these expressions;

"Fear the Lord, ye men of all sorts, trades and callings, and leave off all the evil that is in them, for the Lord is grieved with all the evils used in your employments which you are exercised in."

"It is even a grief to see how you are servants to sin, and instruments of satan." See his works, page 42, &c.

George Fox, in an epistle writes thus: "Friends, stand in the eternal power of God, witnesses against the pomps and vanities of this world.

"Such tradesmen who stand as witnesses in the power of God, cannot fulfill the people's minds in these vanities, and therefore they are offended at them.

"Let all trust in the Lord, and wait patiently on him; for when Truth first broke forth in London, many tradesmen could not take so much money in their shops for some time, as would buy them bread and water, because they withstood the world's ways, fashions and customs; yet by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good life and conversation, they answered the Truth in people's hearts, and thus their business increased." Book of Doctrinals, page 824.

Christ our holy leader graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by his holy spirit into exercises in some respects different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and through the constrainings of pure love, are engaged to open the feelings they have to others.

In faithfully following Christ, the heart is weaned from the desire of riches, and we are led into a life so plain and simple, that a little doth suffice, and thus the way openeth to deny ourselves, under all the tempting allurements of that gain, which we know is the gain of unrighteousness.

The apostle speaking on this subject, asketh this question; "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" And again saith, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Again, "Be not partaker of other men's sins, keep thyself pure."

Where people through the power of Christ are thoroughly settled in a right use of things, and freed from all unnecessary care and expense, the mind in this true resignation is at liberty from the bands of a narrow self-interest, to attend from time to time on the movings of his spirit upon us, though he leads into that through which our faith is closely tried.

The language of Christ is pure, and to the pure in heart this pure language is intelligible; but in the love of money, the mind being intent on gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appears evident that some channels of trade are defiled with unrighteousness, and that the minds of many are intent on getting treasures to support a life, in which there are many unnecessary expenses.

I feel a living concern attend my mind, that under these difficulties we may humbly follow our heavenly Shepherd, who graciously regardeth his flock, and is willing and able to supply us both inwardly and outwardly with clean provender, that has been winnowed with the shovel and the fan, where we may "sow to ourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy," and not be defiled with the works of iniquity.

Where customs contrary to pure wisdom are transmitted to posterity, it appears to be an injury committed against them; and I often feel tender compassion toward a young generation, with desires that their difficulties may not be increased through unfaithfulness in us of the present age.

## CHAPTER II.

### *On a Sailor's life.*

IN the trade to Africa for slaves, and in the management of ships going on these voyages, many of our lads and young men have a considerable part of their education.

What pious father beholding his son placed in one of these ships to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exemplared in means of

getting money so full of violence, and used to exercise such cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the disadvantage to them in their education is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the seafaring life in general.

In the trade carried on from the West Indies, and from some parts of the continent, the produce of the labour of slaves is a considerable part.

Sailors are frequently at ports where slaves abound, and converse often with people who oppress them without the appearance of remorse, and often with other sailors employed in the slave trade, and how powerfully do these evil examples spread amongst the seafaring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and understand the general state of the seafaring life amongst us, and my mind hath often been sad on account of so many lads and young men being trained up amidst so great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Christ I have seen, that if the leadings of his holy Spirit were faithfully attended to by his professed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exemplified in righteousness, a less number of people would be employed on the seas, the channels of trade would be more free from defilement, and fewer people would be employed in vanities and superfluities.

The inhabitants of cities would also be less in number, and those who have much land would become fathers to the poor.

More people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry; and in the path of pure wisdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful employment.

In the opening of these things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we who have felt Divine love in our hearts may faithfully abide in it, and like good soldiers endure hardness for Christ's sake.

He, our blessed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I have loved you." He loved Lazarus, yet in his sickness he did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that in restoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his disciples, but sent them forth on a message attended with great difficulty, amongst hard-hearted people, some of whom thought that in killing them they did God service.

So deep is Divine love, that in steadfastly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourselves of all gain which is contrary to pure wisdom, and to follow Christ, even under contempt and through sufferings.

VOL IV.—No. 12.

While Friends were kept truly humble and walked according to the purity of our principles, the Divine witness in many hearts was reached; but when a worldly spirit got entrance, therewith came in luxuries and superfluities, and spread by little and little, even amongst the foremost rank in society, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of these things from parents to children, there were many wants to supply, even wants unknown to Friends while they faithfully followed Christ. In striving to supply these wants many have exacted on the poor, and many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and vanity. Many have looked on one another, been strengthened in these things, one by the example of another, and as to the pure divine seeing, dimness has come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love have been obstructed.

People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life, their minds may be so entangled therein and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing spirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people, some of whom though honest and industrious, have nothing to spare toward paying for the schooling of their children.

There is a right proportion between labour and the necessaries of life, and in true brotherly love the mind is open to feel after the necessities of the poor.

Amongst the poor there are some that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature, who pass through straits in very private life, without asking relief from the public.

Those who are strong and healthy may do business, which to the weakly may be oppressive; and in performing that in a day which is esteemed a day's labour, weakly persons in the field and in the shops, and weakly women who spin and knit in the manufactories, often pass through weariness; and many sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens.

Labour in the right medium is healthy, but in too much of it there is a painful weariness; and the hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through the want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fuel for fire, and warmer clothing in the winter than their wages will answer.

When I have beheld plenty in some houses to a degree of luxury; the condition of poor children brought up without learning, and the condition of the weakly and aged, who strive

to live by their labour, have often revived in my mind, as cases of which some who live in fulness need to be put in remembrance.

There are few if any, who could behold their fellow-creatures lie long in distress and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs requiring much labour to support them, do often lie heavily on the poor, while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *On Silent Worship.*

WORSHIP in silence hath often been refreshing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worship.

Great expense is incurred in relation to that which is called Divine worship.

A considerable part of this expense is applied toward outward greatness, and many poor people in raising of tithe, labour in supporting customs contrary to the simplicity that there is in Christ, toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure silent worship, we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Christ to be our shepherd.

Here the best of teachers ministers to the several conditions of his flock, and the soul receives immediately from the Divine fountain, that with which it is nourished.

I have travelled at times where those of other societies have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little some of them knew of the nature of silent worship; and I have felt tender desires in my heart that we who often sit silently in our meetings, may live answerably to the nature of an inward fellowship with God, that no stumbling block through us, may be laid in their way.

Such is the load of unnecessary expense laid in many places on that which is called Divine service, and so much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the opening of an inward silent worship in this nation, to me, has appeared to be a precious opening.

Within the last four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exercised in soul, on account of the superstition which prevailed amongst the professed followers of Christ, and in support of their testimony against oppressive idolatry, some in several ages have finished their course in the flames.

It appears by the history of the reformation, that through the faithfulness of the martyrs, the understandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for spiritual worship.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of those people, who in different ages have been meek and patient, following Christ through great afflictions. And while I behold the several steps of reformation, and that clearness, to which through Divine Goodness, it hath been brought by our ancestors, I feel tender desires that we who sometimes meet in silence, may never by our conduct lay stumbling blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progress of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint against some who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted bread to his altar, and said the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real silent worship the soul feeds on that which is Divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the god of this world.

If Christ is our shepherd and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.

#### *An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends.*

Beloved Friends,

FEELING at this time a renewed concern that the pure Spirit of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof, may spread and prevail amongst mankind, there is an engagement on my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profession, that none of us may be a stumbling-block in the way of others; but that we may so walk that our conduct may reach the pure witness in the hearts of those who are not in profession with us.

And, dear friends, while we publicly own that the holy Spirit is our leader, the profession is in itself weighty, and the weightiness thereof increases, in proportion as we are noted among the professors of Truth, and active in dealing with those who walk disorderly.

Many under our profession for want of due attention, and a perfect resignation to this Divine teacher, have in some things manifested a deviation from the purity of our religious principles, and these deviations having crept in amongst us by little and little, and increasing from less to greater, have been so far unnoticed, that some living in them, have been active in putting discipline in practice, with



relation to others, whose conduct has appeared more dishonourable in the world.

As my mind hath been exercised before the Lord, I have seen that the discipline of the church of Christ standeth in that which is pure; that it is the wisdom from above which gives authority to discipline; and that the weightiness thereof standeth not in any outward circumstances, but in the authority of Christ who is the author of it; and where any walk after the flesh, and not according to the purity of Truth, and at the same time are active in putting discipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over its purity, and over that holiness of life, which Christ leads those into, "in whom the love of God is verily perfected."

When we labour in true love with offenders, and they remain obstinate, it sometimes is necessary to proceed as far as our Lord directed, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man, or a publican."

When such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in his meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to any; but when those who are active in dealing with offenders indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of Truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than theirs, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend. "Judge not," said our Lord, "that ye be not judged." This forbidding alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of humbly attending to that sanctifying power under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judgment to them." And as we feel his holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, and can say, "it is no more I that live, but Christ that liveth in me," here right judgment is known.

While Divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders; but if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others degenerates into formality; for "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."

How weighty are those instructions of our Redeemer concerning religious duties, when he points out, that they who pray, should be so obedient to the teachings of the holy Spirit, that humbly confiding in his help, they may say, "Thy name O Father be hallowed! Thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." In this awful state of mind is felt that worship which stands in doing

the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy name sacred. To take a holy profession upon us is awful, nor can we keep this holy name sacred, but by humbly abiding under the cross of Christ. The apostle made a heavy complaint against some who profaned this holy name by their manner of living; "through you," he says, "the name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles."

Some of our ancestors through many tribulations were gathered into the state of true worshippers, and had fellowship in that which is pure, and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their assemblies and publicly call on the name of the Lord, those in the harmony of united exercise then present, joined in the prayer. I mention this in order that we of the present age may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worship, is a union in prayer, and that prayer is acceptable to the Father which is in a mind truly sanctified, where the sacred name is kept holy, and the heart resigned to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven. "If ye abide in me," saith Christ, "and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will in my name, and it shall be done unto you." We know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own Spirit, through his children, asketh;—thus preservation from sin is known, and the fruits of righteousness are brought forth by such who inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our solemn meetings when the name of Christ is kept holy?

"How precious is that state in which the children of the Lord are so redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and blessed in all that they do." R. Barclay's Apology, p. 404.

How necessary is it that we who profess these principles, and are active in supporting them, should faithfully abide in Divine strength, that "As He who hath called us is holy, so we may be holy in all manner of conversation."

If one professing to be influenced by the Spirit of Christ, proposes to unite in a labour to promote righteousness in the earth, and in time past he hath manifestly deviated from the path of equity, then to act consistently with this principle, his first work is to make restitution so far as he may be enabled; for if he attempts to contribute toward a work intended to promote righteousness, while it appears that he neglecteth, or refuseth to act righteously himself, his conduct has a tendency to entan-

gle the minds of those who are weak in the faith, who behold these things, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteousness, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteousness which is not.

Again, if I propose to assist in supporting those doctrines wherein that purity of life is held forth, in which customs proceeding from the spirit of this world have no place, and at the same time strengthen others in those customs by my example; the first step in an orderly proceeding, is to cease from those customs myself, and afterwards to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like disposition and conduct in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of Truth, and diligently exercised in walking answerably thereto, is necessary before I can consistently recommend this principle to others. I often feel a labour in spirit, that we who are active members in religious society may experience in ourselves the truth of those expressions of the holy One—"I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." In this case, my mind hath been often exercised when alone year after year for many years, and in the renewings of Divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profess the light of Christ Jesus to be our teacher, may be a family united in that purity of worship, which comprehends a holy life, and ministers instruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children in the Truth, who having a small share of the things of this life, and coming to have families, may be exercised before the Lord to support them in a way agreeable to the purity of Truth, in which they may feel His blessing upon them in their labours. The thought of such being entangled with customs, contrary to pure wisdom, conveyed to them through our hands, often very tenderly and movingly affects my heart; and when I look towards and think on the succeeding generation, fervent desires are raised in me, that by yielding to that holy Spirit which leads into all Truth, we may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live contrary to the purity of the Divine light we profess; but that as faithful labourers in our age, we may be instrumental in removing stumbling-blocks out of the way of those who may succeed us.

So great was the love of Christ, that he gave himself for the church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy, and without blemish, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. Where any take the name of Christ upon them, professing to be members of his church, and to be led by his holy Spirit, and yet manifestly deviate from the purity of Truth, they herein act

against the gracious design of his giving himself for them, and minister cause for the continuance of his afflictions in his body, the church.

Christ suffered afflictions in a body of flesh prepared by the Father, but the afflictions of his mystical body are yet unfinished; for they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death, and as we humbly abide under his sanctifying power, and are brought forth into newness of life, we feel Christ to live in us, who, being the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and always at unity with himself, his Spirit in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind. When under a travail of spirit, we behold a visited people entangled by the spirit of this world with its wickedness and customs, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful examples to others, sorrow and heaviness under a sense of these things, are often experienced, and thus in some measure is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ.

Our blessed Saviour speaking concerning gifts offered in Divine service, says, "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united, nor can there be a perfect reconciliation but in ceasing from that which ministers cause for the continuation of the afflictions of Christ; and if any professing to bring their gift to the altar, do remember the customary contradiction which some of their fruits bear to the pure, spiritual worship, here it appears necessary to lay to heart this command, "leave thy gift by the altar."

Christ graciously calls his people brethren; "whosoever shall do the will of God the same is my brother." If we walk contrary to the Truth as it is in Jesus while we continue to profess it, we offend against Christ, and if under this offence we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not discourage our proceeding in a good work; but graciously points out the necessary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable; "leave," saith he, "thy gift by the altar, first go and be reconciled to thy brother," cease from that which grieves the holy Spirit, cease from that which is against the Truth as it is in Jesus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel, while I am writing, a tenderness to those who through Divine favour, are preserved in a lively sense of the state of the churches, and at times may be under discouragements with regard to proceeding in that

pure way which Christ by his holy Spirit leads into. The depth of disorder and weakness, which so much prevails, being opened, doubts are apt to arise as to the possibility of proceeding as an assembly of the Lord's people in the pure counsel of Truth; and here I feel a concern to express in uprightness, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the cross of Christ, relating to a visible gathered church, the members whereof are guided by the holy Spirit.

The church is called the body of Christ, Col. i. 25. Christ is called the head of the church, Eph. i. 22. The church is called the pillar and ground of Truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15. Thus the church hath a name that is sacred, and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident; for where a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the Spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in some measure be considered as those of which Christ is the author.

While we stand in this station, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the holy name, and of going back toward that wilderness of sufferings and persecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered. "Christ liveth in sanctified vessels," and where they behold his holy name profaned, and the pure Gospel light eclipsed through the unfaithfulness of any who by their station appear to be standard bearers under the Prince of peace, the living members in the body of Christ, beholding these things, do in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings, and as the wisdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the holy Spirit are less waited for and followed, so the true suffering seed is more and more oppressed.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of sincere hearted people in some kingdoms, where liberty of conscience is not allowed, many of whom being burthened in their minds with the prevailing superstition, joined with oppressions, are often under sorrow; and where such have attended to that pure light which has in some degree opened their understandings, and for their faithfulness thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy have been the persecutions which in divers parts of the world have been exercised upon them? How mighty, as to the outward, is that power by which they have been borne down and oppressed?

How deeply affecting is the condition of

many upright hearted people who are taken into the papal inquisition? What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exercised on many of them? and how lingering is that death by a small slow fire, which those have frequently endured who have been faithful to the end?

How many tender-spirited Protestants have been sentenced to spend the remainder of their lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted masters, while their young children are placed out for education, and taught principles so contrary to the consciences of the parents, that by dissenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, their lives, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world?

There have been in time past severe persecutions under the English government, and many sincere-hearted people have suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience, whose faithfulness in their day has ministered encouragement to others, and been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus from age to age, the darkness being more and more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God, has been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the Gospel-ministry, without interruption from outward power, a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been opened before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favoured, has appeared not to be a light matter.

A trust is committed to us, a great and weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary. Wherever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step back toward the wilderness; one step towards undoing what God in infinite love hath done through his faithful servants in a work of several ages, and is like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to those who are active in our religious Society, that we may lay to heart this matter, and consider the station in which we stand; a place of outward liberty under the free exercise of our consciences towards God, not obtained but through the great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father, and justice to our posterity. Can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious, if we turn aside from a work in which so many have patiently laboured?

May the deep sufferings of our Saviour be

so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, or count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulness of the martyrs when the prospect of death by fire was before them, be remembered! May the patient constant sufferings of the upright-hearted servants of God in latter ages be revived in our minds! May we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may be brought under suffering, through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the holy Spirit, although disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them; yet while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred. But while they who are active in the affairs of the church, continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this as the prophet Isaiah expresseth it, is like "as when a standard bearer fainteth." Thus the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for those who, through the power of Divine love, are separated to the Gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with any thing which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness, hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind. In true silence strength is renewed, the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire after outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ; but being weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, the pure light shines into the soul. Where the fruits of that spirit which is of this world, are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the Spirit of Truth, and cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible church, the sincere in heart who abide in true stillness, and are exercised therein before the Lord for his name sake, have a knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and inward thankfulness is felt at times, that through Divine love our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward active part in us subjected, which would rise and do something in the visible church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Christ.

While aught remains in us different from a

perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book wherein is written "that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God concerning us;" but when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known, which followeth the opening of the last of the seals, Rev. viii. 1. In this silence we learn to abide in the Divine will, and there feel that we have no cause to promote but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings, and that the alone way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his holy Spirit in all cases, that being preserved thereby in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.

As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen that to be active and busy in the visible gathered church, without the leadings of the holy Spirit is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness, and where way is not opened to proceed in the light of Truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine Leader, a stop which in relation to good order in the church, is of the greatest consequence to be observed. Robert Barclay in his treatise on discipline, holds forth, pages 65, 68, 84, "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation, is no further effectual as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or conclusion proceeds from the Spirit of God operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus."

In this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and those to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world, and have also seen, that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savour of life to be felt, which evidently tends to gather souls to God, while the greatest works in the visible church, brought forth in man's wisdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, "they are the light of the world." Holding this profession, to me appears weighty, even beyond what I can fully express, and what our blessed Lord seemed to have in view, when he proposed the necessity of counting the cost, before we begin to build.

