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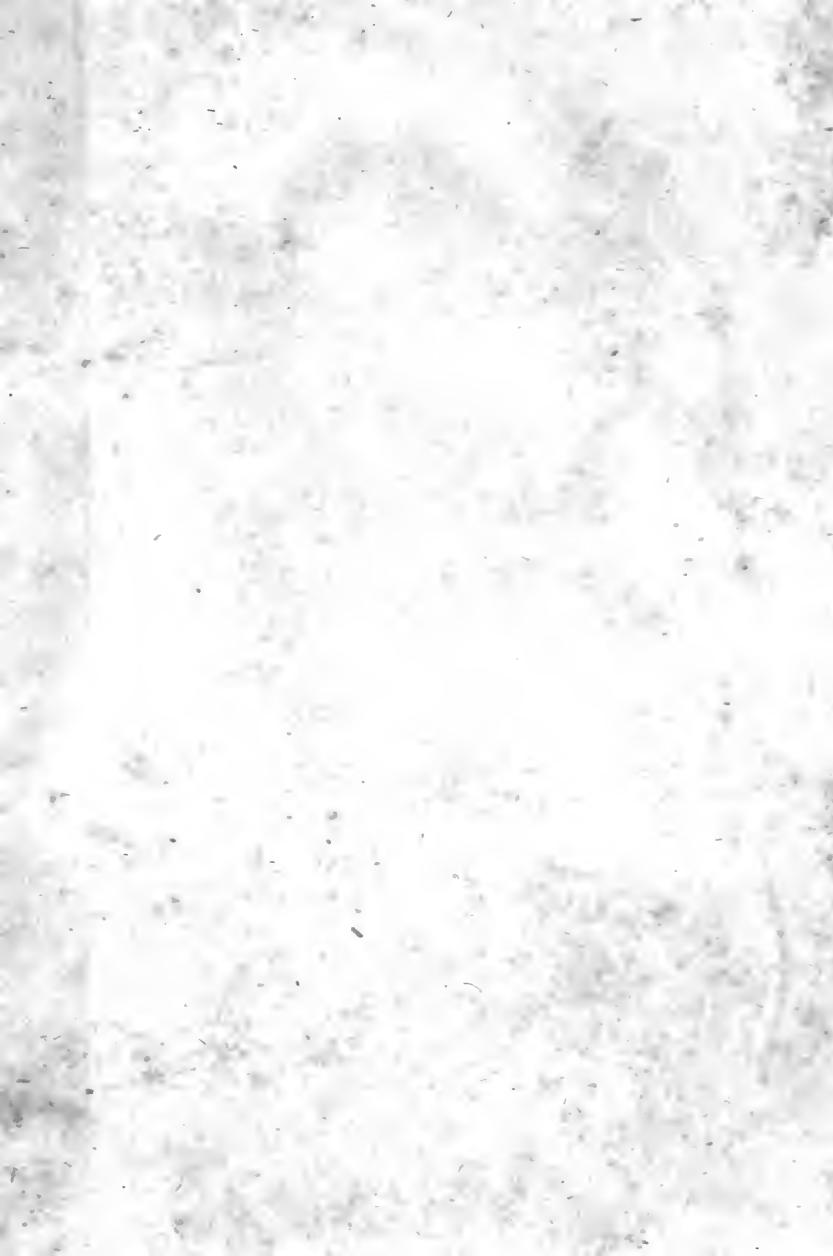
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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY:

BEING A COLLECTION OF

## ESSAYS AND FRAGMENTS,

BIOGRAPHICAL, RELIGIOUS, EPISTOLARY, NARRATIVE,  
AND HISTORICAL;

DESIGNED FOR THE PROMOTION OF PIETY AND VIRTUE, TO PRESERVE IN  
REMEMBRANCE THE CHARACTERS AND VIEWS OF EXEMPLARY  
INDIVIDUALS, AND TO RESCUE FROM OBLIVION  
THOSE MANUSCRIPTS LEFT BY THEM,  
WHICH MAY BE USEFUL TO  
SURVIVORS.

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The memory of the just is blessed.—*Solomon.*  
Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.  
*John, vi. 12.*

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EDITED BY JOHN & ISAAC COMLY, BYBERRY.

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VOL. VII.

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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 1.]

FOURTH MONTH, 1835.

[Vol. VII.]

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## ANNALS

*Of the Pemberton family, with notes respecting some of their contemporaries.*

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### ADVERTISEMENT.

A number of papers having come into the possession of the compiler of these Annals, throwing light upon the early history of the Pemberton family, and their settlement in Pennsylvania, he thought he could not make a better use of them, than to trace the events which are now given to the reader. Yet, from ancient papers, it is sometimes no easy matter to gain the information we desire; and therefore, in the perusal of the following account, let it be recollected, that as it respects those points in which a deficiency may appear,—from the darkness and obscurity of the events of early times, in which he had but little to guide him,—such as a casual remark in an old Almanac,—a hint in a letter, or an allusion in a memorandum,—he has gathered these few particulars of the days that are past. Nor is it apprehended, that in the perusal of these Annals, the reader, who is desirous to gain knowledge and instruction from the lives and characters of those who have endeavoured to fill up their measure of duty in ages past, will be disappointed.

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The first ancestor that can be ascertained with precision, was William Pemberton, who appears

to have been an husbandman. He was born, probably, about the year 1580. His wife's name was Ann; they were married 10th mo. 10th, 1602. His children were Alice, Margery, Ralph, Ellen, and perhaps some others. By "a lease for three lives," dated May 30th, 1625, it appears that a messuage, or cottage, and its "crofts or clausures of land, gardaines, pastures, feedings," &c. situated in Aspull, in Lancashire, England, were leased to him by Roger Hindley, of Hindley Hall, during the lives of Ralph, Alice, and Margery, his children, and the survivor of them. The terms of this contract were rather singular, at least to us, in this day. The yearly rent was twenty pence, in equal portions, "at the feast daies of the byrth of our Lorde God, and the natyvytie of St. Johne the baptyst;" and also, "two hens," and "two days shearing or reaping of corn." Ten years afterward, this lease was assigned by William to his son Ralph, then following the trade of a malster. In that day, annual licenses were necessary, and were granted by the justices of the peace, for the purpose of "buying barley to make into malt, in any market within the Commonwealth of England, and the same so bought and made, to carry and sell in any market." Ralph continued in this business at Aspull, several years. Of the early part of his life, and of any other part of that of his parents, nothing is now known.

William Pemberton died 9th mo. 26th, 1642, and his widow, 10th mo. 23d, following. Ralph, or Raphe, his son, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Seddon, of Warrington, linenwebster, 4th month 7th, 1648. The issue of this marriage, were Phineas and Joseph; the former, born 11th

month 31st, 1649-50; the latter, 2d month 12th, 1652.

James Harrison, whose name will be frequently mentioned in this compilation, was a shoemaker, and lived at Stiall-green, in Cheshire. He was a minister among the Society of Friends, who, in 1650, separated themselves from the world, and united together in religious fellowship. In 1655, James Harrison travelled in the service of the gospel, in the north of England. He married Anne Heath, 5th month 1st, the same year.

The early times of the appearance of Friends in England, were seasons of great trial and persecution, on account of their religious principles; and they endured many sufferings and imprisonments, for the support of the testimonies of Truth. James Harrison, as well as his brethren in profession, did not escape these storms; and, as men conscious of the rectitude of their high and holy calling, bore all their unjust and cruel treatment with christian meekness and patience; thus evincing to their persecutors that they returned not evil for evil.

Phineas Pemberton, as he grew up in the innocent life in those days, was visited with religious impressions, to which, as he rendered obedience, he became confirmed in the principles of an upright and holy conversation. His father, inclining to put him apprentice to the grocery business, in 1665, being the fifteenth year of his age, he "went to show himself to John Abraham," at Manchester, for that purpose, and was bound to him for the term of seven years; on which, twenty-eight pounds were paid by Ralph, his father, as a fee. This John Abraham appears to have been a very worthy, and

conscientious man, and Phineas became much attached to him, so that he preserved an intimate friendship with him during his life; and at his death, in 1681, gave an evidence of his tender regard in a memorial of his virtues.

The serious impressions on the mind of Phineas Pemberton, inducing him to refuse compliance with the empty forms of the established church, he became a mark for those in power, even while he was an apprentice, and was several times imprisoned in Chester and Lancaster castles, for his attendance of the religious meetings of Friends. To show the arbitrary and mean measures, pursued in those days of darkness, to force compliance, the following letter from Phineas to his father is transcribed. It gives an account of one of the occurrences of this nature, which will serve as a specimen, among many, of the kind of treatment which the innocent received from those in office, merely for attempting to worship the Almighty in the manner they deemed most acceptable to him. It is thus superscribed:

“For his loving father, Ralph Pemberton, in Aspull, deliver.”

“LOVING FATHER:

“My duty to thee remembered, I thought it might be convenient to let thee understand of what followeth: The last first-day the meeting was at Ed. Dawson’s, in Blakely, and my master was to go into Yorkshire; but he went to the meeting first; from thence he was to go forward in his journey. He went from home (*idem*) to the meeting about half an hour before me, and he left his coat with me, and ordered me to bring it after him. So, as I was going in the street with the coat to the meet-

ing, after my master, I met the constables and overseers, and such like, and they demanded of me whither I was going. I denied to tell them; but I said, thither as I was going I did intend to go. The constables said I should go no further, nor I should not go home, without I would promise them I would keep me at home all that day. I said I would make no such promise. Then they said I should go along with them, and that after service was done, I must go before the justice of peace. So they took me, and kept me prisoner, and set the beagle to look to me, until they came to me again. So, after they had done at the mass-house, the constables came in again, and told me, if I would give three shillings, I should not go before the justices. I said I had none to give them upon that account. Then they said, "If you will borrow one shilling of your mistress, we will get you off, if we can." I answered, I had none to give, nor none would I borrow; nor they were not likely to have any of me. So there was one by who proffered me to lay down one shilling for me: I told him I should not take him-as my friend, nor restore him any thing again, if he laid down any thing for me. And many flattering words they had, to have had me to have complied to their wills; but the Lord and his truth was more to me than all the snares they could cast before me. So, when they saw they could not get me yield either to pay any thing, or suffer others to pay for me, they bade me go home, for they would not trouble the justices with me then; but they would call on me, either in the afternoon or next day.

So then, I went on towards the meeting: before I came back from the meeting, the constable came

again for me, to our house: so some made answer I was not in town. So he went away and came not again that night. The next day I had business to go in Cheshire upon my master's account. When I was gone, he came again, and said he had a precept from the justices for me. They told him I was not at home. The next morning, about half an hour after J. Barrs had been here, he came again, and took me before justice Haworth, so called; but he is fitter to be called a man of strife. When I came before him with my hat on, he commanded the constable to take it off. I asked why I might not keep on my hat, as well as my shoes? with many other words we had about it. The constable took it off and laid it upon the table before me: I took it up, and put it on again; and he pulled it off again. And when we had done about the hat, he asked me whether I was going upon the sabbath day? I told him my master was some miles out of town, and was to go forward on his journey the next day following, and I was ordered to bring his coat after him. He asked where my master was, several times over; and I refused to tell him. He said he would make me. I said, thou canst not compel me to reveal my master's secrets. "Were you at any church?" said he. I demanded what his reason was to ask. He said he must know. I answered, I was. He asked me what I did there? I said, to worship God. "It is enough," said he; "he shall either pay his five shillings, or go to jail." Hard sentence! said I, that I must go to jail for worshiping God. He asked who was with me? I refused to tell him. He bade the constable take me away.

I was taken, and put in a room at the constable's



house, and both constables went to Haworth again, and remained with him near an hour; and then they came to me again, and told me that justice Haworth was coming himself, and that he said he would find out where I had been. So he came to Ed. Greaves' shop, and sent for me. The constables took me to him. So he, with many fair speeches, such as the devil had stirred up in him, told me if I would come to their church, he would pass by that time. I answered, I should do as I had done aforetime.—Then he called for the Bible, and said I should swear in the king's behalf, and declare who was at the conventicle. I said we were at no conventicle: we were there truly and really to worship God, and not under any colour or pretence. I said I should not swear at all. He bade the constable take notice, I refused to swear for the king. Then he took the Bible in his hand again, and would have had me to take the oath of allegiance. I refused to swear at all. He bade the constable take me away to the house of correction. There I was locked up for about half an hour. So then he sent the constable again. He said I must come out for two or three days. As I said afore, when he could do no good with his flattering speeches, he began to threaten me, and said that this was the second offence, and if I offended again, I should be banished; and if I came again into the land, I should be hanged. He said he would prosecute, himself. I bade him go on, for, I told him, he could do no more than he was permitted.

But, blessed be the Lord God of endless and everlasting goodness, that gave me power and dominion over and above them all! for I can truly say, when

he had uttered all his railing and bitterness, and all the cruelty that was in him, it was no more to me than if he had smiled at me. Many more words passed amongst us, but I have here related the chief matters; for, to express all, it would have been very tedious.

So, I have been considering since, I believe that my master and thee might promise the sheriff, that I should be forthcoming when he sent for me. Now, if they send me to the house of correction, I cannot appear at assizes; so I think if thou could go to the sheriff forthwith after this letter comes to thy hands, and get the sheriff to send for me before I go to prison here, (for they have made no mittimus for me as yet,) it might do well. So, if thou meet with the sheriff, and get an order, I would have thee to bring it thyself hither without any delay, if it may be convenient. I have spoken to my mistress, and she approves of it. So, with my dear love to all friends, I remain thy dutiful son,

PHINEAS PEMBERTON."

5th month, 13th day, 1670.

From several evidences and allusions, it appears that Phineas Pemberton wrote a Narrative, describing the early sufferings of James Harrison and his wife, and of himself also, in England, on account of their religious principles; and of the circumstances of their subsequent migration to this country to seek an asylum from persecution. James Pemberton had this book once in his possession; but having lent it to some person whom he could not recollect, it was consequently lost. Some time previously to this loss, however, his brother, John

Pemberton, had read the Narrative, and made a few extracts from it.

“My grandfather, Phineas Pemberton,” says John in his extracts, “having experienced the tender dealings of a gracious God, and undergone sufferings for his testimony, in his native land, penned down several particular occurrences; and having related the sufferings of his wife’s father, James Harrison, he expresses as follows respecting her mother.”

“In all the before mentioned sufferings and other exercises, his wife, that worthy matron, was not dejected or cast down, but went through all with a cheerful spirit, having her aim and eye upon that lot and inheritance, whose builder and maker is God, and is beyond the reach of persecutors. Whether he was in bonds, or at liberty,—in sufferings, or out of sufferings,—always managing his and her own business and herself, with great prudence and dexterity;—taking delight, and making it her business, how to spend her days in the service of Truth, and the serving of its friends;—behaving herself in such an even frame and temper of spirit, to all persons, and at all times, that she was greatly beloved of Friends, and enemies scarce daring to come nigh, her conduct was so prudent. And to the end it may be seen what a harmony and concord there was of love between them, I have hereunto annexed two or three short epistles to and from each other.”

The letters which Phineas Pemberton thus quotes, and which will be inserted in their proper place, as well as the other original ones in the collection mentioned, show much feeling and tenderness.

Anne Harrison, wife of James, “bore a daugh-

ter the 7th day of the 2d month, (April,) 1660, and called her name Phebe; and this was she," says Phineas, "that fell to be mine, through the Lord's good providence."

In this year, 1660, James Harrison, William Yardley, James Brown, Benjamin Boulton, John Shield, Richard Buxton, Ralph Sharpless, Jeremiah Owen, and several others, were imprisoned for their testimony, at Burgas-gate in Shrewsbury.

It is painful to reflect on the numerous instances of fines, and impositions, and imprisonments, and severe treatment, which these sons of the morning experienced from the tyrannical dispositions of men in power; and it is not to be wondered at, that, at times, their patience was severely tried.

From this prison, James Harrison and his friends were released in consequence of a royal proclamation, dated at Whitehall, May 11th, 1661. James Harrison was also confined in prison in 1663, in the county jail of Worcester; and in 1664, 65, and 66, at Chester castle. While in the last mentioned place, the letters quoted by Phineas Pemberton in his Narrative, were written; being as follows:

"Most dear, and right dearly beloved wife, whom I love in the Lord our Saviour, Jesus Christ, for thy reverent, courteous behaviour in gesture and words, towards me and the Lord, whom we serve. Thy words are penetrating words, and hath entered my heart with impressions that can never be blotted out; and thus, with a real acknowledgment of thy spiritual and lively testimony that breaks or tenders my heart, I rest thy very loving husband,

JAMES HARRISON."

Castle of Chester, 26th of 8th mo. 1666.

*Her Letter.* "J. H. Dear love,—I had a great desire to come to see thee, with my little child, if it were the will of the Lord; but as yet I see little way made; but this I believe, that neither death, nor life, nor any other thing, shall be able to separate us. So, dear heart, farewell. Let us hear from thee as often as thou can.

ANNE HARRISON."

On the 22d of 11th month, (Jan.) 1661, Roger Longworth, who was afterwards an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, was put apprentice to James Harrison, for seven years, as a shoemaker. By his zeal and fidelity in maintaining a steady testimony against the intolerance of those days, he became extensively useful, and travelled much to promote the work of righteousness.

In 1668, James Harrison removed out of Cheshire, and probably lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of Phineas Pemberton, at Bolton, or Manchester. In the following year, as Phineas Pemberton relates in his Narrative, his daughter "Phebe, with her mother, as they were going into Cheshire, called at my master's shop, but I knew them not; she being then about nine years of age, said to her mother, having got some cherries in her apron, "I have a mind to give one of these young men some cherries." Her mother said, "Then give to both;" one of my fellow-apprentices being then by me, and on a market day,—I never having seen them before, nor they me, that I know of, and altogether strangers to them. She said, "No; I will but give to one:" and through the crowd of people that then stood before the counter, she pressed, holding out

her hand with cherries for me, before I was well aware; and I admired that a child I knew not, should offer me such kindness: but on inquiry, remembered I had heard her name, and I retaliated her kindness at the same time, with a paper of brown candy.”

“About two years after that, she came that way again with her mother, who came into the shop, but she did not: she only stayed in the street, and then again I remembered her kindness, but saw not her face. About two years after that, I went to Bolton to get a shop, to set up trade there, and then saw her again, but remembered little of what before had happened. After I was come there and had settled awhile, and took notice of her discreet and modest behaviour, and features, and personage, I then was taken with her. She appeared very lovely in my eye, though then quite young; and because of this I suppressed my affection for a time. Other things, in the mean time, offered on that account to me; but more and more love increased in me towards her, until I could not conceal it. I then remembered the beginnings thereof, as already mentioned. Her parents and friends were very respectful to it; but because of her tender years, it was still delayed, until she was of riper age: in which time she was often not well; sometimes from home, under the doctor’s hands; and once at London, in which time many letters passed. And that our innocency and love may be seen; I have hereunto annexed two short epistles, which were the first we wrote to each other; being as follows:

*3d month 17th, 1675.*

“My dearly beloved friend, P. H.—With the

salutation of that love which is not fained, but true, do I dearely salute thee, who art not as one forgotten by me, nor as one blotted out of my remembrance; but thou art neare and deare unto me, and in the armes of that love which much water cannot quench, do I often embrace thee. And though thou be at a distance from me in body, yet my spirit doth often meete with thee, to the great refreshment of the same, because it hath much unity with thee, finding thee to be a member of the same body, knit and bound up in that inseparable bundle of love, which proceeds from the ocean of love,—which the power of death and the grave is not able to breake, as we keep and are kept faithful to the measure of Truth, manifested to us by the Lord. And this supplication hath the Almighty many a time begotten by his owne good Spirit in me, that his Truth over all by us may be eyed, and to do those things which he requires may be the greatest object of our minds; and to dread to thinke, speake, or do any thing which may displease his eternal Majesty. Then I know all our undertakings will be to his honour and glory who is worthy of the same; and in so doing, we shall receive his rich rewards, in an abundant and plentifull manner,—the earnest whereof we are daily partakers.

Therefore, my deare friend, let thy eye be still unto him, over and above all momentary and fading things here below: for there is no true joy, pleasure, nor satisfaction, in any created object, without the smiles of the Almighty light upon us: and then there is refreshment in his creatures, because he doth sanctify them unto his children, who are those that love, honour, and obey him. Therefore cleave

thou unto him, because in him there is fullness of that joye which is lasting, and plenty of that rejoicing which will never come to an end. And to have an habitation in such a pleasant dwelling, is exceeding great delight, far beyond the expression of tongues.

And truly, my well-beloved, thy prosperity, both soule and body, do I earnestly desire as my owne, and should take it very kindly to have a few lines from thy owne hand, to heare how it is with thee, every way. And if it be not thought convenient by Richard Smith that thou should come home now, when thou thinkest thou mayst come, that we may some of us fetch thee; for I should be very glad to see thee: but whilst thy staying is for thy good, I am very well contented, and more satisfied then if I did enjoy thy company.

If thou come now with John Clarke, I believe the horse will carrie you thorow from Chester hither in a day, very well, if you stirr betimes in the morning, and do not ride too fast at your first setting out, but ride easily in the beginning of the day, and call at Warrington and refresh yourselves, and get some hay for the horse, and half a peck of oates. But if thou should not come now, I have ordered him to stay all night with his unckle, so that he may stay untill the middle of the day on fourth-day: so that if thou intends to write any thing, thou may have some time to do it in. So, hoping to heare of thy welfare, I shall remaine thine in that which lives and never dyes.

P. P."

*Chester, 19th of 3d month, 1675.*

"My dearly well beloved friend, P. P.—Whom I



most dearly salute and embrace in the arms of dear love, even that love which is undefiled and without end, do I salute thee, my dearly beloved, who art as near and dear unto me as my life, and as pleasant unto me, as sweet smelling odours. My dear friend, by this thou may know that I am pretty well, considering that I take physick which made me sick and weak; but I am pretty well recovered; blessed be the Lord for it. Dear P. P., I was very glad to hear from thee: and dear Phineas, I shall acquaint thee of my distemper, for R. S. saith it is the king's evil; but he doth not question the cure of it in a short time; so that he hath written that you may send for me against the next meeting at our house.—I would not have thee to let my mother know the distemper until I am well. I have little more at present, but that I am thy very loving friend,

PHEBE HARRISON."

In the 11th month, 1669, Phineas Pemberton and Roger Longworth, with some others, were carried before three justices, for holding a meeting at Nehemiah Pool's house; and on the 1st of 2d month, he was imprisoned; remaining nineteen weeks and five days in Lancaster castle. It has been mentioned that Phineas was imprisoned in 1670, for going towards his own place of worship; and he was also frequently exposed to vexatious interruptions, while transacting his master's business.

In the year 1672, he became free from his apprenticeship, and during the next year opened his shop at Bolton, where Robert Lowe and John Clarke, were bound apprentices to him.

1676. Ralph Pemberton, having resided until this time at Aspull, went to live at Radcliffe-bridge, where he kept a grocery store, in which he was assisted by a faithful servant, Margery Vosse.

During this time the attachment of Phineas to Phebe Harrison increased, and many letters passed between them. The style of that day was quaint,—but it was simple and beautiful. Thus he begins one of his epistles to her: “In the renewings of living love, which is still springing in my heart towards thee, thou art very dear unto me; and by the cords of the same am I drawn very near unto thee, so that thou art become exceeding estimable unto me. I have this day received the tender salutation of thy love, which is the third time I have heard from thee since thou went; whereby I do understand that thou art well, every way, of which I am very glad, not only in hearing thereof, which is very pleasant and much refreshment, but by an inward sense that I have of thy growth and prosperity in the Truth, which is more than all.

*5th month 4th, 1676.”*

The time of their proceeding in marriage now drew on, and, at length, all parties being satisfied, the following certificate of his father’s consent was sent to the monthly meeting:

“These for John Haydock and the rest of Friends of the men’s meeting:

“Friends,—After the remembrance of my love, these may inform you that my son, Phineas Pemberton, hath spoke with me divers times concerning his intentions of marriage with Phebe Harrison, and now of late hath acquainted me that he doth intend to accomplish the same. Therefore, for your

satisfaction herein, I do hereby declare that I am not against it, but am consenting to his intentions therein, and shall leave him to your approbation and order,—who am your friend,

RAPHE PEMBERTON.”

“And after it had passed the meetings, and had had suitable publication and approbation, we concluded to accomplish it at the house of John Haydock; and in order thereto I wrote these few lines:

“The 29th of 10th month, 1676. Loving father,—After the remembrance of dear love to thee, these are to inform thee that I have been from home this week, and thought it not very convenient to come over myself as yet, but have sent J. C. with these lines, which are to desire thee to come over hither to-morrow at night; and it may be afore thy return back, our marriage may be accomplished. So, hoping thou wilt answer my request herein, shall leave all other business until thy coming, only would have thee take notice what is wanting against thy coming, and shall rest thine. P. P.”

“A meeting being appointed for that end and purpose, at the house of John Haydock aforesaid, in Coppull, near Standish, the 1st day of the 11th mo. being the second day of the week, in the year 1676-7, were we joined together in marriage before many witnesses; and Jesus was there. It was solemnized in the heart-melting and tendering power of God: also many were witnesses thereof, departing thence with a sense of the weighty savour of life, which proceeded from the Fountain thereof, even the Son of God; and it rested upon their spirits, to the great refreshment of many, as the distilled showers upon the tender grass.”

“In this our weighty undertaking we had our eye unto the Lord, and he had regard unto us. He honoured us with his presence, and hath been our support and defence through all difficulties, even to this present day. We will render and give to him our hearts, and we shall then be enabled to offer up the offerings of praise and thanksgiving acceptably to him who is over all, and above all,—is worthy—worthy thereof, saith my soul, for ever and ever. Amen, amen.”

Thus ends the extract made by John Pemberton from the Narrative. As the marriage certificate of Phineas Pemberton and Phebe Harrison, from whom sprang the *Pembertons of America*, exhibits the simple manners and language of those early times, a copy of it, from Hardshaw monthly meeting records, is here subjoined:

“This is to certifie the truth to all people, that Phineas Pemberton, of Boulton in le Moors, in the county of Lanc’r, grocer, and Phebe Harrison, daughter of James Harrison, of Boulton aforesaid, having intentions of marriage, according to the ordinance of God, they did lay it before the monthly meeting, both of men and women, (that do take care that such things be according to the order of the gospel,) several times; and did also publish their said intentions in the particular meeting whereunto they did belong; and it appearing that both the said parties were clear and free from all others, and that all their friends and relations concerned therein were consenting, a meeting of y<sup>e</sup> people of God was appointed in the house of John Haydock, of Capull, where they tooke one an other in the presence of God, and in the presence of his people, y<sup>e</sup> first day

of the eleventh month, called January, and in the year 1676; according to the law of God, and the practice of the holy men of God, in the scriptures of Truth, promising to each to live faithfully together, man and wife, so long as they lived. In witness whereof, wee who were present, have hereunto subscribed our names." "Ralph Pemberton, James Harrison, John Abraham, William Yardley, Roger Longworth, John Bancroft, Richard Cubban, Thomas Pott, Henry Coward, Godfrey Atherton, John Whiteoars, Benjamin Canby, Isaac Ashton, Richard Johnson, Henry Haydock, Roger Haydock," and other men. "Anne Harrison, Eliz. Johnson, Eliz. Hodgson, Eliz. Haydock, Elinor Low, Margaret Brewer, Mary Rigby, Ann Cubban, Margaret Ashton, Lydia Wharmby, Anne Haydock," and other women Friends.

In 1677, and subsequent years, Roger Longworth continued to travel in the service of the gospel; and visited Germany, Denmark, Ireland, and other places, being accompanied by Roger Haydock, another eminent minister in those days. These appear to have been bold, and zealous, and lively in the great cause they had espoused; and, of course, persecution followed them, and all other conscientious persons who could not pay tythes, nor conform to the rituals and ceremonies of the established church. The irritation of the priests was vented on these peaceable people, in the form of imprisonments, levies, distresses, and ill treatment of various kinds. The passions and prejudices of the lower classes were enlisted against them, perhaps frequently instigated by the influence of men in higher stations. The following memorandums, copied from a paper

in the hand-writing of Phineas Pemberton, gives a specimen of the intolerant spirit which then prevailed.

“Upon the 12th of the 9th mo. 1678, there came one James Stanton and made a fire upon the pavement, afore my shop doore, and cryed divers times, threatening what he would do if any came out of the shop, and meedled with the said fire. And a son of Roger Seddon, of the Lyon, came within the shop, and said he was one that was hired to pull my shop in pieces; and further said, lett any come out of the shop, and he would set a mark on their foreheads. John Prescot, servant to Thomas Marsden, came into my shop, with a rude company with him, and said I knew not a pig from a dog; and said that his master was the first man that made a fire in the towne, and he did it that he might encourage others therein, for it was the preparation for a fast. And there was one that stood behind the wall and held a pistoll towards my head, and it mist fireing; and I was aware of it, and cal'd to them, whereupon they fled away. Others came, and cast a squib into my shop. And after I had shutt up my shop, there came somebody to my doore (I suppose it was the above-named Roger Seddon) and knockt violently att it, and said, “Come out, thou papist!—thou papist dog! thou jesuit!—thou devill!—come out.” Att which time, there was severall of the chiefest of professors singing psalmes in the street. And divers times, the said night, they came and knockt att the doore and my shop windows, and call'd, “Come out, papist!” and threw stones att it. And because of their rudeness, I went out some times to speake to the people; and as I was standing in the doore, there came

by the aforesaid Roger Seddon, and as he went by, said, "Thou art a papist! thou art a jesuit!" divers times over. And when they were so rude that no persuasions would bring them to quietness, I went to desire the constable to keepe peace: he said it was to no purposse, he did believe, (they were so very bad) to speake to them."

"There was one Ann Woodroofe, as she went past my shop, said she could find it in her heart to throw fire into my shop."

"They sang psalmes, first, afore Thomas Marsden's doore; 2ndly, afore John Okey's doore; 3rdly, afore James Rodh's doore; 4thly, afore Thomas Horrot's doore; 5thly, att the crosse. And John Leavor, a presbyterian priest, gave out the psalme. And after they had done singing psalmes att the crosse, they had a fidler to play amongst them; and after that, there were some of them did fight."

"My father-in-law, having beene out of towne, and wondering att the rudeness of the people, and the cause of so many fires, asked some at the towne's end, what was the reason of so many fires? And some made answer, they were to burne all the Quakers in."

"There was some at a fire afore Robert Fletcher's doore, said to Ann Rothwell, for two pins, they could find in their hearts to burn her in the fire, because she went to the Quakers' meetings."

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Phineas Pemberton, after his marriage, continued attentive to his business, though, as we see, not without interruptions and insults; many of which, perhaps from their frequent occurrence, he did not record. Besse, in his collection, relates in 1679, that

“as James Harrison was preaching at a meeting in his own house, the constables came and pluckt him away. They caused him to be fined, and by a warrant from Thomas Laver and John Kenyon, justices, made a seizure of leather and other goods, to the value of ten pounds, nineteen shillings. Phineas Pemberton, for himself and wife being at the said meeting, had goods taken from him to the value of four pounds, fifteen shillings and four pence.”

But through all these trials and difficulties, by his uprightness and integrity, Phineas became much respected by his friends, and many of his neighbours. He held the office of overseer of the poor at Bolton, and was for many successive years a delegate for Friends to Hardshaw monthly meeting.

Frequently persecuted as these lovers of peace and quietness were, it is not surprising that, as William Penn's intentions of founding a colony in the Western World were then often made the subject of conversation, the attention of their minds was directed to a spot, where they might seek an asylum for the security of their civil and religious privileges;—where they might worship their great Benefactor, unmolested by the rudeness of constables and mobs, and sit undisturbed under their own vine, and under their own fig tree.

In a letter from James Harrison to Roger Longworth, dated 8th month 4th, 1681, is the following hint given by him of these views: “I am about to bargain for my house, in case I should go with William Penn.” And he expressed a wish that Ellinor Lowe, a valuable minister in the Society of Friends, might purchase it, that it might be “preserved for the Lord's service” (having been frequently used



for the purpose of holding meetings for divine worship) "for I do not question," says he, "but our testimony will be of force, when we are gone."— This prospect of removing to Pennsylvania gradually became brighter in their view, till, at length, resolutions were taken accordingly.

In this year, 1681, died John Abraham, the worthy man under whose roof Phineas Pemberton had spent some of his early years, as before noted. Of the last visit which he made to his affectionate master, he gives the following particulars:

"The Lord hath taken away a prudent man from his people."

"The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead."

"The 19th of the 4th mo. 1681, being the first day of the week, he being then sick of the sickness whereof he in a short time afterwards died, I went from home early in the morning to visit him; thinking, after I had visited him, to go to the meeting in the town, (Manchester.) And I had acquainted him that I intended to take my journey towards London, in a few days. About meeting time, being about to take leave, Ralph Ridgway being then present and ready to go with me, he desired us to stay awhile, and said to me, "I would not have thee go to meeting this day, but spend it with me; for thou mayst not have another to spend with me; but to enjoy the benefit of a meeting, thou mayest have more opportunities." Accordingly, I stayed, and the friend R. R. for some time; and he placed us on each hand of his chair. After a little silence, he desired to stand up, and being by us helped, he leaned on our shoulders, and spoke forth in a living spring of life, of

the loving kindness of the Lord unto him, and how it had been extended and was stretched out and continued still unto him; and also how he had walked, and spent his days in his fear; and of his assurance of his favour and blessings; and of his willingness to receive his dissolution, that he might arrive at that long-desired haven of rest. And although he was under great weakness of body, yet he was so filled with life, that he livingly spoke forth his words as when in his strength, to the penetrating, and piercing, and tendering of my spirit.

And divers times that day afterwards, he expressed his satisfaction and willingness to leave the world: and at my departure from him, he took his leave of me, with the expectation to see me no more. And accordingly it came to pass; for I took my journey for London, and he departed this life the 28th day of the said 4th month, being the third day of the week, and was buried the 30th, at Friends' burying place, at the Deans-gate-end, in Manchester."

"He was born of a good stock and parentage, in or near Warrington, in Lancashire, and in the said town was educated in the trade of a grocer: and after he married, he set up his trade in Manchester, in the said county, which was very considerable, and he managed the same with great prudence and honesty."

ANN PEMBERTON, the first-born of Phineas and Phebe, when about four years of age, began to decline in her health, having always had a delicate constitution; and in the beginning of 1682, she became so ill that her parents were alarmed for her safety. She appears to have been a child of a remarkably affectionate disposition, and was much at-

tached to Roger Longworth. When this zealous minister was about to depart on another religious visit to Germany, Phineas and she took leave of him, and the little girl said to him, that she must never see him again. Her words were fulfilled; for very shortly afterwards, her illness increasing, she meekly and gradually sunk away, as into a quiet sleep. "And most sweetly," says James Harrison, "methinks she yet liveth. I think some hundreds came to see her as she lay, after she was departed; some bowing down and kissing her, and many broke forth and fell a weeping. She lay as if she had been in a sound sleep, and with a fresh, lively, smiling countenance. The remembrance of it melts my heart." She was buried at Lang-tree, about eleven miles south-west of Bolton.

Phineas Pemberton having disposed of his shop and goods, to Nathaniel Atherton, and his father having left Radcliffe, they began to make preparations for leaving the land of their nativity, forever. But the friends of these emigrants to a Western World, were very loth to part with them; for their upright conduct, and kind and hospitable manners, had endeared them to their friends and neighbours. Agreeably to the customs and order of the religious society, Friends gave them a "certificate, most tender, full and large." James Harrison, one of the proposed company about to remove to Pennsylvania, writes thus: "Love in people here appears more than ever. Some argue against our going; others declare their trouble, and that they are sorry; and some cry, when they think of our going."

On the 5th of the 7th month, having embarked on board the ship *Submission*, captain James Settle,

then lying at Liverpool, they set sail for America. The company consisted of fifty-two persons, among whom were Ralph Pemberton, aged seventy-two, Phineas Pemberton, thirty-three, Phebe his wife, twenty-three, Abigail and Joseph, their infant children; Agnes Harrison, aged eighty-one years, James Harrison (her son) fifty-seven, Anne, his wife, fifty-eight; Robert Bond, sixteen; Lydia Wharmby, forty-two; Randolph Blackshaw and Alice his wife, with their seven children; Ellis Jones and Jane his wife, and their four children; Thomas Winn's wife; Jane and Margery Mode; James Clayton and Jane his wife, and their six children; together with fourteen servants—five of whom belonged to the Pemberton family.

Lydia Wharmby, above mentioned, had long lived in the capacity of a housekeeper in James Harrison's family; and being much attached to them, determined to remove with them to the new country.—Robert Bond was a youth, whom his father had confided to the protection and tuition of James Harrison.

According to the original terms between the passengers and Settle, he was to receive four pounds five shillings per head, for every one twelve years of age and upwards; and two pounds two shillings and six pence, for each under twelve; and thirty shillings per ton for their goods; and was to proceed with the ship to "Delaware river, or elsewhere in Pennsylvania, to the best conveniency of freighters." But, through his dishonesty they were taken into Maryland, to their very great disadvantage; where, after a severe storm they had encountered at sea, they arrived in Patuxen river, on the 30th

of 8th month; and unladed their goods at Choptank. Here, James Harrison and his son-in-law, Phineas, left their respective families at the house of William Dickinson, in order to proceed by land to the place of their original destination, which was near the Falls of the Delaware river. William Penn had arrived on the 24th of 8th month, and was at that time at New York; so they were disappointed of seeing him at Newcastle, as they had hoped. When they arrived at the place where Philadelphia now stands, they could not procure entertainment for their horses. Such was the want of accommodations at that day. They "spancelled them, and turned them out into the woods;" and, next morning, sought them in vain. After two days search, these travellers were obliged to take a boat, and proceed up the river. One of these horses was not found until the 11th month following. It should be recollected, that the city of Philadelphia was not yet founded, and the country a wilderness.

William Yardley, an uncle of Phineas Pemberton, had arrived a few weeks before him, and had taken up land at the Falls, where he commenced the erection of a habitation. Near the same spot, on the banks of the Delaware, opposite to Oreclan's island, Phineas determined to settle, and purchased a tract of three hundred acres of land, which he named "Grove Place." As he and his father-in-law were returning to their families from this tour of investigation, the latter, having been chosen a member of the Assembly, and speaker of the house of Provincial representatives,—remained at Chester, before called Upland. Here the first general Assembly met, in the month called December, William Penn

being president. The session continued three days, in which about sixty laws, or acts, were passed in due form.

In consequence of being landed on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, instead of Philadelphia, they were considerably delayed in transporting themselves and moveables, and did not complete their object until the 2d mo. 1683. Among those who had settled about the Falls, two or three years previous, was Lyonel Britain, with whom Phineas and his family resided, until he could erect a house on his own land. In this year, Phineas Pemberton was appointed by Christopher Taylor, to be his deputy as register for Bucks county; and by William Penn, to the office of clerk of the court. Among the duties of the former were, "to write and register all contracts, and certificates of marriage,—to register births and burials, and the names of all servants that are in, or shall come into the said county, their time of service, payment, and freedom."

In the 5th month, 1683, William Penn issued an order for the establishment of a Post Office, and granted to Henry Waldy, of "Tekoney," authority to hold one, and to "supply passengers with horses from Philadelphia to Newcastle, or to the Falls." The rates of postage of letters were, from the Falls to Philadelphia, three pence;—to Chester, five pence; to Newcastle, seven pence; and to Maryland, nine pence. From Philadelphia to Chester, two pence;—to Newcastle, four pence; and to Maryland, six pence. This post went only once a week, and the Governor requested Phineas Pemberton "carefully to publish" this information, "on the *meeting house door*, and other public places." By

the *meeting house door*, must be understood the door of the *private* house in which the Society of Friends was then accustomed to meet; for the meeting house at the Falls was not erected until 1690, nor at Burlington till 1696; nor that at Bristol, until 1710. It was usual for Friends settled about the Falls, to assemble for worship at the houses of William Yardley, James Harrison, Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, William Dark, Lyonel Britain, and William Beaks.

On 7th month 29th, this year, Thomas Janney, an eminent and much beloved minister, and uncle to Phineas, arrived from England with his family, and settled near them.

In 1684, Roger Longworth, after having travelled through several other provinces, in the service of Truth, arrived in Pennsylvania, and took up his abode with James Harrison, or with Phineas Pemberton. James had then erected a house, and also had been appointed by William Penn, as his steward at Pennsbury; which station he held until his death. This office embraced the oversight of "the servants, building, &c. and what relates to the place, to receive and pay,—take, and put away every servant;—to receive all strangers, and to place them as to lodgings." His wife was to "overlook the maids in the dairy, kitchen and chambers, with the charge of linen and plate, and to have the maids accountable for inferior matters to her." For this service, being merely "oversight," as William Penn remarks, he offered to allow them "a couple of chambers and a horse, and besides meat, drink, washing and lodging, forty pounds the first year, and fifty ever after; which I conceive," he says, "will be a

clear subsistence. I have truth and virtue in my eye for my family. Pray let me know your answer as soon as you well can."