I trust there are many who at times, under Divine visitation, feel an inward inquiry after God, and when such in the simplicity of their hearts mark the lives of a people who profess to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights shine clear, that nothing in our conduct carry a

contradiction to the Truth as it is in Jesus, or be a means of profaning his holy name, and be a stumbling-block in the way of sincere inquirers.

When such seekers, wearied with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a people, and behold active members among us depart in their customary way of living from that purity of life, which under humbling exercises has been opened before them as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and discouraging is the prospect! and how strongly doth such unfaithfulness operate against the spreading of the peaceable, harmonious principles and testimony of truth amongst mankind?

In entering into that life which is hid with Christ in God, we behold his peaceable government, where the whole family are governed by the same spirit, and the "doing to others as we would they should do unto us," groweth up as good fruit from a good tree: the peace, quietness, and harmonious walking in this government is beheld with humble reverence to Him who is the author of it, and in partaking of the Spirit of Christ, we partake of that which labours and suffers for the increase of this peaceable government among the inhabitants of the world. I have felt a labour of long continuance that we who profess this peaceable principle, may be faithful standard-bearers under the Prince of peace, and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to discord and wars, may remain among us.

May each of us query with ourselves, have the treasures I possess, been gathered in that wisdom which is from above, so far as has appeared to me?

Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part of what is called mine?

Have the gifts and possessions received by me from others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteousness so far as I have seen?

The principle of peace in which our trust is only on the Lord, and our minds weaned from a dependance on the strength of armies, has appeared to me very precious; and I often feel strong desires, that we who profess this principle, may so walk, as to give no just cause for any of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us; and that our lives may evidently manifest, that we are redeemed from that spirit in which wars are. Our blessed Saviour in pointing out the danger of so leaning on man, as to neglect the leadings of his holy Spirit, said, "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your father which is in heaven." Where the wisdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entrusted with substance, it is a treasure com-

mitted to our care, in the nature of an inheritance from Him who formed and supports the world. In this condition the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is understood, and that blessing felt, in which is real safety; this is what I apprehend our blessed Lord had in view, when he pronounced, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Selfish worldly minded men may hold lands in the selfish spirit, and depending on the strength of outward power, may be perplexed with secret uneasiness, lest the injured should at sometime overpower them, and that measure be meted to them, which they measure to others. Thus selfish men may possess the earth; but it is the meek who inherit it, and enjoy it as an inheritance from their heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteousness.

Where proceedings have been in that wisdom which is from beneath, and inequitable gain gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who being entangled by the same worldly spirit, have not attained to that clearness of light in which the channels of righteousness are opened, and justice done to those who remain silent under injuries; here I have seen under humbling exercise of mind, that the sins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their sins, and thus in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon these children, who take hold of the unrighteousness of their fathers, and live in that spirit in which those iniquities were committed. To this agreeth the prophecy of Moses, concerning a rebellious people, "They that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquities in your enemy's land, and in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away." Our blessed Lord in beholding the hardness of heart in that generation, and feeling in himself, that they lived in the same spirit in which the prophets had been persecuted unto death, signified "that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world, should be required of that generation, from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple."

Tender compassion fills my heart toward my fellow-creatures estranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of peace, and a labour attends me, that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversity for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependance on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God, and that it stands in a perfect resignation of ourselves to his holy will. In this condition all our wants and desires are bounded by pure

wisdom, and our minds are wholly attentive to the counsel of Christ inwardly communicated. This has appeared to me a habitation of safety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble, and desires from the fountain of pure love are opened in

me, to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for, and seek after that which gathers the mind into it.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Mount Holly, New Jersey,  
Fourth month, 1772.

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## SKETCHES

OF THE

# LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES

OF

# JANE PEARSON;

EXTRACTED FROM HER OWN MEMORANDUMS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

WHEN those we have loved and looked up to are taken from us, whatever belonged to them becomes enhanced in its value. When their Christian example is withdrawn, we often thoughtfully return to the circumstances of their conscientious lives; when we can no longer listen to their cheering conversation, we tenderly recur to their affectionate sayings; and when we hear no more their religious exhortations, to the written records of their devout minds we are glad to have recourse, as precious monuments of departed piety.

These observations will apply with propriety to Jane Pearson, the subject of this short memoir. In her last letter to the writer, she expressed a desire that he might look over her papers when she was gone, and dispose of them as he thought best. The use he is now about to make of them, if he is not mistaken, the reader will approve. These memorandums of her pious mind, were all in her own hand-writing, and appear to have been penned under lively impressions. Among her papers were also found several copies of verses; and as it will probably be acceptable to the reader, a specimen or two will be given in the memoir.

Of her religious experience, an opinion may be formed from her writings; and of her religious services, from the testimony of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting, which is introduced at the close of her own memoirs; yet some readers may be inclined to know more of her general character, and how she appeared daily amongst us.

As a reverence for the Divine Being was the leading feature of her mind, so the solemnity of religion was never lowered in her conversation. To some she might appear reserved; for as she has told me, when in her walks she met with acquaintances, she could not like many, stop and hold a discourse with them which meant nothing. From these and other circumstances, her deportment might sometimes appear distant and restrained; but in the circles of her friends, there were few that unbended more freely.

On such occasions, her sentiments and even the tone of her voice, had as much the hearty expression of sincere good will, as any one I ever met with, whilst her innocent cheerfulness with youth, and her entering most kindly with them into their little concerns, endeared her to this class, both as a mother and a chosen companion. She was qualified for a companion in the foremost ranks of virtuous society; yet to those in the humblest sphere,



she spoke with affection and kindness: indeed I have rarely met with one in whose deportment were united such dignity and sweetness.

She seemed to retire from a thoughtless world, to live in sweet seclusion with her Maker; and those who were set forward on their heavenward journey, she hailed as fellow-travellers towards Zion: to her sisters in religious fellowship, who went forth in humility and simplicity to advocate the cause of righteousness amongst men, she held out the language of endearing encouragement.

Of her own ministry it might be said, that it was plain, powerful, baptizing and new. When I say new, I hope none will suppose I mean that she had any new doctrine to preach; for the ministers of Christ have no new principles to set forth. I mean by new, that her ministry was in the fresh openings of life. I do not covet abundance in our meetings; a few wholesome crumbs, a little fresh water from the pure spring, satisfy me; yet I do not wish to avoid the piercing of that Divine power, which would divide between those things that please the Almighty and those which please him not; since such a division must take place, or heaven will not be our portion.

Her disposition was modest and retired; yet the reader will find in the following pages, that for his instruction and encouragement, she has in the sincerity of her heart, spread before him some of her mental trials. The conscientious mind, longing to be united to Divine purity, has sometimes sore conflicts with the evil principle within; but when through the power of the grace of God, evil is overcome, the conflict is succeeded by unspeakable joy. This, I trust, Christian statement, it will appear, was verified in the experience of our beloved friend.

That a truly religious mind is assailed with trials, we see from her own undisguised account. These trials arise from various circumstances; perhaps at times to prove the foundation of our faith; at other times, from a fear of not obtaining what is of all things most desirable, acceptance with the Almighty. But it may be, that the greatest of all are the trials which are needful, when a vigorous understanding and warm affections are to be turned from their natural tendencies into pure obedience to the Almighty; to become fit instruments for proclaiming his Divine will. This is like death; like the breaking up of nature, that the soul may become free, and prepared for entering the holiness of heaven. This at the time is hard to be endured; but it is followed by joy, peace, and unspeakable satisfaction; for surely, above all else to be

experienced here, is the enjoyment of Divine favour to a pure mind.

The reader will find something of all this set forth in the following pages, and may read therein a profitable lesson in spiritual religion; though with myself, he may not have attained to the assurance of acceptance, like her whose work is done; yet let us not forego our confidence; but in humility endeavour to continue steadfast in the faith. This will be like an anchor to our minds, so that when others are tossed with the troubles of this world, we may be favoured to hold our lot in peace.

It appears from the testimony of those who knew Jane Pearson during the greater part of her life, that a solicitude for the glory of God, joined to a care for her immortal part and the future well-being of her fellow-creatures, was with her paramount to all other considerations. This is true piety. To these ends she laboured in public and in private; and dared not to shrink from her testimony for God and his righteous law, by suppressing what came before her. Though of a tender and affectionate disposition, she did not withhold the just denunciations of truth against iniquity. She did indeed pity the individual, but she sounded the alarm in the ear of the transgressor; yet to those who were awakened to a sense of their sins, she joyfully announced the terms of reconciliation.

Early in life she married John Pearson of Graysouthen, by whom she had three sons and four daughters; whom she watched over with the tenderness of a mother; anxious that they should walk in the paths of innocence and virtue, and in the holy religion of our dear Redeemer. Two of her children died before her husband, and the others followed him to the silent grave, while she remained to mourn with many tears. Deprived of the attention and support of her husband and of all her children, it might be supposed she would sit sorrowful and alone under her afflictions; but her age was cheered by two affectionate grand-daughters; and her mind being reconciled to the dispensations of Providence, her disposition was not soured by her trials, but even at the latest period of her age, which exceeded eighty years, in the company of intimate friends, her conversation and manners partook of the pleasantness and cheerfulness of her prime. Her letters too were occasionally lively, but more frequently fraught with deep instruction.

The compiler was but a youth when he first saw his excellent friend; which was at a Northern Yearly Meeting, when her ministry impressed his mind. Several years elapsed

before he spoke to her; and he little thought that a faithful friendship would spring up between them. She then had an uncommonly fine person; but it may be said, that her mind was superior, being concerned for the glory of her Maker and intent on fulfilling his Divine will. Her labours are now closed, and we may believe she is receiving her reward, in that state of purity and peace, after which her soul longed while on earth.

It is a serious consideration with the compiler, who is often doubtful whether he has passed "the straight gate which leads to life," to trace the steps of our pious friend, into the valley of humiliation and discouragement, or to pursue her way in the ascent to the heavenly Jerusalem, and set forth the Divine prospects she beheld there. Diffident of his own judgment, how far these things are within his province, he forbears to enlarge, leaving her own remarks to speak for themselves; but

on another point he is inclined to express his opinion more freely.—Some minds may be disposed to doubt the foundation of what is advanced in some parts of the following pages; to such the compiler would say, he has long been fully of the persuasion that immediate revelation has not ceased. He believes that the same Almighty Power who presided at the time of Pentecost, who visited Zacharias, Ananias, and Cornelius; continues to manifest himself to this day. Believing this, and knowing the superior mind and uprightness of the individual, concerning whom he is now writing, he has no difficulty in believing what she has recorded. If any praise is due, let it not be ascribed to her, but to Him who is the Author of all good. This was the fervent desire of our departed friend, in which she is followed by

THOMAS WILKINSON.

Yanwath, Seventh month, 1816.

## SKETCHES

OF THE

## LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES

OF

## JANE PEARSON.

### SECTION I.

*Her reasons for writing some memoirs of herself—Her birth and parentage—The state of her mind in very early life—Her resolution not to open her mouth in the ministry—Her marriage—The deep inward conflicts she endured for not resigning herself to Divine disposal till she was made willing to obey—Her first offering in the ministry—Her remarks on this important office.*

It has long remained with weight upon my mind, to leave a few remarks respecting the Lord's dealings, when he was pleased to lay his hand in judgment upon me, for my backslidings; hoping it may be of service to some poor, tossed, afflicted, tempted, bewildered mind; for I do believe it would have been of service to me in my painful moments, to have beheld the footsteps of others, if I had had stability to read, or quietness of mind to be instructed; which for a time I had not, being

feeble and sorely broken, bemoaning myself by reason of the disquietude of my heart.

I was born at Newtown, near Carlisle, of sober, religious parents. My father dying when I was young, I had more experience of my mother's religious care in our tuition. She was left with four of us to bring up; and her zeal and care for her offspring abated not; so that I have a good account to give of her pious solicitude and concern for us. On that account, she hired a schoolmaster in the house, to teach her children, to prevent our being corrupted, or learning the improper customs of the people amongst whom we dwelt; so that we were kept, more than many others of our age, from associating with those of other persuasions.

It pleased the Lord by his good Spirit, to work in my heart in my young years; which brought a godly sorrow over me, and a fear lest I should be taken away in my childish follies. When the bell used to toll for those of other persuasions, oh! the awe and inward fear

attendant on these occasions! I would say in my heart; These are now called off the stage of this world, and fixed as for ever they must be. My solicitude at times so far prevailed, that I was desirous of knowing the age of the deceased, and whether they were of ages similar to myself; and if they were, it added to my fears, which at that time were piercing. But if they were further advanced, I endeavoured to appease these fears by considering myself young, and that I might escape such a removal in youth; for I was afraid to die, and that awful "for ever and ever," brought sadness over me.

I loved to read the Scriptures, especially the New Testament; and when I read the passage, where our blessed Lord is described as having suffered so much from the high professors, who despitefully treated him and crucified him, it afflicted me deeply; and I believed I should not have done this: so my heart became melted and tendered under a sense of it.

About this time it pleased the Lord to send into our parts Mary Kirby, a minister of Norfolk; and she being alone, requested me to accompany her. My mother gave me up, and it was a time of reaping some advantage; for when I returned home, I felt my heart in a good measure cleansed and emptied of the old inhabitants; my stiff will being measurably subdued; and loving retirement, I was drawn from my old companions.

I then witnessed a state of deep poverty of spirit, which caused me thus to address the Almighty: "Lord! what wouldst thou have me to do?" At that time I did not know there was any thing in my conduct which displeased Him; but his word in me was, "I must not only cease to do evil, but I must learn to do well." Thus I experienced, when the unclean spirit is gone out, we walk through dry places, seeking rest but finding none. Oh! that this time of drought and emptiness was but patiently abode in! but when all the old inhabitants are cast out, the creaturely part is apt to catch at something, to make up the loss it has sustained; for how hard is it to live without life in the creatures, or externals! The senses are continually seeking for something to heal this deadly wound, and to replace somewhat in an emptied mind; for it is hard thus to die to self. Therefore many are apt to connect themselves again with those worse than themselves, and their last state is worse than the first.

I feel such heavenly serenity in my endeavours to bring together these few remarks, which have long lain among my papers, that I have no doubt it is right for me to leave them to posterity; having a living hope in my heart, that the perusal of these faithful sayings will,

under Providence, tend to reach and reduce the uncircumcised Philistine nature. The infirmities attending my family in my younger years, kept me much at home; and now my own weakness and infirmities are great and many. Nevertheless my love is true to the great and good cause, and I should be willing to go the world over to edify the body, and promote the reformation of mankind, and the redemption of their souls, through Jesus Christ.

I continued to have this deep sense of privation and emptiness. I was sitting in our women's meeting for discipline at Carlisle, when it appeared clear to me, that if I continued thus inward with God, I should soon have to speak to others. This intimation that I was to be drawn to do well, was so far from humbling me, that I did not even desire to be excused, or pray my Divine Master to have patience with me: but I resolutely said; "I never will do so." I started aside like a broken bow, and I believe went into greater alienation from the Divine life than I had ever done before; and just it would have been, if Infinite wisdom had cut me off in my disobedience. I was guilty of many wrong things, which brought heavy judgment on me; and living with an aunt at Carlisle, I was much exposed; she keeping a shop, and I being from under the strict eye of my mother.

I was now about the seventeenth or eighteenth year of my age. Through every dispensation, I had a great love for good Friends; and they often manifested love for me; owning the valuable part in me, and overlooking that which was rebukable, I doubt not, in the faith that the Lord would carry on his own work; and their open carriage towards me, was so far from begetting disesteem in me, or inducing me to account them undiscerning, that it wrought upon the better part; for indeed I could have washed the saints' feet. Ministering Friends lodged at my mother's, and I sometimes got the blessing, which is fresh with me to this day.

At the age of between one and two and twenty, I was married to John Pearson, a sober, religious young man. About a year after my marriage, my false rest was broken; though I was rightly married, and I trust in best wisdom. United to a choice husband, I swam as in an ocean of pleasure; but I witnessed, instead of peace on earth, a heart-piercing sword. My undone condition was present with me day and night, when awake. Indeed I slept but little; sleep departed from my eyes and slumber from my eyelids; so that when night came, I wished for morning. And though I had been preserved from gross evils, so heavy was the Lord's hand in judgment against the sinful, impure part in me,

that there was sufficient work for his heart-piercing sword, which divides between the precious and the vile, that which serves him, and that which serveth him not.

In my own view, my case was now exceedingly deplorable; so that I neither eat nor slept much, which occasioned a visible decline in my health. Indeed I was a wonder to behold; the people wondering what had befallen me.—The enemy followed me closely with most grievous besetments; things that my very soul loathed would he charge upon me to be my own: and I, not having strength to resist, with a “Get thee behind me, Satan;” or on the other hand, experience to distinguish what proceeded from the enemy and his grievous insinuations, and what arose from the weakness of nature; every thing in me appeared out of order and a confused mass. I did believe none ever was in such a state before; nor had I ever read of any of our Friends who I thought had gone through such various trying dispensations, what if I say for two sabbaths of years, in which I feared I should never get to the better side.

I ate my bread weeping, and mingled my drink with my tears; I was as if amongst fiery serpents, and in the jaws of a devouring adversary, who was exulting over me; insinuating that the next temptation would sweep me away; and darting things into my mind, one after another, as swift as thought and as dark as the darkest night. Oh! that my troubles were written with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever, for surely they are far beyond my power of description; and had not mercy been extended to me in this trying season, truly I had fallen. The dispensation was so severe, that I could not tell how to live under it; and I wished the Almighty would, by an act of his power, snatch me from mortals, though it might be by an accidental death; for I still believed that if he did take me, it would be in mercy. So earnest was I after holiness and virtue, that I often besought Him that he would never suffer me to sin against him, that I might not be eternally ranked with unclean and abominable spirits, which my very soul loathed.

I now abhorred myself as in dust and ashes, because the enemy was thus permitted to assault me. But through all, my intellects were preserved clear, and my reason sound.

About this time I was much drawn inward in prayer; for truly my tempted, bewildered state called for it; and for a time, I believe I prayed without ceasing; and yet the Lord knew what I needed, to fit me for his work and service, and now, for my further refinement, He permitted the enemy to come still nearer; although I might say with one for-

merly, “Why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his will?” This was one of the closest trials I ever met with: one evening when the enemy accused me of evil, and I turned in prayer to the Judge of all the earth, making my appeal that He knew I was not wicked, beseeching that he would rebuke the devourer for my sake, and set me at liberty to serve him; it was darted as quick as lightning, “There is no God!” Oh! then how did I mourn! believing there was none who had the least remains of good, that was ever tried in this manner. I thought I was now sinning against the holy Ghost, and that I was the most wretched creature upon earth; and the enemy followed hard with his bitter whispering, “To what dost thou pray? There is no God.”

I never opened my case, under this dispensation, to any one; for I believed whoever I opened my mind to, would suppose I had been guilty of some gross thing, and therefore was a castaway; and I thought if I met with discouragement, I should not be able to bear the Lord’s hand in judgment, because I had sinned against him. At length I witnessed the truth of that declaration: “When thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness;” for truly I did experience inward purity of heart and cleanness of hands; and in the Lord’s own time he gave access to his throne; and the spirit of prayer and supplication was poured out upon me, with a “Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth:” I then felt a holy sense of this truth, “The Lord liveth,” and “because he lives, I live also.”

This dispensation, when it had prepared the way of the Lord and made his paths straight, passed away, and I had now to say, the Lord liveth, and I speak not falsely, because I know what that precious knowledge of God has cost me. I note these things for the help of any that may be tried as I have been; for if I had met with any such account it would have relieved me. There may be testimonies of Friends in the account of their lives, somewhat similar, but I had not read them or they had gone from me. Nor could I believe that any who were under the Divine notice, or the turning of the holy Hand, were suffered to abide so long a time under such dark bewildering suggestions.

May all who are thus proved, believe that way will be made for their escape! Do not despond nor cast away your confidence! I feel united to the suffering seed wherever they are, or of whatever society they may be: I mourn with those that mourn, compassionating their distress. My commiseration and tender feeling is towards these; and I can address them,

not from any degree of experience to boast of, but from the depth of humility, can say, "Trust in God. He can set his seed at liberty and will do it."

I now began to have great scruples respecting my wearing apparel, as also that of my children, and the furniture of our house, and coveted to have all things enough in the simplicity. I thought of John's raiment of camel's hair, with a leathern girdle about his loins, and that his meat was locusts and wild honey. There was no delicacy here, either in eating or apparel. Whatever the strong will in me seemed to loath, or have an aversion to, into that very thing, in the cross, was I led; though it seemed an indignity to my very frame and disposition, which was not thoroughly redeemed from nicety and a desire to be somewhat in the eyes of the world. Thus I was led till my will was subdued; and I was simple enough, through being mortified every moment; for I had always some scruple upon my mind whether things were right or not, till I was rendered flexible and docile, ready to take any impression the Lord would stamp upon me; and I pray it may be that of holiness, during my stay in mutability; and afterwards may I join the triumphant church, praising the Lord God and the Lamb for ever and ever.

About this time, I began to have some light and life about me. I could not have believed that I should be so clear of the bitter whisperings and insinuations of the crooked, piercing serpent; it being natural to conclude, when things are so out of order, and the adversary has effected such an inroad into the mind, making a prey of it, that things will be hard to set to rights; but it is the Lord's work, and he shall have the praise, for all is due to Him, and nothing is due to the creature.

I measurably witnessed an overcoming, and a little of getting the victory; the head of the serpent being bruised, the accuser cast down, and his accusations silenced, being acquitted of his false high charges against me; and in lieu thereof I obtained a precious feeling of justification: all old things being done away by that baptism which saves, all things became new, and all things of God. I now began again to have some view that I must tell to others what the Lord had done for my soul; how he had plucked me out of the horrible pit, out of the mire and clay; letting me feel the sure foundation, and that I was to keep upon it, and to proclaim the new song that He would put into my mouth.

This was a day of close trial; for I was brought to the test, whether I would keep my covenant that I had made with the Lord, in the days of my deep distress; which was,

that if he would but set me clear of the enemy, command what he pleased, I would obey, let it be what it would. In assembling with the Lord's people, and it was a favour to me that I was amongst a living people, our meetings were often favoured with lively testimonies. On such occasions, Scripture sentences would impress my mind with some degree of life and power, and according to my infant state and inexperience, I felt some concern of mind to declare them to the audience, though the evidence was not so full and clear as my diffident mind requested and really needed; for I was desirous that I might be preserved from saying "the Lord saith; albeit, he had not spoken."

This caused a strong conflict, a trying of the fleece wet and dry; my natural timidity closely adhering to a corresponding care not to cast untimely fruit, which soon comes to decay. This made me very wary and cautious, as I believed many had taken the preparation for this office to be the commission, and so had been dwarfs. On the other hand, the remembrance of the covenant I had made with the Lord in the days of my sore bondage and deep captivity, and my now not answering his requirings, made this a time of deep wading for me. In meetings, matter would arise and spread in my mind towards the people, and yet I felt not the command. Oh! if any should be thus tried, if they are resigned and have minds devoted to the Lord, to such I would say, "Fear not; the time will come, when you will not doubt respecting the Lord's will."

I was about nine months under this trying dispensation. It wore down the bodily strength; my knees were weak; my flesh failed, though not with refraining from food; my face was often sorrowful through much weeping, and on my eye-lids sat the shadow of death, through these winnowing, sifting seasons. Yet through all, I had a little hope, which as an anchor stayed my soul, and raised a holy belief that He who was my confidence, would in his own time unfold the mysteries of his kingdom and give an undoubted evidence, with unsullied clearness, that it was his will the candle he had lighted should be set on the candlestick, to give light to those around. Thanks be to his ever worthy name, He fulfilled it; so that when the right time came, in which I was to open my mouth in public, I had no doubt of its being his mind and will; yet, through fear, I reasoned it away, but was not severely chastened for it, as my heart was steadily purposed to serve Him; the will to do good was present, but in the performance I felt weak; so the Lord forgave me, and my mind enjoyed good till next meeting day. I

then went in great fear, to our little meeting at Graysouthen. A few words presented lively, and I well remember the subject; the purport of them was, that if we were but more inward in meetings, they would be more favoured than we often found them to be. And is not this a truth at the present day.

My being thus cautiously led in the beginning, has been helpful to me through the remaining part of my life, as to the ministry; in watching against false views and presentations, or taking the imaginary part for the revealed will of God. Oh! the peace that I felt that night, after that short testimony. It would have been acceptable to have been dissolved and to have been with Christ, which is far better.

I had now great peace of mind, so that instead of my heart being a place for dragons, for owls, and for screech owls, for cormorants, and for bitterns; there began to be a melody in it, as it were the voice of the Son of God, whose countenance is comely; and the myrtle, the box, and the pine, sprang up in that heart which had been a breeding place for nettles. This is the change that is wrought in man by being born again of the incorruptible seed and word of God. This was the change that was wrought in me.

I was frequently engaged to speak in meetings, and had satisfaction in so doing, and Friends did not discountenance me in my little childlike movings; but approved, though with a godly care. And through abundant mercy, I moved in my gift in simplicity, and did not choose for myself, nor seek for openings, nor dress my matter according to the creaturely will, neither dared I to restrain openings; all which are unsavoury. The Lord taught me to let it go just as it came; though with blushing I may acknowledge that I lay very near a right-hand error, if I may so term it. Great were my care and fear, in joining with first prospects; although they might be such as to lead me to conclude, "Surely the Lord's anointed is before me;" yet they have passed by, and a query has arisen, "Are all thy children here?" A proper query this; for those who labour for the good of others ought to have an especial care over their own household.

It often happens that the anointing is witnessed on the lesser appearance, a single, seemingly a poor sentence, not produced till the last, and scarcely worth ranking with sublime unfoldings, high in stature; all the rest passing by: "Send and fetch him, for we will not sit down until he come." Oh, then the holy command goes forth, "Arise, anoint him, for this is he;" and at some of these seasons, the horn has been filled with oil. But this

care, though laudable, yet prevailed often so as to keep lively openings, till the tide of good was receding to the fountain or source whence it sprung; and so the testimony was not so demonstrative and explicit, as otherwise it might have been; producing a half strangled though living offering. Read, you that can understand, and escape this rock on the right hand; for by this conduct, I often broke our ranks in the ministry; mine that should have gone first, being kept until the last. Little vessels floating sooner than those of deep service and heavy burdens, by getting out of the way of these, make their passage easier and safe. If any were more forward than myself, they opened the door, and I, through an unavailing trying of the opening, would close it and be excused from meddling.

As I had a great love and care for the blessed cause, that it might not suffer through weak advocates espousing it, so I always thought lowly of myself, and by keeping back as above mentioned, I became the author of confusion and disorder; the people were not so edified, nor I so comforted, as might have been expected, from the conflict I had undergone. I believe this had some foundation, in wanting to have a form of sound words, that none could condemn: for though I did not seek openings, or dress them as I pleased, yet all must have a mode of expression suiting the matter, and to convey to the audience their sentiments on religious things. On this ground, I wished to have the little matter set in order, for I feared being taken to task for misquoting or misapplying the holy Scriptures. But I was led clearly to discover that the ministers of Christ must rise, when perhaps but a word is given them, and minister according to the ability with which they are favoured, not at all fearing man, whose breath is in his nostrils, but serve and fear the Lord only.

## SECTION II.

*Her family—Loss of two children—Decease of her husband—Her testimony concerning him—Decease of her only remaining son—First journey in the work of the ministry—Decease of her mother, father-in-law, and daughter Hannah—Visits Lancashire, Cheshire, &c., and some Western counties—Decease of her second daughter—Removal to Whitehaven, 1791—Decease of her youngest daughter—Observations at various times, to the year 1795—Her exercise respecting vocal supplication in meetings.*

I now began to have great outward trials, when there was an abatement in the inward.



I had an affectionate husband, who in my infant state bore part of my sufferings. I had seven fine children, four girls and the youngest boys. Till this time the Lord had made a hedge about us and all that we had. Though we had not much to begin the world with, we increased fast in temporals. It pleased the Lord to remove two of my youngest children by the small-pox, in a natural way, as we could not be free to inoculate for it. I grieved much that a breach was made upon us; indeed I fretted too much. There was then a language proclaimed to my inward ear, if I did not cease inordinate grieving, I should have more troubles. The affectionate part was strong, yet I trust I did not murmur against the dispensations of unerring Wisdom. In the next year my beloved husband was taken from me! Oh, I could then have parted with all my children to have had him spared; for in him I was so bound up, that I believed if he died, I could not live. He was my outward strength; and on him I relied for every thing in this world. I am inclined to give forth a testimony to his worth, as the widow's mite to her children, or children's children, that when we are gone, they may see from what kind of stock they have sprung. For their welfare my very soul is moved within me, and causes me to go bowed down, imploring that Divine assistance may be their aid through this vale of tears.

JANE PEARSON'S *Testimony concerning her dear deceased husband, JOHN PEARSON, who departed this life the 14th of sixth month, 1774.*

HE was born of believing parents, who gave him a tolerable education; and I believe, according to the best of their ability, trained him up in the nurture of the Lord. He was religiously inclined from his youth, so that in some sense he was a Nazarite from his birth; giving full proof that he sought a better country than this world; in which he had various struggles, being more exposed than many others, as his business was a linen manufacturer; yet he conducted himself with honour through all his engagements, and gained a handsome subsistence for his family; and I may say without doubt, he retained the better part through all.

He was a man of an innocent life and conversation, of a meek disposition, readier to take harsh treatment than to give it, and would suffer wrong, rather than resent an injury. He was temperate even to abstinence. In the relation of a husband, he was unexceptionable. When I consider his tenderness towards me and his family, I can scarcely but

lament; yet I believe he is removed to the haven of rest; for I thought it was demonstrable that the grave would have no victory at his dissolution. His illness was tedious, but he was quite resigned, whether life or death should be his portion; and he frequently said, he longed to be gone, and that he scarcely thought it would be possible for him to be so willing to leave us.

A Friend coming in the day before he died, had an opportunity with him, which was an acceptable time. The Friend expressed to him that he might yet get a little better. He answered, "I had rather go; I have felt the pains of death; oh let me go!" It appeared that he was quite reconciled to the grave; and I said, "O then, my dear, thou must be satisfied thy change will be well?" He answered, "Yes, I believe so;" speaking with becoming humility. The day before he died, he felt his pulse steadily three times, in order to know how near his change was; and inquired of the doctor how long he might continue? I desired he might not ask that question, and he, lamb-like, did not repeat it.

I am satisfied he had an assurance of acceptance with the Almighty, which declared itself in the heavenly fortitude and serenity that accompanied him to his last moments. His mother, who was an aged person, and under great infirmities, being brought in to take her leave of him, he in a prophetic manner, told her he should go first, but she would soon follow after; and accordingly it proved so, for as he expired, she began to show symptoms of her dissolution, and continued but about two hours after him; so they finished their course nearly together.

Oh! my loss is inexpressible! his kindness, his nearness in a religious sense, cannot be set forth by me. I had gone through various and deep provings; many weary years had passed over my head, whilst I was under the preparing hand of my God; but his compassion, his patience towards me, his condescension to my weakness, in my infant state, cannot be penned. His memory is blessed; and his excellent virtues ascend to the Father of spirits and resemble the prayers and alms-deeds of Cornelius, had in everlasting remembrance.

I have endeavoured not to be swayed by affection, in this summary account, but have just related what I think the spirit in me bears witness to the truth of; neither was I easy without doing it. He departed without any struggle, as one falling into the sweetest of slumbers, and was decently buried in Friends' burying-ground, at Graysouthern, aged forty-nine years.

JANE PEARSON.

The Lord was now about to divest me of my beloveds; the next year he took my eldest son in a fever, so that I had no son. He also made it manifest to me, that it was his requiring I should travel a little in the service of Truth. I gave up, and my friends favoured me with a certificate. I set off on my journey, with my much honoured friend Hannah Harris. I accompanied her through Lancashire, and then my dear friend Barbara Drewry met me at Settle. We visited Yorkshire, except Richmond Monthly Meeting. Then feeling a strong draught home, I returned and found my family well, except my dear mother who resided with me. She was a little on the decline, yet not so as to be much noticed; but in about two or three weeks, she fell sick and died. I mention this that Friends may attend to their feelings and drawings, as to returning home; for had she departed in my absence, I should have been in danger of letting in the reasoner. Oh, the kindness of God, who prolonged her life till my return.

I was now left with my father-in-law, who was a valuable man, and my four daughters. The youngest but one, an amiable young woman of about nineteen, going a little abroad, lost her health. She continued in a state of great weakness, for about three years, and departed this life in 1784,\* my father-in-law dying a little before her.

\* The compiler of these memoirs, has stated in the introduction, that the subject of them occasionally wrote a few verses. On the event just mentioned, she poured forth her maternal feelings, nearly as follows, without any view to their insertion here; but perhaps the introduction of them may not be deemed improper.

*Lines on my beloved daughter, HANNAH PEARSON.*

A widow'd mother while I sit,  
In silence and dismay,  
I feel a spirit-stirring power,  
That prompts the sorrowing lay.

Then from a mother's bosom, let  
The mournful numbers flow;  
The ear of pity will forgive,  
My mingling hope and wo.

There are who hold that life is but  
A shadow or a flower;  
My soul aspires to higher good,  
Than bounds the present hour:

That good, my Hannah sure has reach'd  
And will for ever prove:  
Her bosom was th' abode of peace,  
Of innocence and love.

For those whom evil tongues traduc'd,  
She felt compassion rise;  
While innocence, the richest gem!  
Sat lovely in her eyes.

I was now left with three daughters. The family sits solitary that was full of people; but the Lord has been exceedingly kind to me. When I mourned for the loss of my connexions, my husband especially, condescending kindness vouchsafed thus to plead with me; "What have I done to thee? I have taken thy beloveds to a mansion of rest, called them to a better life; and I will remove, as it pleaseth me, the residue of thy family; and then you will meet, never more to part." At this moment I had a hope, a precious faith, that the Lord would mercifully preserve me and mine till the conclusion, in a degree of innocence.

I may acknowledge, I had suffered a strong persuasion to prevail in my mind, that the Lord in displeasure, had removed my husband from me; because I had not faithfully discharged myself in the ministry, or that something was wrong with me; and I was even so

Strict modesty around her form,  
Was like a mantle cast;  
Her features beam'd intelligence,  
But—these from earth are past!

Then who can tell the loss of her,  
Or number up my tears?  
I live: but ah! a sadness hangs  
O'er my declining years.

My dearest consort died again  
In Hannah's parting breath:  
My days are spent in grief, for who  
Has known so much of death?

Sweet were thy words, my beauteous child!  
That thou to me express'd,  
When, watching thy declining strength,  
I hung upon thy breast.

And in the anguish of my soul,  
To God prefer'd my prayer,  
That, in compassion, yet thy life,  
He would be pleased to spare.

Thou meekly answer'dst "Mother dear!  
I'd rather go than thee,  
If such the righteous will of God;  
For best that will must be:

"Tho' parted for a little space,  
We'll hope to meet again."  
Such resignation gave me strength,  
The conflict to sustain.

Can I describe the setting eye?  
The faltering tongue restore?  
The trembling hand! the shorten'd breath!—  
I cease—For all is o'er.

Fair as a lily, and as sweet,  
My lovely Hannah grew;  
But soon she from the garden here,  
To Paradise withdrew.

Ye sister lilies! keep like her,  
Your innocence and love,  
When gather'd from the earth, you'll then  
In beauty rise above.

weak as to require a sign from him, although he had before fully satisfied me that it was not in displeasure to either of us: but oh! it was with me a time of great dejection. What I asked at that time was, that he would cause some of his servants, with whom I had never corresponded, to write to me, and I would take it as a sign. He had chastened in his mercy, and now he seemed to be entreated; for that valuable Friend, Mabel Wigham, addressed me in tender sympathy, and communicated her feelings that my husband was removed in mercy, and that I and my children would be preserved. I note this, that Friends may be faithful in all respects, for it did me much good.

I had now a concern of mind, and I think it had been before me for some years, to visit the meetings of Friends in the western part of this nation. Cornwall pressed very close, that had I had wings, I could have flown to it for rest. I informed some of my friends, who encouraged me and united with me in my prospect. I then acquainted the Monthly Meeting, and obtained its certificate, and I had my dear friend, M. Haworth, of Haslingden, for a companion. We visited most meetings in Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall.