Having accepted the proposal, the commission was issued on the 15th of 6th month. In this year also, Phineas was appointed by C. Taylor, register of wills for Bucks county. Thus we see, by the fidelity and integrity of these settlers, they were rapidly advancing in the favour and confidence of those who were in power.

Robert Bond, the youth who had been placed by his father under the tuition of James Harrison, being of a weakly constitution, died on the 30th of 7th month, this year. Phineas records of him, that "he was a sober, solid youth; his deportment grave; having the fear of God before his eyes. I loved him with a true love."

On 12th month 20th, 1684-5, Israel Pemberton was born, being the fourth child of Phineas and Phebe. Early this year, 1685, Roger Longworth, still zealous in the service of the gospel, embarked at New York, in order to proceed to Barbadoes, thence to England, Holland, and Ireland. From these travels he did not return until the 3d month, 1687.

In the latter end of 1685, Phineas went to Philadelphia to attend the Assembly; and on the 5th of 3d month, in the year following, he received a commission from Thomas Lloyd, to be deputy master of the Rolls for Bucks county. Having been engaged in erecting a more comfortable habitation for his family, he finished the same early in the year 1687. On the 16th of 3d month, he records, "there was a great land flood;" and on the 29th, a "rup-



ture." It is probable that the river overflowed its banks to a great extent; and that on its subsiding it left a vast quantity of vegetable matter, which, being decomposed by a hot sun, the miasmata thence exhaled, together with an unusual quantity of rain, became the cause of much sickness in the neighbourhood near the river and Falls, and a number of the settlers were removed by death.

The first of these in Bucks county, was Ralph Pemberton, who died on 5th month 17th, at the age of seventy-seven. He suddenly sunk under the disease, having a high fever, but remained sensible and cheerful to the last. He was buried in a burial ground which Phineas had laid out on his own land, not far from his dwelling house, and near the river Delaware. It was ten rods square, and was designed for the interment of the members of his family, and also for those of his own religious Society, in the neighbourhood.

Phineas himself was also taken sick about this time, nor did his wife and children escape, but they all slowly recovered. Agnes Harrison, her grandmother, who was an aged woman when she came with them from England, was the next of the family who was removed by this disease; she departed in peace, on the 6th of the 6th month, at the age of eighty-six years. On the next day, that good and eminent man, Roger Longworth, also "laid down the body." He had been at home about ten weeks since his return from the religious visit before mentioned.—The fever was violent, yet he bore his last illness with much meekness and patience, and was preserved remarkably still and quiet during his sickness, which continued fourteen days. He "passed away

like a lamb," leaving behind him a sweet remembrance of his virtues, his gentleness,—his fidelity to his great Master's cause, and his zeal to promote righteousness in the earth;—and was gathered into that rest which is prepared for the people of God. He is mentioned by Joseph Besse, "as one of the public Friends, who, when the storm of persecution raged with great madness in England, boldly preached the truth, at the hazard of all that was dear in this world." He died at the age of fifty-seven, and a testimony to his memory and religious services was written by William Yardley and Phineas Pemberton, which is found in the Collection of Memorials concerning deceased Friends, published by the Society in 1787.

Several other neighbours were also removed by death; and James Harrison being also seized with the prevailing disorder, sunk under it, and departed this life on the 6th of the 8th month. He also was an example of patience under suffering, even to the last, and died in a state of calmness and christian composure. He was a firm and strenuous advocate for civil and religious liberty, having suffered much in his native land for the cause of Truth, and his character stood high for integrity and religious usefulness. The commissions he received from the governor, his friend William Penn, show the confidence placed in his talents and uprightness of conduct; and many letters from the latter, giving minute directions concerning the management of the estate at Penssury, are yet preserved among the papers of the family. A memorial concerning him is also found in the printed Collection, written by William Yardley and Phineas Pemberton.

The sickness by which these and many others were removed, both in Bucks county and in New Jersey, raged a considerable time, and was very mortal to aged persons and children, and those of delicate constitutions. Scarcely a family escaped; and sometimes none were left well enough to attend the rest. Even in those who recovered, a great prostration of strength remained for a long time. The afflictions of these new settlers, in being thus deprived of so many of their friends and connexions, can be but faintly imagined by those who have never experienced such mournful dispensations of Providence.

In the year 1690, Anne Harrison, the mother of Phebe Pemberton, departed this life. She left the world with perfect composure and resignation. Taking a friend by the hand, while on her dying bed, she told him she had always been sensible of his love, and bade him farewell, concluding with these expressions:—"I am satisfied of a resting place." She also said to her daughter, who sat weeping by her, "Be glad; be glad thereby;" and told her to be rather glad than otherwise on her account: for, although it was a trial to nature to part with a parent, yet to that parent the change would be glorious.

On the 3d of the 7th month, 1695, Lydia Wharmby, who came from England with the family, and probably lived with them as housekeeper, died, and was buried in the family cemetery before mentioned, "at the Point." In the next year, Phineas lost his amiable wife, the tender companion of his pilgrimage over the great deep, and the faithful sharer of his joys and sorrows. This great loss was not without

its attendant consolations, in the remembrance of her piety and her virtues. "She departed," as Phineas writes to a friend, "in the like innocent state she hath all along lived. After she had declared her peace with the Lord, and her satisfaction to leave the world, and a testimony of her love to me, she caused her children to be called, (capable to hear her,) and exhorted them to the fear of the Lord, and duty to me,—and in some particulars, how to regulate their conversation; and, with a kiss, took leave of the lesser sort; and lastly, a few minutes before her departure, she desired me to remember her love to several of her friends; being sensible to the last."

The following beautiful extract will evince the strength of that affection which subsisted between Phineas and his wife: "I am thine, in the tie of that endeared love which the power of death cannot break; though the frailty of flesh is such, that that power may prevail to separate us; and then, as the winter, to chill the warm rays thereof: but the root lies hid by the hand of Divine Providence, in a most secure place, until the warm rays again prevail; and then it is that it shoots forth its tender buds, and is clothed with its wonted beauty and loveliness. And so will seasons continue, until we shall be transported to that region, where there shall be no more such winters or wrestlings;—which is that desired haven of rest, we here wrestle and labour for."

3d mo. 18th, 1695.

Ps. P<sup>N</sup>.

Phebe deceased on the 30th of 8th month, 1696, at the age of thirty-six; just fourteen years after her arrival in Patuxen river. Thus left destitute, Phineas applied himself to the care and education of his

children; one of these, a daughter, he buried two years after her mother's death.

In 1699, he became acquainted with Alice Hodgson, a young woman who resided at Burlington, and whose parents lived on Rhode Island. Finding her possessed of qualifications suitable for the charge of his young family, he paid his addresses, and was married to her in the same year. Soon after this, he removed from the plantation on the banks of the river Delaware, where he had at first settled, and lived about five miles from it, more in the interior of the country. The frame house which he had erected in 1687, he also moved, and fixed it on his new farm, which he called "Pemberton." On the lintel of the door were the letters "P. P. P. 7d 2m. 1687;" and in this house, it is said, his friend William Penn, frequently lodged. Here, Phineas continued to direct his attention to those public affairs with which he was charged, frequently visiting Philadelphia and other places, in the fulfilment of his duties. Such was the estimation in which he was held, that, in addition to the commissions before mentioned, in 1689 he was appointed by Wm. Markham and John Goodson, receiver of proprietary quit rents in Bucks county;—in 1691, by Thomas Lloyd, register general of the same county;—and in 1701, by William Penn, one of the council of state. He was also several years a member of the provincial council; and in 1696, was master of the rolls, as successor to Thomas Lloyd.

Whether his rigid attention to these services undermined his health, is now unknown; but it appears to have seriously declined towards the latter part of the year 1701. The end of such a man is

an occasion, to which we might be inclined to look with feelings of considerable interest; for he was one who, in all his trials, and in his services in public life, feared his Maker, and acted towards all men with a pure and upright conscience. If there were any then living who felt so much interest as to record the circumstances of his last hours on earth, the efforts of their kindness are lost. His death occurred on the 1st day of the 1st month, 1702, at the age of fifty-two years. The only mention I find of it is in the following extract of a letter from his old friend, Samuel Carpenter, to governor Penn. After describing the prevalence of sickness in town and country, he says, "Phineas Pemberton died the 1st of 1st month last, and will be greatly missed; having left few or none in those parts, or the adjacent, like him for wisdom and integrity, and a general service: and he was a true friend to thee and the government. It's matter of sorrow, when I call to mind and consider that the best of our men are taken away,—and how many are gone, and how few to supply their places."

It is likely Phineas died on his new farm; but he was buried in the family graveyard at Grove Place.

In the autumn of 1814, after the lapse of one hundred and twelve years from the death of this valuable man, I visited the burial ground, "to pay filial attention to its decent preservation." The sensations which thrilled my soul, may well be imagined, as I approached the spot where my primogenitors had, in former days, fixed their habitation. It seemed as if the flame of inspiration were kindled, and its ardour for a time wrapt me from the world. I bent my steps towards the graves, where, many years ago,

small slate-stones had been fixed at their heads, with initials indicating the remains of their inhabitants. But time had crumbled several of these. What a powerful example of the instability of earthly memorials was here exhibited! and what a humiliating lesson did these little mounds pronounce! I stood on the grave of my venerated great, great grandfather, and reflected that he who had so often wandered over the fields near me,—who had been guided across the troubled ocean by a Divine hand, in search of a peaceful asylum,—was gone forever from these scenes; and his remains were reposing beneath me. Every thing of him that was human, was confined to this narrow spot. His beloved wife lay at his side; and the remains of many of his dear connexions, were deposited around his. The affection of his descendants had enclosed these by a wall, and here they had ever since rested undisturbed. It seemed as if I were holding a communion with the dead; and the objects around me, impressing me with awe, reminded me that the beings with whom I was in company, did once exist on this earth, and partook of the joys and sorrows of mortality. They had fulfilled the duties of their stations (as the written evidences of their piety, in my possession, bear ample witness) and were doubtless gathered by their Lord into that eternal rest which he has prepared for his people. If they had not, little would it avail them *now*, that for more than a century their bones have rested in peace, and the breath of neglect and desolation has not swept over their graves;—that, during their lives, the charms of friendship and the varied delights of social life, were their's;—and,

that this favoured spot of the globe afforded them a retreat from heavy persecutions.

Yes! here, under the wise policy and mild government of the founder of Pennsylvania, they found a settlement where they could meet together and worship the Lord of nature, the God of their salvation, according to the dictates of their consciences, unmolested by fines, imprisonments, and vexatious impositions: and, here, closing their days, with gratitude to him who had graciously conducted them through life, they slept in the bosom of their Redeemer.

While I stood and contemplated these mounds which designated the places of their remains, I remembered that the pious doctor Fothergill and his sister had made a similar visit, after many years absence, to drop "the grateful tribute of a tear, at the side of an honoured parent's grave. To see that his sepulchre was not laid waste," says he, "to the beasts of the field; but secured from the ravages of neglect, was, to us, a pleasing duty. Firmly persuaded that we had not the least cause to mourn on his account, and nothing left more becoming us, than to call to mind his precepts and his example,—we left the solitary spot with hearts full of reverent thankfulness, that such was our father, and that we were so far favoured as to be able to remember him with gratitude and affection."

What matters it that the names of such worthies are now remembered no more, or called but transiently before the view of tenderness, in the hour of converse, or the moments of solemn communion! The world, busy with its present concerns, forgets, or cares not that these have ever lived; yet the state of society at this day may owe much of the com-



forts, and improvements, and knowledge, now enjoyed, to the labours and energies of those who are thus unheeded and forgotten. But their names are written in the book of life, and “gloriously enrolled in the records of eternity; and when the memory of the proud and self-exalted shall have passed away, these shall be had in everlasting remembrance.”

The cemetery thus visited, was entirely overrun with weeds, although there is an annuity laid on part of Phineas Pemberton's *new farm*, for the purpose of keeping it in order. With great difficulty I could discern, among the briars and bushes, the remains of twelve graves. The slate-stones at their heads had considerably crumbled, particularly near their tops where the initials had been inscribed; and I was mortified at being enabled to find only *five* of them *certainly* designated. Time, who defaces all visible objects, had here effectually done his oblivious work. Those indicated by the initials, were, James Harrison, Agnes Harrison, Lydia Wharmby, Phineas Pemberton, and Phebe, his wife. These graves were in a small enclosure, in one corner of the larger burial ground.

On coming to the close of the life of Phineas Pemberton, I pause a moment, to contemplate the great simplicity and integrity of his character. In following him through his various early trials, and sufferings for the testimony of Truth,—his imprisonments and vexatious treatment from an ignorant and deluded populace,—his migration to this country,—the various offices of great trust and importance which he held;—we see him acting in one uniform manner, dictated by a pure conscience, and conducted by that exalted sense of correct feeling, which

guided him in all his ways. A great number of letters addressed to him, are left among his papers, which evince the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries; and the events of his life show the peculiar favour of Providence towards him,—making him in many instances, as it were, a conspicuous example of the blessings attendant on a course of righteousness and humble devotion. His faithfulness in his native land, to those testimonies of Truth which he believed himself called to bear, left a sweet savour behind him in the hearts of his friends, and tended to their support and encouragement in a like dedication. “The Truth was honoured by his uprightness, and well spoken of by his meek walking.” His literary attainments, too, considering the days of darkness and ignorance in which he lived, exhibit a mind far superior to the common rank. There are several Essays which he left, in prose and verse, though chiefly tinged with the polemic spirit, into which the infant Society of Friends was driven by the attacks of the malicious and interested; yet evidencing, however, the true independence and candor of a mind conscious of being on the right side of the question.

He had lost his mother before he was six years of age, and therefore owed little of the correct principles and mental discipline he observed, to maternal instruction and kindness. By his own industry and effort he attained to the station and character, both of mind and place at which he arrived. The estate he left at his death, was respectable; among which were “Grove Place,” which afterwards was sold to Willoughby Warder, for £550—the farm of three hundred and fifty-four acres, on which he last

resided, and which was left to his son Israel, who named the two divisions of it, "Bolton" and "Wigan," in remembrance of the country of his father;—about forty acres of land in Bristol, and eight hundred acres in Wrightstown,—a lot in High street, Philadelphia, and his furniture, implements of husbandry, bonds, &c. appraised at £ 953.

Nine children were the issue of his marriage with the amiable Phebe Harrison; none by Alice Hodgson. His widow married about two years after his death, to Thomas Bradford, a widower.

One of the productions of Phineas Pemberton may be inserted in this place, as it gives a very interesting history of the establishment of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, and touches on those sufferings of early Friends, which induced them to fix on this part of the globe, as an asylum from heavy persecutions. It is in the form of an Epistle, and was intended as a preface to the Book of Minutes.

### “AN EPISTLE.

Being a short testimony of the Lord's goodness to us, in the settling of ourselves in these parts of the world, and an account of the first setting up of our Yearly Meeting.

Dear Friends,—It hath pleased God, in his infinite goodness and good providence, to give us, his people, who were and are in scorn called Quakers, a lot and inheritance in this new, remote, and, formerly to us, unknown part of the world, now called America: into which desert and wilderness he hath called, drawn, and allured many of us, and here hath given us of the comforts of his house, and

abundantly blessed us by pouring down his mercies upon us, both inwardly and outwardly. What the Lord hath done for us, since he first called us from our native land, we cannot well demonstrate : but when we call to remembrance his kind and gentle dealings,—the care that he had over us, in making way for our coming,—his safe conducting of us by sea and land,—his providing for us and preserving us when here;—I know I have many witnesses that when they look back at these things and about us, what he hath done, and is daily doing for us,—our hearts are greatly engaged to love, serve, fear, and obey him, and to praise and reverence his great and worthy name. And greater mercies he hath yet in store for all those that in faithfulness persevere unto the end: wherefore let us be encouraged to hold on our way.

And you that may succeed in his service, be not slack-handed, negligent, careless, or backward, in the performance of your duty to the Lord; but be zealously concerned for the glory of his name, and the propagation of his Truth upon earth, that his blessings may be multiplied upon you, as upon your fathers and predecessors. And be not high-minded or puffed up with those mercies the Lord has been pleased to bestow upon them, and so to you: but remember we were a despised people in our native land, accounted of by the world scarce worthy to have a name or place therein;—daily liable to their spoil, under great sufferings, by long and tedious imprisonments, sometimes to the loss of life,—banishment, spoil of goods, beatings, mockings, and ill-treatings: so that we had not been a people at this day, had not the Lord stood by us and preserved

us. But none of these things were done unto us because of our evil deeds, but because of the exercise of our tender consciences towards our God; and he encouraged and blessed us, so that we underwent all these things cheerfully, having faith towards him, and our dependency upon him. And we experimentally know that he never yet failed us, nor will fail his faithful ones; but is a God near at hand, full of mercy and compassion, and loving kindness.

Therefore, for your encouragement in this work, was I drawn forth to meet you with this short Epistle in the beginning of this book, that you may lay hold on Truth, and steadfastly walk in the way thereof, confirming of your forefathers' testimony, to the glory of the Lord, who called them thereto; that thereby you may obtain the like blessings they have done. But if you trample under foot their testimonies and sufferings, and grow careless, slothful, and negligent in his work and service, it will prove heavy, and too heavy to be borne in the day of account.

About the year 1676, the province of West Jersey was purchased by our friends; and in the year 1677, divers proprietors and adventurers came over hither to these parts, and here settled themselves and families. And as more Friends came in, monthly meetings were set up for the better ordering of the affairs of the church, according to those good orders used amongst us in our native land;—that the transgressions of the transgressors might be brought to condemnation, and the shame of their guilt set upon them, and our holy profession kept clear of scandal and reproach, which might be brought thereon by the evil conversation of those that made profession

thereof, and walked not accordingly therein. And as the people increased and came into the province, it was agreed that there should be a General, or Yearly Meeting, held yearly by Friends of the provinces of East and West Jersey, and places adjacent.

But afterward it pleased the Lord to allot the province of Pennsylvania to William Penn, in the year 1681, who was one of our Friends: whereby our portions of land and inheritances in these parts, were greatly enlarged, many becoming purchasers under him; so that by the latter end of the year 1682, considerable settlements were made in the said province, and divers meetings established; so that in a short time monthly, quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, were appointed in the said province. Which Yearly Meetings, in both the said provinces, were held distinct, until the year 1685; and then, Friends well knowing that the interest of Truth, and the prosperity thereof, was laboured for by its friends and followers in both provinces; and that, by joining the said two Meetings together, they might thereby be the more united in the carrying on of the affairs of the church,—it was therefore agreed, that the said Yearly Meetings should become one Meeting;—to be held, one year at Burlington, in West Jersey; and the other, at Philadelphia;—and so annually to hold that course.

The proceedings and agreements of which said Yearly Meetings, from their first being set up in Burlington, hereafter follow in this Book, in their order,—so many of them as are now to be had; being kept until now in loose papers.

This from a friend to Truth, and a lover of all those that sincerely love it.

P. P.?"

Four children of the nine, survived Phineas; two sons and two daughters. Joseph died soon after his father, at the end of the same year. Abigail, his eldest daughter, was married 2d month 14th, 1704, to Stephen Jenkins, and became head of the family of that name which settled in Abington township, then Philadelphia county. She became serious and thoughtful, and sometimes spoke in religious meetings. The following record of her is from the minutes of Abington monthly meeting: "On the 22d of the 9th month, 1750, died Abigail Jenkins, late wife of Stephen Jenkins, of Abington. She had a few words in the ministry, which were well received, and was otherwise serviceable in our Society. She was buried at Abington, aged seventy years and near ten months." Her descendants were founders of the village called Jenkintown.

Priscilla, his youngest daughter, married Isaac Waterman, in 1708, and their family and descendants settled near Holmesburg, in Philadelphia county. She died 4th month 29th, 1771, aged seventy-nine, having survived her husband about twenty-two years.

ISRAEL, the remaining son, served his apprenticeship with Samuel Carpenter, in Philadelphia, and became eminent for his talents, zeal, and industry in business. He was a man of a mild and serene spirit, and cheerful in his disposition. In the year 1708, he visited Jamaica, for the purpose of traffic. There, he became acquainted with John Fothergill and William Armistead, who were travelling on the island in the service of Truth. From his cultivating a friendship with these, and other ministers of the gospel who were led to visit America, his mind appears

to have been strengthened, and established in those early and serious impressions which were the foundation of his future eminence. He soon established himself in very extensive mercantile concerns, and was married in 1710, to Rachel Read, daughter of Charles Read,—a woman of great piety, and an excellent character.

The liberal management, and prudent conduct of Israel Pemberton, gained him the confidence and respect of his fellow citizens, who placed him in divers high and honourable offices; among which may be noticed his being nineteen successive years a member of the general Assembly of Pennsylvania. Nor were his services confined to secular affairs; he also became conspicuously useful in the religious concerns of the society of which he was a member. His house was the general resort of Friends who came from Europe in the service of the Gospel, and he entertained them with much hospitality and kindness; having an ample mansion and a still more enlarged heart. It may indeed be said of him, that he was conspicuously eminent, not only for his character and services in the religious Society of Friends, but also for his extensive hospitality, and the uprightness of his conduct and dealings as a merchant.

In the beginning of the year 1754, as he was attending the funeral of the wife of Richard Hockley, in the Baptist burial ground, in Second street, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which, notwithstanding the prompt application of medical aid, soon terminated his valuable life, at the age of sixty-nine. He had acquired a considerable estate, which he bequeathed to his three sons, Israel, James, and John. Of ten children, these were all who survived him.



And although the family might have seemed likely to become extensive in the descendants of these; yet, in 1812, it was reduced to one male representative.

The memory of that great and good man, Israel Pemberton, was long cherished with respect and tenderness in the bosoms of those who were acquainted with him, and who recollected his conspicuous services, and brilliant example. Many testimonies are yet left to bear witness to his religious eminence and usefulness; and the character of the Society of Friends in the golden age of Pennsylvania, is intimately blended with the names of Israel Pemberton, and his worthy father, Phineas.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON, the eldest surviving son of Israel and Rachel Pemberton, departed this life the 22d of the 4th month, 1779, aged nearly sixty-four years.

He was a man of good natural abilities, endowed with a clear understanding, that was measurably sanctified, and rendered very useful to others, both with respect to temporal matters, and those of far higher moment and importance. He had filled several public stations with uprightness, and discharged the various duties attached to them, with fidelity and integrity.

The sympathetic and benevolent feelings of his mind were often exerted for the relief and assistance of the poor and needy, and for promoting the comfort and ease of those who had been reduced to a state of suffering and want. Among his various endeavours to advance the cause of righteousness and peace, his efforts to promote harmony and concord with the Indians, were conspicuous. He was also

concerned to furnish instruction to the children of the poor, in useful learning, and to have them placed in the way of suitable employment.

He was among the number of those who were banished to Virginia, in the year 1777, and remained a prisoner there about eight months; during which, his health became much impaired by several attacks of sickness. This, together with divers other close trials, and the loss of his beloved wife soon after his return, seemed completely to undermine his constitution; and nature, at length, sunk under the conflict. Yet, even when encompassed with langour, and depressed by sickness, his concern to relieve the distressed, and to succour the helpless, was still maintained. He was indeed a man of great sensibility, tenderness, love and sympathy.

As his bodily health declined, he was very sensible that the time of his departure drew near; but his mind was favoured with calmness, and filled with great love to his friends and relatives. Thus he met the approaches of his dissolution with a peaceful composure, and quietly yielded his soul to its divine Author, without a groan or struggle. "At this awful season," says a brother who was present, "great solemnity, composure, and a sweet calm attended; and I doubt not he is landed where the weary is at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling, to join the spirits of the just made perfect." All ranks of people appeared to be affected with his removal; and his funeral was attended, on first-day morning, the 25th, by a very great concourse, among whom were many coloured people, for whom he had been a great advocate and friend.

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## FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 2.]

FIFTH MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VII.

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### MEMOIRS OF JAMES PEMBERTON.

If it be considered useful to commemorate the virtues of those who have gained esteem and secured the love of their fellow creatures by the exercise of the principles of goodness, producing the warm and benevolent feelings of the heart, guided by religious influence,—it becomes a duty incumbent on survivors, to portray such characters with the pencil of fidelity in the glowing colours of truth. By a proper delineation of the lives of such as have shone with lustre on the stage of life, we render an important benefit to mankind; we prove that the principles which have produced such beneficial effects, are not “cunningly devised fables,” but real and substantial, exhibiting in their fruits and effects, examples and characters that stand as landmarks or beacons, to guide the course of survivors with safety along the stream of time, amid the storms and tempests of human life.

Such a landmark, such a character, was the subject of this memorial, the truly respected James Pemberton. He was the fifth son of Israel and Rachel Pemberton, and was born in the city of Philadelphia, on the 26th of the 6th month, (August) 1723. His parents gave him a liberal education, and took early care to instil into his mind a due regard and reverence to those great precepts of Truth

which regulated his future life; and they beheld with satisfaction the gradual evolution of those principles and feelings which tended to mark his character for usefulness.

His affectionate mother, who had good opportunities of watching the early buddings of his propensities, hoped much from that mildness of temper and steadiness of conduct which he early manifested. To her kind attention and prudent care in his early life and education, he frequently, in the course of his future life, bore decisive testimony; and even when drawing near the close of his earthly pilgrimage, he tenderly expressed the obligations he had been under for her fond solicitude, and maternal anxiety.

He pursued his studies with diligence, in the usual branches of education then taught; and on their completion, was early initiated into business in the mercantile line.

Blessed with prudence in the discrimination and choice of his associates, he was favoured with the intimacy and friendship of some of the first characters of that day; towards whom he cherished a warm and virtuous affection, even in his early years.

As his mind gradually expanded, and became enlightened and invigorated, the knowledge and experience which he gained, did not elevate him in his own eyes, or puff him up with inflated ideas of his self-consequence or attainments. But religion, even in his early life, threw a lustre on his sentiments and his actions. He was humble; and ascribed all he had, and all he enjoyed, to the great Source whence it was derived; and he was desirous that his

conduct should ever be consistent with his profession.

In the year 1745, he went in company with his cousin, William Logan, to Charleston, South Carolina, and Frederica, in Georgia, to reclaim the brigantine, *Trial*, captured by the Spaniards, but retaken by the English, and sent into the latter place. This business was confided to their care by his father; and although attended with considerable difficulty and fatigue, it was managed with judgment and fidelity. They returned by water, and having very tempestuous weather for many days, were extremely tossed. The following memorandum, found among his papers, evinces the gratitude of his feelings on the occasion.

“This unpleasant circumstance naturally leads me to reflect, with how much satisfaction and pleasure I have heretofore enjoyed myself at home; but being then unacquainted with this uncomfortable mode of living, I hope in future, if ever I get to my former habitation, that the blessings there enjoyed, will create gratitude and a circumspect life. This I note now, more particularly, that it may make the more lasting impression on me; and on a future review, be revived with the greater pleasure.”

In the year 1748, he took a voyage to England, in company with a respectable friend, Sophia Hume. Although he was much engaged in business while there, yet he employed his intervals in travelling through various counties, renewing his intimacy with several of those friends whom he had seen at his father's hospitable house in Philadelphia, and in forming new friendships and acquaintances. He returned home the year following.

On the 15th of the 8th month, 1751, he was married to Hannah, daughter of Mordecai and Hannah Lloyd, a descendant of the ancient family of the house of Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire, North Wales. With this amiable young woman, he enjoyed that true conjugal happiness which results from mutual affection, founded on those pure principles that adorn the human character. Though young, her mind was open to religious impressions, and desirous of securing that greatest attainment, her eternal welfare; so that when Divine Providence should be pleased in his wisdom to summon her hence, she might be prepared to enter into the world of spirits.

By her he had six children; Phineas, who died unmarried; Rachel, afterwards wife of doctor Thomas Parke; Hannah, who married Robert Morton; Sarah, James, and Mary; the two last died in their infancy. These children he viewed as precious gifts and blessings from the hand of his benevolent Creator, and was solicitous that he might be favoured with wisdom and ability to educate them in the fear of the Lord.

On the 19th of the 1st month, 1754, he met with a very severe and afflicting stroke, in the sudden decease of his beloved father. But though this affliction was grievous and solemn, he bore it with that feeling of resignation which characterizes the Christian. From having such a bright example before his eyes, there is no doubt James Pemberton derived considerable advantage. Dwelling from his early days beneath the paternal roof, the admonitions of parental care, and the exercise of that unwearied kindness and benevolence made such a durable im-

pression on him, that the lapse of more than fifty years did not erase it from his heart.

His character was so well known and esteemed, that he was elected one of the "overseers of the public schools, founded by charter in the town and county of Philadelphia," in the place of his deceased father. In this station he continued until his death, and dedicated a very considerable portion of his attention to the promotion of the various objects for which that institution was established.

James Pemberton was careful to preserve a just sense in his own mind, of the obligations of rectitude in his dealings, and uniformly made it his practice in the transaction of business, to perform his promises and fulfil his contracts with punctuality and faithfulness. As an illustration of this principle, the following mercantile anecdote will exhibit this trait in his character, in a very striking light. The circumstances occurred during the war between England and France, commonly called the French war, in the year 1758.

The brigantine, Hannah, captain Nathaniel Donnell, owned by James Pemberton and Peter Reeve, having on board a valuable cargo, chiefly molasses, coffee, and sugar, amounting in value, to four thousand three hundred and thirty-one pounds, shipped by Daniel Beveridge, sailed from Kingston, in Jamaica, the 31st of 5th mo. 1758, bound to Philadelphia. Being upon the high seas, and carrying no guns, she was captured on the 25th of 6th month, by a French privateer, called Le Fier, (or the Proud) from New Orleans, commanded by Jean Hinard. Captain Donnell, however, well knowing the importance of the cargo, particularly at that precarious time, treated

with Hinard for the ransom of the brig; and on the 5th of 7th month, he agreed with him that on his arrival at Philadelphia, or any other port in the American provinces, the owners should pay, for that purpose, eight thousand dollars; for the faithful payment of which he gave a ransom bond to that amount, signed by himself, John Wood, mate, and Joseph Graham, mariner. And for further security, the said John Wood and Joseph Graham were received on board the privateer, by their own consent, as hostages; Hinard leaving on board the brig an officer who was authorized to receive the ransom money from the owners.

The Hannah arrived safely at Boston; and the knowledge of the abovementioned circumstance was speedily transmitted from that town through New York to Philadelphia. The merchants in Boston and New York informed the French officer, that as the brig had safely arrived in an enemy's port, he could not expect to obtain any part of the ransom money, inasmuch as the bond was given without the knowledge or consent of the owners or consignees, and therefore not legal; and that they would not give him much for the debt. He told them in broken English, "Me no fraid; me got Quaker to deal with." On his arrival in Philadelphia, he was informed of the same illegality in the proceedings, by the merchants at the coffee-house; and he gave the same answer. The merchants also endeavoured to persuade James Pemberton not to pay the bond; to which he made no satisfactory reply,—having no doubt in his mind, that the commander of the French frigate had heard of, and in some measure was acquainted with, Friends and their principles; and he



waited until the officer called on him with the bond. The ransom money he agreed to pay, as soon as advice should be received that the hostages were safely arrived in a French port, and not before; because, if the French privateer should be taken, *with the hostages on board*, by an English man-of-war, or privateer, the captor would be entitled to salvage on the ransom money, and he would be obliged to pay both.

The privateer, *Le Fier*, after the said capture and ransom, being chased several times out of its intended course by English vessels, bore away for Cape François, which it reached on the 9th of the 8th month. On the 16th, the hostages made their escape by means of the privateer's barge, and arrived at Monte Christo, where they met with the English privateer, *Spry*, who brought them to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 9th of 9th month. In their deposition they stated, that their primary inducement for running away was, their expectation that the owners of the *Hannah* would have been discharged from the payment of the ransom money. This, however, was declared by the attorney general to be of no avail; and the officer, Joseph Milhet, received, on the 23d of 9th month, from James Pemberton, at Philadelphia, the full ransom money, eight thousand dollars, and gave a writing of acknowledgment and discharge for the same.

For this punctual payment did James Pemberton receive the erroneous but transient censure of the trading part of the community. The French officer conducted himself with great propriety, appearing to be a well-bred and polite man; and informed him of the opinions that had been expressed by some of the merchants respecting the transaction.

But the satisfaction which James Pemberton experienced in the result, outbalanced the sneers and blame of unprincipled men. He was also well satisfied with captain Donnell's conduct; and the freighters or shippers were all so well convinced of the regularity of the proceedings, that they paid their several averages, which were adjusted at  $57\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. For, had Donnell ransomed the Hannah at double the sum he did, the brig would still have made an excellent voyage.

James Pemberton, on relating these occurrences to a friend, expressed a wish that all under the name of Friends would, in their dealings among men, take the precious Truth for their guide, and walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing; in order that the mouths of gainsayers might be stopped, and the noble principle we profess be exalted.

On the 5th of the 10th month, 1759, James Pemberton and David Bacon were appointed to the station of elders in the religious meeting to which they belonged: and they were encouraged to fulfil the important duties devolving upon them, by the ministry of Daniel Stanton. James Pemberton continued in this station; labouring faithfully to discharge the various services thereof, until his decease; excepting at one interval, when Owen Jones and himself withdrew, for certain reasons, and after these had ceased to operate, he again by the request of the meeting of ministers and elders, took his seat among them.

In the year 1764, Divine Providence dispensed a severe trial in the removal of his beloved wife, Hannah Pemberton. She had long continued in a weak and languishing state of health, but was mercifully

favoured with placidity of mind, and a pious submission of spirit; being blessed with a clear understanding to the last moment. She expressed herself to be easy, and resigned to leave this changeable state of existence, and expired in the arms of her tenderly affectionate husband. With her he had enjoyed, during twelve years, those pleasures and delights which the purest connubial affection affords; and she exchanged the concerns of time, for the glorious enjoyment of eternity, before she had reached the conclusion of her thirtieth year.

His feelings on this solemn occasion, are expressed in the following extract of a letter to his friend John Hunt, in England, shortly after her decease. "I have passed," says he, "through one of the most close and deep probations of affliction, I can ever remember to have befallen me; being, through the course of Divine Providence, deprived of a dear, tender, and affectionate companion. As she lived, however, much in the innocence, I have a secret hope she has attained a mansion in eternal favour. The piercing feelings of nature on the dissolving of so tender a connexion, I cannot describe; and the loss to me and my children is greater than I can express. For though the delicateness of her constitution, and her want of health for some years past, prevented her from being so much known, or appearing so conspicuous in life as some; yet her qualifications and attention to the pious and virtuous education of our little flock, were very engaging, and afforded me ease and comfort when necessarily absent: and I believe she filled the station allotted to her with a conscientious regard to the best things, and had her views directed to the enduring substance. My se-

cret aspirations have been, under this trial, that the affliction may be sanctified to me, and that I may submit, without murmuring, to the Divine will."

In the subsequent year, his tender, affectionate, and honoured mother departed this life the 24th of the 2d month, after about four months illness. She was a woman adorned with those Christian virtues and graces which had tended to make her life useful in an eminent degree, and in various respects. Her house and heart were always opened by true hospitality for the reception of those Friends, who had been induced in the love of the gospel to come from distant places of the earth, on religious visits to their brethren. "As a shock of corn cometh in, in its season," fully ripe, she was gathered into the sacred garner of salvation, and entered into the eternal joys of her Lord.

James Pemberton was very early a generous contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital; and being deeply interested for the welfare of that valuable institution, he was elected a manager of it in 1758, and continued for many years to use his best endeavours to uphold and extend its great benefits. The second part of the only circumstantial account of its progress that was ever published, *was compiled by him*, from the minutes of the managers.

In the midst of these duties, and of the various mercantile concerns which pressed upon his attention, and were very considerable at different periods of his life, he did not neglect his religious obligations; but rendered himself a valuable and useful member of the religious Society of Friends. His great mind was conspicuously manifested, not only in the exercise of the Discipline, but in the capacity

of clerk of the monthly, sometimes of the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and of the Meeting for Sufferings; for which respectable stations he was also well qualified, as well by his composition, as by his religious knowledge and experience. He wrote in a style peculiar to himself, perspicuous and dignified, and more similar than was common, to that used by primitive Friends.

During the Indian war, and those troublous times when so many ravages were said to be committed on our frontiers by them, he was very solicitous to restore peace and harmony, by every suitable and proper method. About this time, a very useful and benevolent institution was established, called "The friendly association for regaining, and preserving peace with the Indians, by pacific measures." Of this, James Pemberton was a member, and contributed liberally to its objects and designs.

A great and important object with him during his life, was the distribution of religious and instructive books among that class of the community who did not possess the advantages of a liberal education and extensive privileges. To perform this duty with propriety and efficacy, he devoted much of his time and attention; and, doubtless, his laudable efforts have oft-times been crowned with success, and the good which his liberal hand hath thus scattered among the people, will be as "bread cast upon the waters."

With a heart replenished with gratitude, he daily looked up to his Supreme Benefactor and Preserver, who had vouchsafed to favour him with many blessings,—placing him head of a very harmonious and amiable family,—endowing him with a truly phi-

lanthropic spirit,—and in the exercise of it, enabling him to be actively and extensively useful to his fellow creatures. And, amidst these blessings, humility appears to have been a predominant characteristic through the varied scenes of his earthly pilgrimage. Hence, in a letter to his friend Joseph White, in the year 1761, he expressed his desire to remain in this precious state of mind,—that it might be his daily companion; and that his abiding might be in prostration of heart, and under a deep sense of his own weakness, until strength should be administered from the right fountain.

On the 22d of the 3d month, 1768, he again entered in the marriage connexion, with Sarah, only daughter of Daniel and Mary Smith, of Burlington, New Jersey. This union was, however, but short. She gave birth to a daughter, (who was afterwards the wife of Anthony Morris) and in a very few days subsequently, falling a victim to a nervous fever, entered into the joys of eternity, on the 28th of 11th month, 1770.

In the year 1775, he was married the third time, to Phebe, widow of Samuel Morton, and daughter of Robert Lewis, of Philadelphia.

We now come to a very important and memorable era of his life, and to a series of events which tended to evince the firmness and resignation of his mind, while suffering under very unjust and injurious treatment. It was during the commotions and troubles that prevailed in the struggle with Great Britain, called the American revolution. On the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th days of the 9th month, 1777, he, with several other Friends, who were conspicuous members of that religious Society, were arrest-

ed under a warrant, dated August 28th, by the authority of the executive council of Pennsylvania, in pursuance of a recommendation of the American congress. They were taken to the mason's lodge, in Lodge alley, and confined there under a military guard. In this situation, they remonstrated with the ruling powers, against this uncommon exercise of arbitrary influence, but without avail; and were informed that they were soon to be banished to Staunton, in Augusta county, Virginia. On the receipt of this intelligence, a second remonstrance was made, with the same result.

On the 7th of the month, being prohibited from going to their usual place of worship, they held a solemn and satisfactory religious meeting together, in the place of their confinement at the lodge.

Without being permitted to have a hearing in defence of their innocency, or to know the cause of their arrest, which they had repeatedly demanded, they were carried away on the 11th to Reading, where they remained some days; and there learned that the board of war had determined on Winchester, in Virginia, to be the place of their exile. With James Pemberton, were both his brothers, Israel and John, and seventeen others, who were conducted to Winchester under a military escort.

Thus torn from their families and friends, and sent into exile to a distance of two hundred miles from their own habitations, they were obliged to remain at Winchester, with very poor accommodations, and at their own expense, during the whole of the succeeding winter. But in these distressing times, when the desolations of war and the horrors of bloodshed were prevalent in various parts of the

land, they endeavoured to look for consolation and support to that Divine Source where only they were to be found.

As they were not, for a time, permitted to attend a religious meeting of Friends, held about a mile from the town,—their prison,—they sought for opportunities of religious improvement and instruction among themselves, by regularly meeting together for the purpose of worshipping the Almighty Father; and in many of these seasons of retirement from the world, they were blessed with that Divine help which is able to sustain the mind when pressed by a load of calamities and trials.

James Pemberton kept a daily account of their journey from Reading to Winchester, describing their route, geography of the country, weather, and other incidents. On fourth-day, the 24th of 9th month, being then at Carlisle, in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, the company of Friends sat down together, at five o'clock in the afternoon, to wait upon the Lord. He says, "it was a satisfactory meeting; being favoured with humbling considerations on our state, and the calamities prevailing in the land,—a thankful sense of the protecting power which had attended us in this perilous journey, amidst the fiery spirits which too generally possess the minds of the people,—with breathing desires for the preservation of my dear and tender connexions, and a humble hope that they would be supported under this trying dispensation."