I had a close concern to visit a Friend who had been low for some time, and mentioned it to some Friends, but way was not made suitable to my diffidence. When I got as far back as Plymouth, I did not know but I must have returned; for, if I may be allowed the expression, the furnace was hot, which made my anguish inexpressible; it made all my bones to shake, and affected my health for the remainder of the journey, which till then had been good. Friends had need to be careful how they turn back diffident minds, who are not like the offspring of Sceva, taking upon them, in their own strength, to call over unclean spirits. The Lord wrought mightily in me towards the distressed, for I had passed through much affliction, and was thereby rendered very susceptible, readily catching a sense of sorrow wherever I found it.

I believe the Friends were backward of giving encouragement, wishing to conceal the infirmities that had overtaken so valuable an instrument as she had been: and besides all this, many much more worthy had visited her, with whom indeed I am not fit to be ranked. But I am what I am, by the grace of God; and as he worketh wonders by mean low instruments, he may work through such to others if he please. I must however own that they gave permission to me, but not to my companion, and an allowance differs from

a hearty concurrence; yet I have felt judgment for the omission, but believed before I left the place, that deliverance would come from another source; and I have lived to know and be thankful for it. I missed several meetings in my way home, being poorly, and believing it safe and lawful for me to return. I found my family well, and had the evidence of peace answering my obedience.

I have now arrived at the fifty-sixth year of my age, and still afflictions abide me. My second daughter being removed by death, I have but two remaining. She was an innocent, virtuous young woman, bore a lingering illness with patience and resignation, and I believe is gathered in mercy.

In 1791 I moved to Whitehaven to reside, before the death of my youngest daughter; to whose marriage with a Friend belonging to that meeting, I had consented. Our going there, was also much the mind of both my daughters. My daughter who resided with me was desirous of living there, in order to be helpful to her married sister, whose family was increasing. Oh, the close exercise I have had in this meeting! truly it has worn me down, with other trying circumstances which befell me at that place. Many a bitter cup have I and my poor children drunk of there. If it has but tended to our refinement, it is well; for surely our bodies were enfeebled thereby. I did my best under the heavy trials I met with. The Lord knows my prayers were almost incessant, while under the weight of unpleasant things.

My youngest daughter was a religious, pious young woman, and died the year we removed. She was exceedingly delicate, of a meek disposition, and tender spirited; and yet she had waded through difficulties, so that in her dying moments she expressed, that streams of tears had run down her cheeks; and that if she died then, which she was not afraid to do, she died innocent; for that she had never done ill to any one. And she often said encouragingly; "The Lord knows what is best for us." She had a strong apprehension that she should die; but from a sweet prospect of good that I had had in our meeting a little before, in my low wading respecting her, I did believe all would be well; and from this discovery, I caught a hope that she might recover; which she remarked during her illness. "Mother," said she, "thou hast been mistaken." I answered: "My dear, I saw something so comfortable about thee, I believed all would be well;" she answered: "All will be well," and added, "I have often thought of that Friend from Manchester, who pointed out to us in a family sitting, that some had not long to stay; but the state he spoke

to, seemed too good for me to accept of. I was willing to put it to another in the company, who at that time was indisposed." She left three fine children in charge to surviving relations.

Though it is my lot often to sit silent at meetings in the place where I now reside; yet I have precious openings and Divine intimations on my return home from them, even respecting individuals. But hardness of heart has crept into the minds of some, and it may be right to let them alone.

2nd of sixth month, 1793.—I know not for what I am held at this place, except it be faithfully to suffer with the suffering seed here. I have renewedly felt a precious union with our dear Lord in his crucified state, in the hearts of professors. Oh, the plungings witnessed in our meetings! There is an active spirit got in, that takes its food upon the surface, or catches at it flying in the airy regions. With food of this nature, some seek to feed and to be fed. I have painfully sat under some recent testimonies, when it seemed clear to me, sin held its empire: and what was delivered, though sound truths, yet did not slay the man of sin: but I am alluding to none belonging to our meeting; there is a precious seed in this place, with which in a great measure, I can unite.

1st of fifth month, 1794.—I have been at meeting this day, which was heavy; I felt clouds gathering thickly, the sun and moon darkened, the greater and lesser lights withdrawn; that in my deeply trying, inward labour, I saw no light in the horizon, and very confidently believed the bitterness of death was around. I struggled in silence till my gracious Master gave me to see, that where he was, his servant should be also. I derived some consolation therefrom; reposing in a belief that I was of the suffering seed, though the least member in the body, or the meanest in the Father's house. I think I have had in this meeting, such a diversity of feelings, that perhaps I have experienced the two extremes of happiness and wo. At one time in silence, there was a confirming language inwardly spoken; and though a poor worm, I had hopes it might be applied to myself. It was: "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest;" under which I was ready to sing the song of Moses, the servant of the Lord, and the song of the Lamb. At another time, my mind was so overshadowed with the power of Truth, that the season was too solemn for any vocal voice to be heard, the cloud and glory so great, that none could minister.

Sixth month.—I am now returned from Broughton, where I have been nine weeks, on account of my only surviving daughter's weak

state of health. I felt comfortable whilst there, and much enlargement of heart towards the few Friends belonging to that place. Oh, may they be profited! Truly it was free mercy handed to them, and not for works of righteousness that they have done, for I think them deficient in that great duty of attending religious meetings. How sorrowful it is, when elders and overseers stay at home by their stuff, while others are wading deeply for the promotion of Truth!

Whitehaven, eighth month, 1794.—This day our Monthly Meeting has been a very favoured season to me. My soul arose above all its troubles, under a precious sense, that in my sojourning thus far through life, the Lord has always eyed me for good and has watched my goings; and though I cannot say I never made false steps, yet he who knows my heart, knows it to be weakness. Oh, how weak are we, when divested of his saving help! Yet he has in mercy fully forgiven all, and deigned to give me a foretaste of the joys of his kingdom: a sense that has no feeling of sorrow; no more sighing; no weepings, but a joy without alloy. In this state I have been ready to think the days of my mourning are nearly ended, having a strong "desire to depart and to be with Christ;" feeling all my soul's enemies subdued, so that I could pray for them that have despitefully used me. In this heavenly place in Christ Jesus, it is good for us to abide. This day I was silent; the fulness of glory too great to minister.

22nd, 1794.—Have been at meeting. Oh, the sifting I have, in regard to the ministry I am gifted with! Though I believe I was rightly called, that I entered at the right time, and have moved with godly fear in it, not choosing my own way, nor carving for myself, yet I am so low as to think I have never been of use. I opened my mouth this day, as I thought, from a small impulse, or the moving of prophetic instruction, out of my little to bake a cake first. Here is no redundancy now, but a grain of faith that a supply may be afforded, answering my need. I ventured my offering in the simplicity, so far as I know; but oh, the buffeting at my return home was truly bitter!

I am now arrived near the sixtieth year of my age; and my bodily strength is much impaired: I am grown very weak. I do not expect it will be long, before the narrow confines of the silent grave will enclose me. Happy moment! when I shall be freed from the sight and voice of the oppressor: for although some might be sensible that I have undergone hard things, yet none have known the anguish of my heart; it is beyond all description, but it is known to God. I have of-

ten had to remember holy Job, and to quote him in the exercise of my gift, in honest labour among the people, and to say, "Even to-day is my complaint bitter, my stroke is heavier than my groaning;" and so has mine been, even at this late period of my life. He also declares, he cried out of wrong, but was not heard, yea, cried aloud, but there was no judgment.

I ventured to conclude this day, as at some former seasons, that I would preach no more in this place; for the spring of the Gospel is much shut. I find if I speak, my grief is not assuaged, if I forbear, what am I eased? For I have tried from meeting to meeting what silence would do for me. I search myself to find the cause, that I am not lively in my ministry as in the days of my youth: for truly I conclude there is no life in me, so that I now most earnestly wish for the lodging of a wayfaring man in the wilderness, where I might go from my people and leave them. I feel weary of these suffering seasons; they are more than my frame can well bear.

Fourth month 8th, 1795.—I was at our week-day meeting, in which I beheld that we are born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards; that the human mind at seasons, is like a sponge, drinking up affliction, till it sinks in deep waters: yea, they flow into the soul. Oh! the perplexities experienced in this space of time! Few and evil have been our days, and we have not attained to the years of our progenitors. In this state, condescending kindness vouchsafed to lead me to the rock that is higher than I; and mine eyes saw that we fret for things unworthy the notice of a redeemed mind; and that if I, or my friends with whom I sat, were but called upon to take leave of every thing below the sun, all these perplexing anxieties would vanish like an atom in the whirlwind, and be of no weight at all. We should then only lament that we had not looked above these momentary afflictions, and fixed our confidence on the invisible Arm, and invincible power of Omnipotence. But oh! how is the natural part attracted by visible objects! while that which is born from above, suffers through our not adhering to the invisible.

In this meeting I desired that I might be favoured with an extraordinary visitation, whereby I might be made willing to give up to any requirings, having long had an exceedingly great dread upon my spirit, in regard to praying in public assemblies. Ah! this broke the creaturely part in me, and laid me in the dust. I could be willing to breathe mentally during the whole of a meeting: but when I should have fallen upon my knees, oh, the reasonings I had; as that the cup of favour was not full

enough: that I had not come so near to his seat as I ought, or was not sufficiently clothed with the garment of praise; that fervent desire for my friends, was not arrived at full height; or that I had not enough of the indwelling of God's pure Spirit, to enable me, in this awful gift of prayer, to keep so close to his precious, directing, all-saving power, as to be preserved from offering a word in prayer, of which he was not the author and requirer.

Although this is a pinching dispensation, and I may now appear very like a weakling, just entered into the service, yet I have at different times been prevailed upon, to call upon the name of the Lord in public. But I have had great searching of heart afterward, lest I should have made the smallest deviation or sally from the precious life, whilst so concerned; that now nature is likely to fail at the appearance and approach of intercession. May the Lord help me! Perhaps this little delineation, may be as face answering face in a glass, to some who are very conscientious in every movement, especially prayer; and may that always be offered "with a right understanding, seasoned with grace."

### SECTION III.

*Carlisle Quarterly Meeting, 1797—Verses written under trial—Illness in 1800—Prospect of a religious visit, respecting which, the will was accepted for the deed—Observations—Remarkable vision—Illness of her only remaining daughter—Her decease and burial, 1806 or 7—Observations in 1807 and 8, on entering her seventy-fifth year, and in subsequent parts of 1810—Extract from Piety Promoted.*

20th of eleventh month, 1796—I have felt a desire this morning to be thoroughly washed, until I be made clean, so as no fuller on earth could make more white. Many are made willing to bear the spiritual baptisms, provided they are assured it is Jesus that is dipping them. But so uncertain and seemingly casual are the occasions of their plungings, they believe not that he is the author of their immersion, or that it is his holy hand that is washing and bathing them for their imperfections. Sin being mercifully done away, how can these that are dead to sin, live any longer in it!

Third month 28th, 1797—I was favoured once more to attend our Quarterly Meeting at Carlisle, very near the place of my nativity, and the meeting I belonged to for many years. The meeting of ministers and elders was a favoured season; I had the evidence of peace in my little labours; and indeed all the meet-

ings were more or less owned with the heart solacing presence of Zion's King. It was like taking my leave; and I was helped to be faithful: so that in my return for many miles, my cup ran over, and I seemed anointed with the oil of gladness. Great was my peace; such a full foretaste of heavenly joy, as I have not before experienced, except when I first opened my mouth in testimony. There seemed nothing between my soul and its blessed Redeemer. At that time my joy was so full, that I longed to be dissolved, feeling nothing but purity and holiness about me; or at least, I had the sense of full acceptance with the Father, in my endeavours to obey.

At Carlisle, I felt an engagement to supplicate God on behalf of the people: I felt love for them, and some of the elders and ministers were near my best life. Indeed I had never found more openness to plead with them, than in the select opportunity for ministers and elders, and had great peace in so doing. In the time of supplication, which was at the close of the last meeting, I thought I found near access to the Almighty; if I had not, I durst not have called vocally upon his ever blessed and worthy name. During the awful and solemn season, (it was so to me,) I supported myself on one knee, my other having no strength in it, which hindered my continuing so long in intercession, as might have tended to my solid comfort. But the Almighty heard the little, who accepts the "Abba Father." I believe my effort was accepted; and if I had but bent my knees and called upon his ever worthy name, he being the author, would in return for this humiliating dedication, have given the answer of peace. Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever.

28th of twelfth month, 1798—Much proved.

In age assist me, dearest Lord!  
In faith my spirit stay;  
And if I've err'd through slavish fear,  
Forgive me Lord! I pray.

No other foes assail me now,  
Or prey upon my peace,  
But false alarms and slavish fears;  
Oh cause these fears to cease!

Uplifted hands and downcast eyes,  
Bespeak my griefs, O Lord!  
To trembling knees and broken sighs,  
Thy succour now afford.

Desert not Lord, this feeble frame,  
Thou know'st what I can bear,  
And when I cry in agony,  
Oh! be not slow to hear!

My head is clad with silver hairs;  
My limbs their power resign.—  
Rememb'ring my departed strength,  
Let me receive of thine.

Thy presence is unsullied joy;  
It fills the heavens above,  
My earnest cry is, Lord! to feel  
A portion of thy love;

My trust in thee was early fixed;  
I felt it in my youth;  
My age, as then, relies on thee,  
ETERNAL GOD OF TRUTH!

Thou hast commanded us to ask,  
In order to receive;  
Admit me to thy holy rest,  
When all below I leave.

The mansion thou preparest there  
Will fully satisfy,  
Thou'st rais'd thy humble handmaid here;—  
Receive me when I die.

Yet once again, oh! let me come,  
Bearing the widow's prayer;  
That I and mine, through endless life,  
May of thy mercy share.

I have no other claim to make,—  
Enough for me and mine;  
Tho' smallest of the lights in heaven,  
If there our lamps may shine.

Fourth month, 1800—I have been confined of late, through bodily indisposition, during the forepart of which, my sickness was extreme. It appeared to me that I was making quick advances towards the grave; although as I apprehended, the first Divine impression was, that I should not die at that time. But as I knew a recent instance of a minister of my acquaintance, and with whom I had travelled, whose dissolution was entirely hid from her, this made me sometimes rather hesitate.

I had much bodily illness, but not much conflict of mind. I was preserved still and quiet, which was not my nature; it was God's mercy: to his praise be it inscribed upon my heart as long as I live. I was favoured with a fixed, steady, comfortable hope, that if I then died, it would be well with me. I seek no more evidence, when I shall really surrender life; for it seemed as if my dear Redeemer's arms enfolded me very safely; so that the wicked one, by whom I had often been distressed on a sick bed, touched me not, neither had any power over me.

First-day, 10th of fifth month, 1801—I was at meeting at Whitehaven, and had a precious opening, with which I was nearly ready to stand up; but I am too much like the impotent man at the pool, waiting for the moving of the waters, and while I am making ready, another steps in. It was so this day, and though but a few words were spoken, and they not distinctly heard by me, yet it left unspeakable anguish and bitterness of spirit, so that the daughter of Judah, for the remainder of the day, "was trodden as in a wine press."



Ninth month, 1801.—As in me there has been a singular instance of God's mercy and power; his mercy in forgiving, and power in upholding me, I can therefore do no less than praise Him here and eternally. And whoever reads this, let them be humbled in the dust before Him; for truly He is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.

The latter part of this year, I have had a time of confinement, through sickness; and have not been so favoured in this season of weakness, with that soul-sustaining evidence of Divine regard, as at some former times. It may be that I had too frequent recourse to the redundancy of favour, then mercifully vouchsafed: not doubting, that if I was similarly tried, I might be equally supported; and so was in danger of being like Gideon, who, after his great achievement made an Ephod, and idolizing it, the same became a snare unto him.

Sixth month 30th, 1802.—I was at our week-day meeting, and was favoured with a solemn silence, resembling that in heaven, where angels and archangels adore in profound silence. Oh! I saw into the joys thereof; a place where sorrow cannot come: none of the inhabitants have any affliction. I was this day favoured to partake of Divine good, in the greatest degree that perhaps I ever experienced; the heavenly bread was handed to my soul, in no sparing portion, with, "Take, eat, this is my body."

Towards the latter end of last year, 1801, I had an apprehension that I must visit some of the southern counties, or the south-eastern. It came, I thought, with considerable clearness. I endeavoured to keep as near to good as possible, and rarely, when awake, was without some sense of the Divine requirings. The latter end of the fifth month, 1802, seemed the right time for me to move in it. I did not stagger at my own weak state, for I was really given up; nor at the extreme weakness of my only surviving child; so that it appeared like Abraham's trial, in stretching out his hand to offer his only son.

My poor grand-children, who indeed were orphans, I wholly resigned, not daring to let the affectionate part take hold; but gave up my own life and theirs, and all that I had into the hands of the Almighty; not daring to draw back one jot, or even to wish that the service had not been required of me.

I dared no more dispute the voice, than Abraham did, when he was called to go to the land of Moriah; my nature perhaps recoiled, as his might do, without the hope that he had; "My son, the Lord will provide himself an offering." Let the unbelievers step forward and question these and other sacred

truths; it matters not; their unbelief will perish with them, and cease to be propagated when they are no more.

When the time arrived in which I was to prepare for the journey, the prospect entirely closed, and I was fully released. I bowed in humility, and accepted my discharge, with this caution, to eye the great Leader, and not hastily to re-enter into my family affairs; but to be still and wait, without rejoicing at my liberation; since which time I have continued to feel at liberty.

Fourth month 12th, 1803.—This morning before I rose, I was pondering in my mind, that divers in our Society, are rich and full, as may be seen by their way of living and their clothing; and that though their garb is plain, yet it is costly; and various are their suits of apparel. I then recurred to my own low estate, not regretting that it was so; for it became a redeemed people to be exemplary in eating, drinking, and apparel: in which revolvings, my mind was satisfied by this language; "I will clothe thee with salvation, and crown thy end with peace."

Could I ask more for myself? Surely nay! and being favoured and broken under it, and very near the throne of grace, I was allowed, in humility, to petition for my daughter, that she might have a place in the kingdom of heaven, and accompany my spirit in the mansion seen meet for me to inherit, when I was unclothed of mortality. After this, I prayed for my grand-children.