On second-day, the 29th, they arrived at Winchester. In the evening of sixth-day, 10th month 3d, James Pemberton says, "We had a short, satisfactory sitting together, and some instructive and en-



couraging remarks from John Hunt and John Pemberton." On the ensuing first-day, he remarks, "not having permission to attend Friends' meeting, though within a mile of the town, we held our meeting, morning and afternoon, in the house of our confinement; both of which were favoured with heavenly help, to the consolation of many minds.—Lieutenant Smith occasionally coming to the house just as we were preparing to sit together, in the afternoon, we told him of our intention, and he readily agreed to sit with us: and some young people of the neighbourhood being without, he allowed them to be invited into the meeting. Our friend John Hunt was eminently favoured, and opened in the doctrines of the gospel, on this subject: "Say to the righteous, it shall go well with them: but say to the wicked, it shall go ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him." On which he instructively enlarged; and John Pemberton was also favoured in humble supplication. Thus, it pleases the watchful Shepherd to extend his merciful regard to us poor exiles. The lieutenant behaved solidly, stayed a little while after the meeting, and told some of our company he had never before been at a Quaker meeting. The windows being open, divers people gathered near, at the time of our meeting, and behaved with sobriety and attention."

"10th mo. 12th. Had two edifying meetings; that in the morning mostly silent. Several men from the country who had been sent for and intended as guards over us, came in and sat with us. At that in the afternoon, some Friends of the neighbourhood, with our landlord, his wife, a married daughter, and one of his sons, attended; and John

Hunt was favoured in testimony. R. Haines, just returned from our Yearly Meeting, called to give us the very acceptable account of the welfare of our families; which relieved our anxiety concerning them and Friends, and was an additional occasion of humble gratitude to that Divine Power, whose condescending kindness to us and them, has been eminently manifested since our separation. May a thankful sense thereof be deeply impressed on our minds.”

“Next day, Elizabeth Jolliff, a Friend who had just returned from the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, came, and informed us of the favour of Divine Providence towards our afflicted families and friends, who were preserved in composure amidst the troubles and the commotions prevalent; the king’s army having taken possession of the city without opposition, the day before the Yearly Meeting began. She also told us, that Friends were signally preserved from terror, and the meeting held the week through, without disturbance;—also, that the business thereof was transacted to satisfaction, although no Friends from the Jerseys could get there, the passage over the river being prohibited by order of the government of that province. She further stated, that Washington had had an engagement with the king’s army, in and about Germantown, in which many were slain on both sides. Her company and intelligence respecting our endeared connexions were very satisfactory, exciting thankfulness to our all-merciful Father, whose protecting providence has been thus extended to them, and to ourselves in the course of our exile. May impressions of gratitude remain deep on all our minds.”

“18th. Mahlon Janney and his wife, and Joseph

Janney and wife, from Fairfax, having lately returned from the Yearly Meeting, came purposely to visit us. They gave us further accounts of the welfare of our families. Their visit was very acceptable. Next day, being first-day, we held our meeting in the house of our confinement; having the company of our friends from Fairfax, and several other Friends within ten or fifteen miles of the town, also some of the town's people, not professing with us. It was a time of distinguished favour; the doctrines of the gospel being preached in the demonstration and power thereof, to our joy and comfort. Sarah Janney, brother John Pemberton, and John Hunt, according to their several gifts, were divinely assisted. Friends parted in much solidity, and the minds of many were made humbly thankful to the Father of mercies, who thus continues to manifest his love to us."

"26th. Our meeting this morning was attended by two Friends, Edmund Jolliff and Cuthbert Hayhurst,—it was mostly silent, but a time of favour. In the afternoon came many Friends from the country, and John Hunt was favoured in his ministry. After meeting, Thomas M'Clun, one of the Friends who had been drafted, and conducted by the militia of this county down to the American camp, gave us information of the manner in which they were taken down, and treated on the way, on account of their refusal to bear arms; some of them having the guns fastened to them,—one of them for more than twenty-four hours. But on their coming to the camp, and the state of their case being represented to general Washington, they were, by his order discharged, and liberty given them to return home. While

they were at Reading, there were illuminations on account of the news of the victory over general Burgoyne's army, and some damage done by the populace to the house of Benjamin Lightfoot. He also mentioned, that our Friends of Philadelphia who had been with general Washington, were kindly received by him, and had returned home."

"28th. In the evening we had a sitting of silent retirement, with an exhortation from John Hunt to contentment of mind;—reminding us of the apostle's experience, who had learned in all states to be content;—and of Samson's losing his strength by suffering the solicitations of Delilah to overcome him;—also cautioning against a murmuring disposition, which if permitted to prevail, will disqualify us for bearing adverse occurrences, or receiving with due thankfulness any accounts we might receive that were most agreeable to our natural desires and inclinations."

"11th mo. 1st. The week past has been attended with much sympathy and concern for my endeared family and friends at home; who, we have reason to apprehend, have been subjected to severe trials and distress. Next day, our afternoon meeting was the largest we have yet had, there being about a hundred persons present. The ministry flowed with free energy and gospel authority through our friend, John Hunt, after a short, lively testimony from Daniel Brown. Thus, it pleases the Father of mercies to condescend to encourage and strengthen his poor dependents to put their trust in his preserving power, and to manifest a visitation of love to the inhabitants of this town. Next day, went with John Hunt and some others, to Hopewell

monthly meeting; where was a large number of well-looking Friends, some of whom appeared rightly concerned for the honour of Truth."

"Our meeting on fourth-day, was solemn and edifying; being in the silent part thereof favoured with fresh evidence of holy regard, which, I trust, tended to the settlement of our minds in a living hope and confidence in the Divine Power which has hitherto preserved us. This was also promoted by a lively, encouraging testimony from our friend John Hunt, on the happy experience of feeling this language, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." And again, "The eye of the Lord is over the righteous, and his ear is open to their prayers." Exciting to a diligent care to keep in remembrance the signal favours we had received, and an humble sense of gratitude for the same. John Saunders and his sister Hartshorne, from Alexandria, were with us at this meeting; at the close of which, Samuel England, from Nottingham, brought us some very kind affectionate letters from George Churchman, expressive of his near sympathy with us, and desires for our preservation and stability, for the honour of the testimony of truth and righteousness, in the course of this our exile."

"9th. Our meeting this morning was composed chiefly of our own company, and the family where we live. The continuance of Divine kindness was livingly experienced amongst us. Our friend John Hunt was drawn forth in the fervour of gospel love, in a pathetic exhortation on these words:—"Draw near unto me, and I will draw near unto you. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." He also expatiated, in an instructive manner, on the

pious conduct of Cornelius,—his alms-deeds, and state of acceptance with the Almighty;—addressing himself in great love and tenderness to the heads of this family in a particular manner, exciting them to a religious godly life. The afternoon meeting was larger than any of the former. Our friend Daniel Brown appeared in a short testimony; after which John Hunt was eminently favoured, in setting forth the nature and excellence, as well as importance, of gospel ministry; the manner in which Paul the apostle was converted from a persecutor of the Christian churches, to become an able minister of the new testament, and at length a great sufferer for the same;—enlarging thereon to our comfort and edification, the love and power of Truth presiding among us. Thus, it pleases the all-merciful Father to continue his loving kindness towards us, to the revival of our hope and trust in him alone, for all spiritual and temporal benefits. May impressions of gratitude ever remain on our minds for these so great mercies and favours, and a watchful care to walk humbly before him.”

“No letters yet from our poor afflicted families. May patience and fortitude of mind be still vouchsafed us from the Father of mercies, to bear up under the close probations attending us on this account, and our separation from them in this day of great calamity and distress.”

“11th. Thomas Beales and William Robinson, from New Garden, North Carolina, on a journey to make a religious visit to the Indians on the Ohio, called to see us; with them we had a solid conference on the weight of the service in which they were engaged, and felt unity with them in the spirit

of sympathy and brotherly love. Next day they attended our meeting, in which Thomas delivered a short, pertinent exhortation on the necessity of deep inward labour, in order to build on the sure foundation, the Rock of ages, which will enable to stand steadfast in times of trial."

"16th. Having been offered a convenient house, used for public worship by the German Calvinists, our afternoon meeting was held in it, and it was nearly filled by Friends and others. Our friend John Hunt was renewedly favoured with qualification to preach the doctrines of the gospel with life and power, on the text, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin," &c. It was a time of edification and comfort to some, and I hope of profit and instruction to others. May such favours be thankfully remembered by all."

"23d. Our meeting was attended by all our exiles but two. It was a time of heavenly favour renewed to us; and our friend John Hunt was drawn forth in a lively exhortation on the necessity, not only of desiring, but of seeking after the one thing needful;--enlarging instructively on David's resolution, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life." After which, brother John was favoured in supplication. The afternoon meeting in the Calvinist's house was large, and the Master of our assemblies again condescended to favour the public ministry in an eminent manner; divers not professing with us being present. The nature and necessity of silent waiting were set forth, and it was shown to be the practice of pious men in early ages: the declaration of Jacob at the

time of blessing his sons being instanced, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." The doctrine of Truth with life and power flowed towards the people, in a pathetic exhortation, to improve the time and opportunities mercifully afforded them. The wife of Isaac Brown had also a few words of exhortation, and then brother John, in the same line. Great are the favours which All-merciful kindness is pleased to continue to manifest towards us: May our gratitude be demonstrated by humility of heart, and circumspect conduct."

"25th. In the evening had a visit from John Parish and John James, of Philadelphia. Their account of the general welfare of our families was very reviving and agreeable, exciting in my mind humble thankfulness to our almighty and bountiful Benefactor, for his mercies conferred on them and us.

27th. In the evening, there was the most luminous aurora borealis I had ever seen, and of great extent from the north-east to the north-west quarters. The brightness was such as to make a shadow equal to the moon, three or four days old. It lasted about two hours,—the colour like that of the sun rising.

During the 12th month, we were visited by many Friends; among whom were Isaac Zane sen'r, from Philadelphia, Isaac Jackson, William Jackson, and Thomas Millhouse, from Chester county, William Matthews, from York, and George Matthews, from Baltimore. Meetings were much smaller in numbers, but some of them favoured opportunities,—affording renewed cause of thankfulness to the Father of mercies, who condescends to be mindful of the two or three that are gathered in his name.



1st mo. 7th, 1778. A committee of Friends from the Western Quarterly meeting, communicated to us a minute of said meeting, appointing a committee to attend to the cases of Friends under suffering, and particularly to visit us in our exile.

21st. Received an affectionate Epistle from the committee for sufferings, lately met at Pipe creek, containing seasonable advice to our present circumstance, and expressive of their brotherly sympathy with us.

2d mo. 1st. Our meetings, morning and afternoon, small; nine only being present, and mostly silent. Next day attended Hopewell monthly meeting, which was large. Soon after Friends were gathered, our friend John Hunt stood up, under a weighty concern and exercise of mind, and after some observations on the satisfaction he had of seeing so many Friends collected, mentioned a text of Scripture which had come before him, denoting the advancement and excellency of the gospel dispensation. "The night is far spent; the day is at hand: put ye on, therefore, the Lord Jesus Christ." After treating on this subject, he opened a heavy exercise which had attended him for two weeks past, in consideration of the sorrowful state of those who are indulging themselves in pleasures, pride, and dissipation, notwithstanding the calamities prevailing in the land; and in a prophetic manner, he set forth his apprehension that severer judgments than had yet been felt, would be the allotment of the people, unless averted by repentance and humiliation; and that a voice from the east,—a voice from the west,—a voice from the north,—and a voice from the south, called to the people, pronouncing distress and

calamity of the sword, pestilence, and famine, with lamentation and bitterness. He said he was led to leave this testimony with them, apprehending he should not have an opportunity of the like kind again.

13th. Thomas Beales and William Robinson of North Carolina, who were with us two months ago on their way to visit the Indians beyond the Ohio, called to see us, being on their return homeward. They informed that they proceeded as far as within thirty miles of fort Pitt; where they were apprehended by some of the magistrates of Westmoreland county, in Pennsylvania, and the test of allegiance to the state tendered to them;—that they were put under confinement, and detained as prisoners near a month,—their certificates being taken from them, and they treated with rough language and many threats. But the violence of the people towards them abating, they were at length discharged, but not allowed to proceed on their journey. As they were not permitted to accomplish their intended visit, they felt easy to return home.

15th. Our meeting, this morning, consisted only of seven of us exiles, who reside at the house of Philip Bush, and three from Isaac Brown's, with doctor Parke and James Morton, who are here on a visit to us. It was mostly spent in silence, with some degree of renewal of strength. Towards the close, brother John expressed a few words. In the afternoon, we had the company of a committee of Friends, appointed by Hopewell monthly meeting to visit the families of Friends. Martha Mendenhall, an ancient Friend, and one of the first settlers in these parts, appeared in a lively, searching testimony,

amongst us. Enos Ellis had likewise a short exhortation to us, to trust in the Lord who has appointed salvation as walls and bulwarks about his people.

21st. Took a ride to E. Jolliff's, where I found most of my fellow exiles unwell, particularly John Hunt and E. Pennington, confined to their chambers; John Hunt had been confined for several days, and appeared to be very low in body and mind. Next day, our meeting consisted of only five of us, the rest being prevented by indisposition. In the afternoon, we had the company of, and a short, tender exhortation from Joshua Brown, of Nottingham, now on a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in these parts, and North and South Carolina.

23d. This evening, heard that our friend John Hunt was much worse; being seized with a violent pain in one of his legs.

26th. In company with Samuel R. Fisher, I went to Hopewell meeting. Called to see John Hunt, and found him more lively in spirits than when I saw him last,—the use of his leg and foot not restored, and he appeared in a discouraging way, with a low fever.

On the 28th, Thomas Gilpin appeared in a very unfavourable way, being reduced to great weakness, though not afflicted with much pain. On first-day, Isaac Everitt and William Penrose, from York county, Pennsylvania, were at our small meeting, only six of us exiles attending,—although divers other Friends living near the town, gave us their company,—in all, about thirty persons, being the largest meeting we have had for some time. About half past twelve o'clock, on the morning of 3d mo. 2d, our fellow sufferer, Thomas Gilpin, was taken from

this transitory life, having borne his sickness with great patience. He was favoured with his understanding to the last, being sensible of his approaching end, which he mentioned to his brothers who were with him, and affectionately attended him. On the 3d, his remains were interred in Friends' graveyard, at Hopewell; after which, we had a solid and satisfactory meeting, in which Joshua Brown and Isaac Everitt acceptably appeared in testimony, and the latter in supplication.

3d mo. 15th. In our afternoon meeting, we had the company of our friend John Hough, from Fairfax, also Rachel Hollingsworth, and her son Jonah. The meeting, I hope, was silently profitable; and fresh occasion is furnished us for thankful commemoration of favours, through Divine mercy, dispensed; and in this time of close trial and affliction, we humbly trust his tender regard is still continued towards us. May a due sense thereof be deeply impressed on all our minds, in such manner as to influence us with a humble, steady, watchful care, in the future course of our lives.

22d. John Hunt having continued a long time afflicted with his weak state, and disease in one of his legs, which had mortified, it was this morning amputated by the surgeons, as the only expedient, in their judgment, for preserving his life. He bore the operation with great fortitude and patience; and for several days afterwards, appeared in a favourable way.

4th mo. 1st. Immediately after breakfast, I set off for Hopewell, to see John Hunt. On the way, was informed that he was released from all his afflictions and troubles of this life, about ten o'clock

last evening. At Elizabeth Jolliff's I was informed of the following circumstances respecting our worthy deceased friend. After the amputation of his leg, he seemed to be in a favourable way, being still and composed in his mind, having endured the heavy trial he underwent, with great patience and Christian resignation, which conveyed instruction to all who had the opportunity of observing it. He was cheerful, though much silent, after, as well as before, the operation. He slept, and eat, sufficient for his situation; though his long lying in one posture, was not only tiresome, but painful. He bore the dressing of his wound without complaint, and the doctors thought the appearance very promising. But in about a week, an alteration and decline of strength was perceived by his attendants, and it was thought something of a paralytic kind affected him. He grew weaker, but remained in a composed state of mind, having expressed but little of his apprehensions concerning himself. On the 2d, he was buried in Friends' grave-yard at Hopewell, attended by a large company of Friends and others.

Thus, the last office of respect and love was solemnly performed to the remains of a dignified minister of the gospel. His gift was eminent, and he had laboured therein for more than forty years; his utterance being clear and intelligible, and his doctrine sound, instructive, and edifying. In our public assemblies, his Master was often pleased to favour him with great power and demonstration of the Spirit, in his communications. This was particularly manifested in the public meetings we have had, in this time of our exile, in the town of Winchester; for the inhabitants whereof, his mind was deeply

exercised, and his travail great that they might be brought to the knowledge of the Truth, and a due concern for their own eternal welfare. Being a man endued with strong natural abilities, and a clear judgment, improved by long religious experience, he was, in his more private station, a very useful member of our Christian society; careful for the support of our Discipline, and often favoured in those meetings to speak to matters under consideration, of a difficult nature, so as to end debates to satisfaction. He was in the sixty-seventh year of his age, of a strong constitution, though low in stature, being of the less size of men, and had been favoured through life, with a good share of health generally.

About the middle of the 4th month, intelligence was received of the proceedings of those in power, for our release, and return to our families. Accordingly, on the 19th, we took leave of many kind Friends in these parts; and next day crossed Shandoah river, and proceeded to Mahlon Janney's, where we were received with much kindness by him and his valuable wife, Sarah. They reside about a mile from Fairfax meeting-house, in Loudoun county, Virginia, in a fertile, well cultivated part of the country. Thence we proceeded by way of Fredericktown in Maryland, to York-town, in Pennsylvania; where, by the kindness and courtesy of general Gates, we were assisted in getting on to Lancaster: near which town, at the house of James Webb, I had the inexpressible satisfaction of meeting my beloved wife—also, M. Pleasants, S. Jones, and Elizabeth Drinker, who were waiting our arrival.

4th mo. 26th. Being first of the week, we attended the meeting at Lancaster, held in the house of Daniel Whitelock, where all our fellow exiles were present. Brother John appeared in supplication. On third-day we set forward, and met several Friends who were coming to J. Webb's to see us—after parting with them, we went on to Robert Valentine's, and lodged. On the 30th, as we approached the city of Philadelphia, we observed the devastation committed by parties of the English army in their excursions—the fences being generally laid waste, and the fields of grain and corn left exposed—together with houses destroyed, and left desolate; which sorrowful prospect prevails generally within a few miles round the city.

About eleven o'clock, I arrived at my own habitation, in company with my wife, after an absence of thirty-two weeks and six days; and was favoured to meet my children and friends generally, in usual health, except my long afflicted son Phineas, who, I could perceive, had declined in his flesh; and although cheerful, and I believe, with myself, thankfully rejoiced on my restoration; yet being affected with disease, he gradually grew weaker, and continued declining until the 20th of the following month, when he was released from his manifold afflictions of body, about seven o'clock in the morning. He retained his understanding to the last; and a few minutes before his departure, attempted to express himself to us, but his speech being interrupted by the dryness and soreness of his mouth, we could only understand him to say, "it was the last morning he should have in this world,—that he loved us all, and died in peace with all mankind."

Thus, through the favour of Divine Providence, we were restored to our families in a way, and at a time when we had least reason to expect it ; which is worthy of our most grateful commemoration and humble gratitude, in addition to the many singular mercies we have partaken of in the course of our exile, and should be a prevailing inducement to trust singly in the same Almighty Power for safety and preservation, and strength to endure the probations which, through his all-wise dispensations, may be permitted to attend the future part of our lives.”

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In the year 1786, James Pemberton lost his very affectionate daughter, Rachel Parke, who had long languished in a consumptive disease. Filial affection induces me to insert among these sketches of the life of my departed relative, an extract from one of his letters to his absent brother, John Pemberton, then in Europe,—in which he faithfully describes the last hours of my tender and affectionate mother. “3d mo. 18th, 1786. My time has, this week, been chiefly employed in attending the expiring moments of my beloved daughter, Rachel, and the necessary preparations for the burial, which was accomplished with becoming solemnity and exemplary decency. In my several letters for some time past, I informed thee of her declining state, and the gradual advances of her disorder, which regularly proceeded, and at length terminated, as I expected, in her dissolution, after a confinement to her chamber of about fourteen weeks. In the course of her illness, she was favoured not to suffer extreme bodily pains, and to retain her understanding clear



to the last: her mind, I have ground to believe, being silently engaged in earnestly seeking and striving after a right preparation for the solemn event; appearing to be much weaned from her children, though clothed with a maternal solicitude for their welfare. This she expressed to me about a week before her departure, with some sensible description of the state of her mind; which intimated the close conflict she had passed through—remarking, that though divers Friends, in their visits, had been led to speak very comfortably to her, yet she found it necessary to labour after an evidence of that inward peace and consolation, which would enable her to resign freely her tender connexions.”

“As she had lived a life of domestic innocence, little known to the busy world, being much circumscribed in her associates and converse, and had always been an affectionate, dutiful child, of a meek and quiet spirit,—she was endeared to her few acquaintances. And I trust, that though we have occasion to mourn, yet not without hope of her being entered into the fruition of everlasting happiness. Her removal is a dispensation of close exercise to her husband, with whom she maintained a strict affection; and the harmony between her and her sisters had never, to my knowledge, been in any respect interrupted; nor do I recollect her having obliged me;—so attentive was she in affection and duty.”

Such a tribute to the memory of departed worth, is equally honourable to that character who is the subject of it,—and to him who hath thus tenderly recorded it.

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As benevolence was a reigning feeling in the bosom of James Pemberton, so was beneficence a very conspicuous trait in his character. It led him to enter with ardour and spirit into many designs, the prosecution of which ennobles the human character. From these feelings he was induced not only to contribute liberally towards the support of associations, established for various useful purposes, but to become himself a member of many of them, and a partaker of the difficulties and toils, attendant on the accomplishment of their objects. Even when the concerns of his own extensive business must have pressed heavily on him, he devoted much of his time to assist others in adjusting and settling their accounts, and in restoring harmony and peace among those whose minds had become irritated by differences of opinion.

His philanthropy was not limited to any one sect or class of people,—it flowed towards all, without respect to nation, condition, or colour. The multiplied sufferings and evils inflicted on the African race, made such impression on his mind through a long period of his life, that he directed a considerable portion of his attention, and employed much of his time, in endeavours to meliorate the wretchedness, and improve the condition of this degraded class of our fellow beings. And he lived to witness the fruits of the unwearied efforts of the advocates of the natural rights of men. In the year 1774, he was among the first of those philanthropists, “who,” as Clarkson says, “undertook the important task of bringing those into a society, who were friendly to this cause;” and who succeeded in establishing the “Society for promoting the aboli-

tion of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." He filled several important offices in the Society, and continued a member thereof until his decease. During all this time, his exertions were indefatigable in the promotion of those benevolent objects for which it was instituted.

On the 4th of the 9th month, 1788, Divine Wisdom saw meet to add another trial to those through which he had passed. He beheld another daughter, Hannah Morton, on the bed of sickness and death, and was a witness to the peace and resignation which she felt, on taking her departure from earth and earthly scenes. The feelings which tranquillized his bosom, at this season, are beautifully described by J. P. Brissot de Warville, in his Travels in the United States, as mentioned in the following extract, which relates to this subject.

"September, 1788. The Quakers carry to the borders of the tomb, this same tranquillity of mind; and it even forsakes not the women at this distressing moment. This is the fruit of their religious principles, and of a regular, virtuous life. They consider heaven as their country; and they cannot conceive why death, which conducts them to it, should be a misfortune."

"This habitual serenity does not diminish their sensibility. The respectable Pemberton recounted to me the death of a beloved daughter, which happened the day before. I could see the tear steal down his cheek, which a moment's reflection caused to disappear. He loved to speak to me of her virtues, and her resignation, during her long agony. 'She was an angel,' says he, 'and she is now in her

place.' This good father did not exaggerate. You will find in this Society, many of these celestial images, clothed in serenity,—the symbol of eternal peace and conscious virtue."

His brother, John Pemberton, who had travelled extensively, both by sea and land, for the promotion of the cause of righteousness, and the promulgation of the gospel of peace, died at Pymont, in Germany, in consequence of a hectic fever, induced by exposure to the rain while employed in his benevolent work; and with tranquillity of mind, laid down his head at the age of sixty-seven, on the 31st of the 1st month, 1795.

"By foreign hands, his dying eyes were clos'd,  
By foreign hands, his decent limbs compos'd,  
By foreign hands, his humble grave adorn'd,  
By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourn'd."

This great example of Christian meekness and pious devotion to the important work of diffusing religious knowledge among people, even of different languages, passed through many trials and difficulties, in the prosecution of his arduous undertaking. But he knew in whom he trusted, and was supported by that Divine Power which was constantly extended over him. He reached Pymont, in a weak state of bodily health; and while lying on the bed of sickness, he was enabled to impart lessons of heavenly wisdom and instruction to those, whose tenderness and sympathy induced them to visit him. Yet even here, he displayed the same resignation to the Divine will, that had led him from his home, on which prosperity and affluence shed their placid beams, and to which the smiles of conjugal love en-

deared him,—cheerfully to suffer the hardships of long and expensive voyages, and to travel through dangers and vicissitudes, into distant lands, in the service of the ministry of the Gospel. In his expiring moments, he uttered in a melodious manner, this language of thanksgiving, “I can sing the songs of Zion, and of Israel.”

“By this affecting dispensation of all-wise Providence,” says James Pemberton, in a letter to his friends, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, “I am bereft of a most affectionate brother, and a sympathizing, confidential friend. And although such an event was not altogether unexpected to me at our parting, and often since, yet I feel left as a pelican in the wilderness, to mourn out my few remaining days. I know it a duty to submit to the orderings of unerring Wisdom: and although I can but mourn, I trust it is not without hope, and think it justifiable; as the blessed Jesus did not forbear weeping with the relatives of Lazarus.”

In a letter to Thomas Colley, dated 6th mo. 1st, 1795, he says, “I have lost a beloved brother, most tenderly affectionate, whose integrity, benevolence, and Christian virtues, rendered him an exemplary member of religious and civil society: all of which are ascribable to the efficacy of Divine grace, the dictates of which, he was uniformly solicitous to follow; and this gives a comfortable hope that he is mercifully admitted to join the church triumphant.”

The last trial of this kind which he experienced, before the approach of “the pale faced messenger” to himself, was the decease of his beloved daughter, Mary Morris, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had long laboured under a complaint of a

bilious kind, which, however, did not prevent her fulfilment of those domestic duties, the exercise of which she preferred to an intercourse with the bustle of a more public circle. In the latter part of her life, she was rather of a retired disposition, in which she found opportunities of obtaining a correct judgment, and of bringing the views of her own mind to a standard of purity of heart. She dedicated much of her time in cultivating the minds of her four children, and of nurturing in them the seeds of virtue, which her own religious experience had taught her to believe were the only sources of true happiness.

Her dissolution affected those strong ties of love and tenderness which had long bound her life to the heart of her affectionate father. Yet it furnished me with an opportunity of witnessing the pious and Christian resignation with which he was supported under this severe affliction, when he had the pressure of more than eighty-four years to sustain.

For the benefit of her children, he employed some time after her decease, in drawing up a memorial of a few of the events of her life, her character, and virtuous qualifications, "with a short account of her valuable mother." This may be considered by them as a last pious legacy, worthy of being preserved through their future progress in the world, and even transmitted with filial care to their posterity.

James Pemberton was a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, from its commencement in this city, in 1756, until the year 1808; when, in the Yearly Meeting held in the 4th month, he resigned his seat in that body, on account of the increasing infirmities of his declining years.

He had long accustomed himself to rise early, and was very temperate and regular in his living. Having naturally possessed a sound and vigorous constitution, his manner of life strongly tended to preserve the stamina of vitality, and to render the whole course of his earthly career one continued scene of placidity and evenness of temper. But the period was now fast approaching, in the ordering of Divine Wisdom, that the vigour of that body should decline; and it seemed good to Infinite Love, in this instance, by gentle means as secondary causes, to remove the faithful servant whom he loved, from this world, and cause him to enter into the rest prepared for him.

About the middle of the 6th month, 1808, he was affected with a diarrhœa, which, though at first inconsiderable, gradually increased, and was the principal cause of the weakness which succeeded. Finding himself becoming more debilitated by the complaint, he retired from the bustling city, to enjoy a pure country air, at his farm; under a hope that the invigoration which he had hitherto felt by his occasional retirements into the country, during the summer months, might again be experienced. But the days of corporeal strength were now over. His health declined from day to day, and he returned to Philadelphia in the early part of the 7th month, and from that time forward, was principally confined to the house.

The last religious meeting that he was able to attend, was on the 17th of the 11th month. At intervals, when he felt a little revival of strength, he employed himself in endeavouring to maintain his epistolary intercourse with his friends in England.

To William Dillwyn and to Martha Routh were his last testimonials of this kind directed.

In order to evince the happy state of his mind, and the lively gratitude and blessed tranquillity, which, like sun-beams, gilded the evening of his days, I shall give some of the expressions which he uttered during his long indisposition.

As the infirmities of age gradually pressed upon him, he was often led to contemplate, with steady attention, the solemn period of his sublunary career. But a mind like his, that had made it a predominant object to "meditate on death," was not likely to behold the "pale-faced messenger" approach, arrayed in terrors. No. All was calm within, and the composure which tranquillized his mind, spread itself over all his actions, and mingled in all his expressions. "I find myself," said he to his friend Samuel Smith, "gradually declining; and when I take a retrospect of the number of years I have passed, they appear but as a moment, compared with eternity; and I am very sensible there is great cause, on my part, for gratitude and thankfulness to my great Benefactor, for the many merciful preservations which I have experienced."

In an interval of strength, before he was confined to his bed, as he was reviewing his past life, and contemplating his close, he addressed his grandson, as follows: "I have lived to a great age, and been favoured much more than commonly falls to the lot of men, with an abundance for my natural subsistence, and have been, through all, wonderfully preserved by the Divine Arm; which calls for a very grateful return from me, and I desire to be thankful for these blessings. Indeed, all that we can do, is



nothing; for we must all depend upon Divine mercy, and cannot boast of our own merits. It is not likely that I can last long; but I am desirous to wait patiently 'all the days of my appointed time, until my change come.' And I should prefer, if it be not inconvenient to the living, and if every thing is favourable, to have my body carried to Bucks county, and interred in the family burial ground, among my ancestors. I have given directions to J. E. to have the materials for my coffin ready. I have always had a great aversion to hasty burials; and I desire that my body may not be too soon interred, but that a proper and seasonable time be allowed, and every thing be done in a decent and solemn manner."

These words were spoken as calmly, as if he were discoursing upon the common occasions of life, but without any confidence in his own fortitude, independently of Divine aid. And it was remarkable, that in whatever he said, he appeared to consider not only the *matter*, but the *manner*, and the *proper season* for declaring his sentiments.

That desire which is frequently manifested of having our ashes deposited near those of our departed relatives, and which by some is deemed to be a weakness of the mind, originates, as I apprehend, from some of our noblest affections. Indeed, this great man viewed the body as the workmanship of a munificent Creator, which evinced his wonderful wisdom and skill; and he thought it not beneath the notice of a Christian, to give some orders respecting its interment after the immortal spirit which then inhabited it, should have taken its flight to the mansions of eternal felicity.

1st mo. 15th, 1809. In the afternoon, his friend

Thomas Scattergood called to see him, and to give a little testimonial of his love to an elder and venerable brother. He addressed his declining friend in a very encouraging manner, expressing what a happy consideration it was to *die in the faith* that, after his departure, the goodness of the Lord would raise up other standard-bearers in the church militant, to succeed in the labour of building the spiritual temple of the Most High; in which service his honourable friend had been engaged from his youth upwards; and showing that "the sure mercies of David" consisted in the true enjoyment of this belief. He very justly compared him to good old Simeon the "devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel;" and thought he could say with that ancient, "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."

During this communication, a holy solemnity covered the hearts of all present; when, after a pause, this venerable ancient thus expressed himself in a very affecting and broken manner: "I am thankful that, through Divine mercy, I feel an evidence within me, that I am not cast off. It has been the great desire of my life that at the solemn close, I might be favoured to feel that evidence: it was all that I wished."

"Well," said his friend, "it is worth all the world, to be able to make that acknowledgment." After a little pause, he said, "It seems to me that I shall not last long: but I desire to wait patiently, and to labour after a perfect resignation to the Di-

vine will. The longer I live, I see more clearly that it is not moral righteousness that will do for man; nothing but the righteousness of Christ will avail us. We can claim nothing from our own merits—we owe all to Divine mercy.” After a pause, he added, “We do not know the value of health, until we have lost this blessing. I have been very bountifully blessed with a large portion of it, for which I hope to be grateful. To be sure, I have had my troubles, like most men, but I have been very wonderfully favoured by Divine Goodness, through life.”

28th. His friend, Rebecca Jones, called to see him, and in the course of conversation on his sickness, he thus addressed her:—“I have been greatly favoured with ease of body, and tranquillity of mind; and I hope, in some degree, resigned to the Divine will, and have a grateful sense of the various blessings and favours I have received. I have felt myself declining for these two years past, and have been endeavouring to prepare for this time.—And though it is an awful thing to look into eternity, I have reason to hope and believe that mercy will cover the judgment seat. My greatest concern now is for my grand-children (meaning his daughter Morris’s children) that they may be preserved: the temptations, I think, are now so various and uncommon for youth. But this language has run through my mind, They will be cared for. - Farewell. I am glad to see thee. We have lived ever since I have known thee, in that fellowship which will continue to the end.”

29th. He conversed calmly respecting his interment in the burial ground in this city; observing,

that on account of the inclement state of the weather, it was not probable his body could be conveniently buried in the country. He desired his wife, after his decease, to consult with three of his most intimate friends, Samuel Smith, Thomas Scattergood, and William Wilson;—and to submit to them the direction and superintendence of his funeral; closing his communication with these words: “I have spoken of my mortal part: as to my immortal part, there is a mansion of rest prepared for it.”

Towards evening he became a little better, and after having taken some rest on his couch, several of his relations and grand-children being in the room, he addressed them in the following pathetic, and instructive manner: “I am glad to see you all together around me; and I hope that harmony and concord will prevail among you, that will make you appear honourable among men, and honourable in the sight of Him who is the author of them. Your grandmother has assured me, that she will do every thing in her power to promote that harmony, which I wish will continue among all the branches of my family after I am gone.”

“My father was a native of this city, and long an inhabitant of it. He was a very upright man, and greatly respected by all who knew him. He was not very liberal in his words; but, as occasions offered, he gave advice to us, his children; and one of his most frequent admonitions, and which made very great impression on me in early life, was, to live in the fear of the Lord. It is the beginning of wisdom;—it is indeed wisdom; and it is founded on love;—as those whom we love, we most fear to offend. If this principle be attended to through life, you will

not fear, when the solemn period shall come,—and all will be peace.”

“David, in speaking of Almighty Providence, whose goodness is incomprehensible, says, ‘His mercy endureth for ever.’ It does endure forever. His mercy has indeed no end—no end! His goodness has followed me, and I have been favoured in my present indisposition, much more than I had any reason to expect, and much more than I have deserved.”

“I recommend to you the diligent perusal of the holy Scriptures. Make yourselves acquainted with them. In them you will find an abundant source of instruction and edification. Reading the lives of pious men of former ages, and observing how they were supported under trials and difficulties, by the Divine Arm, tend very powerfully to place our dependence on Him, from whom come all our support,—all our benefits; and to whom it is impossible ever to make a sufficient return for his inestimable goodness. They will teach you to bear up against all the trials and difficulties you will have to meet with here;—for these certainly will occur in this life, which is a state of probation, in which the Almighty has chosen to place us, for our ultimate benefit.”

“My son Phineas was very attentive to what he read, and was accustomed to make selections of the observations of the best authors. He kept for many years, a meteorological diary, which I gave to the Philosophical Society: and his other papers are pretty much in the state in which he left them, in his trunk. You may, perhaps, find them useful. I was with him in the last half hour of his life; and although I was not able to hear what he said, his

nurse afterwards told me that his last expressions were, that he died in love and peace with all mankind. And I do not doubt it; for he was an uncommon young man."

"My parents took great pains with me, and I derived very great advantages from the constant and unwearied care of a most affectionate mother. You (addressing himself particularly to his daughter Morris's children, and alluding to her late decease) you have indeed met with a great loss; but it will, I have no doubt, if you seek for it, be recompensed by Divine grace and protection. Is little Louisa in the room? Dear little girl! Her sisters, aunt, and Hannah Parke, I hope, will watch over her, and protect her, as they are older than she is."

"I wish you to avoid vain, light, and airy company, and seek to associate with those, from whom you can learn the best things. I hope you will not be led away by the vanities and follies of this world, which yield no substantial good; they are but phantoms;—they do not last, but perish with the using. And you will find an advantage in making a steady friend; for the friendships of the world are very delusive. But it is not words that will avail;—it must be practice and example."

Oh! what a time of tenderness was that memorable evening, when he thus presented his nearest relatives with his parting benediction! We were listening, perhaps for the *last time*, to the lessons of wisdom which fell from the lips of this venerable champion of righteousness, whose zeal for the promotion of practical religion did not forsake him even in his declining moments, but seemed rather to increase, as he was about to take a last farewell of earthly objects.

In ascribing to Divine Goodness all the favours he enjoyed, he did not forget the noble affections of the heart towards his fellow creatures. Even when sickness bowed his head, and lassitude held dominion over the faculties of the body, his mind rose superior to every obstacle. It was carried on the wings of tender remembrance, over the great waters, to those friends whom he loved with an affection that could not be diminished by the oblivious influence of disease or death. His mind also, was turned with tenderness towards many of the suffering poor, who are in want even of the common necessities of life. In the evening, as we were assisting him, he said, "How many hundreds and thousands there are now sick in the world, and have nobody to assist them, and I have so many! How I am loaded with blessings!"

The few days which succeeded were days of great weakness of body, and the nights to him seemed long and tedious. But that tranquillity which he had long enjoyed, did not forsake him when the course of his earthly existence was about to be finished. "As I draw nearer to my close," said he to his daughter, "I find the tormenting fear of death taken away, through the intercession of the great mediator between God and man. I am very low; but not so low, but I can yet commemorate the incomprehensible mercies of an all-gracious God."

2d mo. 9th. In the morning it was observed, that during his sleep, his breathing was of a much deeper tone than usual, and seemed to be rather more laborious. About noon, his respiration gradually became shorter; but he remained perfectly tranquil, with his eyes closed; and so great were the com-

placency and composure of his mind and body, that the last moments, when the earthly tabernacle was left by its celestial inhabitant, could not be precisely ascertained.

Thus quietly departed this life the truly venerable James Pemberton. Thus peacefully he laid down his head in the midst of his relatives, after having, through the course of eighty-five years, devoted his time and his talents to the best of purposes.

What a change does the departure of the head of a large family occasion! One of the pillars in the church militant on earth, is removed! A valiant in his Master's cause,—a venerable champion of righteousness,—humble,—meek,—and lowly in spirit,—trusting nothing to his own merits,—but ascribing every thing he enjoyed, to Divine Goodness,—every hope he was favoured with, to Divine mercy,—he hath left this lower world to be transplanted to the church triumphant in heaven,—where, mingling with the heavenly host, he celebrates the adorable goodness of his Maker through a blissful eternity. That spirit which had so often manifested its ardent zeal for the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow-creatures, is now expanded and will expand through endless ages, in the praises of Him “who was his morning and his evening song.”

What a peaceful serenity now steals over the mind, in this house, where his remains are now extended in his coffin;—a house of mourning indeed! Yet, it seems as if a superior Intelligence hovered over it, and pervaded every room,—gently tranquillizing all the emotions of the heart. We sit, as it were, “in heavenly places;”—the soul seems, for a short time,



to let go her hold on earth, and, totally abstracted from the world she “catches at each reed of hope in heaven.”

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By his own request his body was kept four days before its interment; and in this instance appeared a mark of that great deliberation which he had constantly practiced. His funeral was attended by a very large concourse of his friends and fellow-citizens. The body was carried to Friends' burial ground in this city, and after a solemn pause, decently interred. After which, Thomas Scattergood addressed the company in the line of gospel ministry.

He was universally beloved:—for, he loved all. Accustomed to contemplate the glorious attributes of the Divinity, the advancement of whose cause in the earth he had warmly espoused, and who is Love itself,—his soul was expanded in love to Him, and in beneficence and good will to his fellow creatures. His liberal and expanded mind was not confined to any *one* particular sect of Christians, but was enlarged towards all.

It was ever his prevailing wish that the blessed love and harmony, inculcated in the Scriptures of the New Testament, might reign in his own family, and in the habitations of others. This desire actuated him in so great a degree, that he oftentimes gave up much for peace sake, and we may see by the following beautiful and pathetic extract from his last Will, that this concern which had been predominant through his valuable life, continued to sway the tender affections of his heart, even until the curtains of the evening for ever closed upon his sublunary prospects.

“ Now, my dear children, and grand-children, I entreat you by the endearing ties of parental affection, carefully to cherish and maintain perfect love and harmony with each other, and with my beloved wife; avoiding all jealousy or surmise that may offer in the least degree to interrupt it. And should any difference of sentiment arise on the construction or intent of this my Will, or any part thereof, (in which I have endeavoured to make an equitable distribution of my estate) I advise and desire all concerned therein, to unite in consulting some judicious Friends, and to follow their advice and counsel for an early, amicable adjustment thereof;—and that you be mutually condescending to each other. Live in the daily fear of the Lord your God and Creator. Retain an humble, thankful sense of the innumerable, unmerited mercies and preservations, received from his all-bountiful hands;—manifesting your gratitude by benevolence to mankind of all ranks, and a steady attendance of meetings, appointed for divine worship;—training up your children in the practice of piety and virtue;—instructing them in the principles of vital Christianity, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament, and the religious profession of their ancestors. Restrain them from improper associates, who may tempt them to deviate from the simplicity of the Gospel, and that moderation in dress and deportment which it inculcates and requires;—that, by observance of the monitions of Divine grace, they may conduct themselves in such manner, as will promote their most essential happiness in time, and secure to them a well-grounded hope of enduring happiness in the life to come.”

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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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## SETTLEMENT

*and Progress of Byberry meeting of Friends;  
with some account of the Keithians.*

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### INTRODUCTION.

From the Records of a number of monthly and Quarterly meetings it appears, that some time prior to the year 1770, a direction was given by the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, for Friends to collect and transmit to that body, an account of the origin and first settlement of Friends' meetings within its limits. We know not what gave rise to this concern: but, in accordance with the request, we find many meetings had such a history drawn up, and forwarded to the Meeting for Sufferings; and that it was then expected a history of the settlement of Friends meetings would shortly be published from these documents.

In the year 1770, Bucks Quarter forwarded to the Yearly Meeting the following statement and inquiries; "That as the Yearly Meeting had proposed the publishing a history of the settlement of Friends in this province,—and as many Friends have taken much pains in collecting materials for that purpose,—whether it might not be proper to inquire of the Yearly Meeting what is become of that matter;—

or whether we are ever to expect to see the work perfected?"

In answer to these inquiries, the Yearly Meeting informed, that "the proposal concerning the first settlement of Friends was recommended to the Friends who have the oversight of the press and the Meeting for Sufferings, to make inquiry into the circumstance of that matter, and give their assistance towards forwarding the work."

About the beginning of the year 1773, a minute from the Meeting for Sufferings was circulated, stating that "as the accounts that have been handed to our friend Samuel Smith, respecting the history of the settlement of meetings in these provinces, have not been so fully correct as is desired, the clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings was directed to notify each Quarterly meeting, that it is desired suitable Friends may be appointed by each monthly meeting to make out as clear and exact an account of the settlement of Friends' meetings, as may be;— that they may be sent to the Meeting for Sufferings; that when the history is published, it may be as clear from errors and mistakes as may be."

Renewed exertions were then made to have correct statements forwarded to the Meeting for Sufferings, as directed. This is the last we hear of the proposed history. It is probable, the troubles and difficulties of the revolutionary war might have prevented the publication of the work, for a time: but why it has not been taken up since, is a subject of inquiry that Friends have a right yet to make. The object of this concern must then have been considered of sufficient importance to claim the official at-

tention and care of Society. It would, doubtless, have been a very interesting history.

More than sixty years have passed, since these exertions were made. The settlements of Friends, and the number of meetings have greatly increased during this period. A historical account of the first, as well as subsequent, gathering, settlement, and establishment of the meetings of Friends in America, is yet an object of increased interest. As we have no copies of the authentic and correct documents, furnished by the different meetings, sixty years ago, towards compiling such a history, it is proposed occasionally to occupy some of the pages of the Miscellany, in endeavouring to rescue from oblivion such accounts as may be gleaned from accessible records yet existing—from traditional narratives, and from the memories of persons still living.

The following historical sketches of the meeting of which the editors are members, may furnish a specimen of the kind of history of Friends' meetings and settlements, that is designed to be embraced in the attempt to offer a substitute for, or supplement of, the history contemplated about the year 1773. At this remote period, and with the limited means of collecting these accounts, inaccuracies and omissions may be expected to occur. We invite the co-operation and assistance of those who have access to correct information on the subject, and request to be furnished with materials for a concise historical view of the settlements of Friends' meetings in America, and with such other interesting matters relating to the Society, as may be usefully circulated, and are worthy of being preserved in remembrance.

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The township of Byberry is situated about fourteen miles north-east of Philadelphia; a creek called Poquessing, or, as it was anciently termed, Poetquesink, dividing it from Bensalem, in the county of Bucks. Byberry contains near six thousand acres of good soil, and was first settled chiefly, or altogether by Friends, divers of whom were passengers in the ships which came with William Penn in 1682. Early after their arrival, the following persons located themselves in this neighbourhood,—viz: Giles Knight, from Gloucestershire, Mary his wife, and their son Joseph; John Carver, from Hertfordshire, maltster, his wife Mary, and daughter Mary who was born near Philadelphia, four days after Penn landed at Newcastle; John Hart, from Oxfordshire, Susannah his wife, and several children; Richard Collett and Elizabeth his wife; Nathaniel Walton, Thomas Walton, Daniel Walton, and William Walton—four brothers, young men. In 1683, came John Rush, an elderly Friend, from Oxfordshire, his five sons and a daughter;—also his son William Rush, with Aurelia his wife and three children. Soon after, we find among the settlers, John Gilbert, Florence his wife, and their son Joseph; William Nichols and wife; and William Hibbs, Walter Forrest, Henry English, Thomas Knight, Joseph English, Samuel Ellis, and Thomas Groome.

Some of these Friends had been persecuted in their native country, on account of their religious principles; and, believing that Divine Providence had opened their way to remove to this country, where they might be permitted to worship the Sovereign of the Universe in such manner as they were persuaded was acceptable to him,—they were in-

duced to subject themselves to the privations attendant upon a removal from amongst their kindred and friends—to the dangers attendant upon crossing the ocean—and to the difficulties of settling and sustaining themselves in a wilderness country.— Under these considerations, they sensibly felt their obligations to a superintending Providence, and entertained a humble hope that his benedictions would be continued for their preservation. Similarity of circumstances brought them into unity of feeling—they assisted each other in temporal concerns, and mingled together in their religious exercises. Meetings for worship, and for mutual edification, were held, probably at first in each other's cabins: and in the 5th mo. 1683, at a Quarterly meeting held in Philadelphia, it was agreed “that there be established a first-day meeting of Friends at Tookany and Poetquesink, and that these two make one monthly meeting, men and women, for ordering the affairs of the church.” This monthly meeting commenced the 3d of 7th month following, and was held alternately at the house of Sarah Seary, in Oxford, near Tackony creek, and at John Hart's, near Poetquesink, in the southern part of Byberry. In the 10th month, 1683, a meeting was settled in or near Cheltenham, at the house of Richard Waln; and in the 12th month, 1686, it was agreed that the monthly meeting should be held at Byberry, Oxford and Cheltenham, “in course,” the last week in the month, and on the days of their respective “weekly meetings”—that at Byberry being on fourth-day.

In the 1st month, 1687, it was “agreed that the monthly meeting be kept at the house of Richard Worrell junr. henceforward, on the last second-day

in every month"—and that "there shall be a general meeting, moveable at four different places—Germantown, Byberry, Oxford, and at Richard Waln's, to be only and alone for the public worship of God." The records of those times manifest the care of Friends in relation to marriages, certificates of removal, registry of births and burials, and the relief of the poor—but frequently there was "no business."

We find no record designating the place where Friends of Byberry assembled, in their usual meetings for worship, till the monthly meeting, in the 4th mo. 1685, "ordered that the meeting which of late hath been held at Giles Knight's, be removed to the house of John Hart." In the 6th mo. following, it is stated—"Friends did freely accept of ten acres of land given by Walter Forrest for a burying-ground for the service of Friends, near Poetquesink creek, and it is left to the trust and care of Joseph Fisher, John Hart, Samuel Ellis, and Giles Knight, to get the ground surveyed, and a deed of conveyance to be made from Walter Forrest to themselves, for the only use and behoof of Friends forever."

No further notice is found respecting this lot, and its precise location is now unknown.

The motives for removing the meeting to John Hart's house, are not stated; so far as the particular location of Friends at that time can now be ascertained, the order could not have been founded on central convenience: condescension however appears to have been exercised, and harmony prevailed, so that in the 11th month, 1686, for the accommodation of the members northward, "it was agreed that there be a meeting at the house of Henry English,



(near the middle of Byberry) once a month, first-days."

It has been handed down to us by tradition, that Friends built a meeting house on the flat lands, about one hundred yards northwardly from the forks of Poetquesink, in the southern part of Byberry; it stood on the west side of the road, leading by John Hart's house to the Bristol road, at the "Red Lion," a mile from the river Delaware. Northward of this, on higher ground, was a burying place, which was used by Friends for interments, as early as 1683. In the records of burials are noticed some of the name of Growden and English, of Bensalem, and the Rushes, the Harts, and the Colletts, of Byberry.

A reciprocal exercise of friendly feelings and good understanding appears to have been maintained amongst the early settlers. Through the blessing of divine Providence upon their industry and prudent management, their temporal accommodations were improving. The young men who came over sea in a single state, were now settled on their farms with affectionate partners, and families of healthy children were increasing around them; so that little was wanting to introduce the inhabitants of Byberry to as much happiness as could reasonably be expected to fall to the lot of humanity.

But in 1691, the Society of Friends was involved in much difficulty in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, through the agency of George Keith, who then resided in Philadelphia. He had been eminent for his services as a minister. Being a man of much learning, and fluent in expression, he had often been engaged in disputations with other professors, on points of doctrine and metaphysics, and frequently gained

the victory over his opponents. But not continuing in that state of meekness and humility which the christian character requires, he seems to have made an erroneous estimate of his own importance. He proposed to introduce some new articles of discipline in the society; but finding Friends were not disposed to adopt his views, he showed symptoms of disgust, and soon after, a controversy commenced between him and some of his fellow ministers, wherein he insisted on the necessity of faith in Christ within, and Christ without—and that the light within was not sufficient to salvation, without something else. The inward and immediate manifestation of the divine will to the mind of man, had been understood by Friends, as the primary article of Christian faith; and they thought that the outward testimony was not so essential, but that those who have no opportunity of coming to the knowledge of it, might, nevertheless, by attention to the divine law within them, attain to a state of holiness and acceptance. Keith contended warmly for the absolute necessity of the literal knowledge of what Christ had done for mankind outwardly; and urged that Friends should adopt a written confession of faith, that might serve as a test of the soundness of the members. But, finding some Friends were not disposed to advocate his doctrines and proposals, he pronounced them ignorant heathens, and treated them with other abusive language. He was frequently admonished by concerned Friends; but the idea of his superior attainments in religious knowledge, placed him beyond the reach of counsel; and his contentious, turbulent conduct became so troublesome, that a meeting of public Friends convened in Philadelphia, issued

their testimony against him—as “being degenerated from the low, meek, and peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus—grown cool in charity and love towards his brethren—gone into a spirit of enmity, wrath, and self-exaltation, contention and janglings”—and that he had “often charged most of them with being unsound in the faith.”

George Keith had by this time gained over a considerable party. Several that had been eminent in the ministry advocated his views, and convened another meeting, which issued a declaration in his favour, and disowned those that had testified against him. In this paper, they say that George Keith “was condemned for sound christian doctrine,” and that Friends had “plainly denied the man Christ Jesus, and the great merits, and value, and efficacy of his sufferings and resurrection, and ascension, and his mediation for us in Heaven.”

Such transactions amongst the leading members, soon involved the whole in the controversy. The harmony of society was interrupted, and religious meetings, which hitherto had been opportunities of edification, were turned into scenes of animosity and disputation, that had little accordance with the friendly feelings of peace and good-will. Such was the plausibility of George Keith’s pretensions, that those who espoused his cause, are said to have gained the ascendancy in sixteen meetings out of thirty-two, which then were connected with the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

John Hart owned four hundred and eighty-four acres of land in Byberry, and was in respectable circumstances; he had been several times elected a member of assembly; and is described in Proud’s

History of Pennsylvania, as a man of "rank, character and reputation"—and from the same account it is inferable, he was "a great preacher." He took an early interest in promoting the views of George Keith, and his name is found to several of the papers published by that party against Friends. The document styled "an account of their christian faith," is subscribed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, and others. Hart was probably considered the leading member of the meeting at Poetquesink. The meeting-house was located near his residence, the burial-ground was on his farm—and many of his near neighbours, and most of his connexions, including the Rush and Collett families, readily joined with him in support of the Keithian principles. It is related that the preachers in connexion with George Keith spoke against Friends in their public testimonies. A person who associated with them, states, that it was their practice when their meetings were over, as well as at other times, to speak evil of Friends. Some disorders and disturbances are reported to have taken place in the meeting at Poetquesink, so that Friends were induced quietly to abandon the meeting-house and meeting, and afterwards held their religious assemblies at the house of Henry English. Here, Giles Knight, John Carver, Daniel Walton, Thomas Walton, William Walton, John Gilbert, William Hibbs, Thomas Knight, Thomas Groome, Henry English, John Brock, and others, with their families, could sit down in peace, uninterrupted by those contentious spirits which had annoyed them when convened for religious devotion.

The Keithian meeting at Poetquesink is said to have continued two or three years. Some of the

members afterwards turned Episcopalians, and it is reported, assisted in founding a church called All-Saints, in Lower Dublin. John Hart afterwards preached to a society of Keithians that met at the house of John Swift, in Southampton, a few miles north of Byberry. In 1697, he and most of the Rush family, became Baptists. Hart himself was baptized by one Thomas Rutter. In 1705, he sold his plantation in Byberry. He had probably removed to Southampton previous to his joining the Baptists. The society to which he was attached, connected themselves with a larger congregation at Pennepac, where Hart became assistant minister—officiating there and at another meeting of the same society in Philadelphia, between the years 1707, and 1720. In the account given of him by the Baptists, it is stated, “he was not ordained; but was reckoned a good preacher, and a most pious christian.”

In some of the papers published by the Keithians, they style themselves “Friends united in testimony with George Keith.” But they frequently called themselves “Christian Quakers,”—to distinguish themselves from Friends, who were not admitted by them to be christians. Several monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings having testified against Keith and his party, in 1694, he went to England, and demanded a hearing in the Yearly Meeting, at London. After deliberate attention, at the succeeding Yearly Meeting, in 1695, it was decided that George Keith “was gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the church of Christ—and that he ought not to preach

or pray in any of Friends' meetings." Shortly after, he set up a meeting at Turner's Hall, in London: but his meeting soon declined. He then attached himself to the established church, and was ordained a minister by the bishop of London. In 1702, he came to America, as a missionary, to convert the Quakers. In the journal which he published, he states the success of his labours from New Hampshire to Caratuck, to be several hundreds, "Quakers and quakerly affected"—many of them were from the remains of his former party, for he remarks, his old opponents were not disposed to receive him.—In this work, page 59, he says, "About the years 1691 and 1692, it pleased God, by my means, thro' the illumination of the Holy Spirit, that many in Philadelphia should see their errors and forsake them, who generally came off from quakerism, and joined to the church." Page 83, he says, "I preached to many who probably had never so much as heard one orthodox sermon before."

His followers had previously been much squandered. In 1697, it is stated in Gough's History, that they were "at great variance among themselves, contending about water baptism, the supper, and the lawfulness of oaths,"—so that by this time, "they had ceased to give Friends disturbance as formerly."

We dont find that Keith visited Byberry in his missionary capacity—though he mentions establishing a church in Oxford, where he says, there had been a Quaker meeting. His old friend Hart had already joined the Baptists. Keith mentions having interviews with some who inclined to the Baptists,

and his efforts to reconcile them to the ceremony of sprinkling, though with little or no success.

Morgan Edwards, who published, in 1770, some account of the Keithians, says, "They soon declined. Their head deserted them, and went over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither. Some returned to the Penn Quakers, and some went to other societies. Nevertheless many persisted in the separation. These, by resigning themselves to the guidance of scripture, began to find water in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19. Bread and wine in the command, Matt. xxvi. 26-29. Community of goods, love feasts, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples feet, in other texts. Acts ii. 41-47. Jude 12. Romans xvi. 16. Galat. ii. 9. John xiii. James v. 14-16."

He further states, "the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists. They were called Quaker-Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress, and manners of the Quakers. The Keithian or Quaker-Baptists, ended in another kind of transformation into seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the first-day Baptists, and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in this province."

It is highly important, that those who are concerned to maintain "the faith once delivered to the saints," should be vigilantly guarded, lest they become unfaithful to the manifestations of Divine light in themselves. When Friends abandon their foundation principle—they may continue to profess a great deal of religion, and may earnestly contend for doctrines and systems of redemption, but having forsake

ken the directions of an internal guide, they wander after external and fallible leaders, who frequently lead them into perplexing systems of human contrivance, that amuse the senses, at the expense of the life and substance of true religion.

In the 4th month, 1692, the monthly meeting, of which Byberry Friends formed a part, notices the reading of "a paper of condemnation given forth by a meeting of public Friends, at Philadelphia, against George Keith, and his separate company;" and in the 11th month, same year, was read, "a copy of a paper from the six-weeks' meeting in Barbadoes, dated the 12th of 7th month, 1692, in order to condemn that spirit in George Keith and his separate company, by which he acts and is guided, in publishing his printed books to the world, which tends to the dishonour of Truth and Friends." At the same time also—"a copy of a paper of condemnation, sent from the Yearly Meeting at Tredaven, in Maryland, dated 4th of 8th month, 1692, in order to judge George Keith, and that spirit by which he is led, in spreading of his printed books, which tend to the dishonour of Truth and Friends,"—and also "a copy of a letter of advice to George Keith, and those who have taken part with him, to call in all those works of darkness (meaning those printed books spread abroad by them) and to condemn the spirit of separation: signed by William Richardson."

The recognition of these papers is all that appears on the records we are quoting, as testimonies against the Keithians: no special disownments being noticed, it is presumed Friends considered them unnecessary—especially as it might reasonably be expected the collision which such proceedings would produce,



was not likely to restore the unity, nor to increase that spirit which takes its kingdom by entreaty, and not by contention.

It is subsequently noted that a few of those who went out in the separation with George Keith, returned to the Society, though none of them appear to have resided in the neighbourhood of Byberry. The Keithians here were irreconcilable—and some of their descendants manifested much bitterness against Friends, for many years after.

In 1694, Friends of Byberry obtained of Henry English one acre of ground, which was conveyed to John Carver and Daniel Walton in trust, “for the use of the people of God, called Quakers, who are, or shall be, and continue in unity and religious fellowship with friends of truth, and shall belong unto the monthly meeting of said people, for whose use the said piece of ground is intended to be employed as a burying place, and to no other use or service whatever—provided always, that no person or persons, who shall be declared by the monthly or Quarterly meeting, whereunto he or they shall belong, to be out of unity with them, shall have any right or interest in said ground, while he or they shall remain out of unity and church fellowship with those people to whom he or they did so belong.”

It is somewhat singular that this instrument confines the use of the property to “a burying place;” but it seems that the customs of that time recognized a place for worship as a necessary concomitant; for shortly after, no doubt with the full concurrence of the grantor, a meeting-house was erected on the lot. It was built of logs, ridged and notched at the corners, chinked with mud, and it may be, covered

with bark. Here the patriarchs of Byberry and their wives and children, twice in the week, assembled to manifest their devotions and gratitude to a bountiful Providence, for the favours which they were daily receiving; and very likely many an acceptable aspiration was breathed to the Father of mercies for preservation in the harmony and happiness of the unchangeable Truth.

The concern of Friends was to watch over one another for good, and to build each other up in that most holy faith, which works by love to the purifying of the heart. At the monthly meeting in the 2d month, 1695, "it was agreed that four Friends be appointed to take care of the youth, concerning their orderly walking, as becomes the truth they make profession of, according to the good advice of Friends in an epistle from the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, 1694;"—and John Carver was named for this service for Byberry. In the 12th month following, on consideration of "the good advice of Friends from the last Yearly Meeting, to put in practice their counsel, to admonish those that profess God's truth, and do not walk answerable thereto"—this service was committed to the care of "John Carver and John Brock, for Byberry."

The meeting held at Cheltenham was moved to Abington, where a meeting-house was built in 1699. In 12th month, 1700, Bucks Quarterly meeting, in order to settle the bounds of their monthly meetings, appointed a committee to speak to Friends living "near Poquestin creek, within their county, and acquaint them with Friends' desire of having them to be joined in their monthly and Quarterly meeting, within the county where they live." At the

next meeting, report was made that those Friends near Poquestin signified an inclination to accede to the proposal; but that afterwards "one friend there-away, showed something contrary to the said conclusions." It was therefore left to further consideration, "and that they be tenderly dealt with about it, as there is opportunity." The Friends alluded to were members of Byberry meeting, and the circumstance furnishes a striking evidence of the condescension that was practised among Friends at that time. The preservation of the society in harmony and unity, was considered of great importance, so that a new measure, however desirable, was not carried into effect, when even a single Friend "showed something contrary."

In the 12th month, 1701, it was agreed in the monthly meeting, "that a preparative meeting be established on the weekly meeting day, that happeneth next before the monthly meeting, and that those Friends that are appointed as overseers do attend that service." Byberry preparative meeting commenced soon after this agreement; but no records of its transactions are found till 1721. From 1702, the monthly meeting was generally held at Abington. Horsham Friends, in 1716, applied for a meeting on first and sixth days, during the winter season—which was granted. A regular meeting was afterwards established there, and a meeting-house built in 1724. The monthly meeting was now composed of five particular meetings—Oxford, Byberry, Germantown, Abington, and Horsham; and so continued till 1782.

In 1714, a new stone meeting-house was built on what was called English's acre. It was about the

dimensions of thirty feet by fifty, and two stories high, with arched ceiling, double doors in front, and large windows, with small lights of glass set in leaden sash, attached to wooden frames, with hinges to open and close, without shutters. The gable-ends were not carried to a point, but from about midway of the rafters, another roof from each end was carried up to meet the main one; so that on a front or back view, the house looked as if the two upper corners were cut off. This plan of building was customary at that time; a few ancient houses may yet be found in some parts of the country, the roofs of which are on the same fanciful construction. Another singular feature in the meeting-house, was, that it stood what was termed "north and south," although this position varied about forty-five degrees from the lines of the lot, and the general arrangements of the country near it. There was no partition in the house, except a short one up stairs, to separate the seats between the men and women.— It is reported, the only means devised for warming it in winter, was by a fire place in the west end, made on the outside of the building, and communicating with an artificial stove, formed of cast-iron plates, through which the heat was communicated to the room. The men warmed themselves outside, before going into meeting, and the women occupied the end next to the stove.

This house might be supposed sufficiently commodious for all the purposes intended; but in 1753, an addition was made to it of about thirty feet square, one story, and flat ceiling. In the collection to defray the expenses of this building, we find the names of fifty-two contributors; and it is added,

“Abel James gave all the glass for said house, gratis.” Large fire places being constructed in the two corners eastward—this “little meeting-house,” as it was called, was calculated to be more comfortable in cold weather, than the large house—and was therefore used for meetings in winter.

A few years after, the large house requiring repairs, the old leaden sash windows were new modelled, by substituting larger lights in wooden sash, with shutters outside; the gable-end roofs were removed—the walls carried up to a point, and the main roof finished in modern style: and cannon stoves were procured for the respective apartments. These occurrences may seem to be of little importance, further than as they manifest that the minds of Friends, in respect to temporal concerns, may, without prejudice to their religious profession, be sometimes influenced by the prevailing taste of the times; and also, that notwithstanding their predilection for stability, they stand open to the reception of improvements that have for their object the convenience and comfort of mankind.

Until 1756, the records of Byberry preparative meeting contain little, except what relates to the pecuniary concerns of the society—but it having been concluded in the monthly meeting, that “each preparative be a meeting of record,” since that time its minutes furnish regular details of such business as came before it for consideration and disposal.

Some of the prominent subjects which engaged the attention of Friends, as noticed on the records, were—making provision for the relief of the poor, and schooling their children—assisting other meetings with contributions towards building meeting-

houses—appointing committees to stir up those who were negligent in the attendance of religious meetings—and to recommend Friends to make their wills in time of health. In 1733, a copy of the Book of Discipline was procured at the expense of fifteen shillings. This, with New England Judged, Barclay's Apology, the Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland, and a few other books, were put into circulation for the benefit of the members—and care was taken to promote subscriptions for Journals and other approved works that were proposed to be published. In 1759, it was agreed to hold afternoon meetings on the second and fourth first-days in each month, during the summer season. These were continued, generally, (for each year the subject was reconsidered) for about forty years. In 1772, the subject of schools was specially adverted to; and James Thornton, Thomas Townsend, John Townsend, and Jonathan Knight, appointed to have it under their particular care. From that time forward, the promotion and improvement of school education obtained an increasing interest in the minds of Friends at Byberry; of which repeated notices are recorded—and their committees of oversight were instructed to employ such teachers as were not only in "membership with us," but who were well qualified for the business, careful and attentive in the discharge of their duties—and especially, that they be of "sound moral and religious principles"—that "by precept and example, they might inculcate useful sentiments in the minds of those under their tuition." In 1786, it is stated, that five pounds fourteen shillings were paid for a copy of the Book of Discipline, in manuscript, which it was agreed should be circulated

among Friends, with "caution and care to return it again in one month."

In 1782, the monthly meeting held at Abington was divided, and a new monthly meeting instituted, composed of the two meetings of Horsham and Byberry—held alternately at each place, and designated "Horsham monthly meeting." Friends of these meetings had hitherto been attached to Philadelphia Quarterly meeting; but in 1786, the monthly meetings of Abington, Horsham, Gwynedd, and Richland, were united to constitute a Quarterly meeting, called Abington Quarterly meeting. In 1810, a monthly meeting was established at Byberry—composed of the members of Byberry meeting only, and which so continues.

In the year 1796, a census of the members of Byberry meeting was taken by its order for the use of the overseers. The number of members, including adults and children, was then found to be three hundred and eighty-five.

In 1810, at the division of Horsham monthly meeting, when Byberry was constituted a monthly meeting, the number of members was four hundred and forty-six; and in 1825, five hundred and twelve.

To the original meeting-house lot of one acre, obtained of Henry English, additions were made by purchases at different times—and a new meeting-house, about sixty-six feet by thirty-six, was built in 1808.

It is now upwards of one hundred and fifty years that Byberry meeting has been regularly held; most of the time it has been favoured with lively gospel ministers—and probably the whole time with other valuable Friends, who were careful duly to fulfil

their social and religious obligations—and a lively concern has been maintained for the support of Friends' principles, testimonies, and order.

We shall close this historical sketch with some brief notices of a few of those prominent characters that have lived and finished their course within the limits of this meeting.

The patriarch GILES KNIGHT, was an eminent example of uprightness and integrity; he is represented "as an elder, and one well esteemed by his friends, for many years." It is much to the advantage of his character, that he exercised a prudent, religious concern in the education of his large family of children. In advanced life, it is stated, he "had that great comfort to see his offspring sober, well inclined and hopeful." In 1726, he died, in his seventy-fourth year. His descendants are numerous in Byberry and its vicinity.

It is reported of WILLIAM WALTON, that he was a great preacher. Some accounts induce a belief that he was in his minority when he arrived with his brothers, in this country. In 1689, he married, and settled in the upper part of Byberry. The time of his first coming forth in the ministry is not known; but there is a record of 1698, which implies he was then an approved minister. His name makes a distinguished figure in the annals of the meeting, tho' little account of his religious labours has been transmitted to us,—excepting the notice of a "Visit in the service of truth to Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina," in 1721—and two family visits to the members of Byberry meeting, in 1718 and 1723. His decease was in the 12th month, 1736-7.

ANN MOORE, a minister celebrated for her extra-



ordinary qualifications, was a member of Byberry meeting several years subsequently to 1750. It is said she had very little school learning, and through most of her life, was subject to difficulties and perplexities; but through them all, the greatness of her mind placed her above the influence of external circumstances. In her public testimonies, her voice and manner were remarkably calculated to attract the attention of her audience, so that few of the preachers of that day were considered her equals in the estimation of the people in general. There was something dignified in her personal appearance; and when exercised in the ministry, she used no gestures, her left hand being generally applied to the side of her face, while the truths of the gospel flowed from her tongue, in language, accents and periods, somewhat resembling the style of Ossian's Poems.

JOSEPH GILBERT, an elder of the meeting, died in 1765, aged near ninety years. He was remarkable for his rigid temperance, and strict moral discipline, —his faithfulness in supporting a testimony against slavery, and the customary use of spirituous liquors. He suffered no ordinary business, nor even the infirmities of age, to prevent his regular attendance of religious meetings. It is related, that in harvest time, when he had a number of reapers employed, a travelling Friend appointed a meeting at Byberry. Joseph informed his workmen they were at liberty to attend; but enjoined that in case they declined to do so, no labour should be performed by them during the time of his absence. He frequently loaned money, without interest, to those that were necessitous. His bodily and mental powers retained their energies to old age. He was so remarkably

even in his temper, that in his latter days he was seldom if ever seen to be ruffled by passion. He seems to have been one of that kind of men whose will was directed into the channels of impartial justice, righteousness, and truth.

JAMES THORNTON was regarded by Friends as a man of superior qualifications for services of a religious character. He was eminent both as a minister and disciplinarian, extensively known in the society, and highly esteemed. He was from Buckinghamshire, in England, and resided in Byberry from 1752, till his decease in 1794.

There was an indescribable dignity rested on his personal appearance, when sitting in religious meetings, his hat being drawn over his forehead, nearly down to his eyes, and a remarkable solidity in his countenance, which indicated great mental energy, that was not wandering upon superfluities, but centred in application to the great object of religious devotion, and revolving, as the holy spirit opened, those truths of the gospel which he was called upon to promulgate among the people. On rising, he mostly stood a considerable space of time silent; then uttered a few words, and often paused in the middle of a sentence, but always resumed his discourse in perfect connexion. As he proceeded, his expressions were lengthened and the pauses contracted, and he moved forward in a regular manner. His voice, though not what would be called fine, was distinct and forcible; and his declarations were striking and impressive. His subjects were sometimes doctrinal, but generally of a practical character,—urging the necessity of obedience in the day of visitation, and describing the effects of the influence of the holy spirit in those

who submitted to its operations—by which they might become born anew in Christ Jesus, and, as he expressed it, “washed in the laver of regeneration.”

In social conversation James Thornton was sometimes pleasant, but not light. That gravity which rested on him as a gospel minister, was carried into his every day walks: and in his intercourse with his friends, and the people at large, the superiority of his mind,—or the perfection with which it was regulated,—almost invariably commanded respect and deference. He was often sententious in his manner of speaking, communicating his ideas so pertinently, that whether his hearers were simple or learned, his meaning was clearly comprehended.

But his exercises were not confined to subjects strictly religious. He was aware that man has a variety of duties, and that those of a temporal nature have such an importance attached to them, that he that is unfaithful in those minor concerns is importantly defective. Hence we find him attentive to business, careful to provide for his family—and never running into enterprises and speculations beyond his means, to the hazard of the property of others that might confide in his integrity. His wife, Mary Thornton, was a model of perfection in domestic economy—so that from a moderate beginning, they attained to competence and wealth—and travelling Friends were always welcome at their mansion of hospitality.

We do not mean to insinuate that James Thornton was invariable perfection. He was an Englishman—naturally tempered with the firmness and inflexibility of his countrymen; and although, thro'

the influence of divine Light, and the right application of his rational understanding, he maintained through life a great degree of consistency; yet, when the judgment of others, who probably were less perfect, was exercised upon his actions, some defects were apparent. These defects however may be considered of minor importance, especially as they were few, and resulted from errors of the head rather than the heart; and very much disappear when put into competition with his eminent services as a gospel minister, and his various exercises to promote order and christian discipline in the society of which he was a member.

In preparative and monthly meetings, he frequently made speeches that were considered lengthy, even when the main object might have been opened by a few expressions; but in the Yearly Meeting, where many gifted brethren were convened, his observations were brief, cogent and pointed, directly bearing on the subject that was under consideration, and divested of all that was superfluous. When circumstances presented that were difficult to adjust, he was not forward in communicating his views; but waited deliberately for what he considered the openings of truth; the sentiments he then advanced had a remarkable tendency to settle Friends in a final and satisfactory conclusion.

ANN HAMPTON, a minister from Wrightstown, became a member of Byberry meeting in 1792, and continued till her decease in 1796. She had previously visited the meetings of Friends generally, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the states southward as far as Carolina; and during her residence here, was engaged with other Friends in visiting

the families belonging to Horsham and Byberry meetings. In her perceptions, she was quick and lively; her views were discriminating, and her judgment remarkably appropriate; so that her conversation and ministry partook largely of that intelligent character which meets the understanding in a striking manner.

She was desirous that Friends in their religious exercises should centre as much as possible to the mind of Truth; carefully guarding against implicit reliance on the judgment of others—or running with a current that was the effect of natural excitement.

PETER YARNALL, in his exercises in the ministry, manifested a happy facility of expression. His style was elevated, and his manner emphatic. When fervently engaged, the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, seemed united in their energies, especially when urging the return of wandering prodigals to the Father's house; and sometimes he closed his pathetic and powerful communications, by ascribing "all glory and honour to the King eternal, immortal and invisible." He was a member of Byberry meeting upwards of a year, and died in 1798.

In the same year, the meeting sustained another privation in the decease of RUTH WALMSLEY, a valuable minister, who had been a member of it about four years. Often had she portrayed in lively colours, her ardent solicitude for the religious welfare of her friends, and especially that the young people might be so attentive to the divine requirings, as to become qualified for every good word and work.

JOHN TOWNSEND, of Bensalem, occupied the station of an elder of Byberry meeting about forty years. He died in 1800, at the age of seventy-seven. Every

thing in his character was consistent with prudence and moderation,—and his life and conduct were so completely guarded by circumspection, that it is believed he could never be justly charged with error. He was often engaged in the services of the society, and actively concerned for the preservation of his friends in consistency with their religious profession. His brother, Thomas Townsend, who died in 1794, was also a worthy Friend, pleasant and agreeable in his manners, and much devoted to that practical kind of righteousness, which extends assistance to orphans and widows, and others whose situations in life require the care and attention of their friends.



### A TESTIMONY

*Of Kennet monthly meeting, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, concerning Rachel Barnard.*

She was the daughter of Ephraim and Elizabeth Wilson, of Londongrove township, Chester county. She received from her parents a guarded education; and by attending to the divine Monitor, she was enabled to bear the cross in early life, so as to become an example of plainness and sobriety. Patiently abiding under the forming hand, she came forth in a lively and acceptable testimony, in our religious meetings, about the twenty-third year of her age: and by taking heed to the gift received, she became a well qualified minister of the Gospel. After her marriage with Cyrus Barnard, she became a member of this meeting, and being endowed with sound judgment, she was engaged in our meetings for dis-

cipline, to maintain the dignity of the church, on its ancient foundation. Though of a weak and delicate constitution, she devoted much of her time to the service of truth; visiting the meetings of Friends generally, on this continent, with the unity of this meeting, and to the satisfaction of the visited.

Having regard to the recompense of reward, she was frequently made willing with much fortitude to leave her young children, and all that is accounted near in this world, and travelled many long and perilous journeys for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness.

On returning from one of her latter journeys, she observed to some of her friends, that she felt thankful she had been so mercifully supported to undergo another allotted portion of suffering; and added, "I shall now have one less to go through." Her constitution gradually declining, she appeared anxious to perform what she believed was required of her, while bodily strength would permit. Her last visit was to the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, and some of its constituent branches; which she was favoured to accomplish, much to the relief of her own mind and to the satisfaction of Friends; and soon after, being confined to her bed, expressed thankfulness that she had been favoured to reach her outward habitation with a peaceful mind; intimating a belief that she might now be released from such exercises, and that she was fast verging towards a final close. Her bodily afflictions being great, she appeared desirous to be released from time, if it was the Lord's will, and in a feeling manner said, "By grace ye are saved, through faith in it. I have often thought if that could be fastened on the minds of the

people, as it is on mine, though they might swerve to the right hand or to the left, they could not dwell at ease, but there would be a coming back: and while I sympathize with the rightly exercised, in their many trials and deep baptisms, I exceedingly lament the situation of those that are as it were, half Jew and half Ashdod."

Being asked if she thought she had done with the world, she answered, "I have made many misses, but have experienced them to be blotted out." To her husband she said, "Seek consolation in that which is not of this world." On the morning of her decease, she expressed an apprehension that she had passed the last night of her sojourning here, and in a solemn manner supplicated her heavenly Father to grant her a little rest, which she mercifully experienced, and soon after she quietly departed, in the fortieth year of her age.

Signed by direction and on behalf of Kennet monthly meeting, held the 4th of 12th mo. 1821,  
by RICHARD BARNARD, Clerk.



## THE CHRISTIAN'S STRENGTH.

The following lines were sent to the Friends that were banished from Philadelphia to Winchester, in Virginia, being thought suitable to their condition, by the author, SUSANNA HOPKINS.

Resign'd, a Christian meets the ills of time,  
Nor fears the storms of this inclement clime.  
Tho' thunders roar, and terrors round him spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on his head.



He fears his God, and hath no other fear,  
His mind unclouded, and his conscience clear;  
His prospects vast, outshine the noon-tide beam,  
His faith no fancy, and his hope no dream:  
He fears not men of high or low degree;  
No power on earth can bind his liberty.  
Beyond their ken, his treasure lies conceal'd,  
He only wishes 'twere enough reveal'd,  
That men might know its worth, and prize it too,  
He gladly would expose it to their view:  
If suffering best should answer his design,  
To suffer freely, doth himself resign.  
He to the smiter turns his ready cheek,  
As taught of him, who saith, "I'm low and meek."  
No provocation can his spirit move,  
To act contrary to the law of Love;  
But prays with him whom on the cross we view,  
"Father forgive, they know not what they do;"  
The royal law rejoiceth to fulfil,  
And only recompenseth good for ill.

Thus to the world proclaims, come taste and see  
The love of God; behold how good is he!  
Of bitter things he makes a wholesome sweet,  
And rugged paths he smooths beneath our feet.  
And tho' the wicked may our hurt intend,  
Ev'n angels guard and stand the good man's friend.  
Remember Joseph, whom his brethren sold  
To the erratic Midianites of old:  
To bondage they the faultless youth consign'd,  
But Providence had other things design'd.  
Mark the vicissitudes thro' which he pass'd,  
Which pav'd his way to dignity at last.  
A christian's strength, and confidence is he  
Who hath set bounds and limits to the sea;

Thus far, saith he, nor farther shalt thou go,  
 Beyond his bounds no turgid wave can flow.  
 Though swelling high, firm on a rock he sings,  
 Glory and honour to the King of kings.  
 And tho' the fig tree strew no blossoms round,  
 Nor cheering juices in the vine be found,  
 The olive fail, the labour of the field  
 In golden crops shall cease her meat to yield,  
 The flocks cut off, the shepherd pen no fold,  
 The stalls forsook, where once the herds were told;  
 Yet in the God of his salvation, he  
 Doth still rejoice, in deep humility.

*Deer Creek, Md. 23d of 9th mo. 1777.*



*Letter from Ruth Anna Lindley to M. H.*

Philada. 4th mo. 5th, 1804.