Twelfth month 23d, 1804.—First-day, I was at our meeting, in which I had an open time, much to my own satisfaction: and I hope to that of others. Indeed, Truth rose into dominion, and the opposite power sunk into insignificance. Such instances have been rare with me. In leaving the meeting, a sense of acceptance was given me; measurably receiving the sentence of well done in my own particular; with a secret hope, that if I continued to steer my course carefully, eyeing my guide; and in simplicity and godly sincerity dealing out to the people as immediately given; pursuing the thread of my testimony in the power, and depending wholly upon the Lord, he would be mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance. Thus Satan for a while, became bruised under foot.

Fourth month 7th, 1805.—I have this day experienced deep baptism of soul. I thought it would hasten my dissolution. Oh! merciful Lord, my times are in thy hand; thou knowest what I can bear; lighten my load I pray thee, or add to my strength, for I am tried to the very life; crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. Oh! grant me patience to bear these suffer-

ing seasons; surely thou carest that I serve alone.

In the latter end of 1805, or the beginning of 1806, I had a sickness, in which I was confined for some time; and one night as I lay in bed, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, being in a solid, weighty frame of spirit, breathing towards the Fountain of all good, I beheld with my spiritual eye, as clearly as ever my outward eye beheld any object, that the Ancient of Days descended; his dread majesty enveloped as in a cloud; and being emboldened through his unmerited condescension, I begged for a place in his glorious kingdom, when unclothed of my mortal robes. I write in awful fear. I thought it was granted, and that I was allowed to proceed, if I had any thing further. I then craved for my only daughter the same favour. I thought that too was granted.

I then lifted up my eyes and heart, and mentally poured forth my soul, saying: "Oh! Lord, the wickedness of man is great;" my mind being expanded, and bending in good will towards all; and the answer I received was: "My mercy is greater;" and the vision closed. But oh! the contented calm it left.

It is now nearly fifteen months since this display of God's mercy occurred; and till this time, I have not recorded it, lest any should think of me above what I am; or that from such a discovery of unlimited mercy, any sinner should presume to go on in their wickedness, in hopes that God would show them mercy at last. But at this time, it has been again opened; and after passing many deep plungings, I am stript of all glorying, save in the cross; having no desire but that these lines may preach when I am no more, and encourage some poor sinner, to lift up his head in hope at what I have penned.

1806.—I am now grown old, and it is announced that my declining years are not to be exempt from trials: they truly increase. My only daughter is afflicted with a cancer in her breast. The pain and dreadfulness of the complaint are such, that we languish without hope of her recovery. Afflictive is this dispensation indeed; no solace but from a comfortable hope, that her troubles will end with the termination of her life.

Twelfth month 3d, 1806.—In our week-day meeting, I was engaged to set forth the necessity of not only receiving the seed of the kingdom, but, with all readiness, allowing its growth; as the work of Truth in the heart of man is described by our Great Master, to be progressive; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. I had peace in returning to my habitation, and this language presented to me; "Ever since thou wast born,

my love has been to thee." This melted me; may I be worthy of such a favour.

Third month 14th, 1807.—On taking a retrospect of the path assigned me through this vale of tears, and the sketches I have drawn thereof, I have thought it may appear to others, that I have been more marred than my cotemporaries, in my deep early refinings; and since, in being singularly stripped of my beloved outward connexions; the tree being wholly peeled. But let none of Zion's travellers be discouraged thereat; for, to the praise of my heavenly Father, and of the riches of his grace, be it remembered, that sufficient strength for the day has been afforded, or else I never could have stood to this time. My eldest and last daughter is now released from all her trials, and a gracious God, who never fails in time of need, visited and upheld my mind in a marvellous manner.

At the time of her interment, while I sat in the meeting beside her coffin, oh! the unspeakable peace I felt, with a consoling assurance that all her tears were for ever wiped away. They had flowed like rivers, under deep religious exercise; and at that time, the condescension of our heavenly Father was such to me, a poor unworthy creature, that it seemed as if her pure spirit descended and rested upon her remains, during the opportunity. Oh! how can I sufficiently adore!

Fifth month 4th, 1807.—Fourth-day, I was at meeting. Some of our Friends are set off for London. A solemn time it was to me; for I was much engaged in mental breathings; the Spirit helping my infirmities inwardly to pray. A large portion of heavenly bread was handed to me, without much wrestling, or having it to set before others: and although our souls' enemies may be numerous, a language livingly opened; "The Lord shall fight for you, and you shall hold your peace." It applied to myself, as I had no commission to divulge it. Somewhat like the earnest of the Spirit of adoption or holy promise, accompanied my mind, and closed with, "Lord, thou art good to us, we will praise thee; we will exalt thy name." I had strong consolation in God, only wise, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and Omnipresent. Always in his sight, naked and bare before him, oh! who dare do evil!

Twelfth month 13th, 1807.—My family all gone to meeting; and I through indisposition, left at home; but I must acknowledge the kindness of a gracious God to me, who has been near in this time of confinement, allowing me to pour forth my soul, yea, I have thought sometimes, to lean on his very bosom; and the comforting watch-word is: "Fear not, I am first and last."

First month 4th, 1808.—Rich favour ex-

tended this morning to me, a poor worm; and given in these consoling characters; "My love and care, yea, protecting care, have ever been towards thee; and I never will leave thee nor forsake thee: although Satan has, in days past, been permitted to roar and shoot his malignant arrows, he shall now be still."

I craved the renewal of the Divine vision I had been favoured with in a former illness; but Infinite Wisdom saw meet to withhold any thing further of that nature; I adore and bless his holy name. Oh! I pray God, with my whole heart, that it may be thus with me in my last moments; and I humbly trust it will, if I keep my place to the conclusion; for truly he has been a merciful God to me. May the members of this meeting, more and more seek after the power, which hath so eminently interposed for the deliverance of my soul! May not one of them be lost! for truly great pains have been taken with this part of the vineyard.

Second month 7th, 1808.—For many months, my mind has been preserved in a state of tranquillity, exclusive of the things in the outward, that were at times afflicting. There was no evil inclination in myself, nor any temptation thereto; and a merciful Father not far away from me: that I began to doubt my condition, lest I should ascribe this serenity, which might become habitual, to a growth in the Truth and favour with my God, ere I had attained it; so that I almost wished to feel my wanted poverty of spirit again, and his chastening; believing myself far from perfect. And now he hath seen meet to change the benign dispensation, into one more searching and trying; often withdrawing his favour; so that I seemed neither "borne on the side, nor dandled on the knee." I will bear it; for oh! I dread being at ease in Zion, or trusting to any thing short of what is really substantial, that feeds and nourishes the soul unto everlasting life.

Fifth month 7th, 1810.—I have now arrived at my seventy-fifth year; and in perusing again what hath long since been written of the Lord's dealings with me in my childish state, I feel the renewing of ancient power, which impressed my mind when I penned them; so that I hope they are not words which will fall to the ground, for they are faithful and true sayings. Reader, if when thou perusest them, a gentle summons should be heard; "The Master is come and calleth for thee," rise up quickly, as Mary did; let others suspect what they may, respecting thy haste. These are seasons when we are to salute no one by the way.

There are many publications in the world. Some of them have a tendency to corrupt the

morals of those that read them; such as these have never come much in my way, nor durst I have spent my time in reading them. But there are many deemed more innocent; and such books as have been introduced into my family, I have thought it right to view the nature of; and to consider what tendency they might have upon minds that seemed to take delight in them; and I have this to propose to the serious consideration of all, especially the youth, or even those more advanced in our Society, to whom such books are pleasing; to such I say; "Read the Scriptures and other good books," and observe the tenour of your minds while reading; and you will feel which of them draws nearer to God—these publications I have been hinting at, or those that have been penned by the witnesses of our Saviour's life and death.

In the records of his life, we shall perceive where the Master's footsteps have trodden in deep humility. Then view his wounded side, and the print of the nails, in viewing which, living virtue seems to be felt. Such authors, we must believe, have been with Jesus. It was reading his sufferings in my early youth, that melted me, as heretofore acknowledged, and bound me to his pure Spirit. Oh! that all mankind saw it as I now do! how fearful they would be of laying out that money for unprofitable publications, which might be better employed; neither dare they waste their precious time in reading them.

Eighth month 6th, 1810.—I have been surprised that the older and more infirm I grow, the more I am enlarged in mind, and the more illuminated in regard to Scripture sentences. Oh! how the watch-word, when it comes, brightens upon my mind, and inwardly gives me to expatiate thereupon. It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous indeed in my eyes. Lord, what am I, that thou continuest thus to acknowledge me, and that thou thus expandest my heart in old age, when the keepers of the frail building tremble exceedingly; and I am so humbled thereby, as to consider myself abject, mean, and unworthy of a place where the Majesty of heaven resides? Oh! when this mortal shall put on immortality, and every seed its own body, mine must surely be as of the lowest order of angels! sown in weakness, even if it be raised in power. But cease, my soul, to pry into the secrets of eternity! The lowest mansion in the Father's house, will far, very far, surpass my services. Oh, Lord, be near at the winding up of time, is my sincere prayer.

Eleventh month 14th, 1810.—This day we had a very confirming season, in our silent week-day meeting. I thought I should never more doubt being under the notice of

heaven, the evidence was so strong, and my love seemed perfect Godward; so that it cast out all fear. I neither feared death, hell, nor the grave. The armies of the aliens, for the present, were entirely put to flight. My faith was strong respecting my own well being, and even I had faith for those who that day gathered with me. We seemed indeed come to Zion, the city of the living God, and gathered in spirit with an innumerable company of angels.

Previous to this precious season, I had had very great openings into Divine things, pertaining to another life; things so sacred as not to be meddled with; which brought me to think I should soon be gathered; and in looking at the ministry I had been gifted with, and how I had moved under the openings I had been favoured with, although I felt no condemnation, my gift seemed as if it might be taken from me, yet not in displeasure; I had such siftings in meetings, and was so emptied, as from vessel to vessel.

I thought the Lord would relieve me from my laborious wadings, which I thought to others had been of little service; and that he would bestow my gift on some other. I hinted at it in one of our meetings; and although it seemed to me almost unprecedented, to withhold from fruitfulness; yet my spirit was preserved quiet under it. And in this week-day meeting I saw, as from the mount, that such trying seasons as I have often been led into in our meetings, were requisite, lest I should be exalted through those sublime revelations I have been favoured with. This effected for me what the thorn in the flesh did for Paul: and I now seemed one of the least, and viewed myself in a truly abject light.

Twelfth month, 1810.—I have transcribed a piece out of *Piety Promoted*,\* thinking perhaps it may be, by me, experienced near my close.

“It is not always from the most conspicuous on the scene of action, that we hear the most triumphant expressions of hope and praise, at the approach of death. The same baptisms which are the means of qualifying for eminent service, sometimes induce a fear, a depression, a sense of unworthiness in the instrument, which makes it slow in believing, that the Lord vouchsafeth to regard it, and that he will finally crown it with eternal blessings; though it may have often had to hold forth his unfailing loving-kindness, for the encouragement of others.” I am far from looking upon myself as ever conspicuous; but my

unworthiness suggests a fear, that I may be thus tried.

Twelfth month, 1810.—I was confined through indisposition; and my wounded spirit and bleeding heart, were in great need of inward healing, from the God of all consolation and comfort. Though one of the unworthiest, I ventured to look towards his holy habitation for help, and he graciously vouchsafed to heal with these words; “no weapon formed against thee shall prosper, and every tongue that riseth in judgment against the precious seed, the Lord will condemn.”

#### SECTION IV.

*Pardshaw Hall Monthly Meeting, 1811—Divers remarks in 1812—13—Her concern respecting her grand-son—Several consoling seasons—Clear evidence respecting her grand-son—Account of his decease—Her last remarks, left in writing—Her close—Testimony of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting respecting her—Conclusion.*

MONTHLY MEETING, Pardshaw Hall, 23d of seventh month, 1811.—Being at Underwood, I attended this meeting, and thought it a very favoured time: the glory of the Lord, as it appeared to me, filled the house; and, sitting upon the mercy seat, each seemed to have the gracious privilege of pardon. It brought to my remembrance the apostle Paul, when he was caught up into the third heaven, and saw and heard what was not lawful for a finite creature to utter; neither dared I to utter, on the side of mercy, what I then felt. I thought if I had continued thus under the immediate sense of God’s presence, I should neither have felt hunger nor pain; but it was not a state to be continued in; for upon my return, the gracious presence was withdrawn. I do not say a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet; but I was plunged into heart-rending doubts, respecting my own salvation; thoroughly preventing my being exalted above measure, for the abundant revelation, vouchsafed to me at that precious season.

I did not see that I had missed in my communications to the Friends gathered; I had not kindled a fire and warmed myself with the sparks thereof, that I had thus to lie down in sorrow. How awful would be such another season of rising in my spirit, out of the reach of sorrow, in which there was no partition wall between God and my soul, lest such another fiery baptism should succeed! Oh! Lord, I beseech thee, keep me in thy patience; and let thy refining power leave nothing that is wrong in me, unsubdued. Thou, Lord! knowest what I have gone through in my youth;

\* See the account of Mary Ludgater, part 10, page 139.

and all along, thy hand has been heavy upon me. Thou, Lord! has often given me to see that thou impute no iniquity to me, but hast given me a sense that I had full acceptance with thee. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul! and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise Him!"

In penning these remarks, I find good to arise, which rather binds up my broken heart; for although I have heavy trials in the outward, they have had no share in my present plunging. It was because my beloved had withdrawn himself, and was gone. A dispensation of this nature would not have dismayed me so much, provided I had not been so long in the ministry. The Great Master, I thought, had fully tried me as to exaltation, and proved that I did not dare to say, "The Lord saith;" when he had not spoken; so that I really hoped I had been established upon the immovable Rock; but I find they that think they stand, should take heed lest they fall. Neither are we to recur to those sublime discoveries which the Divine light has manifested; but, after great favour in vision, to suffer all to return to the fountain whence it sprang. Ah! then, how emptied and stripped are we; for vessels used, must be washed. How unsafe for us to feed upon any good we have been enabled to do! We experimentally find it to be a truth, that it is not for works of righteousness which we have done, but of his mercy we are saved; and that it is by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the holy Ghost; for which I pray.

First month 29th, 1812.—Fourth-day—A precious meeting to me; indeed I thought the solemnity general. Oh! the pure silence that I felt, as if Immanuel stretched forth his wings and covered us: and that sublime and exalted vision of the prophet was brought clearly to the view of my mind, when he "beheld the Lord sitting upon his throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims, each had six wings; with twain they covered their face, with twain they covered their feet, and with twain they did fly; and one said, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; the whole earth is full of thy glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of Him that spoke, and the house was filled with smoke."

I inquired whether I was to divulge it or not; and the answer I received was; that "It was favour and food for myself, and that if I gave to others my own portion, I should soon become meagre and thin." I return thanks, and gratefully acknowledge the favour vouchsafed, and now conclude to keep close hold of the

confirming evidence I then had; but fear at times assails me, lest I should lose it again and doubt.

Fourth month 5th, 1812.—After a time of illness this morning, it was mercifully handed to me, as Divine consolation; "Thou art in the hollow of my hand;" and again; "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not lack." Oh, Lord, what an unutterable favour is this, when the weakness of my body is, at times, as much as nature can bear. I have passed thus far through the wilderness of this world, in as great jeopardy, as closely exercised, and as nearly fainting under my trials, as perhaps ever any poor mortal did. What an unspeakable favour, when verging to the confines of the narrow and silent grave, that so unworthy a creature should thus be owned! Oh! gracious Father! continue thy preserving, protecting care of me, to the last moments of my life; and I will laud and praise thy name while here, and eternally. Amen.

Sixth month, 1812.—Recovering from a recent illness, I found an inclination to inspect my papers, written under a religious sense; and on reviewing that extraordinary vision, a fear impressed my mind, lest any hereafter should think I had exceeded the bounds of a finite creature; on which it occurred to me, let them call to mind my deep exercises, hard servitude, and bitter bondage in the iron furnace, in a land of thick darkness, which might be felt. I was so marred that I became a wonder to my cotemporaries. Now after this, if a gracious God saw meet to bow the heavens and come down to touch my heart that it might melt, He being Omniscient; who, after such great favour, would lightly esteem the Rock of their salvation! Although He is the High and holy One who dwelleth in the light, and inhabiteth eternity, yet we are assured that he condescends to revive the spirits of his poor, contrite, humble servants, who tremble at his word.

Our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is our Intercessor and Mediator between God and man, when questioned how he would manifest himself to his chosen ones, and not unto the world, sealed the promise thus; "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." This is not like the wayfaring man, that turneth aside to tarry for a night, and is gone; but Christ takes his abode with them, a blessed guest, a teacher at home or within, that cannot be removed into a corner.

These openings in my mind, confirm a Divine intercourse; and now I leave it; and if it be thought right wholly to suppress it, or all I have written, the will of Friends be done

in the Truth; for oh! I dread presumption; knowing the high tree must be laid low, and the low exalted; the green tree dried up, and the dry made to flourish.

Third month 14th, 1813.—A deep acknowledgment of the mercy of God. As I lay in bed this morning, under piercing anguish of mind, on account of my grand-son's departure from the Truth; my spirit, though in the deepest affliction, was permitted to ascend, I thought even to the Almighty's throne; and I there poured forth my soul on my own and his account; and condescending kindness vouchsafed, in abundant mercy, to unveil his benign countenance and let me know, that the assurances he had given me of his favour, I ought not to dispute; that if after all the evidences he had given me of his protecting care, I should cast away my confidence in Him, I should be worse than an infidel; and then a little hope was revived, that the poor erring youth would yet be visited in mercy.

This view, if only tending to bind up my broken heart, or to heal my wounded spirit, I accepted in thankfulness from my God. Oh! gracious Father, in thy wonted kindness, keep this little flock, amongst whom I have often laboured, the members of this meeting, when I am no more. May they never become a desolation, a breeding of nettles; but continue to come up in the nobility of Truth. Dear Friends! nothing will do but keeping near to God; dwelling as in his presence. Do nothing in his sight, that you would be afraid any mortal should see: keep a pure heart and clean hands, and the end will be peace. And this love I feel for the Monthly Meeting—the members thereof are dear to me.