I find by the letters addressed to thy dear sister, that my beloved cousin has some desire that I would write to her. Alas! my dear creature, what can I say? It is but little we can do for one another, yet perhaps there are seasons wherein we *may*, under Divine influence, be rendered in some degree useful. Oh! my dear cousin—the companion of my early years, how oft on the bended knee, in the secret chamber, have my aspirations been, that the Lord from on high would graciously condescend to visit thy soul. I saw that thou wast endued with more than *one* talent, and I wished them dedicated to the Lord. I was, for a season, amongst you as a spectacle unto angels and to men: but of latter time, have thought I have seen of the *travail* of my soul, and am satisfied, in some measure. Oh! to find that

some of my endeared connexions are truly awakened to a sense of religion, and have turned their faces Zionward, is more rejoicing to my soul, than the increase of corn, wine or oil. My dear, be not dismayed, nor discouraged at the fiery trials that may be permitted to attend thee. Oh! bear the turnings and overturnings, even all the refining operations of the Divine hand upon thee. Be willing to become as the passive clay,—moulded and fashioned according to the gracious design of an all-wise Director; and, my love, remember that it was not in the whirlwind, the fire, or the earthquake, that the Lord was pleased to make himself known, but in the still small voice. It is, my dear, in the silence of all flesh, that we are most capable of hearing, and of being instructed by the Shepherd's voice. May I not say I have experienced this? Yes, my cousin, even when surrounded with temptations,—even when the floods of discouragement have been ready to overwhelm, I have retired to my chamber, and prostrated myself at the footstool of mercy: and although at times my intercession was not in any form of words, but in secret inward breathings, my gracious Master condescended to hear me, and caused me to experience a renewal of inward strength, so that I was enabled to persevere in what I believed to be required of me.

And oh! my dear friend, may thou be encouraged to hold on thy way; attend, and be faithful, even in the little—in the day of small things. Whatever the Master biddeth thee do, that do; and I am comforted in the sweet persuasion, that there are blessings in store for thee; and that thou wilt be a blessing to thy dear sisters, as well as many in that

place. Oh! Potts-Grove, the land of my nativity, how I have longed to see religion abound within thy borders! How have I travailed in the secret of my soul, both by night and by day, that the inhabitants might be awakened! How have I proclaimed, as I believed under divine influence, the necessity of living holy lives; and on the bended knee have implored that the number of Zion's votaries might be increased! Well, my dear, may the Lord God Almighty bless and preserve thee in the line of divine rectitude. May the angel of his presence encamp round about you as a family. And Oh! saith my soul, that none of the gracious designs of Israel's Shepherd may be frustrated by an improper withholding on your part, but resign yourselves, your all into his holy hand, and he will assuredly perfect the glorious work that he has begun in your dear minds. I must conclude, and subscribe, thy deeply and tenderly interested friend and cousin,

RUTH ANNA LINDLEY.



*Brief account of Sarah Lundy.*

Sarah Lundy was the daughter of Benjamin and Amy Shotwell, of Rahway. In the early part of her life she was favoured with the visitation of heavenly goodness, and her mind was enamoured with the love of Truth. Having an eye to the recompense of reward, and becoming concerned for the honour of the cause she had espoused, she was engaged to encourage others to seek the good way for themselves. For her Master's cause, and the good of

souls, she was constrained to leave all her tenderest ties, such as husband, friends and children, and travel many hundreds of miles on horseback, to spread the glad tidings of the gospel, that others might be prevailed on to seek the "pearl of great price."

She was an example of plainness and moderation, endeavouring to bring up her children consistent with her profession. She was diligent in the attendance of all our religious meetings; and when at home, she fulfilled the injunction, "Be not slothful in business."

In the year 1768, she was married to William Hampton, of Rahway. In 1774, whilst she was a member of Rahway monthly meeting, she obtained a minute to attend the Quarterly meeting at Crosswicks; and in 1781, was engaged in a religious visit to some meetings at Barnegat, Egg-Harbour, the Great Meadows, and some parts of New York and New England.

Her husband departed this life in the 2d month, 1781, and in the year 1783, she was married to Jacob Lundy. In the year following, she removed with her husband and family to Hardwich. Soon after, she was concerned to visit the families of Friends within the verge of Kingwood and Hardwich monthly meeting; and in the next year, was engaged in visiting Friends in some parts of New England, producing on her return several testimonies of the satisfaction of Friends with her religious services amongst them.

In 1790, she obtained a certificate to visit some meetings in New York, New England, and Nova Scotia. Satisfactory accounts of her labours in this

engagement, were received after her return. In 1793, she had the concurrence of her friends in visiting some parts of Pennsylvania and the Southern States. Testimonies of approbation from Friends where she travelled were received on her return the next year. She afterwards found an engagement to travel into the State of New York and Canada, and in 1802, attended the Quarterly meeting of Shrewsbury and Rahway, and visited the families of Kingwood monthly meeting, to satisfaction.

In the latter part of her life she was afflicted with a cancer, and underwent great sufferings, that were of long duration, by which she gradually wasted away—and was for some time in a state of delirium. But, a short time before her close, there was an interval, in which she was favoured with the full possession of her rational faculties, appeared in a sweet, lamb-like disposition, and took an affectionate farewell of her husband and family. One of her daughters not being present, was called, she took her by the hand and said, “good child, I hope thou wilt be remembered; farewell.” After which it is not recollected that she spoke any more; but appeared as if a heavenly garment was spread over her. The next morning, which was the 8th of the 10th month, 1803, she departed this life, aged about fifty-five years.



## EDWARD STABLER'S LETTERS.

*Alexandria, 3d month 6th, 1830.*

Thy two letters, my dear C., are at hand;—the latter to my Anna, giving an account of the peace-

ful close of the well spent life of thy beloved grandfather, afforded us the first information of that important event.

I truly and most affectionately condole with his bereaved relatives, on account of their loss of so great a treasure, as he was to them. But *for him*, I cannot mourn: because I am assured, that the imperishable crowns of "glory—immortality—and eternal life," are his unspeakable possession. He has "fought the good fight" against the principles and powers of evil. He "has finished his course" of assigned duties. He has "kept the faith," that "worketh by love to the purifying of the heart." And what more could our fondest wishes desire for him? As it regards his fellow-creatures,—more especially those who had the advantage of a personal acquaintance, and intimacy with him,—his conduct and conversation,—his innocent life and faultless manners,—have spoken, even more powerfully than his tongue, or his pen;—demonstrating the momentous and all-interesting truth, that it is the Divine life, (and not words and theories about it) that impresses "the image of God" upon the human soul: and that this image does not consist in *shape, form, or colour*, but in "graciousness,—mercy,—long-suffering,—and the aboundings of goodness and truth." His adversaries, who were offended at him because of the spirituality of his views and teachings,—have endeavoured "to sift him as wheat." "They shot at him, and hated him." But their arrows were repelled by the armour of righteousness, with which he was defended. And the closer he was proven, the more the excellency of that *living power*, which was his support and depend-

ance, became apparent: So that the fire of their anger could neither hurt him, nor impress even its smell upon the garments of innocence, with which he was clothed.

Well! my precious C. the impartial and unchangeable kindness of the Father of mercies, has given to all of us, access to the same universal Fountain, the streams of which made him so pure. For, "the Spirit and the bride say come; and let him that is athirst, come;—and let him that heareth, say, come; yea, all that will, may come, and drink of the water of life, freely." I have not a shadow of doubt, that the invitation is thus universal. It is uttered, not only in the voice of words, but more veritably and infallibly, in the language of facts and feelings,—powers and impressions,—which are easily and universally understood. And if the children of men would be persuaded to hearken to the "still (noiseless) voice," which speaks through these, they would not remain so greatly mistaken and deluded, as too many of them are.

How often, my dear child, hast thou known, and felt for thyself, and in thyself, the sweet influences of this ineffable Teacher! And thy innocent spirit can bear testimony, that he is "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separated from all sin;" and that all his teachings are to induce those that will follow him, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts,—and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world;"—not to abridge their enjoyments, nor to narrow the range of their felicity, but to secure to their possession, "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." For, all those who have obeyed his authority, in all ages, have found themselves



hedged round by safety;—and though “thousands might fall at their sides, and ten thousands at their right hands,”—yet the agents of destruction could not come nigh them.

Witness the pitiable victims of pride—and hatred, —and fierceness, —and avarice, —and cruelty, —and injustice, —and intemperance, &c. These cannot be, nor never were, successfully resisted, by the feeble powers of words and doctrines, —creeds and systems! No, my dear! Our heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of more efficient help than these can afford! And his everlasting kindness has, accordingly, “given *his angels* charge over us, to keep us in all our ways;” and these angels are the living impulses of his own Divine nature, manifested and working in us, to produce humility, —love, —gentleness, —liberality, —mercy, —justice, —and temperance, &c. which “bear us up in their hands,” and infallibly save us from dashing against the things which our eyes have seen to have been the very ministers and artificers of destruction to the wicked.

Had I been near enough to you, all my affections would have urged me to have been present, upon the solemn occasion of my beloved friend's interment. But I doubt not, that many of you were sensible of the presence of him who is greater than Solomon, or Jonas;—and that you were comforted in the experience of that everlasting unity, which subsists in spirit, and is full of peace.

Thou wilt be pleased to hear that all thy friends here are in usual health. Thy little bright-eyed, sprightly C., improves rapidly. Making what I suppose to be a sufficient abatement for parental par-

tiality, she seems to me one of the most intelligent little creatures I ever saw. At two years old, she speaks the English language almost as plainly as any of us; and I am often surprised at her power of availing herself (apparently without effort) of proper terms to express even new ideas. I should be greatly pleased to see her in thy arms again, in her father's house. My dear love to thy parents, and to all my friends, in which, I am cordially joined by every member of my family.

Would there be any impropriety in requesting thee to send me a copy of thy dear grandfather's last letter? If it will not be improper, thou wilt, by sending it, add one more favour to the many I have already received at thy hands, and by no means diminish the affectionate attachment, with which I am most sincerely thy friend,

EDWARD STABLER.

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*Alexandria, 4th month 17th, 1830.*

Many thanks, my dear C., for thy kindness in sending me so soon, the last letter of thy venerated ancestor. It was just such an one as I could have desired, if I had been possessed of the privilege of choosing. I have read it to a number of persons, friends, and others, and have met with no dissentient—all approve of it. I see by the papers, that it has been printed; and I intend to procure a number of the printed copies for distribution, with a hope that the earnest recommendation which it contains, of the spiritual medium, by which spiritual discernment is alone practicable,—or spiritual influences produced,

may have the effect to turn the attention of those who peruse it, from the more than worthless systems of human theology, to "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face (or living presence) of Jesus Christ," who "is the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

It is much to be lamented, that the human mind should be so generally shackled by erroneous impressions, as to be incapable of admitting the simple fact, so plainly stated in the scriptures, and confirmed by experience, that "Christ, the wisdom of God, and the power of God," is omnipresent and eternal;—that he is a pure and holy spirit;—for the reception of whom, all human nature is a prepared body;—that the religion, of which he is the author, is entirely a spiritual thing, consisting in the operations of the Divine life upon the human soul, to fill it with perpetually increasing measures of "righteousness, goodness, and truth;"—and divesting it thereby of every temper and propensity, which can hurt or destroy. In this way it is, that "the kingdoms of this world can become the kingdoms of God, and his Christ." And by these holy influences and operations, he demonstrates that "he dwells with us, and is in us."

But, alas! how many millions of money are expended in the world, to persuade the children of men to place their confidence in systems, which are the reverse of these heavenly powers; and are made up of the *weakness and folly of men*. For truly, it cannot be justly deemed any thing better than weakness and folly, to teach that any thing which men can *say* or *do*, can in any degree answer as a substitute for the power and wisdom of God, or

contrive a better way to make men good and happy, than by their operations. The works that human systems have always done, have been to distract the attention by a multiplicity of doctrines and opinions; so that the living realities which are continually springing up in the mind, and are the real agents by which *good* and *evil* are generated there, are neglected and overlooked;—thus fulfilling the declaration, “they made me keeper of the vineyards, but mine own vineyard I have not kept.”

In this state, a multitude of causeless fears and delusive hopes are alternately excited,—which place the mind in a condition, resembling a ship on a stormy ocean, always agitated, and successively elevated or depressed, according to the rise and fall of the waves upon which it floats. What a precious and merciful privilege it is, my dear friend, that in the midst of this tumult and confusion, we all have access to that blessed Being who created *the islands*, and has the same power to make us *like them*, firm and immoveable, though surrounded on all sides by *fluctuation*. To this state, the admonition is addressed, “Keep silence before me, O islands, and let the people renew their strength.” The sweet endearment which my spirit feels towards thee, makes me rejoice in the persuasion, that thy precious mind has long been familiar with the pure influences of the holy Spirit, which alone performs the miracles of healing and preservation. And if it be asked, who is it that “hath wrought and done this” for thee, as well as in “all generations from the beginning”? the answer must be given in the language of the prophet, “I the Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he.” And it is of the greatest

consequence, my precious child, that thou shouldst know that it is *he alone*, whose light has shone upon thee, and enabled thee to discriminate clearly between the nature and tendency of those principles, which being infusions of the Divine nature, are "the sons of God,"—and that class of adverse powers, which constitute the being and nature of satan. I do not hesitate for one moment, to believe, that, like Job, thou hast seen these "sons of God" presenting themselves before the Lord, in thy own mind, and "satan presenting himself" with them. Possibly, thou mayst not have noticed the identity of thy experience with Job's; but that does not alter the similarity of the fact. For, if it be true, that every thing which is "pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy," be of "the wisdom that cometh from above,"—then it must also be true, that every thing which is "earthly, sensual, and devilish," must be from "the wisdom that is from beneath." I suppose thou hast never had a doubt as to the origin and tendencies of either class, nor as to the reality of their presentation before the view of thy mind. I am, therefore, fully warranted in asserting, and thou in believing, that it is thy heavenly Father, who hath *of the former*, "built a hedge about thee, and about all that is truly thine;"—by which the latter has been fenced off from thee,—and a host of destructive enemies, the least of which would have changed thy Eden into a wilderness, have been prevented from hurting or destroying thee.

I feel a strong attraction towards your next Yearly Meeting;—and after its close, to some of the

northern and western parts of your State; and if nothing should occur to obscure my present prospect, I shall probably ask permission of our ensuing monthly and Quarterly meeting, for the purpose. — But it will be best to say nothing about it, except to thy father and mother. The subject is not yet fully ascertained, even by my own mind.

All my dear family join me in an affectionate salutation to thy beloved father and mother, and, as usual, a full tide of love flows to thyself from every one of us, emphatically including thy very affectionate friend,

EDWARD STABLER.



*Thoughts in time of Sickness and Affliction.*

How shall my muse retire to rest,  
 With this load of pensive strains?  
 The feelings of a mother's breast  
 For the afflicted still remains.

I have often felt the trouble,  
 Mourn'd and sympathiz'd with thee,  
 Put up my petitions double,  
 When no human eye could see.

While reclining on my pillow,  
 In the night to take my rest,  
 Mind as drooping as the willow,  
 Heart with sorrow much depress'd:

Wave on wave of deep affliction,—  
 How my anxious thoughts were toss'd!  
 Matchless mercy—with restriction  
 Sav'd the soul from being lost.

Stay'd the mind in resignation  
To the heavenly Father's will:  
Oh! this was my consolation,  
And remains my comfort still.

Oft he prais'd his dear Redeemer,  
With a weak and feeble voice,  
And as death approached nearer,  
Seem'd to glory and rejoice.

Now those scenes are past and over,  
And the Lord was pleas'd to bless;  
May his tender mercy cover  
And console thee in distress.

Through this state of deep probation,  
Furnish strength to rise above  
Every trying dispensation,  
On the wings of heavenly love.

For he loves the humble hearted,  
Succours them by night and day,  
Never from his children parted,  
Always is their staff and stay.

In the world we shall have trouble;  
In Him, peace and harmony;—  
Is not this life like a bubble  
On the fluctuating sea?

Youth and aged have diseases,  
Some in health are call'd away;  
He can summons whom he pleases,  
All, his mandates must obey.

May our lamps be trimm'd and burning,  
And our souls redeem'd from sin;  
When we find the bridegroom coming,  
Meet him—joyful enter in

Where the righteous live for ever,  
 In the happy realms of peace;  
 To be separated never  
 From the joys that never cease.

H.



### A SHORT ACCOUNT

*Of some of the last expressions and decease of John Lewis, son of John and Grace Lewis, late of West Vincent township, Chester county.*

About the 26th of the 1st month, 1824, he was taken ill of bilious intermittent fever; from the effect of which he appeared to be, at times, somewhat delirious, particularly in the afternoons and evenings; but at intervals, in the absence of fever, he dropped many weighty expressions, of which the following are a part. In times of great weakness of body, he sometimes delivered broken sentences which could not be fully gathered, but they appeared indicative of the comfortable state of his mind.

Soon after being confined to his room, he was heard to say, apparently in allusion to his sickness, "It matters not, whether long or short, in comparison of spending an eternity in the bosom of a dear Saviour." At several times, speaking of the happy state of his mind, he said, "All is peace and serenity." And at one time, "Oh! the joys! the joys! the joys, of which I have some foretaste."

He frequently mentioned a foresight he had of a great work that would be accomplished in the earth, by Almighty power; saying at one time, "The



Lord, in his marvellous goodness, hath made it appear clear to my spiritual eye, that there will be a revival of religion amongst Friends, and they will see better times; but there will be a sifting, winnowing time first, and the chaff will be separated from the wheat." He appeared to be under much exercise respecting the state of society, and said, "There is a great work for some to do."

In relation to himself, he mentioned, that it had not been many months since he gave up entirely to a manifested duty in a small matter; for he found a part of a sacrifice would not do,—the whole heart was required; and added, "I have made a narrow escape, but have found the safe stepping stones."—At another time he said, "Dear sister Mary said it was an awful thing to die; and truly *it is* an awful thing to die." Being under much suffering, he said with great humility, "One touch of the hem of the blessed garment will cure all." At another time he said, "The truth is strong in my inner man."

In the forepart of his illness he expressed his having a choice in continuing longer, for the sake of his dear wife and infant children, one of whom was but three weeks old when he departed; but towards the close, when his sufferings of body increased, he queried, "Who can desire my continuance here?" And afterward, on being raised up in bed, he said, "Relief is near at hand, through Divine grace. I have waited for thy salvation, O God; and hope my prayers have been heard." Then added, "But his time is not yet."

He appeared to be very sensible of the kindness of his relatives and friends, in their attention to him through his illness, and frequently acknowledged it

as a favour; and on one occasion he remarked, "He that administereth a drop of cold water to a disciple, how great is his reward! When the body is struggling with disease, to administer one drop of consolation to an individual, is a service done."

Though he endured much pain through the greater part of his illness, which continued eleven days, yet, at the final close, there was not the least apparent suffering, and he passed easily and quietly away, as one falling into a sweet sleep, on the 5th of 2d mo., 1824, in the forty-third year of his age.



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 among the foremost rank in society, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of these things, there were many wants to supply, even wants unknown to Friends, while they faithfully followed Christ. And in striving to supply these wants, many have exacted on the poor, many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and luxury. 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 hath come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love have been obstructed.

JOHN WOOLMAN.



# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 4.]

SEVENTH MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VII.

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## *Extracts and Contemplations, taken from John Baldwin's Journal of Time.*

In volume 5th of this work, selections from the Diary of John Baldwin were published, with preliminary remarks, and a short account of the writer. The following Extracts and Contemplations are copied from a continuation of the author's memorandums, or Journal of Time.

1799. 1st mo. 14th. Felt the passion of anger agitated towards a stubborn scholar, and said too much to him in that disordered state of mind.— Every care should be taken to quench that devouring flame. A devouring flame, it may be justly called; for it not only consumes every tender feeling of humanity in the breast of him who suffers it to rage, but is also in danger of kindling the same flame in him towards whom it is vented.

2d mo. 4th. In the evening when retired, I was favoured to see that exercises and self-abasing seasons are good for me. Lord, let not thine hand spare, nor thine eye pity, till thou hast made of me what thou wouldst have me to be. I feel that I love thee; and that thy chastisements are in love to me.

21st. I was favoured in meeting with a little light to see the necessity of endeavouring to be patient in those seasons when I am weak, and as it were,

left to myself;—also, that every trial of my faith, if properly endured, will tend to a furtherance in the way of righteousness.

The Lord has sometimes condescended to favour me, and I believe, yet stands graciously disposed to do so; but I must learn to wait in patience for his blessings, and have my will subjected to his will. I find the truth of this saying verified, "Of yourselves ye can do nothing." Lord, teach me subjection, that I may be obedient: teach me patience, that I may wait for thee.

The best Beloved of my soul,  
Has now withdrawn his face,  
And other loves from somewhere else,  
Doth send me their embrace.

Shall I accept of these, as guests,  
While he, my love, doth stay,  
That I may not be destitute,  
Nor lonesome spend the day?

Will they be willing to withdraw,  
At my Beloved's call;  
And leave the room entirely,  
To him who must have all?

Can I keep them in such command,  
That at my pleasure, they  
Shall be my guests, and at a word  
Shall either go or stay?

If they should thus subservient be,  
And gain such little place,  
That every offer of best love,  
I could with joy embrace,

Would I be true unto my Love,  
In letting them come near,  
When his withdrawing is to prove  
How far I am sincere?

Would I be faithful unto him  
If these admitted be;  
When not for evil, but for good,  
He hides his face from me?

Oh! surely no: and can I think,  
When once I them embrace,  
That they will be my servants long,  
Or to my love give place?

No: they are enemies to him,  
And 'tis their chief intent,  
When once admitted in mine house,  
His presence to prevent.

5th mo. 26th. In order to be taught in the school of Christ, I must become as a little child. I am ready to think sometimes, that I know considerable, and have some depth of religion. But, O Lord, I am nothing, as it were, without thee. Teach me to know myself, that I may know what I am. Lead me in the way of humility, that I may not become righteous in my own eyes.

6th mo. 5th. Better is he who knoweth little, and is willing to be instructed,—than he who knoweth much, and is exalted in pride.

9th. A pleasant evening walk. How every thing around bespeaks the goodness of God! “The heavens declare his glory, and the firmament showeth his handy work.” His presence, how it animates the mind!—his love, how it overcomes the heart!

Oh! that mine heart was in a better state of preparation to receive this pure love. "My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee, in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is."

When the heart becomes pure, our delights in nature become pure also; and until we learn to love God above all, we cannot enjoy any thing as we ought.

16th. What a blessing is health!

How free from pain my body is,  
 My bed's a bed of ease;  
 My sleep is sweet, my mind is free,  
 What blessings great are these!

No doubt but there are many now  
 Rolling on beds with pain;  
 Some struggling with the pangs of death,  
 And ne'er to rise again.

And some oppress'd with grief and care,  
 Cannot enjoy repose—  
 May I, with thankful heart, this eve  
 Once more my eyelids close.

26th. Noon.

When sweet content in toil I can procure,  
 Then hard things are made easy to endure;  
 And when my thoughts are stay'd on heav'nly  
 things,  
 Even in the broiling sun, it comfort brings.

How dangerous is a state of idleness! Idleness of mind soon leads to depravity.

7th mo. 10th.

To meditate upon God's law,  
 This day, I often chose;

Which, as a willow, keeps the mind,  
That by the water grows.

Tho' wand'ring thoughts, at times, come in,  
I find 'tis only they  
Who have the Lord in all their thoughts,  
That prosper in the way.

This is a truth of much import;  
For where the thoughts most tend,  
There is the treasure of the mind,  
There, its desired end.

17th. I feel a want of more devotedness of heart. The more I labour to keep my thoughts on heavenly things, the more strength I feel. By meditating in the law of the Lord, I come to love and delight therein; and the fruits are solid peace.

21st. I love the Lord, and feel desirous to be more intimately acquainted with him.

What is the cause that I so oft  
Feel such a gloomy state,  
When I to solemn meetings go,  
Upon the Lord to wait?

Undoubtedly there is a cause,  
That thus it is with me;  
It lies, perhaps, in hidden things,  
Which must removed be.

In order then, to find them out,  
Let search be strictly made,—  
The candle lighted, and with care,  
To ev'ry part convey'd.

And if within my heart there yet  
Remains a hurtful thing,  
The light that so discovers it,  
May it to judgment bring.

*Contemplations on the presence of the Lord.*

How much the presence of the Lord is sought,  
By those who to humility are brought:  
It is desired above all worldly things,  
By those who know the solid joy it brings.  
Such from experience can in truth declare,  
That they no joys can with this joy compare.

Oh! glorious presence, there too many be,  
Who do not know the real worth of thee.  
There's something of a transitory kind,  
To lower joys do their affections bind.  
But come,—the Spirit and the bride doth say,  
And all that willing are, may come away  
From these delights, that cannot long endure,  
Nor can to any soul true peace procure;  
That unsubstantial are, and often bring  
Sad disappointments, and a bitter sting.  
So come away,—and better things pursue—  
Things that are lasting, and forever new.  
Thy Maker's presence every day implore;  
He for the faithful hath good things in store;  
And richly will to thee participate,  
Which, for all that's left, will fully compensate.  
Remember what our Saviour said of them  
Who had forsaken all to follow him;  
That they an hundred-fold should here obtain,  
And life eternal be their future gain.  
Close in with this—to thy poor soul be kind,  
And leave all perishable things behind.



Seek true humility, which is a state  
 Wherein the presence of the Lord makes great  
 His wonders and his goodness unto thee,  
 And seals upon thy soul that this is he.

*A meditation on the dry weather.*

The parched ground doth awfully proclaim,  
 That He who wisely governs nature's laws,  
 Doth in his wisdom now withhold the rain;  
 Tho' man may say, 'tis from a natural cause,—

May draw conclusions—reasons may advance,—  
 That there's in this no providential hand;—  
 That famine, sickness, or the like, by chance  
 Doth happen,—not as judgments on the land.

The almighty Being many ways doth speak,  
 But man, in darkness, doth it not perceive:  
 Our disobedience may cause him to keep  
 His blessings from us,—tho' we don't believe.

The gentle shaking of his mighty rod,  
 Is scarcely notic'd by the sons of men,  
 Till he is pleased to let them know he's God,  
 By sending heavier judgments upon them.

Can't he, who in himself is perfect love,  
 Afflict his creatures by a nat'ral cause?  
 Can't man's rebellion his displeasure move,  
 That they shall suffer by his holy laws?

Tho' from his nature we must all believe  
 He has no pleasure in the woes of man;  
 And doth not willingly afflict and grieve  
 The sons of men, the work of his own hand.

Omniscient and omnipotent is he;—

Who then can fathom what he may effect?  
We may inquire—the search in vain will be,  
To know the half of what he doth direct.

The greatest wisdom then, it is, for man,  
To know how little can be known of all;  
To keep within his proper sphere, and then  
He'll not mistake, nor into error fall.

Make God his friend—love him with all his heart;  
And then, no doubt, but he'll be satisfied  
In what respects his own immortal part,  
And many other wondrous things beside.



*On a refreshing shower of rain.*

Kind Providence is pleas'd the clouds again  
Should spread their wat'ry wings, and give us rain.  
The thirsty ground doth gladly drink it in,  
And wither'd plants their heads do raise again.  
Sure! if the rain much longer had delay'd,  
The farmer's labour would be fruitless made.  
The gentle shower descendeth from on high,  
And vegetable life is rais'd thereby.  
But has it rais'd in man a thankful heart,  
To him who doth his blessings thus impart?  
Can any say, (by unbelief made hard,)  
That Providence doth not these things regard?—  
That he has so establish'd nature's laws,  
To act without him by a second cause?—  
That man's revolting heart will not command  
His judgments and displeasure on the land?  
Sure! 'tis by God we all do live and move,  
And him with all our hearts we ought to love.

How can we love him, if we don't believe,  
 In such a manner, that we can receive  
 With thankful hearts, the blessings we possess?  
 For in the thankful heart dwells righteousness.  
 And righteousness it is alone, that can  
 Exalt a nation, and promote a man.  
 'Tis that which on mankind his favour draws;  
 And want of that must his displeasure cause.  
 But in what manner this a judgment brings,  
 Must unto him be left who knows all things.

The just and unjust do alike receive  
 Those temp'ral blessings God is pleas'd to give.  
 One with a thankful heart puts up his pray'r  
 To heav'n, and owns that all do come from there—  
 The other shares the gift, but don't possess  
 The grateful feeling of true thankfulness.  
 One plants and sows, but says it's all in vain,  
 If Providence don't bless with sun and rain.  
 The other doth the like, but all the while,  
 Gain is his view—for lucre doth he toil.  
 One with an open store, and lib'ral heart,  
 Doth of his plenty to the poor impart;  
 The other gathers all he can with care,  
 And pleads excuse that he has none to spare.  
 One, when his neighbour comes, his tables spread,  
 And, whether rich or poor, is freely fed:  
 The other's slow to put the victuals on,  
 And waits impatient till his neighbour's gone.

It is not hard to tell which of these two  
 Best claims the name of just, upright, and true.  
 The truly just and upright man, we find,  
 As to himself, is to his neighbour kind.  
 'Tis from the heart, this christian virtue flows,  
 'Tis from the heart that ev'ry virtue grows.

'Tis from the heart that ev'ry vice proceeds,  
 There is the ground of all our acts and deeds.  
 'Tis there, that God is worshipp'd and ador'd,  
 'Tis there he condescends to place his word.  
 But while the heart is harden'd and impure,  
 The heavenly nature it cannot endure:  
 No offering can it make to him above,  
 That finds acceptance with the God of love.  
 The almighty Being, who did all things make,  
 Can in such things as these no pleasure take:  
 And then, no wonder that he should command  
 The angels of his wrath to smite the land.

8th mo. 25th. Yellow fever again in Philadelphia. The present appearance that nature wears by reason of dry weather, added to the reports I frequently hear, awfully proclaim to my understanding, that the judgments of the Lord are in the earth. Wars and devastation in foreign lands—the sound of mortality awfully proclaimed at home—the herbs of the fields smitten with drought,—and the pastures of the flocks do fail.

The improvement of my mind  
 Is such a necessary work, I find,  
     Let me be urgent to attend thereto;  
 And whilst engaged in my school,  
 Let this be an observed rule,  
     To keep a watch at every avenue.

9th mo. 1st. Attended meeting, where father opened his public testimony with these words: "Blessed are they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled,"—which he was enabled to enlarge upon, showing the necessity of experiencing such a state;—and the cause why peo-

ple do not feel more of a hungering and thirsting after righteousness, to be too much of an attachment to lower enjoyments;—that a true hungering and thirsting after righteousness was requisite to the happiness of mankind, which is the ultimate wish of all—exciting to an examination how far a true hungering and thirsting was experienced;—and that the youth might close in with the offers of Divine mercy, whilst the day of their visitation was graciously lengthened out, and before the curtains of the evening be drawn.

Jane Coope was also engaged to lay before us the necessity of suffering him who has the scourge of small cords to come in, to cast out the buyers and sellers, and the money-changers, and to purify the temple of our hearts, that it may be in a state fit for his holy spirit to dwell in. She also addressed the youth, and stated that the present is an awful time. I can say, I feel it so; and that it calls for deep humiliation and examination of heart, to find what is the cause. Oh! that people more generally would come down from the elevated hills of pride and high-mindedness, into the valley of humility; where they might implore the mercy of God, who is displeased with wickedness, and the revolting hearts of the children of men,—and see that it is sin which brings a curse upon the inhabitants of the land.

Sth. The late flourishing Philadelphia seems likely to become a desolation. The pestilence is suffered to pry into and infect her secret places; and her inhabitants, struck with fear, are fleeing for refuge to every quarter. May there be a strict examination of heart. I believe if people would more generally humble themselves before the mighty God of hea-

ven and earth, he would remove these evils from among the children of men, and say to the destroying angel, It is enough;—stay now thine hand.

18th. My mind is like a tender plant,  
Committed to my care,  
And whilst uncultivated, can't  
The fruits of virtue bear.

If noxious weeds are left to grow,  
Tho' natural to the soil,  
Yet they, if unsubdu'd, I know  
The tender plant will spoil.

19th. The salvation of the immortal soul is a matter of the greatest importance. After the soul is separated from the body, and done with time, it seems to me its state is finally fixed in eternity.—And as happiness and misery are two states which exists in time, why not in eternity? It would be well seriously to consider about it, before it is too late.

*On Pride.*

O pride! thou monster, keep away,  
And let my soul enjoy the Lord:  
Thou often dost my heart betray,  
And steal away the holy word.

Poor, simple mortal, sure am I,  
To listen to the voice of pride,  
To let its charms raise me too high,  
And cause my feet to step aside.

O Lord, may I remember this,  
That all I have, I owe to thee;—  
And that I always do amiss  
In taking glory unto me.

But blessed be thy holy name,  
Thou'rt pleas'd sometimes to lay me low,  
To bring me home to see my shame;—  
Where sadness I've to undergo.

And like a father, full of love,  
Thou dost in mercy me chastise:  
My sadness doth my comfort prove,  
And by the rod, I'm made more wise.

Oh! the frailties—Oh! the snares—  
That do, poor soul, beset thy way;  
Thou human nature's burden bears,  
While lodg'd within this lump of clay.

Thou wast design'd for purity,  
The path is strait for thee to steer;  
Thy way is in humility;—  
Thy safety—it is only here.

'Tis here thou canst enjoy the Lord;  
Thy strength in him is here renew'd;  
And here is found the holy word,  
That fills the soul with gratitude.

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*On Vanity.*

The charms of vanity do oft invite  
The feeble mind to forfeit its best right.  
Wise Solomon did by experience know  
That vanity existed here below;  
Not in the things to which his mind was bent,  
But in the mind, as it becomes intent  
In the pursuit of that which was not sure,  
And his eternal peace could not procure.

Now if the mind, which is immortal, be  
 Fix'd here below, there's nought but vanity:  
 For the all-wise Creator hath design'd  
 A higher treasure for his image—*mind*.

“I gave my heart to search out ev'ry thing  
 That's under heaven done,” said Israel's king.  
 And when he saw them all, what did he find  
 But vanity, and that which vex'd his mind?  
 And when he went to prove his heart with mirth,  
 And to enjoy the pleasures of the earth,  
 Still vanity was the result of this;—  
 In all these things there was no solid bliss.

Who now among the sons of men can find  
 In earthly treasure, true content of mind?  
 In the pursuit, oft disappointments are,  
 And in enjoyment, often anxious care.  
 Where is the mind, to wealth and greatness bent,  
 That ever yet attain'd to true content?  
 Where is the youth, pursuing pleasure's course,  
 That long enjoys his mirth, without remorse?  
 Tho' in the midst thereof, conviction may  
 Be smother'd by the force of pleasure's sway;  
 It soon breaks forth, as if to let him see  
 That all his mirth is only vanity;  
 And would be such, if he could it enjoy  
 Uninterrupted, and without alloy;  
 For lasting pleasure, and eternal bliss,  
 Are only found contrary unto this.

The pleasures of this world can only be  
 Vexation to the mind, and vanity.  
 As shadows to the substance, so are they,—  
 As shadows, soon they fade and pass away.  
 If shadows then are all that give delight,  
 Where are the pleasures of the gloomy night?



If, in the light, no substance we have found,  
 Where must we seek, when darkness does abound?  
 Pleas'd with vain shadows, by the light of day,  
 Where are our pleasures, when they go away?  
 If on the earth no heavenly bliss we know,  
 Can heaven be ours, when from the earth we go?

26th. Evening's employ was cutting apples. The spirit of jesting was prevalent in the company; but I kept pretty much silent. In companies like this, the mind must have something serious about it, to possess such stability as rightly to resist the current of such a spirit. I felt a wish to be so clothed; believing that one weighty spirit in such a company would operate much against the spirit of lightness and vanity. A jesting disposition is sometimes pleaded as an innocent diversion to pass time away: but would it not be well to inquire and examine well on what foundation such innocency stands. Is God honoured, or dishonoured by the vanity of his creatures? Have we such an overplus of time, that a portion of it may be thus vainly spent? Or do we imagine that God will overlook, and wink at such trifling things?

10th mo. 4th. When the warm influences of zeal operate upon the mind, and heavenly prudence as a regulator is not attendant, it is better to be silent in the exercise of patience; for zeal without this, only vents the human passions, to the wounding of the soul.

*On Youth.*

How precious is the time of youth!  
 How soon it passeth o'er!  
 And when once gone, Oh! solemn truth,  
 Is to return no more.

What makes it still more precious, is  
The vigour it affords  
To tread the paths that lead to bliss,  
In God, thro' Christ our Lord.

Tho' strong may youth's propensity  
To folly be inclin'd,—  
And folly's labyrinth open be,  
In sin their eyes to blind:

Yet great will be the guilt and shame,  
And sorrow, that will lay  
On those who do neglect the theme  
Of virtue in their day;

On those who waste their youthful prime  
In pleasure's wide expanse,  
Who spend the vigour of their time,  
False glory to advance.

Humility is necessary to preserve a right temper of mind under every vicissitude and trial. In adversity, it teaches patience; in prosperity, abasement of self, and true moderation. Oh! that my dwelling place may be in the valley of humility. For 'tis there alone, I am taught to put my trust in the Lord.

Eternity's a fix'd and endless state,  
That ever was, and ne'er will terminate:  
A thousand years therein is but a day,  
Yea, nothing, as it were, when pass'd away;  
My soul, art thou prepar'd for heaven therein,  
Where nought can enter that's defil'd by sin?

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From whence this hard, unfeeling heart,  
This prejudice of mind?

This love of self, this envious part,  
This seeing, and yet blind?

From whence this toss'd, perplexed state,  
This murm'ring, anxious care?

This wish,—this seeking to be great?  
These burdens which I bear?

But from a self unmortified,  
An unsubjected will,  
Nourish'd and kept alive by pride,  
That's at the bottom still.

2d mo. 8th, 1800. Those who profess to be led by the spirit of Truth, and yet endeavour to speak to religious matters without its influence, are deceivers, and by discerning minds will be discovered to be such.

Nature is perfect,—she makes no delay,  
Her heavenly Author strictly to obey.  
But man, to celebrate his praise design'd,  
Is oft in duty very much behind:  
Man, by his Maker form'd to be the best,  
And greatly dignified above the rest,—  
Endued with reason, faculty, and will,  
His elevated station to fulfil;—  
Man, plac'd by wisdom in a blessed state,  
His Maker's gracious purpose did frustrate;  
Did plunge himself in sin and misery,  
By eating fruit of the forbidden tree.  
Unto the wise commandment of his Lord,  
He went contrary of his own accord.

The will, the power to choose, which God bestow'd,  
Was not for his destruction, but his good.

Hence, Power divine has suffer'd death and woe  
To be man's portion, 'cause he chose it so;  
Yet left him not without the means to find  
His native bliss, if he were so inclin'd.

Thus, with free-agency mankind are bless'd,  
With all things needful in this state possess'd:  
What God requires is not from him conceal'd,—  
The way of his salvation is reveal'd.

He may be just or unjust, as he will,—  
May praise his Maker,—his behests fulfil.  
When he's unjust, his conscience tells him so,  
And what is sin, conviction lets him know.  
Hence, sin against the holy sov'reign laws,  
Unto God's creature man, imputed was.

Man was design'd a perfect being, sure—  
Created by his God both good and pure.  
But now, the doctrine of a perfect state,  
Applied to man, seems almost desperate:  
Which plainly indicates that he has fell,  
A victim to the powers of death and hell;  
And that by his own choice, his fall has been,  
Else God's unjust when he imputeth sin.  
But far from that, he's holy, just, and wise;  
In him all goodness, all perfection lies.  
It cannot be that he has fix'd it so,  
That man alone cannot perfection know;—  
That he's deterr'd, when nature all around  
In perfect harmony his praise resound.

The sweet musicians of the feather'd choir,  
The op'ning spring with pleasant notes inspire;  
And every insect with harmonious lays,  
Which hops about the grass and by-path ways,

Those animals in ponds and mud which creep,  
 With curious notes do their existence speak,  
 Throughout all nature, they their homage pay;  
 There is no lack—they perfectly obey:  
 Though in their turns and seasons they retire,  
 Yet this is duty nature doth require.

Behold, how nature's works do all fulfil  
 Throughout their course, the universal will!  
 The sun on high performs his duty there,  
 And many worlds his light and virtue share.  
 This spacious globe, revolving with the rest,  
 By his influence, every day is bless'd.  
 Our earth still more or less by parts embrace  
 His warmth, as it revolves in open space,—  
 Summer and winter, day and night set forth  
 His glorious dignity and real worth.  
 Thus wisely plann'd by Him who all directs,  
 That every change the general good effects.

Behold how vegetation beautifies,  
 Adorns the hills and vales with various dies!  
 Sets forth the praise of Him who all commands,—  
 In full obedience,—full perfection stands.  
 Man, blest with ears,—with eyes can he behold  
 What these now tell,—what they have ever told—  
 That there exists a God,—who has design'd  
 The noblest part of all should be mankind.  
 Him fearfully and wonderfully fram'd,  
 And with his great and glorious image nam'd.  
 Beasts, fowls and fish, and creeping things, we see  
 Are all ordain'd subordinate to be.  
 They in their nature answer what's design'd,  
 But is it really so with human kind?  
 Man, bless'd with reason, faculty and will,  
 Does he the great designs of heav'n fulfil?