Sixth month 2nd, 1813.—Returning from our week-day meeting, in which I had been faithful according to the vision and sense given me, this intimation revived; "The Lord noticeth thy shaking head and trembling limbs, and in his own time, will set thee at liberty;" a blessed hope springing up therefrom, that though sown in weakness, I should be raised in power. Oh! blessed be his holy name! for he feeds the hungry with good things, but the rich and full he sends empty away.

Our Monthly Meeting at Whitehaven, in the eighth month, 1813, was to me a solacing season. Nothing heard but the voice of thanksgiving and praise. The grand adversary totally overpowered; not one cloud to eclipse the glory of the day, or dim the beauty of Zion.

Tenth month 21st, 1813.—I have had this day, at the week-day meeting at Whitehaven, the most undoubted evidence of the overshadowing of Divine love and mercy, that I re-

member to have experienced; truly the wing of the Almighty might be said to be over us. His reconciliation was offered; and on the side of mercy, I saw more than I have freedom to write or speak. Oh, my dear friends! belonging to this meeting, especially those at meeting that day; let us prize the Lord's goodness to our souls. My love was such to you, that it appeared almost insupportable that even one of you should come short of the heavenly rest, which I beheld was intended for us: far, very far beyond the conception of any finite creature.

Tenth month 31st, 1813.—Oh! the consoling visions I have experienced during my late confinement. A tribute of thanksgiving and praise is richly due to my blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, for the sense he has been pleased to favour me with, that he hath heard my prayers for my poor grand-son; for a little before his death, the spirit of intercession was poured forth upon me, and my prayers were strong on his account.

Although I am exceedingly shaken, and my hand very unsteady, yet if it is right for me to leave to posterity, the memorable condescension of the Almighty to me, a poor worm, I shall be able to make it legible. Upon the 13th of twelfth month, 1813, sitting in the evening by my fire-side, with company about me engaged in conversing, I felt a strong attraction heavenward, which I was glad to feel: and a gracious God seemed pleased to bow his heavens and come down, directing me to dismiss every doubt respecting my own exit; for that he would take me in his mercy, and support me through what might befall me; and my charge was, never more to doubt of my eternal rest. Also respecting my grand-son, I was charged to doubt no more; for that repentance had been granted even to him at a late hour.\* The spirit of intercession was poured forth upon me with such energy, as seemed to rend the very heavens.—O my soul! never forget that season, nor ever cease to extol a merciful God, in pardoning transgressors: in this instance, mercy has covered the judgment seat to a hair's breadth.

\* This poor young man was confined to a sick room in the military hospital at Chelsea, with many others in the same apartment, which he very much regretted; because he could not attain to that quiet state of mind which he much wished for. He was brought to a sense of his missteppings, and expressed the distress he felt for the uneasiness he had occasioned his grandmother, fearing he should shorten her days; and was very anxious to read his Bible. He uttered some striking expressions near his close, which are not clearly remembered; but the day and hour of his death accorded with the consolatory impressions which his grandmother had respecting him.



The Almighty's presence was so full and confirming, that I found it as much as my frail tabernacle could bear and live. I then experienced that no flesh could see him in his majesty and live. Although once before I had been in a somewhat similar situation, yet I had not the sense given me at that time, that if Divine favour increased, my body could not retain the spirit. I now desist from pressing after more being exhibited, feeling overcome with the present extension. Oh, gracious God!

First month 16th, 1814.—This day after Friends were gone to meeting, I was very low in mind; when the words of the prophet came very lively, that he would make the parched ground as a pool; and after sitting in this disconsolate manner, I was comforted with; "I am near thee, though thou knowest it not."

Eighth month 4th, 1814.—Oh! the mercy of a gracious God to me in my old age and great bodily infirmity, who has given me to experience this morning that the just live by faith. Were it not for this precious faith, I should conclude myself just going, almost every moment; oh, blessed is thy holy name for ever!

Ninth month 19th, 1814.—This morning I again had the most strengthening, consoling evidence of Divine favour, that my poor frame could bear; letting me know that as my strength decreased, his watchful care over me increased; and although he had seen meet nearly to deprive me of my outward hearing, he had increased the inward so surprisingly, that I often seem to fall down before him in astonishment; my mind being so expanded and enlarged, that as naturals abate, spirituals increase; and my dear Redeemer allows me at seasons, to repose as upon his bosom.

After this, the subject of this memoir wrote no more for public inspection; yet for many months, though in great debility, and in bodily pain, she continued to converse with her friends; most frequently respecting the goodness of the Almighty, and her latter end; on which occasion she evinced humble resignation and Christian hope. It appeared to those who attended her, that the last effort of her pious life was prayer; but the words could not be gathered. She quietly departed about three o'clock, the 20th of second month, 1816, aged eighty-one. The testimony of the Monthly Meeting to which she belonged, may properly conclude these sketches.

*The Testimony of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting in Cumberland, concerning JANE PEARSON.*

THIS our dear and ancient Friend, was the daughter of Jonathan and Jane Sibson, of

Newtown, near Carlisle, at the former of which places she was born, in the year 1734 or 5. Her father dying when she was very young, the principal care of her education devolved upon her mother, who, we believe, being conscientiously concerned, that she might faithfully discharge such an important trust, gave her a guarded and religious education.

In early life she was strongly inclined to gaiety; but by submitting to the powerful, heart searching operations of Divine love, clearly manifested, those natural propensities were brought into subjection.

About the eighteenth year of her age, she accompanied through this county a female Friend, then upon a visit to the meetings of Friends in these parts.

In the year 1757, being about twenty-two years of age, she was married to John Pearson, a religious young man of Graysouthern, within the limits of this meeting. In the course of several succeeding years, she passed through various deep baptisms and refining operations; and thus becoming obedient to the forming hand, she received a gift in the ministry. She came forth very acceptably in public testimony, about the year 1773.

In the following year her husband was removed by death, leaving her with a numerous family of children, some of whom died in early life, and the rest at different periods, after having attained to years of maturity.

Thus she had deeply to partake of the cup of affliction, and to become acquainted with sorrows; but relying on the mercy and goodness of Him, whose ways are all in unerring wisdom, she was supported through these trying and afflictive dispensations; and we believe she was favoured to experience that state of perfect resignation and acquiescence to the Divine will, in which she could truly adopt the language of a tried servant of old: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

Though she did not apprehend it to be required of her to travel much in the work of the ministry, yet she was not wholly exempted from this service.

In the year 1777, she visited generally the meetings of Friends in Westmoreland and Lancashire; in 1779, those of Westmoreland, Lancashire and Yorkshire; and in 1787, those of Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall. Her Gospel labours in these visits were, we believe, very acceptable, yielding to herself the consoling reward of peace.

About this period she removed to Whitehaven, at which place she has since resided.

She was diligent and exemplary in the attendance of meetings. Her ministry was sound, lively and edifying; and though her appearances were frequent, and sometimes large, she was particularly careful not to go beyond the pure openings of the holy Spirit. In prayer she was remarkably powerful and fervent. She was a truly affectionate parent and friend; tenderly sympathizing with the afflicted. In conversation lively, affable and instructive; being endowed with an excellent understanding. She retained her natural cheerfulness even to very advanced years, and her mental faculties unimpaired to the last.

Sometimes she intimated the serenity of her prospects, when the trials and exercises attendant upon humanity should terminate. Not many weeks prior to her decease, upon a Friend's taking leave of her, she seemed affected, and said, "Though I drop tears, I am not left comfortless. No: we have not followed cunningly devised fables. I think what I feel, might convince the whole world. Oh, it is marvellous! it is marvellous!"

At another time she requested that her two granddaughters, being all the family she had, would not grieve after her; but rather rejoice, that she was relieved from all her sufferings; "for I believe," said she, "that at my dissolution, death will have no sting, nor the grave any victory."

Second month 17th, being much tried with infirmity and pain, she said with earnestness to those about her: "Join with me in petitioning the Father of mercies, to relieve me from my sufferings: Oh, that I had wings like a dove; for then I would flee away, and be at rest."

In the morning of the 18th, being in great bodily pain, she exclaimed: "My God, my God, forsake me not now." She was soon after seized with faintings. In a little time she revived, and affectionately noticed some Friends that had come to see her. On the 19th she slumbered much, and said but little. Very early the next morning her cough became troublesome, and her breathing much affected. About this time she was thought to be exercised in prayer, but the words could not be gathered. She quietly departed about three o'clock the same morning; and we have no doubt but her pure spirit, released from the shackles of mortality, ascended to the celestial mansions, to receive a crown of righteousness and an inheritance incorruptible, that will never fade away.

Her remains were interred in Friends' burial-ground, in Whitehaven, on the 25th of second month, 1816, after a large and solemn meeting. She was about eighty-one years of age, and a minister about forty-two years.

Read and approved in our said meeting, held at Cockermonth, the 19th of third month, 1816; and signed on behalf thereof, by

JOHN WILSON FLETCHER,

*Clerk to the meeting.*

And on behalf of the women's meeting, by  
DEBORAH ROBINSON, Clerk.

The foregoing testimony has been read and approved, in the Quarterly Meeting for Cumberland and Northumberland, held at Carlisle the 28th of third month, 1816; and signed on behalf thereof, by

THOMAS STORDY, Clerk.

Signed in and on behalf of the women's Quarterly Meeting, held at the same time and place, by  
LYDIA SUTTON, Clerk.

JANE PEARSON has finished her outward labours and inward exercises; and the reader has now finished her own memoirs, here presented for his perusal. Every thing pertaining to this life, whether conspicuous or obscure, must come to an end; but there is a life beyond the grave, that will continue for ever. To engage us in a preparation for that life, our friend has written; to none of her readers, may she have written in vain. As for herself, it has been seen, that under accumulated discouragements, she sought for the evidence of final acceptance; and that her constancy was crowned with the assurance she sought for. This ought to animate the diffident and encourage the dejected. By her life, the lukewarm may be also reminded, that though we may be born members of our religious Society; yet having by nature the same propensities as others; we must be "born again," if we would become members of the church of Christ.

We have also seen that the journey through time, of our dear deceased friend, was in the path of tribulation. Independent of her sorrows as a widow and a mother, her "inward conflicts" and "searchings of heart," were equal to most that we read of.

Modest, diffident and humble, how came she then to expose her trials? Surely it was for the benefit of others; and to bear a testimony to the goodness of God in sending the Comforter into her soul, as promised by a dear Redeemer. These things set forth by her own pen, have a value in them beyond what could be produced by the pen of another.

In laying down mine, I am inclined to say, Oh! that more full obedience was yielded to the power of Truth, through the various ranks of our religious Society; I include myself in this implied shortness; and my belief is, that it would then rise in its early simplicity and brightness.

# A NARRATIVE OF THE SUFFERINGS

OF

## JOHN PHILLY AND WILLIAM MOORE,

IN HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA.

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Among the many remarkable instances of patient adherence to the principles of Truth, under severe suffering and persecution, which are furnished by the history of our religious Society, there are few that exhibit more fully the constancy of the sufferers or the mighty power of the Lord in sustaining them, than the cases of William Moore and John Philly. Of these individuals but little account is preserved, and we have now no means of ascertaining their birth-place, parentage, or the manner of their conviction. John Philly appears to have been an inhabitant of Dover, where he suffered restraint in the year 1660, for not paying tithes, and in 1670 was committed to prison there for teaching school without a license from the bishop; and being brought before the justices, they tendered the oath of Allegiance to him, and on his refusing to violate the command of our blessed Saviour, "Swear not at all," recommitted him.

William Moore seems to have dwelt in Gloucestershire, for in 1683, he with a number of other Friends, was committed to prison on an indictment for a month's absence from the national worship, and in 1686 with fifty-five of his fellow-sufferers, was discharged at the Quarter Sessions, by virtue of the proclamation of King James the Second.

It does not seem probable, however, that William was a prisoner there during all that time, for we find his name in a list of persons who were tried at Guildhall, in London, on the 8th of tenth month, 1684, on the charge of being present at a riotous assembly, with force and arms, in White Hart Court; and although the witnesses brought to convict them, testified that they were in Angel Court, and not White Hart Court, yet the recorder said, if they were anywhere in the same ward, it was sufficient ground to find them guilty. The riotous assembly alluded to, was a meeting for Divine worship, peaceably held in the street, the Friends who were at it being stopped there by their persecutors and prevented from going to their meeting-house.

William Moore and John Philly appear to have been ministers of the Gospel, and travelled abroad in the exercise of their gifts. In the first month, 1662, being in Germany, with several other Friends engaged in the like service, they were drawn under a sense of religious duty to proceed into Hungary, to visit a society known by the name of the Hortesche Brethren. These people were a kind of Baptists, whose minds had been measurably enlightened, so as to see the inconsistency of war, oaths, &c., with the Christian religion, and they consequently refused to swear or fight. They had their goods and possessions in common, and lived in families of several hundreds together.

To encounter the perils of such a journey, among a people of a strange language, of habits and manners widely different from their own, and professing another religion, in the exercise of which they were known to be intolerant, was an undertaking attended with so many discouragements, that nothing short of a clear conviction of its being a Divine requisition, and a firm trust in the protecting care of an omnipresent Providence, could have supported them under the prospect. After being refreshed with the overflowings of the love of God under the baptizing ministry of William Caton, they took leave of their brethren in Germany and set out on their journey the 29th of the first month, 1662.

The information they obtained respecting the settlements, and the best route to be taken to reach it, as well as further directions as they passed along, enabled them to make a pretty direct course, and through Divine favour they reached Cushart, a village about a days journey from Presburg, the capital of Lower Hungary, on the 16th of second month. Some of the people they wished to see, resided at this place, by whom they were kindly entertained and had some religious service among them, also distributed some books, illustrative of those spiritual views of the Gospel dispensation, which the Society of Friends hold.

On the following day William went alone to visit another family of the Brethren, and on the way experienced a remarkable preservation from a wicked man, who seemed disposed to lay violent hands on him, or to knock him in the head, in order to obtain his money; but the Lord restrained him so that he was not permitted to do him any harm. The Brethren wondered at his preservation, saying they could not go so far as the next village, without being in great danger.

After having had considerable service in preaching to these communities, and endeavouring to promote their growth in the life and power of the Christian religion, they procured the names and ascertained the situations of some more of their families, one of which was distant about three hundred miles, at a town called Pattuck, in Upper Hungary. The Brethren endeavoured to dissuade them from attempting so long and perilous a journey, and wished them to be contented with visiting such of their establishments as were situated in the vicinity of Cushart. With this proposal William appeared to be satisfied, but John Philly being pressed in spirit to proceed to the more distant settlements, and not being acquainted with the Dutch language, which William was, the latter was not easy to leave him, and they accordingly set out together.

Returning to Presburg they pursued their journey towards Comorra, and finding a boat laden with meal going to the garrison at New Hausell, which was in the road to Pattuck, they joined the crew; and when they came near the place, the boatmen asked them if they had any acquaintance there, and whether they had a pass—to both which they replied in the negative. On hearing this, the boatmen told them it would be dangerous to proceed further, as the people were very suspicious of strangers, and either they or the Turks, to whom the country was tributary, would be likely to put them to death. They also informed them that the people at the garrison of New Hausell were no less cruel and severe, and had put to death some strangers whom they found without licenses on the tributary ground. This was very discouraging and no doubt brought our friends under very close exercise of mind, to know what was best to be done. John Philly being still desirous of going to the village, which was near, they concluded to proceed; but the boatmen remarked, “He will not take our counsel now, but you will remember it and repent when you cannot help it.” These words had considerable effect on the mind of William Moore, who a night or two before had been warned in a dream of those things which soon after befell them at Comorra.

On reaching this place, they were directed to the house of a Hungarian to lodge, but could not understand his language, and the desire to converse being mutual, they sent for a student from the college, with whom William conversed in Latin. He inquired whence they came and whither they were going: and then entered into a discourse on religious subjects. On parting, he appeared friendly, and said he wished them well, though there was a wide difference in their sentiments.

The next day they endeavoured to get across the river, and made signs to a countryman to take them over in a boat, offering him money. He accordingly began to make ready, but a Dutch woman coming up, called out, “What are you about? The governor will cause that man to be hanged directly, if he ferries you over.” This put a stop to their proceeding; they gave it up for the present and returned to their lodgings. On the following day William crossed the water on the south side of the town; having heard there were many Dutch people and soldiers there, he hoped to find some with whom he could converse, and to whom he might distribute some of the religious books he had brought with him, and which he would gladly have found an opportunity to send to Pattuck. Coming up with some soldiers, he inquired of them after the country people, but could not meet with any. He then asked leave of the guard to walk out into the fields, where he met with a sentinel, had some discourse with him, and passed on to where some people were ploughing. As he returned to the town he was met by three soldiers, and having a book in his hand, showing the reasons why Friends disowned the ministry of the hireling priests, one of the soldiers, who belonged to a company commanded by Captain Fusch, looked at the title of it, and then spoke of some place in Turkey as being a desirable residence.—William replied, that he should return from whence he came, intending to go back to his companion, who had remained on the other side of the river. While waiting at the river for a passage, the soldier above alluded to, came to him and said he must go before Captain Fusch, where he was accordingly taken. The captain demanded the book, and looking at the title, asked if he was a Quaker, to which William, nothing daunted, replied in the affirmative. This enraged the captain, who exclaimed, “These rouses show no respect”—calling William “a young Huss, who had come forth to seduce the people and make uproars.” He then caused the soldiers to strip him of his clothes and search him for letters, papers, &c., and took away his money. William meekly remonstrated with them, say-

ing they would not like to be done so by; the captain replied, "When you get clear you shall have your money, but I do not think that will be the case." He was then sent to the guard-house, and in a little while brought before the captain and searched again more strictly than before, when some papers were found between the lining of his clothes. After this examination he was remanded to the guard-house, and iron shackles and a chain put upon his hands and feet, and the officers endeavoured to terrify him by threatening that he should be roasted alive on a wooden spit, a punishment which had recently been inflicted on some who had travelled without a license.

Far from friends and his country, in the hands of merciless men, whose occupation familiarized them to injustice and cruelty, destitute of any human being who could plead his cause or afford him protection, his situation would have been forlorn indeed, had he not been enabled to cast himself upon the goodness and care of that God whom he loved and served, and who is able to deliver his servants out of every danger. Conscious that he had committed no crime, that his being there was in obedience to the Divine will, and that his only aim had been to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to promote the everlasting welfare of his fellow-men, he was enabled to stay his mind upon the Lord, in humble resignation to his holy will.