Nature abounds in perfect harmony—  
Amongst mankind, what discord do we see.  
Can anger, malice, and injustice prove  
The fruits of harmony, concord, and love?  
No: far from this. So imperfection then  
Must be imputed to the sons of men;  
And that against the sov'reign intent,  
Who, doubtless, for his glory all things meant.  
He that perfection is, would not create  
His creature man in an imperfect state:  
He that is love would not plant hatred, sure,  
He that is just, injustice can't endure.  
Evil exists amongst mankind, we see,  
Not God's intent, but suffer'd so to be.  
Man has a will to sin is manifest,  
And hence the will of God he does resist,  
So far as his own soul to derogate,  
And lose his bliss in an eternal state.

O man! all nature round thee acts its part,  
And thou alone of all imperfect art.  
'Tis of thyself thy imperfection is,  
And thou alone deprives thyself of bliss.  
Thy wisdom now, thy duty is, to know  
Thy God, to whom thou dost thy being owe.  
Thy bus'ness is, thy duty to fulfil,  
And yield thy own unto his sov'reign will.  
The Lord thy God stands graciously dispos'd,  
In thee his heav'nly counsel to disclose.  
Thy heart examine with assiduous care,  
For thou hast an unerring Witness there,  
Which will not suffer thee to deviate,  
But lead thee out of this imperfect state.  
It will not let thee err in ignorance,  
Nor sin without reproving thy offence.

All that thou hast to do is to submit  
 Thy will to His, to do as he sees fit.  
 He can redeem thee from this fallen state,  
 And thee a whole and perfect being make.  
 Thy will resign'd to God with all thy heart,  
 Is true obedience, perfect on thy part.

Tho' thou hast many enemies within,  
 Who wound thy soul, and tempt thy heart to sin;  
 Thy gracious God who suffers it to be,  
 Designs that thou shalt gain the victory.  
 Although in this probationary state,  
 Thy warfare should continue to be great;  
 Yet when once rightly entered thereinto,  
 The title, *perfect warrior*, may be true.

Thus man, if he is willing, may possess  
 On earth a share of real perfectness,—  
 May the command of Christ, while here, fulfil,  
 "Be perfect"—'tis your heav'ly Father's will;—  
 May, like as nature, act the honest part,  
 And serve the sov'reign Lord with perfect heart;—  
 May in his life set forth his Maker's praise—  
 And with divine acceptance close his days.

4th mo. 10th. The following meditation was occasioned by some conversation that passed among the young people, at breakfast.

"Youth want experience," is a maxim true;  
 Hence to the aged is attention due.  
 The minds of youth are naturally intent  
 To gratify what is not permanent:  
 They think they're wise,—that they can judge  
 aright,  
 And to the aged sometimes show despite;  
 Imagine prejudice their counsels sway,  
 Hence springs up reason prone to disobey.

The aged may some frailties still possess,  
 Yet they all have experience more or less;—  
 Have such experience youth cannot attain,  
 Have felt effects—can therefore them explain.  
 From which is judgment then most pure and sage,  
 From youthful rawness, or experienc'd age?

14th. "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me." In order that the Lord may do this, let me endeavour to keep in such a humble disposition, that at all times, and upon all occasions, I can in secret breathe the language, "Thy will be done." When storms arise, when temptations surround, and doubts assail, let me say to my soul, Behold thy God stands graciously near to be thy hiding-place, thy helper, and thy director—wait patiently for him.

5th mo. 9th. There is a difference between admitting the mind carelessly to muse upon any thing that naturally presents,—and preserving such stay-edness of thought, as to dispose it for the reception of things divine. If thou neglect the government of thy thoughts, thy mind will become as a wilderness uncultivated.

The Lord will do great things for those who look unto him,—for those who delight in his law.

The necessary concerns, relating to the support and accommodation of these mortal bodies, can never justly interfere with the more important concerns of the immortal soul.

The truly religious are they who enjoy the pleasures of this life in a right manner.

Blessed is the mind that is at liberty in solitude to converse with the works of nature. These then



appear glorious, they preach sound doctrine, and yield sweet delight.

13th. The exercise of heavenly meditation, or the contemplation of the works of God, prevents that vacuity of mind which is ever exposed to folly and to sin.

A tender heart is of great price,  
 Its fruits are charity and love;  
 Its meekness overcomes caprice,  
 And doth compassion move;  
 Bears and forbears with tenderness,  
 Can with affliction sympathise;  
 And any thing that's in distress,  
 A heart like this cannot despise.

15th. He that is content with a little has no anxiety about acquiring more.

A little with content, is better than abundance with anxiety and care.

He that will not bring his mind to his condition, has to converse with happiness only as a foreigner.

Thou need never expect to find happiness foreign from thy own bosom.

Those who seek true and permanent happiness in temporal enjoyments, will ever be disappointed.

Blessed Lord, my soul adores thee,  
 My heart is fill'd with thankfulness;  
 So good thou art to one unworthy,  
 How shall I thy praise express?

I dedicate my heart to thee;  
 Lord, all is thine which I enjoy;  
 Thy will alone be done in me,  
 Mine own transgressing will destroy

Lord, thou alone canst make me clean,  
A spirit right, thou canst renew,  
Can to thyself my heart redeem,  
And give me strength, good to pursue.

The work is thine, most gracious God,  
Submission on my part is due,  
To yield to thy chastising rod,  
That so my peace may thence ensue.

Prepare my heart to keep thy word,—  
And every duty to fulfil;  
Teach me to sing thy praise, O Lord,  
By doing of thy holy will.

18th. Attended Bradford meeting; where I experienced renewed animation of spirit, and this saying of the prophet a little opened with sweetness: “When the poor and needy seek water,”—seek comfort,—“and there is none” to be found in temporal enjoyments, that can satisfy their souls,—“I the Lord will hear them; I the God of Jacob will not forsake them. I will open rivers in high places,” which shall descend to water them in their lowly habitations,—“and fountains in the midst of the vallies,”—their humble abodes. “I will make the wilderness a pool of water,”—their wilderness condition shall become as waters of delight, “and the dry land”—their dry and thirsty souls shall become as “springs of water.” Thus will the Lord deal with his humble, poor, and contrite ones.

20th. Watchfulness unto prayer, is the barrier of temptation. The exercise of watchfulness tends to humiliation, and humility gives the soul access to heaven.

27th. When an evil disposition begins to appear, and produces uneasiness or disquietude of mind, great care should be taken not to indulge it, or feed it in the least degree, either by thought, word, or action; but every means should be used to counteract it. This is taking up the cross;—this is bearing the yoke;—and by so doing, the truth of that saying will be experienced: “Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.”

No cross endur'd, the secret cause remains,  
 Why man's unhappy, and so oft complains.  
 He murmurs, frets, repines, but will not see  
 His own tormenter all the while is he;—  
 He thinks that heav'n has doom'd his lot to be  
 A slave to hardship, toil, and misery;  
 Gives way to satan, his unwearied foe,  
 And thus procures himself a state of woe.  
 Sad case indeed! then let us not give way  
 So much to satan as to go astray.  
 But yet, alas! how many shun the cross,  
 And by their folly thus sustain a loss;  
 Heap to themselves a treasure here below,  
 And hope in transient things a bliss to know.  
 Hence are deceived—anxiety and care,  
 And disappointments in their treasures are.  
 He who abundance hath, is not content,  
 His cumb'ring cares do oft his rest prevent.  
 The poor man, murm'ring, thinks his case demands  
 More lib'ral charity from rich men's hands.

All have their troubles—from a cause, 'tis true,  
 But the real cause too many misconstrue;  
 Not willing to believe, or else, no doubt,  
 The source from whence they spring, would be  
 found out.

The regulating *cross* applied, would be  
To them the most effectual remedy.

The rich, with their abundance, would be kind,  
The poor, with little, would contentment find.

Unhappiness is then (let none complain)

The poor man's folly, and the rich man's shame.

7th mo. 12th. The heavenly principle is the basis of pure religion. 'Tis by the feeling of its operations, and attention thereto, that we come to be acquainted with it. None can know it, but by its own manifestations. None can learn it, but by its own teachings.

I find sweet peace and consolation are the results of strict attention to the operations of the heavenly principle, and uneasiness the consequences of deviating therefrom. I love this heavenly principle, because of its sweet effects: it softens and tenders my natural disposition.

13th. There are afflictions which originate from certain causes, that are good for us; and to believe that Providence permits them in order for our good, enables us to endure them in such a manner, as conduces thereto. "It is good for me that I have been afflicted," is the joyful acknowledgement of those who have patiently endured them, as the turning and operation of the holy hand. They see,—they experience those afflictions to work for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, as they tend to humble that which would be exalted, and make pure that which would be unholy. It is by such operations, that man's nature becomes capable of receiving in a greater and higher degree, the glorious presence of Him who dwelleth in his holy temple.

19th. The want of a proper degree of seriousness subjects the mind to vanity, and through unwatchfulness a disposition is felt to take pleasure in cruelty.

On going out to work this morning, a snake was observed. It endeavoured to get away; but the idea of seeing how the young dog and the snake would act in warfare, occurred, with pleasurable anticipations. The dog was called, urged on, and they became closely engaged, in a manner that excited considerable diversion. The dog was encouraged, and the snake tossed about, till at length it was slain.—Poor creature, it intended us no harm. It endeavoured to defend itself with the weapons which nature had provided for it, but all in vain. It became a prey to the merciless. We took away its life for our diversion.

Reflecting with seriousness upon this action of cruelty, I was brought under trouble for being accessory to the death of this poor animal, more especially as it was for the sake of feeding my diversion. Certainly it was a cruel act, and the fancied pleasure taken therein was vanity.

Through felt effects, I by experience find  
I've too much gratified a wand'ring mind.  
The rise of evil is the sure effect,  
Upon the mind that doth the watch neglect.

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*The effects of an uncultivated mind, exhibited under the representation of a neglected garden.*

When in a garden, weeds are left to grow,  
They will despoil the tender plants we know;

Not only by the shade their leaves display,  
They also draw the nourishment away.

Now, as the mind of man a semblance bears  
Unto a garden,—which real beauty wears,  
When cultivated by the industrious hand,  
And profit to its owner does command;  
My muse intends to represent it so,  
By pointing out the moral as I go.

The garden I conceive to be the mind,  
The gard'ner, he to whom it is consign'd:  
The sun,—his rays, his light, and ev'ry shower,  
To be the blessings of the heavenly Power:  
The tender plants—the good to indicate,  
The weeds and briars, to show the evil state.

Now when the gard'ner neglects his care,  
His work to do in season, does defer;—  
(Look to thy mind!—behold the consequence,  
The danger of delay infer from hence,)  
The weeds which in his garden should not grow,  
Will occupy the room therein, we know.  
Look to thy mind!—and see if 'tis not plain,  
The negligent shall always loss sustain.  
Those tender plants, which he should cultivate,  
Will lose their beauty in a dwindled state.  
Look to thy mind! eternal beauty's there,  
Dependant on thy industry and care.

The roots of weeds more strong and deep will  
grow,  
Thro' such neglect, and branches spread also.  
Look to thy mind! sin there deep root may take,  
And with high thoughts of self may elevate.

The roots will suck the moisture from the earth,  
So that the tender plants must suffer dearth.  
Look to thy mind! see sin, how it will take  
True comfort from thy soul, and wretched make.

The spreading branches, and expanded shade,  
 The cheering beams and light cannot pervade.  
 Look to thy mind! if here its pleasures be,  
 The heav'nly presence cannot come to thee.

The weeds, the thorns, the briars and thistles,  
 they  
 Obstruct the tender plants and stop their way.  
 Look to thy mind! how anger will devour,  
 Envy and strife, the good will overpower.  
 Thy neighbours seeing this, induc'd will be  
 With cautious care to stand aloof from thee.

Thus, the neglected garden we may find,  
 Will justly represent th' unwatchful mind.  
 'Twill like the des'late wilderness become—  
 So will the mind whose work is left undone.

Yet there is something more than what we've  
 heard,  
 Of greater consequence may be inferr'd:  
 The winter comes, when all that's green, we know  
 Does by the pinching cold desist to grow.  
 Look to thy mind!—that solemn day will come,  
 Wherein salvation's work cannot be done.

And as the gard'ner's winter store depends  
 Much on the precious fruits his garden lends;  
 Look to thy mind! behold the consequence,  
 And see the dismal fruits of negligence.  
 If weeds, instead of fruitful plants did grow,  
 The want of food the gard'ner must know.  
 Look to thy mind! how will that want appear,  
 When awful stripping death approaches near.  
 When all those blessings that have been bestow'd,  
 Have not been cultivated for thy good.  
 The rain and sunshine, which have been compar'd  
 To heav'nly blessings that thy soul has shar'd;

When vice, like weeds, have grown within the  
 mind,  
 And stole away the good for thee design'd;  
 When evil fruits, instead of virtuous deeds,  
 Are heap'd upon thee, like those noxious weeds;  
 (For, in that solemn day, thou must expect,  
 Thy famish'd soul will all such fruits reject)  
 If nought but virtue then can make thee blest,  
 Where will thy comfort be? and where thy rest?  
 When launch'd into a fix'd, and endless state,  
 In lack of virtue's fruits, what then thy fate?  
 If wint'ry death finds thee without a store,  
 Thy lot must be in woe forevermore.

7th mo. 30th. From the disposition which induces a man to entertain too high an opinion of himself, originates a disposition to undervalue others. Hence the evil of contempt.

If young people who spend so much of their precious time in gratifying their natural senses with music and songs, (sometimes foolish and profane songs) would take the subject seriously into consideration, they would find the heavenly Spirit, or divine Witness, stands opposed to it. Yea, I doubt not that many, at times, are sensible of its inconsistency, and stand convicted by reproof: but, alas! human reason, human wisdom, from the corrupted source of pride, or self love, prevail to harden the heart, and darken the understanding; thus having eyes, they see not; and ears, they hear not what the language of the heavenly Spirit is.

8th mo. 2d. I find by turning my mind inward to the heavenly principle, or, in other words, by thinking upon the Lord, and meditating in his law,



there is something, at times, very livingly operates upon my feelings, which I term spiritual sweetness, heavenly virtue, or the love of God. So that much depends upon the right direction and employment of my thoughts.

The careless wand'ring mind is like a tree,  
That's void of sap, and so must fruitless be;  
Th' industrious, stayed mind, tho' often try'd,  
Grows like a willow by the water's side.

My mind was filled with heavenly sweetness, this afternoon as I walked home from work; and I thought what a good thing it was to experience redemption from the sensual pleasures and fading enjoyments of time; inasmuch as they have a tendency to deprive the soul of heavenly treasure.

Though the idea of a separation from these things, when we are attached to them, may excite sad and gloomy sensations,—yet when the cross is once taken up, and we become extricated from them, we shall have to marvel at their insignificancy, and rejoice in the glorious change.

4th. The heavenly principle is the Light that makes manifest, reproveth, and condemns the works of darkness.

When there is a close adherence to the heavenly principle, there is no need to stand reasoning, or halting between two opinions, respecting what is best to do. It will lead thee, as thou submittest to it, into the paths of wisdom and knowledge, without anxious solicitude, or painful research. It don't require deep penetration to know the duties it calls thee to practise. Its operations are soft, tender, and if faithfully attended to, convincing. It lays no in-

junctions upon thee,—compels not to obedience;—it offers thee the means, and leaves thee to thy choice. If thou cleave to it, it will own thee in love; but if thou turn thy back upon it, it will be thy reprover. If thou take it for thy counsellor, it will justify thee in all thy ways; but if thou refuse its instructions, it will condemn thee.

The gift of the ministry is a precious gift. How beautiful, exalted, and precious it becomes, when directed and governed by the heavenly principle.—Clothe me, O Lord, with the garment of humility, so shall I be enabled to trust in thee, and to draw nigh unto thee for counsel and direction in all important movements.

27th. It is a good thing to have our hearts, at all times, dedicated to the Lord: then we are in the condition of watchful servants, ready to receive and obey him in the way of his requirings.

30th. Philip Price came, to know my mind respecting the Boarding School. After some conversation, I gave up to go.

9th mo. 8th. The school of Christ has its pleasures. 'Tis humble resignation to its blessed discipline that makes it pleasant.

When once the will to Christ is subject made,  
And pride and self as in the dust are laid;  
The holy discipline is not so tight,  
Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light.

13th. Religion is of a progressive nature; and in order to advance therein, there must be a pressing forward, under every vicissitude. By attending to the dictates of the heavenly principle, I find it is for leading on to greater degrees of perfection.

O blessed principle of light and grace,  
That in the consciences of men is plac'd,  
To be their guide to everlasting bliss,  
To which if they attend, they will not miss.  
But Oh! by pride, sincerity's betray'd,  
Hence man is on the side of error sway'd.

16th. I understand the boarding school committee have agreed on my going thither, as a teacher. The consideration of my small experience, and portion of learning, in comparison with the greatness and important design of the institution, together with my present, retired, and happy situation,—brought gloomy sensations over my mind; and I was more discouraged under the prospect of going there, than I ever remember to have been the case before. And must I then leave my present retired, contented situation?—this little chamber, where I so often retire to enjoy my book and my pen;—those open fields and shady groves, in which betimes I take my pleasant walks? Must I leave my labour, whereby I enjoy the sweets of rest, and the blessings of a good appetite? I shall be deprived of those pleasant evening walks up the meadow, when, after the long and sultry day, the setting sun invites Cuffee and me to hang our scythes upon the bush. Joseph and little John will no longer be my companions in the field. I must be separated from the healthful and pleasant occupations of the farm. I shall be removed from the cordial friendship of my affectionate sisters; and from the pleasing duty or office of alleviating the cares, and, in adverse seasons, of speaking a word of comfort to my dear, aged parents.—Must I change so happy a situation for a noisy, crowded seminary, where I shall be confined within

the walls of a large fabrick, daily involved in scenes of care;—deprived of the pleasing entertainment of beholding the formation, and wonderful movements of the clouds,—the phenomena of the thunder and lightning,—and of the winds and storms?—the pleasure of observing the falling of the snow in winter, and the gentle distillings of the showers, in summer,—of listening to the variety of the notes of birds, of frogs, and of insects, in their seasons, all which add to the pleasures of the morning and evening.

But let me remember, my happiness is not dependent on where I reside, nor my pleasures on the objects around me. I must retire to the closet of my heart, for the kingdom of heaven is within. I must dwell near to the Teacher placed there. He who is the Comforter, will go with me wherever I go, and make all things pleasant unto me. He will be my support, when trials assail, and my consolation in times of affliction. This is the way to be happy in every condition, and to sweeten my residence wherever it may be.

22d. I am increasingly desirous to attend more closely to the dictates of the heavenly Monitor. I love the Lord, because of his righteous judgments; and the language of my soul, under a sense of his goodness and mercy, is, Let not thine hand spare, nor thine eye pity, till thou hast purged away my dross,—my pride; and directed my feet in the way of humility. For I see that pride, by its subtle reasonings, too frequently prevails, so as to lead me out of the right way.

10th mo. 9th. The way to advance in religion, is to turn at the reproofs of instruction. These re-

proofs are the operations of that heavenly good, which stand opposed to all evil, and, as a light, discovers the arisings thereof.

At our preparative meeting, a circumstance occurred which produced the following lesson of instruction. Let the affairs of the church be managed in the peaceable spirit and wisdom of Jesus, with decency, forbearance, and love to each other. This is the spirit by which all things are kept in beautiful and decent order; and, though different opinions may originate from views of things, yet, under its blessed government, what love and condescension prevail among brethren. Hence, that which is right will, as it were, naturally take place.

11th. In order to be furnished with strength to resist every appearance of evil, it is requisite the mind should experience renewed invigoration: which it cannot do without food and rest, and these must be of a heavenly nature.

12th. That which obstructs love and unity amongst brethren, must be an evil, and offensive in the sight of heaven. "Is love and unity maintained amongst you, as becomes the followers of Christ?" This is one of the most important queries for inspecting the state of our religious society; and the latter part, "as becomes the followers of Christ," adds to its weight and importance. Mark, of what a meek and humble spirit Christ was;—savouring of nothing but the nature of his heavenly Father, who is *perfect love*. Under the influence of this love, there can be no tale-bearing, back-biting, nor spreading evil reports: no quarrelling, contending, or complaining of one another, about worldly affairs: because, in compari-

son of the worth of this cementing virtue, all other things are of little consequence.

If thou apprehends thy neighbour deals hardly with thee, or stands disposed to do thee wrong, put the importance of this love and unity in competition with every other consideration—get it in thy possession; then its powerful virtue will make every difficulty easy to be surmounted.

19th. Attended Bradford meeting; where the concern to speak in public came upon me with increasing weight. At length, I gave up, and spoke a few words, greatly to my peace and satisfaction.

20th. Evening reflection. Though I have felt my mind enriched with what I took to be gospel love, and under its sweet influence have ventured to open my mouth in the cause of righteousness, yet something seems to lurk about, that would be up and doing. Perhaps it is pride, or something from the root of pride, that leads out of the right way; and the foundation it lays to build upon, cannot stand in the day of trial. Blessed be the name of the Lord; he is my refuge, and in him do I put my trust: therefore the enemy cannot prevail, neither shall I be dismayed. O Lord, preserve me in the way of humility;—there am I in safety.

22d. It is a good thing under affliction, to bow down in humble resignation before the Lord. If it is his chastening rod for disobedience, the covenant of faithfulness will be more firmly renewed;—if it is admitted for trial of faith, and further refinement, it adds unto patience an increase of glory.

27th. This world is not the place for the soul to take up its rest in. There is need of constant perse-

verance, and Oh! how good it is to be advancing in the heavenly way! The good Shepherd of souls is a kind caretaker and companion; he is not wanting to refresh the weary traveller, when needful, as well as to protect from danger. The enemy may beset, at times, as on the right hand, and on the left, and the unwary traveller may receive a wound; yet, if there is renewed exertion, and a right application to the weapons in possession, there is no danger of being taken captive.

When evil besets, it is a good thing for the mind to draw near to the Lord, in faith, immediately to become still, and take his name in remembrance; for "the name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous flee unto it, and are safe."

I find by experience that the name of the Lord, taken into remembrance with a suitable disposition of mind, has a powerful tendency to scatter every thing of an evil nature. This is a strong evidence of the tender mercy and condescension of the Divine Being, who will draw nigh unto them that draw nigh unto him. Surely, if there was nothing in this *name*, the mind could not be so powerfully affected in the meditation of it. I believe in the Lord, and am daily more and more convinced that this is the operation of his holy Spirit, which produces the unavoidable feelings of *condemnation* and *justification*. It condemns every thing in man that he should not do, and justifies that which he should do. Who is there that passes a day, without feeling this operation in some degree or other? Alas! its blessed admonitions are, by many, too much frustrated for want of attention and obedience.

The more watchful and careful we are, the richer we grow in heavenly treasure, and the more speed we make on our heavenly journey, which is highly requisite in this state of existence, where time is both short and uncertain.

Oh! how necessary it is to have our affections weaned from things below, and fixed on things above! Nothing below can be enjoyed, or used rightly, without the heavenly influence. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

The operation of the cross,  
Produces pain while there is dross.  
But when it makes the conscience pure,  
The cross is easy to endure.

11th mo. 17th. Took leave of my friends, and went to West-town boarding school to reside. Felt poor and dejected. For several days my situation yielded me but a small portion of comfort. But I have consolation independent of that which belongs to flesh and blood; so that my soul secretly rejoiced in the Lord.

22d. A number of the larger boys having formed an association for the purpose of improving themselves in oratory, we had an opportunity with them; in which endeavours were used to show them the hurtful tendency of such a pursuit, with regard to their religious improvement, in this inexperienced time of life.

23d. There appears to be much need of religious care and exertion, in this place. Hence the necessity of aid from a divine source.



Oh! blessed be that heavenly Power  
 Which over death prevails;  
 It yields me comfort in the hour  
 When other comfort fails.

12th mo. 15th.

My hope, my strength is in the Lord,  
 Let self abased be;  
 Let nothing but his holy word  
 Be near to comfort me.

May I dwell near him all the day,  
 Resign'd before him stand,  
 And be as passive as the clay  
 Wrought in the potter's hand.

17th. Engaged in assisting to treat with disorderly boys, which, at times, is a painful, exercising business to me, and cannot avail much without the help of best Wisdom.

Humility's a virtue great,  
 And much I wish it to procure;  
 A resign'd and truly humble state  
 Makes hardships easy to endure.

Oh! that I may resigned stand,  
 Cloth'd with humility:  
 Withhold not, Lord, thy chast'ning hand,  
 For that works peace for me.

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The blessed cross endur'd, I find,  
 Makes way for sweet repose of mind.  
 This sweetens labour,—eases care,  
 And makes the burden light to bear.

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23d. Let me be careful to live near<sup>st</sup>  
My true, unerring Guide;  
Begin the morning with this care,  
And in this care abide.

25th. Having maintained a strict watch over my mind this day, I felt great peace. I believe it is possible to be so humble, so redeemed from the world, that no circumstance, how trying soever, can prevail to distress the mind.

26th. "Watch and pray." There is not much danger but preservation will be experienced by those who rightly practice this of watchfulness and prayer. In school, much difficulty and exercise occurred.

Oh! that I may more inward be,  
When trials thus occur,  
And centre in humility  
Without the least demur.

When over-anxious thought prevails,  
How shall I get along,  
The aid from self, which ever fails,  
Makes weak, instead of strong.

It is a good and precious thing,  
To dwell in such a state,  
That nothing can prevail, to bring  
The mind from wisdom's gate.

Those little trials which beset,  
If rightly we apply,  
Will peace and consolation get,  
And tend to purify.

---

28th.

Withhold not, Lord, thy chast'ning hand,  
 That self reduc'd may be;  
 Make pride to bow at thy command,  
 At thy command to flee.

But, why need I thus to ask?  
 The lack is on my part:  
 Do I fulfil my daily task,  
 With dedicated heart?

I have the means to overcome,—  
 Do I these means embrace?  
 Is there not something yet undone,  
 That must, if right, take place?

When I, upon these means lay hold,  
 And rightly them apply,  
 Truth, living counsel doth unfold,  
 And yieldeth rich supply.

But when I suffer self to rise,  
 The human will to reign,  
 Then artful pride can means devise,  
 Her purposes to gain.

29th. The more humble I am, the less power  
 have the cares of the world to perplex, and the less  
 anxious I am how I shall appear before men.

'Tis in humility that I  
 Enjoy myself aright,  
 Can stand unhurt, while storms pass by,  
 Thro' darkness, walk in light.

It is a low, but beauteous place,  
Low to the pride of man:  
Yet, notwithstanding that's the case,  
Mount Sion there doth stand.



## ACCOUNT OF FRIENDS IN VERMONT.

TIMOTHY BLAKE, of Strafford, in Vermont, the principal man among those called Friends, newly convinced thereaway, at whose house their meeting was held, when Thomas Colley, Moses Brown, Daniel Cass, and William Rotch, junr. visited them in the latter end of the 10th month, 1786, being the first of our Society that ever visited them,—appeared to be a very intelligent person, and gave them a particular account of his conviction, and of the settlement of himself and of the meeting in that place, the principal part of which account was nearly as follows:

He being a lieutenant in the American army, at Canada, in 1776, at a time when great ravages were made among the troops by the small pox, was, about midnight, returning from a visit to the distressed of his corps, when, passing an officer's tent, he was struck with amazement at seeing several of them in great jollity and mirth at their cards and cups, when so many of the poor soldiery were in such a distressed condition. Reflecting on these things, he was favoured with a very clear manifestation of Divine Light in his heart, which fully convinced him, not only of their iniquity, but also of his own situation, and the inconsistency of war with the christian precepts; and as he attended to it, he

was led to keep mostly by himself, until the expiration of the time he had engaged for, which was then about two months, thinking his duty to those under his command required his continuance with them till that time expired.

Some time after his return home, finding one of his acquaintance was separated from the Congregational way of worship, they often were in company together, and at length concluded to meet for Divine worship. Not long after this, he thought it his duty to remove to Strafford, which was then very little inhabited, and in the year 1778, prevailed upon his wife to remove thither. Soon after he came there, finding a few persons of religious inclinations, they concluded to hold meetings on first-days, which were accordingly held in the year 1779, at the house of Eliza West, widow, and afterwards removed to said Timothy Blake's house, where a meeting has ever since been continued.

He informed them the first meeting was held in silence, after which his mouth was opened in testimony; that he has since been concerned at times, to visit some neighbouring towns, and appointed meetings in them. Several others of their neighbours appearing convinced of the same principles with himself, since they first held meetings, and the most of those with whom he first united, falling away, there are now about nine families; called members of their body, who mostly are a tender hearted people, but rather raw and inexperienced. They appeared very thankful for the visit, kindly received the advice that was imparted to them, and seemed heartily disposed to profit thereby, being in a good

degree made sensible of the infant state of their religious progress.

At a place called Sharon, four and a half miles from Strafford, two families having been convinced within the course of the year 1786, they have settled a meeting-house there, at the house of Matthew Herrington, held once in two weeks, which is attended by T. Blake, and the intermediate day these generally attend at Strafford. They appeared to have had very little acquaintance with our Society, otherwise than by report, and none personally with any member of it, and it did not appear they had ever read any Friends' books, except Richard Davies' Life, and William Penn's Advice to his Children.

On first-day, the 22d of 10th mo., 1786, Thomas Colley and his companions aforesaid, attended their meeting, which was as large as usual, although they had no notice of this visit previous thereto; at the close of which Thomas Colley expressed a desire to see them again next day, and of having a meeting at Sharon on third-day, which they very readily complied with, and in all of them he was favoured to administer doctrine, counsel, and advice seasonable and pertinent to their situation; and the last meeting was concluded with solemn supplication.

At the close of the second meeting, they had a conference with those in unity one with another, which was to them an humbling season, they mostly attempting to express their gratitude to the Father of mercies for the unexpected favour they had been made partakers of in this visit, their own confirmation in the faith, and sincere desires to take fresh courage, and to be more and more engaged to come

up in their several duties, manifested by the invisible Teacher.

Besides these nine families, there are several other tender hearted people, who met with Thomas Colley and companions, and seemed well disposed; several books were left among them, such as Mary Brooke on Silent Waiting, Grounds of an Holy Life, Penn's Advice to the Newly Convinced, &c.



*A Letter from a Member of the Assembly of Virginia to Edward Stabler.*

Hanover, January 18th, 1773.

DEAR SIR,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the Slave Trade. I thank you for it. Is it not a little surprising, that Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings,—should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong; what adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvement in the arts, sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of usurpation and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that, in such an age, and such a country, we find men professing a religion the

most humane, mild, meek, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty. Every thinking honest man rejects it in speculation, but how few in practice from conscientious motives! The world in general has denied your people a share of its honours, but the wise will ascribe to you a just tribute of virtuous praise, for the practice of a train of virtues, among which your disagreement to slavery will be principally ranked. I cannot but wish well to a people, whose system imitates the example of Him whose life was perfect; and, believe me, I shall honour the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery; they are equally calculated to promote moral and political good. Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them: I will not, I cannot justify it; however culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil; every thing we can do is, to improve it if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished-for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity;—it is the farthest advance we can make towards justice;—it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery.



Here is an instance that silent meetings (the scoff of reverend doctors) have done that which learned and elaborate preaching could not effect: so much preferable are the genuine dictates of conscience, and a steady attention to its feelings, above the teachings of those men who pretend to have found a better guide. I exhort you to persevere in so worthy a resolution. Some of your people disagree, or at best are lukewarm in the abolition of slavery. Many treat the resolution of your meeting with ridicule, and among those who throw contempt upon it are clergymen, whose surest guard against both ridicule and contempt, is a certain act of Assembly. I know not where to stop, I could say many things on this subject; a serious view of which gives a gloomy prospect to future times. Excuse this scrawl, and believe me, with esteem,

Your obedient servant,

P. HENRY, JR.



*To Friends who belong to the week-day meeting,  
held at Woodbury Creek, GREETING;—*

Dear and well beloved Friends,—There remains a concern upon my mind for your growth and prosperity in the blessed Truth, into which the feet of our minds have in some degree been turned, and the spiritual eye in us opened, so that we have had some sight of the beauty that there is in holiness, without which none can see God to their comfort. Dear Friends, I find it to live in my mind to exhort you to a steady walking before the Lord, and with all diligence keep up your meetings, not only on first-days, but on week-days also; and when you are

gathered together in your little week-day meetings, as well as other meetings, Oh! the earnest concern that you ought to be in, that a dull, heavy, or negligent frame of mind do not prevail upon any of you, but that you may all labour in that gift which the Lord has graciously bestowed on you in the secret of your souls, that so in that good exercise of mind when thus met together, you may witness the promise fulfilled, that wheresoever two or three are met together in my name (saith the Lord) there am I in the midst of them: that you may thus witness his powerful presence accompanying you in your solid waiting before the Lord, is the earnest desire of my spirit before the Lord for you.

My dear Friends, I find a concern in my mind to give you a caution to watch over your own spirits, that there may not any thing arise in any of you to disquiet the peace of the church, but all endeavour to live in love one with another, so that it may be demonstrated to the world, that you are the disciples of Christ indeed; and here you will come to witness your fellowship to be with the Father and with the Son, to whom be glory and dominion, for ever and ever. You are often in my remembrance, and it would be matter of great joy to hear of your welfare and growth in the Truth. I remain with desires to be your fellow traveller towards a city which has foundations, whose maker and builder is God, and with the salutation of unfeigned love to you all, I bid you farewell in the Lord, and subscribe myself your loving friend and brother in the unchangeable Truth,

JAMES LORD.

*From Flushing, on Long Island, the 27th of 8th mo. 1727.*

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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 5.]

EIGHTH MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VII.

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## *Testimony concerning Hannah Churchman.*

HANNAH CHURCHMAN, the daughter of Mordecai James, by his first wife, Gaynor Lloyd, was born at Goshen, Chester county, in the 1st mo., old style, 1728; her mother died when she was an infant, about seven months old. In the year 1736, her father married again, and settled in East Nottingham, where she was educated by him and her step-mother, Dinah James; whose religious care over her, according to her account of them in that respect, proved very useful in preserving her out of undue liberties, more than many other young people. She was in a good degree innocent and religiously inclined in her youthful days, and when grown up was favoured with a good share of understanding and natural abilities. In the 5th month, 1752, she entered into a marriage state with George Churchman, being turned of twenty-four years of age; between that time and the year 1772, she became the mother of ten children, nine of whom lived to grow up.

She was a woman early impressed with a sense of the necessity of an unremitting religious care in bringing up her children, which she in a good degree practiced amongst them whilst they were very young, endeavouring to keep them in subjection, and to nip the early buddings which are apt to ap-

pear in children, to seek to be gratified in an unsuitable manner; fully believing, and afterwards finding, from thirty-six years solid experience, that a diligent care of this kind, made the way much easier for maintaining government in a family, than where fond indulgence and improper gratifications are allowed to take place. It is well known to some, that for many years she frequently mourned in secret from a sense of the want of proper care, and a truly religious education among many Friends' children, and had a hint of it in family visits which she was, at times, engaged in, as well as in the women's meetings for discipline; being fully apprehensive that where young people were thus indulged, and not kept under proper subjection and restraint in their minority, but suffered to begin to grow unruly, heady, and high-minded, if they afterwards go further astray from the discipline and simplicity of Truth,—those parents who thus incautiously lose their authority, are in danger of becoming chargeable with their children's misdemeanors, if not (some of them) with their downfall.

She appeared to be favoured with a gift for the maintenance of order, as well as endowed with prudence, in the exercise of church discipline, wherein she was firm for the cause of Truth, to the best of her knowledge, and very useful in meetings for that purpose; kind and tender-hearted towards penitent transgressors, as well as to her neighbours in general, especially when under distress by sickness: diligent and exemplary both as to herself and family in the attendance of religious meetings, and in a labour for lively offerings to be presented there. In the year 1778, she was chosen to the station of an elder, in

which, we believe, she was concerned to be upright and faithful according to her capacity; and a covering of religious exercise frequently attended her mind for the prosperity of Truth.

In the summer, 1777, she was concerned, with the concurrence of her friends, to attend the Quarterly meeting at Fairfax, in Virginia, and in the 11th month following, from a like concern, attempted, with several other Friends, in a very difficult time, to attend Philadelphia Quarterly meeting, and to visit the wives and children of several Friends of that city, who were then in a state of banishment; but was stopped in Darby by a part of the continental army, who refused to let them go in. It also appears that twice since that time, she, from a religious draught which she felt, attended the Yearly Meeting in Maryland, once the Quarterly meeting at Haddonfield, and once the general and Quarterly meeting at Salem; and likewise in the 5th month, 1788, from a religious draught, she, with her friends' approbation, attended Philadelphia, Abington, and Chester Quarterly meetings, which was followed with satisfaction of mind, as she expressed, for her attention to such little items of duty. Some other times formerly, we find she went to different monthly meetings, according to like drawings which she felt, one of which it appears was at an awful season, when she found her mind not easy to forbear endeavouring to attend the monthly meeting at Kennet, on the day, and near the place where that called the Brandywine battle happened, in the year 1777, having to go along not far behind a part of the British army, who had that morning passed on the same road; on her return, although she found but

few Friends collected there, many being prevented by the difficulties which prevailed, she expressed peace in giving up to the motion to go thither, wherein she was accompanied by one man Friend, her neighbour, at her request.

Upon the whole, on recollecting her exercises, and viewing the steps of her pilgrimage thro' life, though some of them might appear singular to many; also, observing the peaceable manner of her close, as hereunto annexed, we have cause to believe she was an honest, religious Friend, who tho' missed among us, is doubtless gone to rest in safety. She departed this life at her own habitation, in East Nottingham aforesaid, in Cecil county, Maryland, the 16th of the 10th month, 1789, in the sixty-second year of her age, and was decently interred the 19th, in Friends' burying-place there, accompanied by a large collection of her friends and neighbours; after which, a solemn, satisfactory meeting was held, where the power and instructive savour of Truth was measurably in dominion, and praises given therefor to the Holy Author of blessings. We conclude with expressing, it appears to be a fresh instance that the real value of some servants may be better known after their decease, than whilst they are living.

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*The following is an account of some Expressions dropt by our friend Hannah Churchman, in her last illness, and of the disposition of her mind previous thereto; the substance whereof was taken down for the satisfaction and benefit of others.*

She had received a fall in the 5th month, 1789, on which account she was confined nearly three

months; during that time she manifested becoming patience and fortitude of mind, under her pain and affliction. And altho' a state of lameness continued, she frequently got out to meetings, and for several weeks before the Yearly Meeting, she at times hinted the strong draught of mind she felt for endeavouring to attend there this year, thinking she should scarcely be of ability to attend many more meetings of that kind. She accomplished the journey to Philadelphia, and returned home on the 5th of the 10th month, being the second-day evening after the close of the Yearly Meeting; and expressed her satisfaction and thankfulness, in being favoured to sit with her friends once more in that solemnity, being apprehensive there had been, of latter years, a visible and comfortable increase of weight among women Friends, when collected there; yet withal mentioned her renewed concern respecting some things (similar to what she had been closely exercised on account of in former years,) wherein more wisdom and care, as she thought, was necessary to be observed, in order for the further prevalence of order and right authority in such meetings, that the youth might receive profitable instruction, and other Friends be strengthened to labour for an increase of the order of Truth in the inferior meetings.

She attended to her family business with usual cheerfulness for several days after her return; and was at the preparative meeting the same week, but was taken unwell on seventh-day, the 10th of the 10th month, and continued about a week, being preserved much in her senses, and in calmness of mind, under bodily affliction; for near four days of

which time she did not say much, nor discover an apprehension that her end was so near.

Before day, on the morning of the 14th, she grew worse, and requested several women Friends of her neighbours to be sent for; but after some hours was easier again, and then repeated the satisfaction she had felt in being once more at the Yearly Meeting; saying, if she lived, she had thoughts of endeavouring to collect her family oftener into stillness, or silent waiting, believing it would be profitable; and mentioned her apprehension that a stricter regulation was much wanted in many Friends' families; and remarked the manner in which she and her dear friend, Rebecca Wright, lately parted in Philadelphia. About the second hour that afternoon, her disorder increased, and she said she believed now that she must soon leave us. She requested of her husband and children, that they might be quite resigned; and as her strength allowed her to speak, she, at several times, expressed in substance as follows: "I hope I am fully resigned in the matter, and I beg of you, my dear children, not to add to my affliction by your sorrow. Oh! I seem too far spent to speak much now, yet can say in truth, I love you all more than I can express. I have many times anxiously craved the divine blessing for you, my children, when you have been asleep. May you now be bowed into stillness. Trust in the Lord; love him and his truth; and you will find him a helper. Make yourselves quite easy respecting me. O yes! I have an assurance of going to rest—I feel nothing in my way. It is not because I don't love you, that I am willing to leave you. My near connexions are very precious to me. Your kind affec-



tionate sympathy and care for me, under many afflictions, have been great; and now I can freely trust you all in the Divine hand. He will regard you if you sincerely love him. My faith is firm,—my hope and confidence in the Most High, is an anchor to my soul. It is all the anchor we can have at such a time as this. I have been favoured with strength to endeavour honestly to discharge my duty in my family, as well as among my friends, according to my capacity. I have, at times, loved and preferred the Truth above all things, and have not neglected to examine my accounts, and to have them settled as I have passed along, and now I feel that all is clear. Death has no terrors in it—I can look at it calmly—the sting is taken away! I love all, and forgive all. Remember my dear love to all my friends.” To a woman friend about to take leave of her that afternoon, she said nearly thus: “My dear friend, there has been precious unity known between us, which has continued. I feel it now, and hope we shall die in it.”