Word was soon conveyed to the chief officer of the garrison that such a prisoner was taken, and shortly after, two soldiers carrying burning matches, were despatched to bring him before him. Expecting little less than immediate death, his thoughts naturally turned toward his beloved fellow-labourer in this perilous journey, and he told some of the soldiers that he had a companion at the inn on the other side of the river, who would wonder what had become of him if he did not hear from him. This information soon led to the arrest of John Philly, although he was innocent of the crime alleged against William, of coming into the garrison without a license. They were committed to separate prisons, William to the stock-house, and John to a room called the Hungarian's vault, appropriated to the inhuman purposes of examining prisoners by torture, and of private executions, there being a rack, stocks, and a gallows in it.

When William was brought before the commanding officer, he evinced a disposition even more fierce and barbarous than Captain Fusch, calling him a rogue, and saying, "If I had the power I would at once drown you in that water." Their portmanteau falling into

his hands, he gave it to the marshal, who took from it what he liked, including their Bible and papers, and then handed it over to another subaltern, who pretended to be much troubled that they had no food—and finding no money in their portmanteau, asked William if John had not some in his possession. This he could not deny, on which the man demanded some of John with a threat if he did not comply. John gave him a ducat, (worth, if silver, one dollar, if gold, two dollars) which the man got changed and brought to him, asking for some of it, which he promised to account for to them. Expecting that they would search him for more and take it away, and aware that if liberated they should have need of some to defray their expenses home, he contrived to conceal some from them.

The people among whom they had fallen were Roman Catholics, and the next day after John Philly was apprehended, these innocent sufferers were brought before the Inquisitor to be examined. He inquired whence they came—whither they were going—their ages—who sent them out—what money they had taken up—who had spoken to them at their lodgings, and many other questions. John was searched, and what money he had remaining about him, was found. William was particularly examined about the books, and informed that he had committed a capital crime, and that it would cost him his life—he replied, that what he had done therein, was in simplicity.

After this examination Captain Fusch had William brought before him and asked him several questions respecting the books, and who was the first bringer up of these doctrines. William told him that George Fox was the first who preached it in these latter days—the captain seemed very bitter, asking many cunning questions in order to ensnare him, and said he should cause all the books and papers to be copied and sent to the prince at Mentz, and when he could spare them, the Inquisitor should have them. He was afterward examined by the deputy governor, a cruel old man, who said he had done worse than if he had killed an hundred men, and that he would send him with a message to the Devil. William appearing before him with his hat on, he pronounced it a Turkish practice, as well as some other of William's conscientious conduct. The governor sent for the student who conversed with our friends at Comorra, and commanded him to tell in Latin all that passed between them.—This was taken down in writing and handed to the Inquisitor to read at a subsequent examination, but he would not read it openly,

probably lest the sitters by should have heard and owned the truth of the sentiments advanced by William in that conversation. It does not appear that the student's information furnished any pretext for convicting them of the charge of coming as spies into the garrison or with treacherous intentions. They then brought up one of the soldiers whom William met with soon after crossing the river, and endeavoured to extort something from him which would criminate William. This man speaking falsely as to what passed between them, William boldly withstood him, and said to the Inquisitor, who was evidently eager to substantiate some accusation which might furnish a ground for punishment, "Beware what thou dost; for if thou shouldst cause my blood to be shed under such a pretence, it will cry to the Lord for vengeance, and thereby thou mayest draw down the wrath of God upon thyself and others."

The proceedings of the Popish Inquisitorial courts, have ever been disgraced by the most infamous injustice and diabolical cruelty, cloaked under a pretended sanctity and a mysterious concealment, which adds greatly to their terrors and their wickedness. Their object in this, as in other cases, appears to have been to conceal from the prisoners the nature of the evidence against them, and then by threats and tortures, to extort some accusation from their unhappy victims, though conscious at the same time that they are innocent. After hearing the false testimony of the soldier, William demanded that the other soldiers should be examined, they also having heard what he said. After some demur this was acceded to, and one of them was brought, but William was put out of the room while he was giving in his testimony. During this interval William's mind was under great concern, lest this man also should testify falsely; and he thought within himself, "Surely now if the Lord doth not help me, they may persuade him to speak the same thing as the other has done." When the soldier came out he told him he did not say what the other had, for he had affirmed what was untrue.—Thus their artifices against these innocent men were defeated for the present, and they left without any pretext for the cruelties which they wished to practice upon them; for which says William, "I thanked the Lord."

Failing in the wicked attempt to convict them on the pretence of treasonable entry into the garrison, the Inquisitor then told William that the books were enough to condemn them if there was nothing more,—and asked whether he did not know the Catholics had laws to torment and burn heretics and such as carried books about with them; to which William

warily replied that he should not have expected such things among Christians. He then opened a book which he pretended contained Popish laws, and read, or feigned to read, out of it a paragraph, which said that such persons as carried books and papers should be racked.

About this time the Inquisitor commanded John Philly to be searched again for more gold, and the officer having nearly stripped him, John was slow in taking off his remaining shoe and stocking, where he had concealed some, and the marshal weary of the business and thinking there was none, bid him put them on again. Thus what little they had left was saved, and some days after he found an opportunity to hand it to William in a roll of bread, while they were standing among the soldiers waiting to be called for examination. These examinations were often repeated during the first eight days after their arrest, and many ensnaring questions put to them in order to entrap them, but through Divine help they were preserved from saying any thing that would answer the purposes of their intolerant persecutors. One morning the Inquisitor sent for a priest, and handed him a paper of George Fox's on the Apostacy of Christendom—on reading which, the priest became enraged, and angrily demanded "How are we (Papists) apostatized, and how can it be proved?" William, instead of entering into a controversy which might have proved worse than useless, gently reproved him for his wrath, saying, "Friend it becometh not a spiritual man to be so furious, but meek, peaceable and gentle;" at which the countenance of the priest fell and he had little more to say. The Inquisitor then demanded of William what his opinion was of what they called the sacrament, to which he wisely answered, that "Christ said the flesh profiteth little. It is the spirit that quickeneth." So ignorant of the holy Scriptures was this Inquisitor, that he seemed quite surprised and at a loss about the words, and turning to the priest, asked, "How is that?" The priest, but little more knowing than his superior, studied awhile and then said he remembered there was such a saying. Much more passed, of which no account has been preserved; and then the Inquisitor plainly asked William if he would turn Catholic? To which he made this sensible reply—"If I should do so for fear or favour of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours. Compelling people does but make them hypocrites, and cannot truly change the heart."

Thus were they sifted and tempted from day to day, for a week, when their perse-



cutors being unable to find any thing on which to ground their accusation, determined to resort to the cruel expedient of the rack, in the hope of making them accuse themselves. Of this, William Moore, who appears to have been chiefly under examination, and the principal sufferer, gives the following narrative;—viz.;

“Notwithstanding our innocence, the governor would have us racked, which from the relation I had heard of it, seemed a cruel torture; and in those days I often poured forth my supplications to the Lord with tears. On the eighth day they made ready benches to sit on, lighted the candle and put John out of his room, and sent for me, the Inquisitor sitting there with two other officers, and the marshal and hangman.

“The Inquisitor began by saying, ‘William, that you may not think we deal with you as tyrants, we will now lay the matter before you, that you may tell what you know in time, for if you be racked you will be but a miserable man, and must have your head cut off besides.’ I told him, ‘I had done no evil that I knew of, nor had I any such thing in my heart against them.’ Then he read a few lines, which were to this import, ‘We, Leopold, &c., Emperor, &c., having been informed that two impeached persons, John Philly and William Moore, have been found by our frontier garrisons, our desire is that they should be racked, to know their intent.’”

It is more than probable that this pretended order of the emperor for the torture of these harmless Friends, was a mere forgery, got up by the Inquisitor and his abettors to answer their evil designs—the narrative proceeds; “The hangman according to order, put an iron screw upon my thumbs and screwed them hard, and bade me tell out. Then he slacked it a little and again screwed them harder than before; but this not answering their purpose, he was commanded to proceed further. Accordingly he tied a small cord about my wrists behind my back, and another cord around my ankles with a block of wood between my feet. Then he drew me up on the ladder and tied my hands to it, and then forced my body quite from the ladder. At the first pull my left arm was put out of joint with a loud crack, being tied up shorter than the other; and the executioner was ordered to put it in again. He accordingly slacked the cords, and then they proceeded to question me, having three things especially to ask. First, Why I asked the student if one should come and say he intended to buy something of them, would they kill him? Second: Why we had desired to be set over the water at the town, and who was the author of it? Third: Why I had written

down some of the names of the garrisons and other places, notwithstanding I had them in the maps?

“The Inquisitor would also force me to tell whether John Philly was an engineer, a gunner or a minister. This suspicion of his being a minister was put into their heads by an Irishman who acted as interpreter between me and them, and who had an implacable hatred to Englishmen, and especially to ministers, as I afterwards plainly understood from his own mouth. I answered, and kept to it, that he was a husbandman and a maltman, and that I knew him not until he came to Amsterdam. The Inquisitor then asked me if I had a mind to go to the Turks and become one of them? I said I had rather die than be one.

“In the mean time my body was so racked, that my chin was close to my breast, and my mouth so closed that I was almost choked and could not well speak, and I should not wish any one to experience the painful torture I endured; and when the cords were slacked my sufferings were almost as great as when they pulled them. Yet still they would be questioning me, so that I asked them where was their Christian love, and whether they were doing to me, as they would wish to be done unto. The doors being shut and guarded, I spoke and cried aloud in order that the people might hear, and bear witness what they were doing to me. They seemed determined to force something out of me, and I told them that by such means they might compel persons to say more than they knew, as I believed many had done, in order to be out of their pain. I had rather they had beheaded me at once, as they threatened to do, than to torture me in the manner they did—but they would not do that then, for the Inquisitor would have me to confess myself guilty, which I suppose would have satisfied them, even though they had known I confessed to a lie. At length I told them it was for the love of our religion, that we came to these places; and then they left off, thinking this was crime enough, though the Inquisitor threatened that I should be racked again on the third day.

They then brought in John Philly, who not seeing me and having heard me cry out a little before, supposed I had been hanged on the private gallows and put out of the way. But he was resigned and steadfast, being confident in the Lord, who had sealed it upon his mind, before he came forth, that he should have his life for a prey. They put four questions to him to answer, and his thumbs were screwed and he was twice drawn upon the ladder, when he cried out, Innocent. They asked the interpreter what that was; and when he told them, they were smitten in their con-

sciences and left off. Probably they gave over tormenting John the sooner, because if there had been any evil design in us they would have been more likely to get it out of me, whom they appeared to take more pleasure in torturing, as they could understand me and I them.

“When they had got through with all this, and could find no contradiction in what we said, they invented a falsehood, and the marshal came to me and said, John had told him I had no money of my own, but what I had was his, and then bade me tell him how it was. I knew this to be false, and that they did but seek some occasion against us, but we kept to the truth and their expectation failed them. They then told me that there would be twenty or thirty men of note, out of the neighbouring quarters, appointed to hold a court of justice upon us, and to determine what deaths we should die. In the mean time the Inquisitor came and desired me first to write some of the heads of my religion, which I did, and he raged very much at some of them.”

John Philly being much impressed with a sense of the wickedness of the Inquisitor and priests, and how they were plotting to take away their lives, was desirous to bring their case before the governor, and seeing him pass in his coach, he cried out to him, on which the governor sent to know what he would have. John acquainted him with the questions which had been put to them when they were racked, and also with their answers, in which he told him no contradiction or untruth was found. He afterward obtained pen and ink and wrote to him more fully on the subject, for he strongly suspected, and not without good ground, that the Inquisitors and priests had perverted their answers. Conscious of his evil deeds towards these harmless men, the Inquisitor got possession of the letter to the governor and sought to conceal it; but John having another opportunity of conversing with the governor informed him thereof, and he directed that the letter should be given to William Moore to translate for him, which was done.

Not long after this, the Inquisitor informed them they might go out and work at throwing earth into a wheelbarrow, by which they could earn nearly two-pence a day to buy bread—observing, that the balance of their money which remained in his hands was but little to pay for the pains he had been at, and that the marshal and executioner must have some for their trouble. Our friends willingly accepted the offer of work thus made them, both for the sake of fresh air and exercise, and in the hope that their sufferings being thus brought to the notice of the people, might move some

to compassion, and thus prepare the way for their enlargement. Comorra contained a considerable number of Lutherans and Calvinists who commiserated their condition, but who dared not to converse with them or visit them in the castle. Sometimes the marshal would not allow them to go out, and at others he would keep back their wages, and on those called saints-days, they got no work, so that their allowance of food would have been small had not some kindly disposed women, whose hearts the Lord moved with pity toward them, supplied their necessities.

During nearly all the time since their arrest, William and John had been kept apart, which was a great addition to their affliction, depriving them of that mutual support and sympathy, which fellow-sufferers in a Christian cause, derive from the company and converse of each other. They now however obtained permission to be together; and had fresh evidence that that gracious and merciful Being, whom they were endeavouring to honour and serve, was watching over and caring for them.

They both wrote again to the governor, acknowledging his moderation toward them, in refusing to comply with the cruel desires of their enemies, and laying their case before him. The Inquisitor intercepted these letters also, but the governor coming to the knowledge of it, obliged him to give them up, and their chains were soon after taken off.

After some time several officers of the government came to view the garrison, and William and John were summoned before them. On their way, the marshal threatened them with hanging on a new gallows which had been that day erected; and at the table sat a priest who manifested great enmity to them, saying they had forfeited their lives. William told him “they thirsted for their blood, and the officers hearkened to them, but as for him and his companion they had none but God to plead for them.” The priest put many sophistical arguments to William, evidently designed to ensnare him; but some of the others wishing to converse with him, he was enabled to speak the truth to them with much boldness.

In one of the letters which John Philly wrote to the governor, after stating their case and the hardships they underwent, he made some allusion to appealing to the higher power; and after they had been prisoners about sixteen weeks, the governor said he should send them thither accordingly. Iron bolts were put on their feet, and under a guard of four soldiers they were conveyed in a wagon to Vienna, and delivered to Lord Francis, of Nadasti, privy counsellor and lord chamberlain to the emperor.

On the following morning they were brought before him and several other lords of the empire, by whom they were examined respecting their religion and other matters; and although some of them, particularly the secretary, appeared to be affected by their answers, and none made any objection, yet they passed sentence that they should be burned, if they would not embrace the Roman Catholic religion, their law tolerating only that and the Lutheran and Calvinistic, and enacting that whosoever brought any new religion there should be burned. Under this cruel sentence John's mind was divinely supported, and he encouraged his companion, telling him the power of the Lord would divide their council, which they were afterwards told was the case, by an Irish priest who appeared to be kindly disposed toward them. He was sent to procure from them a written account of their religion, which they accordingly drew up in English and gave to him, and William afterward translated it and put it into Nadasti's hands. Soon after this a priest was sent to console them, who read to them out of the catechism and questioned them concerning the creed, sacraments, mass, &c., but their threats and endeavours being alike ineffectual to shake the constancy of these Friends or induce them to abandon their religion, they were sent to a place five miles from Vienna, where they fell into the power of some priests who were very cruel to them and their lives were in great peril. They caused them to be again searched and their books and papers taken away, and imprisoned them in a small hole where were some Turks who were ironed and in the stocks.

The next day they took them to what they called their churches and endeavoured to compel them to take off their hats to their images, and when they could not prevail, they put iron shackles on their hands, which were so small that when the lock was forced in, they occasioned such extreme pain that our friends could not refrain from crying out, at which they appeared pleased. Then they threatened to carry into execution the inhuman sentence which had been so unjustly pronounced upon them, and told of several instruments of cruelty by which they tortured persons, and that they could give them a taste of their strong arguments for converting heretics, such as putting hot brass or copper plates upon their breasts, burning them under their arms, &c. Through the goodness of the Lord who was their present help and comforter, these constant sufferers were enabled to hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering, and to avoid being ensnared by their artifices or shaken by their threats.

Having nothing but the floor to lie upon, in the narrow dungeon to which they were confined, William desired one of the priests to use them more like men or Christians, and give them some straw to lie on, for they were worse off than the Turks; but the only reply he got was, that they considered them worse than the 'Turks;—and about the same time they pressed them very much to take some drink which they had prepared for them, but suspecting it to be poisoned, they would not partake of it, on which one of the priests said in Latin, "it is suspected."

But though they could procure nothing to lie upon, yet William says, "Blessed be the name of the Lord, we slept well in our shackles upon the besoms in the corner; yes, better than could be expected, though my wristband pained me much. The priests and others sought much to discourage us; and as I was one day sitting upon a bench, musing on our situation, and thinking 'Lord help us—what will be the end of all this—will they have power to murder us here, where few may know of it, there being no other sects to be witnesses, as there were at Comorra;' my mind was turned inward, and on a sudden it was as if I saw a man clothed in white, sitting on a white horse, riding in haste toward me, as if to rescue me. This comforted me, believing it was from the Lord to encourage me, lest I should be too much cast down." On the same day a message came from the earl, signifying his displeasure with the proceedings against us."

Who this earl was, or what office he held in the government, does not appear from any of the records respecting these Friends, but the probability is, that he was a person exercising the highest civil authority in the place. The manner in which he became particularly interested on behalf of our friends, is a striking proof, how Divine Providence is often pleased to raise up instruments, even from those who seem most unlikely to aid in his gracious designs on behalf of his servants, and furnishes additional inducement to trust in the Lord, even under the most unpropitious and discouraging circumstances.

Adam Bien, who acted as barber to the earl, had been educated among the Hortesche Brethren, and being favoured in his early years with some degree of Divine illumination, his understanding was opened to see the nature of true religion, and the lifelessness and inefficacy of the formal acts of these people, against which he bore a testimony. It would appear, that though he had not faithfully lived up to the views with which he had been thus favoured, yet there was still some remains of his former good feelings—and the earl having put into his hands some of the

papers written by our friends and given him an account of them, his former religious impressions revived, and the Divine witness in his heart bore testimony that their religion was the truth.