On fifth-day, the 15th, in the afternoon, a friend coming in to see her, she said, “I am very poorly, and passing away from this vale of tears.” And again, when he took leave of her, “Farewell: my continuance is very doubtful, and if we never see each other more, I hope there is peace,” or near to this effect. As her difficulty of breathing increased, her bodily strength declined, yet at some intervals she got refreshing sleep. At one time being asked, when she was low, if she still felt inward strength for her support, she said, yes, desiring patience might be continued to carry her through.

On sixth-day afternoon, about the fourth hour,

feeling a little revival of strength, she spake nearly thus to a friend who came in:—"What a precious thing it is to know the unity!—Labour earnestly for it, and seek after it: it is not to be had without seeking for. What a precious thing it is to live in love and peace, and to die in it! Nothing can give equal comfort when affliction or death looks us in the face. There is, at times, something in our poor nature, too big, or too high, to submit to the meekness; but this must be reduced before we can come at true peace; and if we will not bow in mercy, we must bow in judgment." Her second son coming in, who had been sent for, she embraced him very affectionately, and desired he might take all things patiently, which were permitted to come as trials. About five in the evening, her third son, having occasion to go for his wife to her father's, she freely gave him up, taking leave, as not expecting to see him more in mutability. After this she seemed to sleep a little; and about the eighth hour, being somewhat revived in her strength, she tenderly took leave of her husband and children that were present, with composure of mind, one by one, expressing a few words to several of them as she thought suitable to their states; she also took leave of several others present, expressing again the great love she felt to all ranks, even the meanest of people, repeating her love to Friends; she mentioned a little black boy in the family, saying, she loved him: and near this time, hinted again "the great want of regulation in Friends' families." A person coming in after she had taken leave of others, she expressed nearly thus to him: "This is a task we all have to pass through, and happy is it for those

who are prepared for death. What an excellent thing it is substantially to labour for a solid, quiet, inward weight; to seek to be more in substance than in show! In meetings for worship, and in meetings for discipline, I have very often thought of it, for men and boys, and others, as that which makes Friends wise, of sound judgment, and steady in the cause of truth." Soon after, she further expressed, "The sum of what I have to recommend all to, if I could send forth my words to all, is, an earnest care to press after life and substance, which is beyond all outward show; fair words and fine expressions being vain without this." Then appearing to be much spent, she desired stillness, and not so much company in the room, and seemed to go into a pleasant sleep. In her last hours, the difficulty of breathing did not admit her to lay down, choosing either to sit in her chair, or to be supported in the bed, or on the bed-side leaning forward. When she awaked again, she said, "My glass is almost run out." And at another time, "The close of all will come."—About an hour before her departure, she tenderly expressed herself in supplication;—"O Lord, grant me patience with this cup;—deliver me from this affliction, and admit me into rest at the close of all; yet not my will, but thine, O Lord, be done."

Near the last, she mentioned her dear son Micajah (who died in the beginning of last year) saying, "Some of his last words were, nature struggles long, and is hard to yield to the stroke of death;" and added, "It is painful, but I must endure it all, keeping on will make an end." After this, her strength and breath gradually decreased, and she quietly expired, a little before midnight, the 16th of the

10th month, 1789; a sweet and comforting savour being mercifully felt at this awful season.



## THOUGHTS ON DEATH.

*Written by David Cooper, near Woodbury, New Jersey.*

Every period or portion of time has its employment; the most useful and necessary is that which tends to prepare us for the succeeding. The activity, and the busy scene of childhood and youth, fit us for the life of action allotted to young men, and the energies of manhood are employed to provide and lay up a store against the winter of life, or old age, when we can no longer labour; so that then, being provided with things needful, we may bid adieu to the active world, and prepare for our great and last change.

I seem to be marshalled in this class. Mine appears to be the serious and awful business of declining age: for though years have not whited my head, yet my infirmities tell me that I am old, and point at the grave. How oft has it gaped upon me when I have been tottering on its brink, and my faltering tongue ready to call for my winding-sheet! How often have I been trembling on the verge of eternity, when the thin partition seemed ready to open upon me! yet have I been snatched as it were from the jaws of death, and my portion of time lengthened out. I am still numbered with the living; and, while one friend drops here, and another there, I am yet continued in time. Thus, in addition to my days, can any thing be more rational,—can any thing

be more awfully necessary, than serious thoughts, and an industrious preparation for my long and endless home? Let me ever indulge these reflections, that pour themselves upon me, in my solitary and lonely hours.

When I view the rest of mankind around me, and consider that as we are fellow-possessors of time, so shall we be joint-heirs of eternity;—and that we all have the same occasion to prepare for that hour which is so awfully approaching. But I am often surprised to think that rational creatures should be so regardless of the end for which they were created;—the important and awful end for which time is given;—as to be playing with straws and trifling with feathers; while the momentous concerns of *eternity* are disregarded. **ETERNITY!** astonishing and tremendous sound, *Eternity!*—Eternity! where does that word reach? where shall I send my thoughts to find its extent? If I stretch my views through myriads of ages, I shall be no nearer its limits. If I reach thro' as many thousand years as there are grains of sand on the globe, and that number multiplied into itself, I shall be no nearer its end than when I began.—And what have we, poor pensioners of a moment! who are but as of yesterday, and may even be gone to-morrow,—what have we in readiness for this state of unmeasurable duration? Is the last moment of our time here, to fix our happiness or misery forever, without a possibility of our condition being reversed? Ah! can the thought enter the stoutest mind, without striking the deepest awe?

And is this awful, endless eternity so seldom in our minds that it occupies the least of our thoughts, while the bubble of life engrosses the whole of our

attention? A bubble indeed! a feather! yea, less than a feather in one scale,—when the whole creation of God is not equal to eternity in the other.—What pains and labour do we bestow to acquire the good things of this life, which we can enjoy but for a moment, and which are more uncertain than the variable wind! Yet what anxiety and uneasiness, when we meet with disappointment in the pursuit of them, or when stripped of those we had in possession! What folly can be compared to this! what stupidity can equal it! so anxious to provide for an hour in labouring to procure things that we can, in no wise, give to ourselves,—and so wholly unconcerned in securing to ourselves the happiness of eternity,—ever-during, never-ending eternity! And what is this life that we are so fond of? a shadow!—a bubble, which a breeze will soon destroy. What so uncertain,—so little to be depended upon, as life? Wherefore do we centre our hopes and desires upon it, and prize it above all things? Why centre all our cares upon that which may end with the present moment? and think it not worth our concern to provide for that permanent duration, which never ends, when nothing is more certain than our final change?

And why are we so terrified at the thoughts of death? What is it that we are so afraid of?—Wherein doth its terror consist? Doth it not argue great weakness to form such ideas of a stranger we have never seen, and of whom we have no personal knowledge? Nor have any that have ever seen him, given us this information. They are images of our own fancy,—bug-bears of our own creating.—Perhaps, when we come to see for ourselves, we may think him the most agreeable messenger,—cur

best friend,—a redeemer from prison, and a deliverer from captivity. This we are sure of, that it is a door which opens for our release, and through which we must step out of this prison, from under this load of human life; and if it is not a pleasing release, it is our own fault. The scene beyond the curtain can only terrify those who are conscious they have not acted as they ought on this stage of being.

Happiness! O happiness, our beings end and aim; wherein centres all our hopes, all our wishes and pursuits! But, alas! the fatal mistake of our choice; we bound it by this world, and entail it upon ourselves through endless duration. Mistake indeed! to think that souls created for the joys of heaven should be satisfied with the dirty delights of earth; be contented in prison,—easy in captivity,—or happy in banishment from their destined home. But so it is. Misery, which above all things we wish to avoid, like infatuated creatures, we seek with greatest ardour; and while its chains are chafing our limbs, please ourselves with the fancied possession of happiness. So fond are we of this life,—so attached to this world,—that the joys of heaven have no allurements in them. Though we know we must *die*, we will not think of death. Notwithstanding all things sound the awful alarm, we scarce believe ourselves mortal. The long-lived oak and the lofty pine, the durable cedar and the beautiful elm, are daily dropping into dust,—and the animated beings which nature is constantly handing into life, industrious *time* is melting down, and sending as into the mint again. Thus we see things gravitating to their end;—nature is a continual scene of revolution; every thing is upon the wing of change.

How then can we expect permanent happiness on earth? or is there any thing here below, worth our anxiety, our esteem, or our attachment? Wherefore, then, do we refuse to look toward eternity, our fixed and durable home?

Although, in our considerations, we may discard the thoughts of death, yet we know it must visit us ere long, and open to us a new scene. How dare we then omit providing for so awful a guest! Will he neglect to come, because we are not prepared?—No: he will surely come; and our omission will make him doubly terrible. Oh! the horror and gnashing of teeth, when conscience joins the potent foe, and in our hearing informs how constantly he has been whispering in our ears that the king of terrors was at hand, and reminding us of the necessity of making preparations for his reception; and how we had slighted his kindness, and mocked at his admonitions. Then, Oh! then, we shall see, with the Preacher, all below the sun to be vanity and vexation of spirit, and that there is no profit in any thing but what produces self-approving thoughts. Then shall we see that the smiles of conscience, on a retrospect of our past lives, would be of more value than legions of worlds. Then shall we see what stupid and infatuated creatures we have been, without the least shadow of excuse; and how terrible will conscience appear, when we remember how often we have refused him audience, and turned him over till to-morrow; but now to-morrow is no more. What we might have easily prevented, now admits of no remedy, or cure. Time, that magazine of events, which we so lavishly squandered away, is to us exhausted. We are forced on a journey, with-



out a penny in our purse;—nor is it possible to borrow.

Oh! the necessity,—the awful necessity and importance of providing for this tremendous scene!—How shall we account for the conduct of mortals who know this, and are as sure as they have a place and being, that this awful scene, or period will overtake them: yet, shocking to reflect on, are running on headlong, like the horse to the battle,—snuffing up the wind, and crying ha! ha! in pursuit of their lusts and momentary gratifications. Momentary indeed! for the sting, the envenomed sting which these leave, soon annihilates all their sweets. This, their constant experience loudly declares; yet such is the stupidity of mortals that they continue repeating the experiment, with ardent expectations of extracting sweets from wormwood and gall: and yet while they are spending their hopes and wishes on the transient, uncertain, and fading things of this world, the most delicious honey lies at their feet unnoticed, though offering itself to their taste, and suited to appetites which were given to reach after and feed upon things eternal, permanent and unchangeable. These are plants of that soil where happiness grows, and is only to be found, affording sweets which neither tongue nor pen can describe.

The path that leads to the mansion of bliss, is calm, resigned, and humble: in this path the mind is brought into a state of acquiescence with the dispensations, and the will of heaven; and into a cheerful and steady observance of his precepts who called us into being, and whose all-sustaining power preserves us these few hours from mixing again with our mother earth. On his almighty arm the whole creation

leans, and is supported. His all-seeing eye is constantly surveying his rational creatures and taking cognizance of their conduct. He beholds the inmost intentions and secret desires of mortals. He knows them that love, fear, and obey him,—gratefully acknowledging his goodness, and seeking opportunities to serve him, and to do good to his creation.—It is these who sow the seeds of joy, and reap the balm of the harvest of peace;—peace in life and in death; in joy and in sorrow; in prosperity and in adversity;—a peace which the world cannot give, neither can it take away. This is indeed a continual feast. Oh! the sweet and self-approving thoughts which abound in the hearts of these dedicated children. It is a treasure of more worth than all the glory and glitter of this world, and all the sensual pleasures here to be enjoyed, even if there was no hereafter. But when eternity,—awful and tremendous eternity, is contemplated, and that those who sow pleasure in this world shall reap misery in the next,—how trifling and insignificant do these momentary gratifications then appear!

O my soul! though others dote upon these fading, transient pleasures, do thou soar above into the regions of light,—the place of thy nativity,—and look down with pity and compassion upon these creeping insects of the earth. While they are striving after, and destroying one another in the pursuit of, polluted pleasures, do thou mount above them, and labour for heavenly riches,—treasures which cannot be corrupted, nor taken away; but which will remain through the endless ages of eternity, as a river of pleasure,—a fountain of joy,—an inexhaustible source of delight; where thou mayst solace thyself,

and adore thy Creator, with living praises to thy King and Redeemer. These are the riches and pleasures worth seeking,—the treasures worth coveting—a possession worth labouring for. It is the *one thing needful* for us poor, dependant creatures to strive for.

If I have an assurance of this pearl of great price, what matters it how I fare during these few moments here? or what the trifling, vain world says, or thinks of me? whether I am called a fine man,—a rich man, a wise or powerful man, or the reverse? Is it not folly to be affected with a name? A pleasure that lives upon the breath of mortals can last but a few days, and will soon be annihilated, as to myself. But Oh! when I am bidding adieu to time, and stepping into eternity, my ever-during habitation, then will appear the advantage of having treasure in heaven; then,—*then*, the smiles of conscience will be of more worth than millions of worlds.—An age of labour will appear but trifling for such a purchase. May the procuring thereof be my chiefest aim in all my labours. May it ever be my morning's earliest wish, and my evening's latest desire, to be in favour with him that made me;—a Being, to whose mercy I owe all my blessings, and to whom may gratitude ascend for his fatherly compassion, in that I have not been cut off in my sins. And in my future life, may I live to his honour, that so praises may ever acceptably ascend—a tribute eternally due to the universal Father from all his works.

DAVID COOPER.

*Some of the Last Expressions of Lettice Pugh,  
Wife of Elijah Pugh, of Unionville, Chester  
County.*

On first-day afternoon, being a little revived, and a neighbour present, she requested him to take a seat by her bedside, and said, "I do not know that I have much to say, but on hearing thou wast here, thought I would be glad to see thee once more. Thou hast been with us several times during my illness, and appeared interested on my behalf." Then, fixing her eyes very earnestly on him, said, "I have often been concerned for thee and thy dear family, exposed as you are to the conflicting opinions of the present day. I have desired thee may do the best thee can. Oh! this of depending on reason alone, what gloom has the consideration thereof brought over my poor soul; why, on looking towards it for support, I have turned and turned and found no ray. There must be a God, a pure God, nothing else could have changed me from such feelings of gloom and distress, to my present state of enjoyment and happiness. Oh! the immortal soul is a glorious thing. I wish the world knew how it has been with me; what my Saviour has done for me, an atom of the dust. I have heard there are some who dont believe in future rewards and punishments; and flattering themselves with this idea, think they may do as they please while here, as after death they will sink into annihilation. Why I would rather be a beast of the field, or the meanest worm that crawls on the ground, and live, than be what I am, and sink into annihilation. That there is a God, a gracious God, the African knows, the Indian of the forest feels it, and they

worship him in their way, and he blesses them." She then lay still a few minutes, when she extended her hand towards him, wished to be remembered to his wife, and bade him farewell.

Shortly after, two of her brothers, their wives, and one sister, arrived; and after speaking to her, took seats. She looked round the room, and thus addressed them in great tenderness; "I am very glad to have you with me,—to have the help of your spirits. I hardly expected I should see you again. Oh! my dear brothers, comfort poor Elijah. I have felt what an awful thing it is to die. I thought the stroke of death was upon me, and I was not prepared. I was all weakness, and had no hope; every ray seemed closed up; I turned, and turned, and could find no comfort;—but the Lord did bless me with feelings better than all the world before. Now what can this be but the hand of the great God? I had no strength of my own; I felt like the hindermost of the flock; I was afraid I was going to be cast away; but now I feel better. I have nothing of my own, but God's grace I hope will be sufficient. Oh! my dear brothers, comfort my poor husband; come and see him; visit him often; help him out all you can; you can do a great deal, and I know you will. O Father, suffer me not to say too much, but if it is possible for me to do any good at this late period, I want to do it. O my dear brothers and sisters, I want you to do all the good in the world you can; do better than I have done; seek the Lord. I have dear neighbours here who seem to know little about religion, yet they all have that, that supports me now. I do believe in a pure God, and that he ought to be worshipped. There are several of you; you might

meet together; and the promise is, 'where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' ”

Fifth-day evening, having requested her husband and two brothers to sit by her, she said, “I dont know that I need have called you to me, but you all feel very near and dear to me; I want you R. and J. to do all you can to help Elijah. There is dear J. possessed of every qualification to do good. I have seen so many young men so very different. He can go through the world with a thousand times more strength, when foolish vanities are not his pursuit. Oh! I have wandered too much in the world, yet I always knew there was but one support.”

“And now, Father Almighty, thou knowest all things, thou knowest my spirit, thou knowest them that are with me. I scarcely know myself where I am, or what I am; but if it please thee, blessed Redeemer, to receive my spirit, suffer me not to be terrified. This may not be the time. I know not as to life, or death. Not my will, but thine be done.”

“Here they are all round me, two and two: Lord, let them see there is hope.”



## MEMORIAL AND PETITION

*Of the Religious Society of Friends to the Legislature of Virginia, on the subject of the Militia Laws. Together with a letter from Benjamin Bates.*

Several of our friends and subscribers having suggested the republication of the following memorial

and letter, under a full persuasion that the principles and sentiments therein avowed, are worthy of being more extensively disseminated,—not only among those of our own religious profession, but in the community at large,—we are induced to give them a place in the “Miscellany” for that purpose. As light is rising in the human mind, and the principles of Truth are spreading, we ardently wish that the members of our religious society, every where, and all others who believe that war is inconsistent with Christianity, may, in all their conduct and deportment, evince the excellence of the principles of “peace on earth, and good-will to men.” These principles, of vital importance to those who name the name of Christ, must in the very nature of things forever stand opposed to every species of strife and contention, discord and jarring, in society. Not only the horrid business of war and bloodshed, but every grade and fruit of those lusts whence war, strife and contention have their origin, must be overcome by the professed followers of the Prince of peace, before they can be entitled to his gracious benediction and promise—“To him that overcometh will I give to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with the Father in his throne.” In the progress of this conquest, we believe, as the dedicated followers of the Lamb attend to the increase of light in their own minds, they will be redeemed from the spirit of party strife, in relation to the concerns of civil government—and will be willing to relinquish some of their civil rights, rather than join in the political excitements that are often fomented by the spirit of ambition, interest, or intrigue. As to controversy, or war

about religious opinions or doctrines, it is utterly inconsistent with the meekness and gentleness of Christ, and the non-resisting and forgiving spirit of the Gospel. May the glorious light of truth be permitted so to arise in the hearts of the professed followers of Jesus, that the ancient prophecy may be fulfilled in every one, "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." Then will it not only be seen, but felt and enjoyed, "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity"—and the blessed effects of this harmony known to be "like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard," and even reached "to the skirts of the garments."

From information received, it appears that the following memorial was presented to the legislature of Virginia, and read: soon after which, the house adjourned on account of dinner. A little while before the members assembled at the next sitting, the committee of Friends who presented it met in the lobby, and were in waiting. An eminent lawyer by the name of Hay entered, and seeing them, politely addressed one of the Friends with whom he had some acquaintance after this manner—"Do you not think, sir, that your request to be released from bearing your part in common with your fellow citizens, in supporting the State, is a little unreasonable?" Benjamin Bates, one of the committee, perceiving that the sagacious lawyer was more than a match, in argument, for the Friend with whom he was engaged, judiciously drew his attention by a question which he proposed. The conversation soon became confined between Hay and Benjamin Bates, and proved



so very interesting, that every member of the legislature, in approaching the hall, stopped to listen.

After some time, whispers were heard among the heretofore *silent*, though crowded auditory; such as “the old Quaker is too many for Mr. Hay”—“I never knew Mr. Hay beat until now,” &c. Those whispers were heard by Hay, and the *fact*, that he had a very powerful antagonist was evidently felt. To escape the dilemma which seemed to threaten him, he thus addressed his opponent: “Mr. Bates, some of your arguments are quite new to me; and that I may have an opportunity to consider them more at leisure, I will thank you to throw them on paper.” This request produced the letter annexed to the memorial.

Hay and William Wirt were attending the legislature, and lodged in the same room. After Hay had received the letter, on retiring to their chamber, he presented it to William Wirt. When he had perused it, he asked Hay what he designed to do with this letter. Hay said, “I have not yet made up my mind on the subject.” Wirt then said, “I know what *I* should do with it.” “What would you do with it?” said Hay. Wirt replied, “Pocket it—for it is unanswerable.” It would seem that Hay adopted this conclusion, for Benjamin Bates received *no answer*.

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*To the Legislature of Virginia, the Memorial and Petition of the Religious Society of Friends, (commonly called Quakers,)*

RESPECTFULLY SHEW,—That your Memorialists, estimating the high regard with which the legislature will be disposed to consider every subject affect-

ing the great principles of civil or religious liberty, beg leave to solicit your attention to the militia laws of this commonwealth, and to the incompatibility which sometimes results between the requisitions of the law, and the obligations of religious duty.

In this enlightened age and country, and before this legislature, your memorialists conceive it unnecessary to urge the unalienable rights of conscience, or to adduce any arguments to show that the relations between man and his Creator, neither can, nor ought to be, prescribed or controlled by any human authority. It is unnecessary, because the proposition is self-evident, and especially because it is one of the fundamental principles, upon which the civil and political institutions of this country are established. This principle is recognized in the bill of rights; it is confirmed by the law of 1785, passed in the enlightened and liberal spirit of that instrument; and the *State itself*, by its convention which ratified the federal constitution, expressly declared, that "the liberty of conscience cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States." The free exercise of religion, therefore, is not merely tolerated; it is declared in the most solemn form, it is confirmed in the most explicit manner.

But the liberty of conscience, your Memorialists conceive, cannot be restricted to the mere liberty of thinking, or to the silent and unseen modifications of religious opinion. Religion has duties to be performed, and it points out offences to be avoided; its free exercise must therefore consist in an active compliance with its dictates, enforced by no legal compulsion, restrained by no legal impediment.

Your Memorialists, in common with every virtuous citizen, would disclaim any exemption, under the colour of religious liberty, from the universal obligations of moral duty. But the law of 1785, in making "overt acts" of an injurious nature the limit of the privilege, and the criterion of its abuse, removes all danger to the community. Any encroachment on the rights of others, or violation of the moral law, under pretence of liberty of conscience, would immediately betray its own guilt and hypocrisy, and afford a legitimate cause for the interposition of the civil authority.

These considerations are suggested, as applicable to the case which is now submitted to the wisdom and justice of the legislature.

Your Memorialists are Christians; and impressed with the firm conviction, that war is forbidden under the gospel, they cannot bear arms. To require it under legal penalties, is to reduce them to the alternative of refusing a compliance with the laws of their country, or of violating what they most solemnly believe is, *to them*, a law of God, clothed with the most awful sanctions.

Your Memorialists plead no new doctrines, they set up no novel pretensions. They ask *permission* only to practice the precepts of Jesus Christ—to adhere to the principles which prevailed through the first centuries of the Christian dispensation, which pious men through every subsequent age have maintained; and which their predecessors from the time they have been known as a religious society, under various forms of government, and through sufferings imposed by rigorous and persecuting laws, have uniformly supported.

It is true that in the lapse of time, the spirit of persecution has faded before the lights of truth. Our own country, as already stated, has been particularly distinguished for maintaining the principles of civil and religious liberty, and for rejecting those of coercive law and religious intolerance. The very grievance to which we now solicit your attention, has been acknowledged and redressed. A legislature, composed of enlightened statesmen and sages, who had assisted in establishing the chartered rights of America, who had seen the principles which your Memorialists maintain, tested through the revolutionary war, convinced, it is believed, of their sincerity, and of the justice of their claim, exempted them from the obligation to bear arms, and from certain fines and penalties which had been imposed on their non-compliance with military requisitions. But the laws are changed. They now require that your Memorialists, notwithstanding the insuperable objection of their religious scruples, should be trained to arms. Their refusal subjects them to fines, which, within certain limitations, are fixed at the discretion of the courts martial, and become in numerous instances extremely oppressive. Nor is this all: your Memorialists conceive that the voluntary payment of a fine imposed on them for adhering to their religious duty, or the receiving of surplus money arising from the sale of their property, seized for the satisfying of these demands, would be to acknowledge a delinquency which they cannot admit, and to become parties in a traffic or commutation of their principles. Hence also considerable loss is sustained.—And notwithstanding your Memorialists may acknowledge that many officers of the govern-

ment, in these cases manifest great reluctance, and execute their trust with a scrupulous regard to the interest of the sufferers; yet there are other instances, in which wanton depredations are made on the property of individuals.

Your Memorialists are aware that it may be said that the law does not discriminate between them and others, and that they ought equally to support the public burdens, and yield their services to the exigencies of the State. This objection supposes that a general law cannot have a partial or unequal operation. It supposes too that what may be deemed a national concern, may supersede the chartered rights and privileges of the people. But your Memorialists cannot suppose that these principles, which indeed are no other than the maxims of tyranny, will ever be deliberately adopted or acted upon by this legislature. If one member of the community believe that it is his duty to fight, and to slay the enemies of his country, and if another believe that he is prohibited by Divine command from planning the destruction or shedding the blood of his fellow-creatures; the question, as it relates to the present subject, is not *which*, or *whether either is wrong*, but whether a law commanding *both* to take arms, would not operate *unequally*, and violate the rights of conscience? It would operate *unequally*, because it does not discriminate—because to the conscience of the one it would enjoin the performance of a duty; to that of the other, the commission of a crime. It would violate the liberty of conscience, because it would compel under pains and penalties the performance of an act, which is believed offensive to the Divine Being. Human au-

thority cannot, like the Great Searcher of hearts, try the spirits of men respecting truth and error; it cannot remit the penalties of sin, or control the convictions of the heart; and therefore, in this country at least, the liberty of conscience is wisely placed beyond the sphere of legislation, and protected from the encroachment of any power in the government.

It may be recollected too, that in every nation of the civilized world where this Society is found, they profess and maintain the same principles. That no hope of reward, no dread of punishment, nor confiscations, imprisonments, or death, would induce them to bear arms against their country, or in any other cause whatever, and that every attempt to coerce them would result on the one side, in the triumph of principle, however severely tested, and in unavailing persecution on the other.

While it is therefore evident that the ostensible object of the law, or training them to arms, cannot be effected, and it is presumed from the general notoriety of their principles, that it is not even expected to be attained—while your Memorialists believe that the principles they hold can in no sense prove injurious to the community, and are persuaded that this legislature would disclaim the idea of raising revenue by laws inflicting fines on the free exercise of conscience—they trust that a privilege conferred by the Supreme Being, and by the highest authority in this country declared to be sacred and inviolable, may be safely expected from its justice and liberality. They therefore respectfully petition, that the laws imposing military requisitions and penalties for non-compliance, may be considered as they respect your petitioners, and such relief afforded as to the

wisdom of the legislature shall seem just and necessary.

Signed by order and on behalf of a meeting of the representatives of the aforesaid Society, held in Dinwiddie county, the 17th of the 11th month, 1810, by

BENJAMIN BATES,

*Clerk at the time.*

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LETTER *addressed by* BENJAMIN BATES *to a*  
*Member of the Legislature.*

The friendly manner in which we discussed together the principles of our Memorial, (now before the legislature) induces me to hope, that a few additional observations will receive a candid and impartial consideration.

It would be useless, I apprehend, in introducing the subject, to enter into any minute inquiry respecting the nature and extent of the rights of men in society; or to examine any of the various theories of government, to find in how many ways these rights have been abused. The American people understand this subject. They did not, in establishing the empire of liberty on the basis of *equal laws*, look to the pittance of privilege which had, in different ages, been extorted from bigotry, or wrung from the grasp of power. No: they were men, and conscious of their rights; they were brethren, and saw that their rights were equal. To preserve them, they did not set up human beings like themselves, with crowns and mitres on their heads, and commit to their ambition, cupidity and caprice, for safe keeping and distribution, those sacred immunities with which their Creator had endowed them,—which he had made co-existent with mind itself—inherent and

unalienable. It was to preserve to themselves these inestimable blessings, to transmit them to their children, to guard them forever from usurpation, that, viewing the whole ground of polity with a discriminating eye, they declared irrevocably, *that conscience belongs to God, and civil government to the people.* On this principle their whole political structure is erected: hence the law emanates, and every power in the government is bound by its authority. So it stands upon paper; but how does it operate in practice? Is the liberty of conscience indeed preserved inviolate? Do the laws impose no other restraints on religious freedom, than are sufficient to preserve the peace and order of society?—Are none of the honest and inoffensive inhabitants of this commonwealth taxed, fined, or harassed, in their persons, or property, on account of their religious tenets? These are questions which the patriot and statesman may ponder, but the answer is obvious and undeniable. *The liberty of conscience is abridged; the laws do impose other restraints than those contemplated by the Act, “establishing religious freedom;”*—and a number of peaceable and useful citizens are exposed to fines and penalties, on account of their religious principles. How is this infraction of natural and constitutional right to be accounted for? It will not be said, that either these people or their principles were unknown, when the declaration of rights was made, and the form of government established. It will not be pretended, that they were excluded from the common privileges of citizens, and the common rights of humanity. No: but it is said that the government must be defended; and they are therefore enrolled for the pur-



pose of learning the use of the firelock and bayonet, and for acquiring the art of inflicting death with the greatest expedition and effect; men, whose religion is a *system of universal benevolence*; who believe that God Almighty forbids animosity, revenge and violence; and who are assured, that disobedience to his commands involves *dreadful and eternal consequences*.

This society *maintains*, with the *framers* of our Constitution, and in conformity *with the repeatedly declared sense* of the American people, that government has no right to bring the *laws of God* and man into *competition*; and that there exists no authority in any department thereof, to cancel, abridge, restrain, or modify the liberty of conscience. When this declaration was solemnly made the last time by the people of this State, and reciprocated by the whole Union, the Society of Friends were exempt, *by law*, as well as by their constitutional privileges, both from *militia duty* and personal service in war. Did not the law which afterwards subjected them, under heavy penalties, to all the requisitions of the militia system, "*abridge*" *this liberty of conscience*, which had been thus solemnly guaranteed? and if it did, ought not an evidence of the fact, and an appeal to the justice of the country, to be sufficient to restore them *to their rights*? *The fact is undeniable*; the appeal is made, and its success, perhaps, ought not to be doubted. But in the mean time the subject is variously canvassed, and many objections and difficulties are thrown in the way. We have referred in our *Memorial* to the rights of conscience, as a natural and constitutional privilege; but we are told that the liberty of conscience is an abstract principle,

and as such is not to be relied on in particular cases. What is an abstract principle? Is it some remote uninteresting truth, which may be indifferently remembered or forgotten? Or is it some proposition to which the understanding assents, but which is still to be tested by experience?

Now, it cannot be supposed that the men selected by the people to mark out the boundaries of the laws, and to fix the limits of power in a great, free, and enlightened nation, would so insignificantly employ their time, and abuse their trust, as to set down, as a declaration of rights, any random propositions that might chance to occur to their recollection as true. The fathers of American liberty did not attract to themselves the gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world, by *writing merely what was true*, but for selecting the *very truths* they meant to establish—for drawing an insuperable, unalterable line of separation between those powers which a free people may confide in their government, and those inherent and unalienable rights which they retain to themselves. It was expressly for the preservation of these rights, that the Constitution was formed. Its barriers were laid strong and deep around them; and whenever they are broken down, tyranny and oppression will resume their course. Nor can it be thought that this liberty of conscience was introduced as a new or untried principle. The statesmen of our country were not such novices in the subjects of law and government, or so unacquainted with human nature, as to suppose that the rights of conscience had never been tested. Nor would they, if such had been their opinion, expose the nation to difficulties and danger

by a novel and presumptuous experiment. No: these men understood their subject. Its nature, its history, and its importance, were familiar to their minds. They knew how readily the pride of opinion, and the possession of power, combine to produce intolerance. They knew that a denial of these rights constitutes the worst species of tyranny. Nations have groaned for ages under its influences, and to preserve this country from a similar fate they held forth the rights of conscience—not as an *abstract metaphysical notion*, but as a living, indestructible privilege, of which no law should ever deprive a citizen?

But why was it necessary to guard these rights with such anxious solicitude? Why enshrine them in the Constitution, and protect them with such jealous care from the powers of the legislature? Is not the government derived from the people? Is it not administered by their agents, and solely for their benefit? and cannot the people be trusted with the guardianship of their own privileges? The answer is plain—a government of the people is necessarily a government of the majority; but the majority, if they are not bound by constitutional restraints, may, in securing their own rights, overlook or violate the rights of others. But would it not be mockery to tell the minority, under these circumstances, that they ought not to complain—that their country is a free republic, and themselves integral parts of the sovereign authority? Would they not be sensible, that their rights and liberties depended on the will, and lay at the mercy of individuals; and that however many or few those individuals might be, and under whatever forms their proceedings might be conducted, an arbitrary government is still despot-

ism, and the subjects of it are slaves? Hence the necessity of constitutional restraints: and when these are properly established; when government simply occupies the ground on which it is placed, and exercises only the powers which have been submitted to its direction, the decisions of the majority become the legitimate rules of action, and every member of the community (whatever may be his opinion of their wisdom or expedience) is bound to obey them. This is presumed to be the true definition of a free government. But of what avail, under any form of government, is the attempt to enslave the mind? As soon would the academy devise means to arrest or control the revolutions of the solar system, as the legislature of any country find laws that would bind the free spirit of man. How long has tyranny tortured its invention, and varied the apparatus for discovering this grand desideratum! Creeds, tests, and anathemas have been tried. Stripes, fetters and dungeons have done their best. Racks, flames and gibbets have exhausted all their powers, and all have ended in miserable disappointment. And is it not difficult to conceive how the notion ever came to be entertained on this side of the Atlantic that the thing is still practicable? The genius of our country did not borrow even the mildest feature of such a system; and it is certainly not congenial with our habits of thinking, to suppose that the mind may be fettered by putting a chain upon the leg, or that a man's heart can be divested of its convictions by a warrant to take his cattle.

But admitting that the liberty of conscience is both a natural and constitutional right, and that it is physically impossible to control the free agency of

the mind, still it is contended, an expedient may be found which shall protect those rights from violation, and at the same time satisfy the law, which would otherwise infringe them.

Thus, if the legislature enjoin the performance of certain duties, on which it is supposed the very existence of government depends, and those duties happen to interfere with the constitutional rights of any individual, let that individual pay an equivalent, and be excused. If it be a military service, for instance, and his religious principles forbid him to fight, let him pay a tax for the support of schools, and make the tax equal to the military service. The argument fairly stated stands thus: The legislature shall not restrain the free exercise of conscience, but they may *levy a fine or tax upon the advantages derived from the exemption.*

Have I any objection to the support of schools? Far from it. I should rejoice to see knowledge and virtue diffused among the lower classes of society. I would cheerfully pay an equal tax for the purpose, and might even be disposed to encourage it by a voluntary contribution. But *when I pay a partial tax—a fine*, I am neither discharging the common duties of a citizen, nor doing an act of benevolence; I am paying what is considered by the government as a debt; and for what consideration? plainly, for being allowed to enjoy the liberty of conscience.—But I do not derive the liberty of conscience from the government; I hold it by a tenure antecedent to the institutions of civil society. It was secured to me in the social compact, and was never submitted to the legislature at all; they have, therefore, no such privilege to grant or withhold, at their plea-

sure, and certainly no pretence of right or *authority to sell it for a price*. It appears then, that this exclusive tax for the support of schools is a groundless and oppressive demand. It is a muster-fine in disguise, and violates the very principle which it seemed to respect.

But is it not unreasonable, it is asked, that our fellow-citizens who believe war to be allowable and necessary, should be subjected to the hardships and privations incident to the training and service, while we, under the protection of our religious privileges enjoy complete exemption? We answer, no. If those citizens do believe that war is necessary for their defence;—if they conceive it to be their duty and their interest to fight;—if it accords with their religious principles to repel aggressions by the sword;—if, in the full exercise of their privileges, they give to the government authority to command them in these services; this is their own act, and they cannot complain of the consequences.

But a man is not the judge of his neighbour's conscience; and if the powers they surrender for themselves, involve constitutional privileges, they are binding only on those who have consented to them.

May I inquire what it is that constitutes the obligation to fight for one's country? I mean to apply the question to a free people; for under a despotism, the will of the master is the obligation of the slave. What is it then, in a free country, that induces a man to go to war? Is it for the protection of his rights? But what rights has *he* to protect, whose most essential privileges are already wrested from him? Or is it the interest which every individual feels in preserving his property, his home

his children, his friends? Have not all some interesting attachments? Have not all some endearing objects that cling about the heart? And is not the aggregate of these, their country? Every man, therefore, engaged by common consent in a defensive war, considers that he is fighting for himself and his domestic enjoyments. *His home* is identified with *his country*, and he is using those means which *his own reason and conscience approve* for its defence.—We too have homes, and a little property, and children, and friends, whose welfare is dearer than life.—We too connect them with our country, and for their preservation would make any sacrifice which *our reason and conscience would approve*. But these forbid us to fight.

The being from whom we derive life and its enjoyments,—the God that judgeth in the earth, has a right to prescribe to his creatures the conditions upon which his blessings shall be obtained. It is their duty to yield obedience; and, in all events, to trust to his Divine providence for support and protection. Or, would it be better (as this might thwart our ambitious views, repress our pride, or interfere with our own plans of safety or success) to have a system of our own, adapted to what we conceive to be the true state of the world and its moral government,—and take our defence into our own hands? This appears to have been the prevailing opinion; and what is the consequence? The earth is filled with violence. Almost every nation is either preparing for war, or engaged in actual hostilities; and every man is required to cherish in himself those dispositions, and to acquire those habits of dexterity and skill which shall render him an efficient and pow-

erful instrument of death in the hands of others. An army cannot deliberate—the soldier cannot reflect—he is no longer to consider himself as a free agent,—as an intelligent and reasonable being, acting under the law of conscience, with an awful responsibility to his God: but on subjects involving life and death and a future judgment, he is simply required to obey his orders, and leave the question of right and wrong,—the termination of his existence here, and his hopes of happiness hereafter, to be tested by the policy of his government, or the opinion of his commanding officer.

And yet war is neither necessary, nor generally successful in obtaining justice, or supporting truth. Power and justice are inseparable concomitants only in the Deity: the existence and prevalence of war mark the depravity of man, and his tremendous capacity for doing evil. What does it avail the human race that the tide of conquest and devastation has rolled from east to west, or from west to east,—and that thousands and millions of our fellow creatures have been cut off in the midst of their days, and sent burning with fury and panting for revenge, into the presence of a just God, to receive their eternal destination? Why should I recount the horrors and miseries that follow in the train of war, and triumph in its ravages? Who has not reflected on the subject? and who does not deplore the wretched state of human nature, whether in producing, or in suffering these disgraceful calamities?

And is there no redress? Does there exist no power on earth or in heaven to arrest them? Yes, my friend, *there is*; it were impious to say there is not. There is, in the religion taught by Jesus



Christ, a power which is able to reconcile us to God, and to one another. It can divest the heart that receives it, of its propensities to wrongs and violence, and implant in their place the disposition to suffer wrongs and violence for its sake. Thousands of living witnesses bear testimony to this Divine principle;—thousands who would suffer any privation or punishment, rather than impede, by their example, its influence and increase. And ought it not to console the friend of his country and of his species, to see its growth, and to be assured by indubitable evidence, that it is possible to return good for evil,—to love even our very enemies,—and for man, in all situations, to be the friend of man?

I am, with much respect, thy friend,

BENJAMIN BATES.



## SOME ACCOUNT

### *Of the peaceable Indians of Wihaloosing.*

Chiefly extracted from the works of Anthony Benezet and other authors.

True religion is the effect produced in the soul by the operation of the power of God changing and purifying the heart, by bringing it into a state of true humility, and a submissive resignation to the Divine will. This has ever been found to be the fruits produced in those who have devoted themselves to its influence so as to become true followers of Jesus Christ.