An earnest desire was now awakened in his mind to see and converse with these prisoners, and through his influence with the earl, this was readily obtained. Through the means of their discourse and his interview with them, he became more fully reached and convinced of the verity of the doctrines they held, and he continued throughout the period of their stay there, their steadfast and useful friend. He told them that the earl was of the opinion the priests must have been intoxicated when they treated them with so much cruelty, "which was true," says the narrative, for they were drunk both with rage and wine.

The friendly interference of the earl, and his reproof of their persecutors, had the effect to check the torrent of abuse and cruelty which threatened to bear down and destroy our friends—the current seemed to change, and some who had distinguished themselves by promoting the violent and malicious proceedings against them, now seemed disposed to ingratiate themselves with them, and to obliterate the remembrance of their past misconduct, by kindness and flattery. The priests and other officers also, were restrained from confining them in their narrow dungeon, and inflicting on them the acts of barbarity which they had been accustomed to do, which was no small mortification to them.

There seemed now a reasonable prospect that they might soon obtain their liberty. At the request of the officers they had procured from Friends in Holland, certificates of their character, and also the king's proclamation for setting their friends at home at liberty, which produced a favourable effect; but a malicious priest used great exertions to prevent their liberation, by infusing prejudices into the earl's mind, and endeavouring to give him a bad opinion of them. Soon after this the earl was taken seriously ill at Vienna, which for the present disappointed John and William in their hopes of liberty.

The temper and spirit infused by the religion of these ecclesiastics showed itself in various ways, not to be the product of the wisdom which is from above, but of that which "is earthly, sensual and devilish." An Englishman from Vienna, who was called a spiritual lord, asked them if they had come to plant their religion in that country, adding, "Sects have occasioned much mischief in England, but now they will be rooted out." John Philly replied, that the love of God could reconcile them; to which the other rejoined by

profanely wishing evil to that love, with other wicked expressions, very unbecoming the character of a Christian professor, and proving that he was not only carnal but profane.

At another time, a priest called brother Valentine, came to them and conversed about the Bible, in the course of which he asserted that "it had brought many thousands into hell." Then he read a paper which John had written to the earl and council, setting forth that they were Englishmen, and as there was no discord between England and Austria, he knew not why an Englishman coming into any of the emperor's dominions to visit the people and spend his money, should be so cruelly used, &c., to which Valentine replied, that "they ought to be beheaded, for if that course had been taken with Luther, there had not been so many Lutherans and heretics now." He called Friends the forerunners of antichrist, and the report got widely circulated that antichrist was taken prisoner and was at Nadasti's court. This man's virulent and bitter spirit, no less than the gross profanity of the other, discovers a temper far removed from the benign spirit of the Gospel, which is pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and of good fruits, and desires the present happiness and everlasting welfare of all. They took a very absurd method to recommend their religion to the minds of the prisoners, who understood the nature of Christianity too well not to perceive that a profession which tolerated such practices, had no valid claim to that sacred appellation; and that although ambition, pride and priestcraft might resort to compulsory methods to carry their purposes, yet the religion of the Gospel abhorred them as destructive of its very essence.

So effectually had the exemplary conduct of the prisoners, as well as the truths they declared, wrought upon the mind of Adam Bien, that without their knowledge, he had solicited the earl for liberty to take them to his house, and keep them there, the winter being cold and their place of confinement a guard-house, the doors of which stood open all day and much of the night,—proffering his own person as security for them if they should run away. Here is a striking evidence that a faithful and upright walking in conformity with our religious principles, raises in the minds of beholders a testimony in our behalf, and inspires them with a confidence and affection, which nothing else could produce. But though Adam succeeded in obtaining the earl's consent to the proposed change, our friends were not willing to add the burden of their support to the many obligations under which his kindness already laid them; but

chose rather to content themselves where they were; yet they got permission to visit at his house occasionally, and were often refreshed together in a sense of the love of God to their souls, as well as the nearness of affection and Christian fellowship which they felt for each other, and for their dear friends at home. At his house they sometimes had opportunities of preaching the Truth to the Hortesche Brethren who came there, warning them of the desolation which would come upon the unfaithful; a prediction which was fulfilled even as to the outward, as regarded many of them, for of nine families or communities, eight were destroyed, upwards of two hundred men slain and taken captive, and a large amount of property was consumed by fire.

But though the sufferings of our friends were somewhat mitigated, they were not yet at an end. Both the priests and soldiers, appeared to be afraid of Adam Bien, who stood over them in his integrity and uprightness, and whose daily access to, and intimacy with the earl, gave him many opportunities of influencing his mind; yet they secretly contrived to be vexatious to the Friends, and in various ways sought to ensnare them and add to their afflictions. By their treacherous insinuations, they seem at length to have obtained their ends so far as to induce the earl to wink at a plot, which was laid for separating the prisoners, and carrying William away by stealth. Jealous of every thing which was likely to diminish their importance and authority, or to prejudice their corrupt religion, the priests probably selected William as their victim, because he had a knowledge of the Dutch and Latin languages, and was therefore more likely to spread a knowledge of the principles of Friends. In order to accomplish this design, a person selected for the purpose, came to William and gave him two glass vessels, under pretence of getting him to assist in carrying some wine, and thus succeeded in drawing him out of the town into the fields. Here they were met by several sleds, the country being so deeply covered with snow that wagons could not travel;—and on their coming up, the man, who had armed himself with a great cudgel, compelled William to lay down the glass vessels and get on one of the sleds. Sensible that some mischief was intended him, and fearful lest they might wreak their vengeance upon Adam and John, under pretence that he had run away, William resolved to try to extricate himself and return to the city. In this attempt he was defeated; for a soldier, whom William knew to be a wicked and desperate fellow, and who had before threatened him, having joined his betrayer, they seized him by the hair, beat him until

they shed much of his blood and had almost struck out one of his eyes, then threw him down in the snow, tied his hands and feet, and bound him on the sled with his face down to the hay, and carried him off.

At first he suspected they intended to murder him privately in an adjoining wood, and afterward when they came near a gallows, he thought they designed to hang him there, but they passed by both; and meeting some people in the road, they muffled him in a cloak, and one of them sat upon him that he might not be seen. Hearing the noise of their feet in the snow as they approached, and being very anxious to convey to Adam Bien and his companion some intelligence of the manner of his being carried away, William called out to the people and desired them to tell Adam that he was there, and had been forcibly carried off—but the soldier beat him severely for it. When they came to the lodging place, they put irons on his ancles, and a long iron chain about his neck, the other end of which they fastened over a beam. Next morning they passed through a village where he would gladly have spoken to some one, but they forced him to lie down until they got through it, and conveyed him to a cloister. The prior being absent from home, the monks would not receive him without his order, and he was again compelled to lie in irons as he had done the night before. On the following morning he was taken to the cloister or castle, and his conductor gave directions that he should be blindfolded and put into a deep dungeon, and have only a little bread and water, and that none should be permitted to give any intelligence respecting him; and a Jew being there, he was forbidden on pain of death to say any thing of what he had seen. William was accordingly put into a small hole, to which no light was admitted, and there they kept him four days and nights in cold frosty weather, so that it seemed wonderful he had not perished.

The clandestine manner in which he had been taken away, and the mysterious secrecy which his enemies were so anxious to preserve, would naturally lead him to suspect that their design was either to despatch him privately, or to bury him alive in a dungeon, until death should release him, or solitude and suffering shake his constancy and induce him to embrace their religion. But through the merciful interposition, as well as the supporting power of Divine Providence, he was preserved under all his trials, in unshaken confidence in the rectitude of those religious principles for which he was so deep a sufferer.

After twelve days confinement, the prior returned home and sent for William to appear

before him. He questioned him concerning their object in coming into that country, and on some points of their religion, to all which he returned such replies as were consistent with truth and soberness. The prior told him, what they owned was not enough,—they must believe the pope was Christ's vicar, and that he and the priests had power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven. After they had reasoned together awhile, the prior sent him back into confinement, telling him he would come and talk with him again and bring the Bible; but he rather seemed to avoid him. Once however he discoursed with him again, in the course of which William boldly bore his testimony against their covetousness, pride, persecution, and warlike weapons, all which were contrary to the example of Christ and his apostles; and was helped to deliver himself so clearly, that the prior afterward acknowledged he had never before conversed with any one who gave such answers.

His demeanour being watchful and circumspect, consistent with the purity of the religious principles he avowed, they were the more anxious to induce him to embrace the Romish religion, and sent a priest to instruct and convert him—offering him preferment and other advantages. But none of these means succeeding, they then threatened to cut out his tongue, to flay him alive, or to burn him if he would not turn. But his constancy was not to be shaken, either by the hope of gain or the fear of torture and death, and relying on that God who had preserved him hitherto, and who, he firmly believed, would support him to the end, he persisted in the faithful maintenanc of his religious principles. In order to try if they could terrify him into compliance, they put him into a tub—passed a rope through the ears of it and over a beam, and said he should be let down into a well which was more than thirty fathoms deep. They did not however do this, but drew him up over the beam and let him fall out—then raising him up again, they twisted the rope and let it go, so as to whirl him violently about. He silently bore their insults and abuse, appearing to be little moved at them, which occasioned his persecutors to marvel, being ignorant of the power of that grace, which enables its obedient subjects to rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ Jesus. They then took him to another place, locked his neck and feet close together, and spread out his hands and locked them in that position; some asking him if it was painful, and others saying they committed more sin by doing so, than they got profit.

At another time they put him into a wheel,

and caused some soldiers to turn it, so that he might be thrown from side to side, which might have done him much injury, but he held fast by the side of it, which prevented their mischief—yet one of his elbows was much bruised.

During all this period, Adam Bien continued their firm and steady friend, anxious to do whatever he could for their relief. The earl insinuated to him that William had run away, but Adam had too much confidence in the integrity of his friend to give credit to such a story. At length, by some means he received intelligence of the manner and place of William's confinement, on which he wrote him a letter and sent it by an officer of the castle, who maliciously refused to let him have it. He however got sight of it after awhile, and learned from it that the plot for his removal was kept so secret, that only three persons had a knowledge of it, and that his kind and sympathizing friend Adam, greatly desired an opportunity to forward to him some necessaries and comforts to render his situation more tolerable. This he soon found means to do; and also gave an order that William should be furnished with an ample allowance of bread at his expense.

Soon after this the earl was seized with an illness, from which his recovery was doubtful, and being apparently nigh unto death, Adam obtained from him a promise to set the prisoners at liberty. When the order for William's discharge arrived, instead of releasing him immediately, they detained him six weeks to assist the masons who were building them a new cloister, promising that if he was diligent they would tell him good news, on the return of the officer in whose custody he was. Accordingly, he took him aside and told him the earl would have him informed, that if he would turn Catholic he should have good service and preferment; but if he would not, he would detain him no longer, as he had prisoners enough without him—but it was concluded that if they were again found in Hungary or Austria, he and his companion should be burned.

On the 4th of seventh month, 1663, William was set at liberty. The kindness of his friend Adam Bien, followed him to the last, for he had written to the prior to furnish him with money to pay the expenses of his journey; but he only gave him five small coins, the value of all which was less than twenty cents. His companion and he having before been stripped of all their money, which was considerable, he now found himself a stranger, in a remote country, without money and without friends, and a long distance to travel before he could reach his native land, or any of



the settlements of his brethren in religious profession. To add to his difficulties, the country was in a state of warfare, hostilities having commenced between the Austrians and Turks, and all the towns, villages and principal passes were guarded by persons whose duty it was to seize and examine strangers, of whom they were very suspicious. Here was a fresh trial of his faith and fortitude; but resolving to trust in the protecting care of Divine Providence, he commenced his solitary walk, choosing the most private and unfrequented ways.

He had been advised to go to Gratz, where was a fair, at which it was probable there would be merchants from Nuremburg and other places in Germany, of whom he might have some knowledge, and from whom he might obtain aid. On reaching the gates of Gratz, he was stopped and not permitted to enter. "When I saw, says he, that I could not meet with the aforesaid merchants, I resolved to travel on my journey, and to trust the Lord to take care for my sustenance, who had often done it, when, as to the outward there was little appearance of relief." When he came to the west end of Austria, he was stopped on pretence that he had been sent by the Turks as a spy; but producing the certificates he had procured from Friends in Germany, they let him pass, but charged him not to tarry at their towns. "I have great cause, continues he, to thank the Lord for his goodness, for I did not much want food, but got either bread or fruit, or something to eat, the people in these countries being accustomed to give travellers and tradesmen bread, and lodging in their barns. Sometimes I told them how I had been robbed and abused, and their hearts were moved with pity towards me. I proceeded on my journey, though not without difficulty, and about the 2nd of the eighth month, through mercy, I got to Paltz, in Germany, and came through Heidleburg and Mannheim, and on the 7th of the same arrived at Christein, among Friends, and being kindly entertained and abundantly refreshed there, I tarried some weeks."

By a letter afterwards received from Adam

Bien, it appeared that John Philly was released from his imprisonment on the 6th of seventh month, two days after William, and set out for Germany, but no particulars respecting his journey home have come down to us.

The foregoing narrative exhibits in a remarkable manner the protecting providence of God, which accompanies and supports those, who in holy obedience to the commands of his Spirit, are devoted to answer his requirements. The many dangers, provocations and trials through which these Friends passed unhurt, the taunts, the jeers and tortures with which their persecutors were permitted to prove their fidelity and patience; the cruel deaths which threatened them, demonstrate in the clearest manner the steadfastness of their faith and allegiance, and the excellency of the religion of which they were in possession. Their eye and expectation being fixed upon Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith, who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is for ever set down at the right hand of the throne of God; and considering him who endured such contradiction of sinners against himself; they were not weary of suffering, nor did they faint in their minds. In all their afflictions, the consciousness of their integrity and the evidence of Divine favour, were an unfailing source of support—the consolations of the Spirit of God raised their minds above the fear of man, and enabled them to persevere in an unwavering confession of their faith, even before many witnesses; and they were endued with a wisdom from above, whereby they were not only enabled to detect and expose the subtle devices and snares of those who sought their destruction, but were qualified to testify to the Truth as it is in Jesus, before governors and rulers, and to honour and exalt his ever worthy name. It was the power of the Lord which thus helped and kept them, and the praise belongs to Him alone, who is the preserver of those who put their trust in Him, whom he still "delivereth out of the hand of the wicked, and out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man."

## MEMOIR OF GHARRET VAN HASSEN.

GHARRET VAN HASSEN, an ancient Friend of Dublin, born in Holland, about the year 1695, was a signal instance of the mercy and long forbearance of a gracious God; having

been favoured with a Divine and powerful visitation, about the fortieth year of his age, and thereby reclaimed from a state of unregeneracy and sin, witnessing true repentance.

He joined in society with Friends, and his relation of this event may be given in his own words, the reader making allowance for the language, learned late in life: "It came to pass in the fortieth year of my age, that I left Holland, and came to England, in order to take shipping at London for Philadelphia, there to settle. The week I intended to set out, I was taken with the gout, which I had never had; and before I was recovered, the ship went out, and left me behind. Within two weeks after, it was in the newspapers that this same ship was lost, and all that were in it. Oh! that such a deliverance may be as a seal upon my mind. From London I removed to Colchester and there settled, working at my trade, which was wool-combing. I joined with a Dutch Society, which was in this place, where the minister preached in my own language. And it came to pass, one day, after our Society broke up, in the way towards my lodging I came near the meeting-house of the people called Quakers; and seeing people standing in the yard with their hats off, I went in and stood amongst them, as near to the door as I well could, and heard the voice of a woman in prayer; which so affected me, that I wept bitterly, and in that frame went to my lodging. The next morning I went to the minister of our Society, and said to him; "Sir, something is the cause of my coming to you." He asked me what it was? Then I said: "Sir, I never remember to have shed a tear under all your doctrine; and yesterday I heard a woman, not understanding a word she said, yet it made such an alarm in the book of my conscience, that if I was to die this night, I fear I am not fit for God nor his kingdom. What, Sir, (said I,) can be the meaning of this?" To which he replied: "The woman is a witch, and has bewitched you." Upon this I asked what this people were? Then he asked me if I had a mind to be a Quaker? I answered: "Nay, God forbid; but before I go to heaven I must be a good Christian." To which he replied: "Then you must not go among them, for they are not Christians." Then immediately that text of Scripture came before me, "Men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil." He parted from me in great anger; and the succeeding week, I went to the Quaker's meeting, when a public Friend, called Sarah Lay, stood up and spoke a few words. But I could not understand one word, being a stranger to the language; neither did what she said affect me. And so I came back out of the meeting,

concluding in my mind to go the next week; but if the woman was not then there whose voice affected me the week before, I resolved never to go again. The next week, according to intention, I went again; and in a short time, Mary Wyatt, then unknown to me, came in, and soon after kneeled down to prayer. Then, being greatly affected, I cried in secret: "What a pity it is that all the world is not of one language! If so, I should know what this woman saith." From henceforward I have continued amongst Friends, and am now, at the time of writing this, in the fifty-eighth year of my age; about eighteen years from the time of my conviction.

Being through faithfulness led in the paths of piety and love to God and men, he became a minister, and was a fervent labourer, zealous in his testimony against the inordinate love of the world, affectionately tender to the youth, and solicitous for their preservation from the temptations incident to their time of life.

In the year 1737, Gharret Van Hassen came to Ireland; and for the most part of his remaining time, resided in Dublin. He visited the meetings of Friends in Great Britain; and in the year 1747, performed a visit to most, or all the families of Friends in Ireland, and also to such as had incurred the censure of the Society; in which labour he was well received, for his heart overflowed with charity.

Simple in his manners, and unassuming; industrious and independent; living alone, and with great neatness, though in very limited circumstances, he was respected as well as beloved. It is related of him, that travelling alone in Scotland, during the hostilities exercised in 1745, he was stopped by military men, who inquired; "What king are you for?" The answer to this question was hazardous; but the honest-hearted man replying, "I am for the King of heaven," he was suffered to proceed unmolested on his way.

During the latter part of his life, he was greatly afflicted with bodily infirmities, disabling him, in a great measure, for public service; but he still retained his love to God and man, and at or near the time of his conclusion, had the comfortable assurance of his approaching removal to a better state; saying, "I am going to your Father and my Father; to your God and my God. I die daily, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." He departed this life the 30th of sixth month, 1765, aged about seventy; a minister upwards of twenty-eight years.







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