A particular instance of this kind appeared about the year 1753, through the effectual workings of grace, in a number of Indians, then residing at

Wihaloosing, on the Susquehanna river, about two hundred miles from Philadelphia. These people were very earnest for the promotion of piety among themselves, which they apprehended to be the effect of an inward work, whereby the heart became changed from bad to good. When they were solicited to join the other Indians in the war against the English, they absolutely refused, whatever might be the consequence to themselves, even if the fighting Indians should make slaves, or, as they expressed it, "negroes of them;" rendering this reason for it, that "when God made men, he did not intend they should hurt or kill one another."

In conversation with them respecting their religious principles and views, Papunehank, who had been the chief instrument in turning their attention to a sense of good, gave in substance the following account: Being by a particular providence brought under difficulty and sorrow, he was led into a deep consideration of the state of things in the world; when, seeing the folly and wickedness which prevailed amongst men, his sorrows increased. Nevertheless, being impressed with a belief that there was a great Power, who had created all things, his mind was turned from beholding this lower world, to look towards him who created it; and strong desires were raised in his heart for the further knowledge of his Creator. He was then made sensible that evil not only prevailed in the world, but that he himself partook much of its baneful influence; and he at last found that his heart was bad and hard. Upon this view, great dejection and trouble seized his mind, with an inquiry, what would become of his soul? In this situation he cried unto that power-

ful Being who, he was sensible, had made the heart of man; and after a long time of sorrow, and perseverance in seeking for help, God was pleased to reveal himself to his mind, and to put his goodness in his heart. He found he was, as he expressed it, raised above himself and above the world, and felt that his heart had undergone some great change: the hardness and badness he had so long groaned under, was taken away; it was now become soft and good; and he found so much love to prevail in it towards all men, that he thought he could bear with their revilings and abuses without resentment; appearing sensible that as the hearts of men were bad till God made them good, the ill usage he received from them, proceeded from the same evil seed under which he himself had so long groaned. His sense of the corruption of the human heart, accompanied with a constant application to his Maker, to take away the badness and hardness of his heart, and make it soft and good, was what he called religion; and what, upon feeling the power of God to his comfort, he was concerned to exhort his brethren to seek the experience of, in themselves. He further said, that under this dispensation he was made sensible that the spirit of religion was a spirit of love, which led those who obeyed it, into love to all men; but that men not keeping to this spirit of love, an opposite spirit got entrance into their hearts; and it was from hence arose all those disasters which so much prevailed. He was also sensible there was an evil spirit labouring to get the mastery in the heart, in opposition to the gospel spirit; but that those who had been visited by a power from God, and were obedient to the degree of light and love,

he was pleased to favour them with, would be more and more strengthened and established therein. He had also a prospect of the necessity of that baptism of spirit and fire which the scriptures and the experience of the faithful, in all ages, have testified that every true disciple of Christ must undergo; whereby, through mortification and self-denial, the root of sin is destroyed. This he described by the prospect he had of something like as an outward fire would be to the natural body; which he must pass through in order to attain to purity of heart. He further observed, that whilst he was anxiously beholding this fire, he saw a very small path close to it, by walking in which, he might go round the fire, and the painful trial be avoided. This he understood to represent the way by which those who were esteemed wise had found means to avoid that probation they ought to have passed through, and yet retained a name amongst men, as though they had been purified by it.

Thus this Indian, untaught by books, and unlearned in what is called *divinity*, explained the mystery of godliness in a plain and sensible manner, and in that childish simplicity, which our Saviour recommends as a state of acceptance with God. This is the wisdom which, on account of its plainness and simplicity, has in all ages been hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed only to babes, who in honest sincerity of heart look solely to God in their distress.

The first gathering of these Indians into a good degree of civil and religious order, was by means of this Papunehank. About the year 1756, it is stated some of them came to Philadelphia, when the pro-

vince was distressed by the Indian war. In conversation with some serious people, they appeared to have a feeling sense of that inward change of heart which the gospel requires, and declared their particular disapprobation of war, and fixed resolution to take no part therein; apprehending it to be displeasing to the great Being, who, as one of them expressed it, "Did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other."

John Woolman, in his Journal, mentions having an interview with some of these Indians from Wihaloosing, at Philadelphia, in the year 1761. He says, "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." In 1763, he visited the Indians at Wihaloosing, which he describes as "a town on the bank of the east branch of Susquehanna, consisting of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, some bigger, some less; mostly built of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters, and covered with bark." A Moravian missionary had spent some time with these Indians, in the spring preceding, and having met with encouragement from them was now returned, and "bid him welcome." They had settled meetings, commonly in the morning and near evening. In one of these opportunities, John Woolman remarks, "the pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering of some of our hearts—the interpreters endeavouring 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." He afterwards found it in his heart to pray, and expressed a willingness for them to omit interpreting.—“And so,” says he, “our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love; and before the people went out, I observed Papunehang, the 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 as follows: “I love to feel where words come from.” He adds, “though Papunehang before agreed to receive the Moravian, and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.”

About the year 1770, these Indians meeting with difficulty from an increase of white settlers near them, by which spirituous liquors were brought to their towns, they removed to the Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio. They were accompanied by some of the Moravians who had resided with them, and a near and steady connexion took place between them. During the troubles of the American revolution, these Indians, adhering to the principles they had long professed, refused to take any part in the war; for which they were threatened and abused by other tribes, particularly by parties which passed through their towns on their way to the frontiers. Some of these they dissuaded from their hostile intentions, and prevailed upon them to go back again; in other cases they warned the inhabitants of their danger. This humane conduct being considered obstructive to the hostile proceedings of the tribes

at war, was at length made the pretext for carrying them off. Accordingly, in 1781, the chief of the Wyandots who resided at Sandusky, sent a message to let them know he was coming with a number of warriors; but bid them not be afraid, for he was their friend. A few days after, two hundred and twenty warriors arrived; when, calling a council of the head men of the Moravian towns, they acquainted them they were come to take them away, because "they and their Indians, were a great obstruction to them in their war path." They returned answer, that it would subject them to great difficulty, as they must leave their corn behind; and they and their children might perish with hunger in the wilderness. The war chief, at first seemed inclined to attend to their wishes; but being instigated by some white men in his company, they persisted,—killed many of their cattle and hogs, ripped up their bedding, and forced them from their towns, being upwards of three hundred persons. After a tedious journey in the wilderness, they arrived at a branch of Sandusky, where the body of them were ordered to remain.

In the spring, 1782, these Moravian Indians finding provisions scarce at Sandusky, desired liberty to return to bring corn from their settlements, where they had left about two hundred acres standing; which was granted. While engaged in collecting the corn, they were attacked and most of them killed by a party of white people from about the Monongahela, under pretence that they believed the intention of the Indians at the Moravian towns was to fall upon the back inhabitants.

Soon after this, an attempt was made to destroy

the settlement, where the remaining part of the Moravian Indians resided, at Sandusky. But the Wyandots and other Indians had an engagement with the assailants—killed some, and others they took prisoners, and afterwards killed them. Among the captives was the commander of the expedition, whom they put to a cruel death. The cruelty to the commander, and the death of the prisoners was owing, it was believed, to the murder of the peaceable Moravian Indians, at which the Wyandots expressed much displeasure.

These Moravian Indians afterwards were subjected to great difficulties;—and having removed several times, finally settled in Canada, where they resided in 1793; since which, little authentic information respecting them has come to our knowledge.



## LETTER FROM WILLIAM BLAKEY

*To Samuel and Mary Pleasants, Philadelphia.*

27th of 5th month, 1775.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS,—Feeling a degree of sympathy with you in this time of difficulty, my desire is, that you may be preserved, as in the hollow of the Lord's hand, which is a covert from heat, and a shelter from storm, to all those who truly confide in him, and have no confidence in the arm of flesh. I have thought of the mournful seasons some have had to pass through, on account of those who are living at ease in their ceiled houses, and stretching themselves, as it were, on their beds of ivory, but are not concerned “for the afflictions of Joseph.”



Now, dear friends, I hope this is not the case with you; but that you have a feeling of the low state, under which the true Seed groans. My mind has often been turned toward you, with desires that nothing of the world's greatness may be a hindrance in the Lamb's warfare. May we look at the example of our blessed Saviour, who took upon him the form of a servant, and so far demeaned himself, as to wash his disciples feet. How different from this is the conduct of some Friends, who tamely receive flattering titles; and have those of their household whom they look upon as their inferiors, to appear before them with their heads uncovered. This appears to me to be a deviation from the testimony of truth; and my desire is, that none of us may look for the like, nor be a means of laying waste the testimony, for which our worthy predecessors suffered much.

I have sometimes thought, through long custom, things inconsistent become so familiar, that there seems, to some, to be little in them; and these may appear to be little things. But let us remember, it was the *little foxes* that hurt the tender vine. I believe these things, if rightly looked at, would not appear so small as some may imagine. When I have looked towards you, my desires have been that you would honestly attend to the requirings of Truth; and remember the words of Christ, when he said to Peter, "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethen."

WILLIAM BLAKEY.

*“My Father’s at the Helm.”*

Behold yon ship by storms and tempests driven,  
 Rocking and reeling o’er the vast profound;  
 While angry ocean’s surges dash towards heaven,  
 And horror and dread ruin rage around!

The heart struck mariners appall’d, aghast!  
 Now here, now there, in wild confusion flee,  
 Despairing to survive the furious blast,  
 Their graves expecting in the billowy sea.

Gone, e’en the hope of hope!—One of the crew,  
 His eye-balls glaring with confusion wild,  
 Flies to the cabin,—instant met his view,  
 Playing and perfectly composed, a child.\*

“We’re lost! all lost!—Art not afraid?” he cries,  
 “Even now, the swelling seas the ship o’erwhelm”!  
 With sweet composure, “No;” the child replies,  
 “I’m not afraid,—my father’s at the helm.”

So, on the ocean of this stormy life,  
 When fiercest storms of sin and sorrow rage,  
 When reason, truth, and error, are at strife,  
 And powers of darkness the dread contest wage;

When tempests of affliction do arise,  
 And clouds of gloomy sadness o’er us roll;  
 Where suffering virtue in prostration lies,  
 And floods of darkness seem to reach the soul;

Thrice blest is he, who, by experience knows,  
 Though ruin dire this scene of things o’erwhelm,  
 Or change what may,—lives safely on repose,  
 Is sure,—his heavenly Father’s at the helm.

\*The Captain’s little child, as related by T. Scattergood.

# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 6.]

NINTH MONTH, 1832.

[VOL. VII.

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## JOURNAL OF WILLIAM MATTHEWS, *of York-town, Pennsylvania.*

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### INTRODUCTION.

In a volume of Memorials, lately published by order of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, is one from York monthly meeting, held 7th of 8th mo. 1793, concerning William Matthews, the subject of the ensuing Journal: By which it appears that he was born in Stafford county, Virginia, on the 19th of the 6th month, 1732. His parents names were William and Mary Matthews, both of whom died while he was in his minority.

About the twenty-third year of his age, he came forth in the ministry; and for some time, appeared to increase in the exercise of his gift. But, meeting with losses, and becoming reduced in his temporal circumstances, so as to labour under much difficulty, he got into a state of discouragement, and was mostly silent for some time. At length, through patient, persevering exertions, he was enabled to surmount his embarrassments, so as again to come forth in the exercise of his gift with acceptance to his friends. By humble attention to the Divine guide, and faithful obedience to the openings of Truth, he became a powerful minister of the gospel, and was eminently useful in the exercise of our christian discipline.

His judgment was considered to be sound and penetrating,—his conversation and example were edifying and instructive; and he was endued with qualifications to comfort the weak, strengthen the feeble-minded, and powerfully to warn and reprove the unruly.

Much of his time was devoted to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness. With the unity of his friends, he visited most of the meetings on this continent, and spent several years in religious labours amongst Friends and others, in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, which appear to have been truly edifying and acceptable. After his return from this arduous journey, his health gradually declined; yet he was enabled to perform several religious visits to neighbouring meetings, though under much bodily weakness.

The following account of his European journey, introduced by the certificates of unity with him, as furnished by the several meetings in the order of discipline, and the narrative of his trials and difficulties previous to his voyage, and before he landed in England, is considered worthy of publication for the benefit of others. During his last illness, he mentioned that he had kept notes of his travels for his own satisfaction, but had no desire they should be made public. Yet he further stated, that “on looking over them, and remembering the gracious help he had experienced to discharge what appeared to be required of him, he had been encouraged to press forward.” As he did not prohibit the circulation or reading of his memorandums, it is presumed he did not desire them to be suppressed. On the contrary, there is no doubt his benevolent mind

would have been gratified that others, "on looking over them," should derive encouragement "to press forward," by his example of dedication and perseverance, as exhibited in the narrative of his labours and travels for the essential well-being of his fellow-probationers.

In relation to his Journal, he also mentioned that though the remarks he had sometimes made, might appear to some as too censorious, yet he said he believed that our society, as well as others, suffered loss by a floating ministry, that hath a tendency to lead the mind from inward, humble waiting upon the pure gift. He further said, many could bear testimony that it had been his case, both by precept and example, to promote silent waiting, and that he had often been much concerned on account of so many words amongst Friends.

When he had become confined to his chamber, it appeared as though he had been taking a retrospect of his past life; and, at a time when several Friends were present, he said as follows: "I feel my mind covered with a degree of reverent thankfulness to the Lord for all his tender mercies to me, even from my youth. He has snatched me as a brand from the burning, and has been with me in heights and in depths; and although it has pleased him to bring me down as into the valley of Achor, yet he has opened a door of hope from thence." Then added, "I feel the same degree of animating love for my friends that ever I did; but I have been led in a line that has cut me off from flattery and applause. Yet I never found any true or solid peace in any thing, but in being faithful to God and man." He also

said he had a comfortable hope that when these slight afflictions were over, all would be well.

As he drew near the close of life, a concern which he had often felt in relation to plainness and simplicity, appears to have impressed his mind, so as to induce him to leave this testimony: "As I have, for many years past, been uneasy with the great pains and expense taken by Friends, as well as others, in making coffins to inter the dead,—which appears to me to be superfluous and extravagant,—my desire is, that mine may be made of pine or poplar, without ridge or moulding, but quite plain."

At a time when several of his sisters were present, he said, "I esteem it as a great favour, that I feel my mind much weaned from all things here below, and the natural part in me much subdued; yet I feel you near to me, not only in an outward relationship, but, through the grace and goodness of the Lord, we have been united together in the one spirit,—baptized with the same baptism into the one body, and have drunk together of the same spiritual Fountain."

The day before his departure, he said, "Those who put off the great and necessary work of the soul's salvation, and conclude it is time enough when on a sick bed, will find themselves much mistaken; unless it is through adorable mercy indeed." He also repeated the directions he had given respecting his burial, and expressed his desire that the good Hand which had been with him all his life long, might continue to be with him to the end; and that he was thankful he felt his mind clothed with love for his friends.

He quietly departed this life, on the 7th of the 5th month, 1792, in the sixtieth year of his age, and was interred in Friends' burial ground at York-town, on the 9th of the same; after which a solemn meeting was held.

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### JOURNAL, &c.

Having for some years been under a religious exercise, from a belief that I must visit the churches in Europe,—and feeling the weight thereof to increase under an apprehension that the time for entering upon the service drew near, I opened my concern to a few solid Friends first, and then to our select and monthly meetings; in all which unity and sympathy with me was felt, and the monthly meeting granted me the following certificate:

“From our monthly meeting held at Warrington, in York county, Pennsylvania, the 10th day of the 3d month, 1781,

*To our friends and brethren in Great Britain, and elsewhere.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—In that love that reacheth over sea and land we salute you, and inform that our esteemed and well-beloved friend, William Matthews, did, in a solemn manner, inform us that he hath for some time been under a weighty exercise, from an apprehension of its being required of him to pay a religious visit to the churches in Europe, and requested our unity and concurrence therein. Now these may certify, that after a seasonable time of solid deliberation thereon, and feeling our spirits nearly united in tender sympathy with him in his

present religious exercise, we freely give him up to the service;—he being a minister in unity, and well approved of amongst us;—his conversation exemplary, and his outward affairs settled to satisfaction. With fervent desires that the great Lord of the harvest may preserve and support him in every trying dispensation he may have to pass through, to the honour of his great name, and to the edification of the churches where he may be drawn in gospel love,—we recommend him to Divine protection, and the tender care of his friends where his lot may be cast, and remain your loving friends.

Signed in and on behalf of our monthly meeting aforesaid, by William Underwood, William Penrose, William Garretson, Peter Cleaver, Joseph Elgar, William Kersey, John Garretson, Benjamin Underwood, William Nevitt, James Thomas, William Lewis, Timothy Kirk, Ellis Lewis, William Willis, Joseph Updegraff, Elisha Kirk, Benjamin Walker, Harman Updegraff, Asahel Walker, Thomas Penrose, Cadwalader Evans, James Cadwalader, John Edmundson, Samuel Lewis, Daniel Bailey, John McMillan, Abel Walker, Elihu Underwood, junr., Eli Lewis, Mordecai Williams, John Jones, James Kightly, Elihu Underwood, senr., William Wilson, Jacob Norbury, William McMillan, William Vale.”

The concern being opened in the Quarterly meeting, the following essay of endorsement, was united with:

“At Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly meeting, held at Warrington, in York county, Pennsylvania, for the western parts of Pennsylvania, Mary-



land, and Virginia, the 19th day of the 3d month, 1781—

Our beloved friend, William Matthews, informed this meeting of a religious exercise he hath been under, from a belief of its being required of him to pay a religious visit to the churches in Europe, and produced the within certificate from Warrington monthly meeting, of their concurrence with him therein,—with which we unite, feeling near unity with him under the present religious exercise;—he having devoted much of his time to Truth's service on this continent.

Signed in and on behalf of our aforesaid meeting,  
by

WILLIAM KERSEY, *Clerk.*”

In the 9th month following, Friends at the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders held in Philadelphia, certified their unity with the concern, in and by the following certificate:

“ *To our friends and brethren in Great Britain, and elsewhere in Europe.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—Our beloved friend, William Matthews, having spread his concern for visiting the churches in Europe, in a solid manner, before this Meeting, and produced certificates of the monthly and Quarterly meetings' concurrence on this important occasion,—we hereby inform you that we have been thereby brought into a deep consideration with him; under which, the minds of Friends being united in tender sympathy, we believe it right to resign him to the service as way may, in best Wisdom, be opened for him to proceed. Wherefore, with the salutation of our love, we recommend him

to your brotherly care and regard; and, committing him to the Lord's guidance, support, and protection, subscribe ourselves your brethren and sisters.

Signed in, and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by adjournments, from the 22d day of the 9th month, 1781, to the 29th of the same, inclusive.

Thomas Evans, Thomas Carleton, Wm. Brown, Thomas Ross, Thomas Rose, Jos. Shotwell, Robert Willis, John Reynell, Anthony Williams, Samuel Emlen, junr., Isaac Zane, Joshua Brown, Joseph Lukens, William Harvey, John Hoskins, David Cooper, Isaac Evens, Thomas Woodward, Joseph Penrose, William Swayne, Abraham Griffith, James Thornton, David Bacon, Thomas Pim, Mark Reeve, George Churchman, James Moon, Joshua Morris, Peter Worrall, Thomas Smith, Isaac Pickering, Nicholas Waln, John Pemberton, Benjamin Mason, William Cox, Joseph West, John Hough, Anthony Benezet, Joshua Baldwin, Joseph Wright, Benjamin Linton, George Dillwyn, Benjamin Swett, Samuel Smith, Mahlon Janney, Bazil Brooke, Charles West, James Wood, John Lloyd, John Eyre, Henry Drinker, Edward Stabler, Joseph Janney, John Cowgill, Samuel Smith, John Humphreys, Samuel Wilson, Josiah Bunting, Joseph Buzby, Thomas Massey, Hugh Judge, William Farquhar, William Kersey, Daniel Offley, junr., Benjamin Jackson, Daniel Drinker, John Parrish, Joseph Moore, Lot Tripp, Thomas Redman, Philip Dennis, Josiah Miller, Richard Wood, William Rogers, Warner Mifflin, William Downing, Simon Meredith, Evan Lewis, Samuel Coope."

“Susanna Brown, Rebecca Jones, Margaret Williams, Ruth Holland, Sarah Hopkins, Sarah Cary, Mary Husbands, Ann Moore, Hannah Matthews, Sarah Janney, Hannah Matthews, Hannah Cathrall, Mary Cox, Sarah Massey, Phebe Miller, Ann Hampton, Ann Hallowell, Margaret Porter, Sarah Jacobs, Elizabeth Hatkinson, Hannah Churchman, Hannah Wilson, Margaret Haines, Rachel Watson, Margaret Jones, Sarah Thatcher, Mary Stevenson, Hannah Gibbs, Rebecah Wright, Mary Newbold, Hannah Middleton, Hannah Price, Rebekah Chambers, Sarah Smith, Mary Stephenson, Ann Chandler, Rebekah Moore, Mary Evans, Rachel Stapler, Mary Swett, Hannah Harlan, Martha Sharpless, Sarah Harrison, Marjery Norton, Ann Sidwell, Mercy Baldwin, Agnes Shoemaker.”

Thus, having the unity and concurrence of my friends, I continued to make the necessary preparations for leaving home; which at that time, required great care and circumspection,—there being war between Great Britain and America, and the laws very severe against those who went into any of the British dominions, without leave from those in power in America; and, as I was going on a religious account, I was not free to ask for their permission, nor to take any means to secure my property, (which by the law was all to be forfeited) but was willing to trust all in the hands of Him who had called me to the service. Another difficulty arose about getting a passage to England;—no way being open but by going to New York, then in possession of the British troops; or, taking shipping to France or Holland, then in alliance with America, and thence getting over to England; which appeared likely to

be attended with difficulty, as they also were at war with England.

But, at length, as I waited, way opened for me; and, believing it right to attempt getting along as far I could, on the 16th of the 5th month, 1782, I parted with my beloved wife and divers other friends, under a heart-felt sense of the humbling power of Truth uniting us near to one another, and producing a willingness to resign up all unto Him who is able to preserve us through all difficulties, to his own praise. Several Friends accompanied me as far as Susquehanna river, where they all left me, except my kinsman, Elisha Kirk, who went with me to Philadelphia. On our way, we stopped at a meeting of ministers and elders at Sadsbury, where I had the opportunity of seeing and taking leave of several of my beloved friends. We got to Philadelphia the 18th, in the evening. Next day, being first-day, I attended all three of the meetings there, to a good degree of satisfaction, and felt my mind comforted and stayed under a fresh trial which befel me here. My dear friend, John Pemberton, being under a like concern to visit Europe, we had proposed going together; but now he told me his way seemed shut up so that he could not see it right to move forward. This was a close exercise to me; but I found it best to labour after resignation to the Divine will, having always found that this yielded true peace and consolation, under every disappointment.

On the 22d, I had a few solid Friends together, to consult with; unto whom I opened my feelings and scruples, concerning applying for permission from the president and council: but withal informed them that I felt most easy to pay a visit to the pre-

sident of the council, simply to lay my concern before him, in order that it might not be said when I was gone, that I stole away in a private manner.—With this proposal Friends united, and several were named to accompany me. We met with a kind and open reception; and after a solemn pause I felt my way open, briefly to lay before him my religious concern, and that I believed the time now come for me to move forward in it. He said he thought it his duty to inform me that, by the laws, if I went without permission, my estate, both real and personal, was liable to be confiscated, and I, if ever I should return, to be tried for my life; as it was high treason to go within the enemy's lines without permission, and he did not doubt I might obtain it if I would but apply; promising all the service he could do in the affair. I acknowledged his kindness, but let him know the reasons why I could not apply: viz. Believing I was going in obedience to the requirements of Him who is sovereign of the conscience, and ought to have the rule thereof, and who has a right to all our service, though it should be at the loss of all, even life itself,—I was willing to leave all to him, feeling a hope and humble trust revived in me that he would not suffer any thing to befall me, but what would be for some wise purpose, either for my further refinement, the good of others, or the exaltation of his glorious cause on earth. I also told him that if I was going about any temporal concerns, I should think it right not to go without their consent.

After nearly two hours spent with him in a solemn manner,—in which divers other Friends were favoured to make suitable remarks, he appeared

very solid and much affected. Parting with me in a friendly manner, he took me by the hand and said he wished my preservation, and that peace and happiness might attend me in all my labours. And great indeed was the peace I felt in giving up all, even life itself, for the sake of Him who hath loved me with an everlasting kindness;—experiencing the promise verified that they who forsake all for his sake and the gospel's, should receive in this life an hundred fold. Oh! the sweet peace and consolation that filled my heart as I walked along the streets! I thought it a full compensation for all, even if they should be permitted to take not only the outward substance I was made a steward of, but also my life. In this sweet frame of mind, I went directly to the week-day meeting at High street, where I was favoured with the most open, comfortable meeting I had ever been at in that place, in which I took my solemn leave of Friends in the near feeling of uniting love.

24th. I set forward for Burlington, accompanied by divers friends, and next day attended the Quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Crosswicks, which was to me a low, exercising time. Thus, I have found in my experience, that if at any time I have been favoured to be as on the mount, to behold and feel the excellence of the joy and glory, it has soon been succeeded by great poverty of spirit. I know such times are profitable to us, in order that we may know in whom our light, life, and strength are. Next day, being the first of the week, I attended the meeting there in the morning, and one appointed at Bordentown in the afternoon—on second-day, the Quarterly meeting for discipline, and

on third-day, the general or youth's meeting;—all laborious and exercising; but through the condescension of heavenly regard, Truth raised into a good degree of dominion, in the last, and it was to some a heart-tendering time.

After parting in a solemn manner with many near and dear friends, I went to Bucks Quarterly meeting held at Buckingham. It was a solid edifying season, the general meeting being very large, in which the people were reminded of the gracious kindness of the Lord to us as a society, and how he had helped and sustained us, when there seemed to be a cloud of thick darkness gathering about us, and we likely to be swallowed up. It was, through Divine regard, a time of comfort and refreshment, and ended in supplication and prayer to the Lord for preservation.

6th month 1st. I received a letter from my beloved friend John Pemberton, informing me of his intention of joining me, in order to proceed with me to Europe; which was truly reviving and comfortable to me. I then attended meetings at Plumstead, Buckingham, Wrightstown, Falls, and Middletown; in all which I was helped to labour for the good of others, and the prosperity of Zion; feeling the baptizing virtue of Truth to unite me to a living, exercised remnant, in each place; for which my soul bows in reverent thankfulness to the God of my life, who is worthy thereof forevermore. Parting with many Friends in much nearness, I crossed Delaware river, and was at a meeting at Kingwood. I believe this was made a humbling season to divers, but alas! too many fall short of being truly profited by such favours, for want of abiding under an humbling

sense of what manner of persons they saw themselves to be, when the true Light shined in them and gave them a sight of their states.

On the 13th, I attended the monthly meeting at Hardwich, or the Great Meadows, and in the afternoon John Pemberton came to me. We then had meetings at Paulin's-kill and the Drowned Lands, and proceeded on towards New York government: the weather being very warm, and the stages long, we were much fatigued before we reached our friends at New Marlborough, where we attended a monthly meeting on the 21st, being the first held at that place. The meeting for discipline was held under the shade of some trees, there not being room in the house to contain both men and women. Here we met with a considerable number of Friends from different parts, and had a comfortable time together. On the next day we had a meeting in a barn at Crum Elbow, and the day following a large, good meeting at the Creek meeting-house—also a solemn opportunity in the afternoon with a number of hopeful young people and others, many of them being newly convinced; in which I was led to point out the danger of running before the true Shepherd. It was an instructive season to divers present.

We then had meetings at Nine Partners, Oswego, Poquage, and Amawalk; the last being just before we entered on what was called the "hunting ground," a space lying between the two armies, and exposed to the ravages of both; each plundering and abusing the few remaining inhabitants, most of whom had lost nearly all they had; yet some Friends kept their places and held their meetings amidst it all. As we passed along, we saw divers of the American



officers who were placed on the lines to guard them, and not suffer any person to go over to the enemy; but they did not offer to stop us. We crossed Croton river, and being then out of their lines, we went to Shapaqua meeting, which was to a good degree of satisfaction, help being afforded so as to obtain the answer of peace.

In the beginning of the 7th month, we attended meetings at Purchase, Mamaroneck and Westchester. In passing along to these last meetings, the country appeared almost desolate; the grass was more than knee-high, in the public roads,—the inhabitants being plundered of their beasts, there were none left to keep it down; and the few Friends that remained were in danger every night of being murdered.—One ancient Friend, where we lodged, told us that he had been hauled out of bed, had a rope put about his neck, and was several times strangled almost to death. They had also cut and wounded him in the breast with their bayonets, swearing they would kill him. Others also met with many such abuses. There was great reason to apprehend that many of these plunderers belonged to both armies, and we narrowly escaped falling into their hands, in going from Westchester to New York. A party of those scouts or hunters coming up another road just as we crossed it, saw us, and fired two guns to bring us to; but through Divine preservation we passed unhurt, and as we rode on briskly, being near a garrison of British troops, they did not pursue us. Thus we were preserved in the midst of dangers, and my mind was wonderfully borne up above fear. Blessed be the name of the Lord; it was his doings, and to him belongeth the praise now and forever.

We arrived in New York on the 3rd of 7th mo. where our friends rejoiced to see us, and received us with great kindness. But there being no vessels that we could be free to go in, we were detained there and on Long Island several months. We were not easy to go in a ship carrying guns, or that had been taken and made a prize, or that was concerned in the war; believing we were called to bear our testimony to the coming of the peaceable reign of the Messiah, and against all wars and fightings, or being in any manner concerned therein.

During my stay on Long Island, I joined with my friend David Sands, in having meetings at divers places amongst those of other societies. I also diligently attended the meetings of Friends, both on Long Island and in New York, and passed through many deep sufferings and inward conflicts known only to the Lord; so that many times the sayings of Moses came fresh into my mind, "Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight? If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight, and let me not see my wretchedness." Thus was I brought into deep inward sufferings; yet, at times, through mercy, I was favoured to feel near unity of spirit with a living remnant amongst them; and the longer I stayed, the greater love I felt, and believe it was mutual, we being baptized by the one spirit into the one body, were made fellow-feelers of the sufferings one of another. And towards the latter part of my stay at Westbury, I was often led to declare of the Lord's dealings with me, of his judgments and of his mercies, for their encouragement. It pleased the Lord,

in his great goodness and mercy, to show me there was a cause for the suffering and exercise I went through, and that all his ways of dealing with his children are in wisdom and mercy, for the preparing of them for further service, that they may feelingly declare of his works unto others, even to those who are ready to faint in their minds. I was also engaged with others in visiting families; in which service my mind was often drawn into a deep, inward and sensible feeling of the state of the seed, and favoured with suitable matter to communicate to the refreshing of some drooping spirits. One cause of the deep sufferings I felt was a ministry which did not proceed from the pure spring of life: so that I have said in my heart, What that is worse can befall a people? The pure life was oppressed and kept down; my spirit mourned under it, as did some others in that place who had not strength to let it be known, but went mourning along in secret.

On the 13th of the 12th month, way opening for my getting along towards England, after a solemn, heart-tendering season with Thomas Seaman's family, where I had mostly made my home, and several other Friends who came to take their leave of me, in which supplication and prayer was offered to the God of all grace, for each others preservation,—I parted with them in much love and near fellowship, and rode to New York, where I met my companion, John Pemberton, who informed me he had taken our passage in the ship New York, Charles Grant master, bound for London; at which I was glad, having some months before been on board, and then thought I felt an evidence of its being right for me to go in that vessel.

On the 21st of the 12th month, we took a solemn leave of many of our beloved friends, and went on board, and fell down that evening to the watering place, where we lay until the 23d; then sailed to Sandy Hook, and there waited till next day for the rest of the fleet. Next day went to sea, being about fifty-eight sail in all, going under convoy of three ships of war, for which they had long waited. I was favoured with a quiet, resigned mind, committing myself to the protection of an all-wise and faithful Creator. On the 25th, at night, came on a violent storm which separated us from the rest of the fleet, and we saw them no more the whole voyage. That night I was taken sick, and continued for twenty-five days closely confined to my bed, and was brought very low indeed, to all appearance nigh unto death. The weather also was very stormy, so that, to all appearance, we many times seemed likely to be swallowed up in the great deep. But through Divine mercy I was favoured with a calm resigned mind; often remembering I came not in my own will, nor with a *view after the gain of this world*, but in obedience to the will of Him who ruleth both sea and land, and is indeed mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea.

One night, as I lay considering my manifold trials since I left my outward habitation, and the great danger I then was in, the waves passing over the ship, and at times seeming as if they would dash it to pieces,—this language was as clear and intelligible to me as though a voice had spoken to my outward ear, “Trust in the Lord; for in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting strength.” Which afford-

ed not only a ray of Divine comfort, but a full persuasion that the Lord was a God of help and strength to them that trusted in him. Many sweet and comforting seasons I was favoured with in my watery pilgrimage, as well as many deep inward conflicts and trials: but this I have livingly experienced, that the Lord is all-sufficient to deliver out of every difficulty.

Being thus confined by sickness, I had not the opportunity of seeing the hardships which the poor sea-faring men pass through; but my sleep often departing from me, so that I seldom got any rest before they set the four o'clock watch in the morning, I often heard the difficulties they were in, which were great and many. It being stormy most of the voyage, made it desirable to see the land; which, on the 26th of the 1st month, 1783, we did, being near the Isle of Wight. They got me on deck, supposing the sight and smell of land would refresh me; which it did. But, alas! how uncertain and very precarious are all sublunary joys! For, as we were sailing pleasantly along, viewing the English shore, and a fleet of men-of-war which lay at anchor a little ahead, a small vessel bore down towards us, which our seamen supposed to be a tender coming to press men, which made them afraid, and they sought to hide themselves. She passed by and spoke to us; then tacked, came up on the other side, and fired several muskets at the men as they walked on the deck, but did not hurt any one. They then hoisted out their boat and boarded us in a furious manner,—cursing, and swearing what they would do to us, and running about the ship with drawn swords in their hands. They took our seamen on

board their vessel; in doing which they overset the boat, the sea running high, and drowned one of them.

Thus were we, in a few minutes, brought from a state of joy to that of sorrow. But my companion and self going into our cabin just as they came up and fired at us, remained quietly there without any molestation. Next day I sent for the prize-master, who behaved civilly to us, and said he knew what we were, and we need not be afraid, for we should not be plundered; which we were not. During the time of the great commotion in the ship, my mind was inwardly retired to the Lord, and great was the peace and quiet I was favoured with; which I mentioned to my companion, who expressed the same. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who is to those that are resigned to his will, whether to do or suffer, "a shadow from the heat, and a covert from the storm;" that in the midst of dangers and trials they can say, Thou art my strength and place of refuge; therefore will I trust in thee.

Being now under new commanders, and night coming on, they hoisted sail, and made towards France. A time of great trial it was to most of the ship's company. The night proved very stormy, the sea being boisterous, and they but poor navigators, carrying much sail for fear of being pursued and re-taken; as they expected, should that be the case, they should suffer death, being mostly Englishmen who had deserted from the British service, and got a commission from the French to make prizes of English vessels. They were, I think, as wicked men in expression as I ever heard. That night it seemed likely we should be swallowed up

by the mighty waves; but the Lord was graciously pleased to bear up my mind under all, making my present state of confinement much easier than I could have expected. Being sick and very weak, I kept my bed mostly until we came into Calais-road, where we came to anchor in the evening of the 28th; but the sea running high and the wind boisterous, we could not land. Next day a boat came off to us, and brought the remainder of the privateer's men on board our ship. They gave us an account of all our men (except the one that was drowned) being safely landed at Calais. The most of the passengers that remained in our ship went to Calais in that boat; but my companion and self being weakly, I was not able to get into the boat in time, and the lieutenant of the privateer advised us to stay on board; which advice we found to be for our benefit, as by being there we saved our things; for the crew plundered all the night, and seemed afraid of each other's getting more than themselves. Such rogues they were, that when one broke open a chest or trunk and got any thing, and hid it,—others, if they could find it, would steal it away, and hide it in another part of the ship. Thus they continued while we stayed on board, which was until the 30th of the month; for when they all got on board, they slipped the cables and sailed for Dunkirk. When we came into that road, the wind and sea continuing tempestuous, we had to remain two nights and part of two days before we could land. A boat was sent to bring us on shore, but it was such a tossing trying time, that there appeared danger of our being driven out to sea again, and our provisions were spent; for the privateer's men had made great waste of them after they

came on board, but now they seemed surprised at the prospect of want.

My mind was mercifully supported and borne up, though greatly oppressed with their filthy conversation, and abominable oaths. I believe I heard more thereof in the space of thirteen days among them, than I had done in so many years, in any other period of my life. One sorrowful, and to us, affecting case happened while we remained on board the ship: two of the privateer company quarrelled, and grievous were the oaths and imprecations they used. One of them, after repeatedly calling on his Maker to damn his soul, went out, and in a few minutes after, going up aloft, fell from the yard-arm of the foremast on the gunnel of the ship, so into the water, and we saw him no more. I endeavoured to improve this melancholy accident to their advantage; but they laughed at it, and seemed no more concerned than if it had been a dog. Such is the effect of sin that it hardens the heart, and greatly doth it abound in those parts, particularly in the town of Dunkirk, and among privateer's men, who live by rapine and plunder. But at one time, when I was reasoning with them about their wicked course of life, the lieutenant seemed struck, and acknowledged he had often felt something of remorse on his mind, or something which disquieted him. I told him *that* which thus convinced him of sin would, if attended to, give him the victory over it. He replied, "Ah! but if I mind it, I cannot follow this employ." Such is the gracious kindness of the Lord, that he pleads by his good spirit even with the wicked and rebellious, in order to recover them from their



wicked ways; but alas! how few there are who mind its reproofs!

On the 31st of the 1st month, 1783, we landed at Dunkirk; having been six weeks, wanting one day, on ship-board, and sick the most of the time, so that I was scarcely able to walk along the streets. The lieutenant took us to his house, and behaved civilly to us, also went with us to seek lodgings. As we were at liberty to go where we pleased, we took lodgings at the sign of the Deal Boat. One Griffith, a widow, kept it, who assured us she kept a civil, quiet house: but we found it much to the contrary; being a house of resort for the privateer's men, divers of whom lodged in the same room we did. Their filthy conversation and abominable oaths were grievous to bear; so that a prison with bread and water would have been more pleasant to us;—for the sound of their oaths and filthy conversation seemed continually in my ears, and my mind affected with it for many days and nights.

We tarried at Dunkirk until the 4th of 2d month; then went by coach to Calais, where we waited for a fair wind until the 7th, when in company with near thirty passengers, some of them very rude and wicked, we sailed for Dover. The wind rising high, and the sea tempestuous, we were mostly very sick, and in danger of being swallowed up in the great deep; but through the gracious goodness of the Lord, we got safely into Dover in about ten hours, and were kindly received by our friends there. It was cause of deep felt thankfulness, to be brought safe to land, and to enjoy the company of my friends again, after enduring so many trials and perils as I had passed through: for which mercy, and

many more, my soul bows in reverence and gratitude to him who is worthy of obedience and praise forever.

On the 8th we rested there and wrote letters home; next day attended their two meetings to a good degree of satisfaction. We then took meetings in that county, where Friends are few in number; and, in several places, though they have meeting houses yet none of our society remain. We arrived in London a little before the sitting of the meeting for sufferings, which we attended. My mind as well as body was very low most of the time I stayed in that great city; and my secret cries to the Lord were, that he would be pleased to keep me from dishonouring his cause: for I had very little thought that I, a poor weak instrument, could do any thing for the promotion thereof; often wondering why I should be sent to such a great and wise nation. I did not find it my place to say any thing in public for many meetings; but my companion was like a bottle that wanted vent, and was much favoured in testimony. As I abode under this humbling dispensation, labouring after patience, it pleased the Lord to cause the cloud to be removed off the tabernacle, and the glorious light of the gospel to shine in my heart, raising me up with a living testimony for him and his cause, to the humbling of many hearts.

Feeling drawings in my mind toward the eastern counties, and my companion being most easy to tarry longer in London, we parted on the 8th of the 3d month, and I went on to Chelmsford, Witham, and the Quarterly meeting at Coggeshall, for the county of Essex, which was a large meeting, solid

and satisfactory. Here I met with Elizabeth Gibson who had paid an acceptable visit in America. It was a comfort to me to meet her in a strange land, and she and her husband continued with me several days, having good service in the meetings we attended, which were at Kelvedon, Coptford, Colne and Halstead; the last was a closely exercising time among a backsliding people, many of whom, I fear, are tinctured with the destructive notion of deism, not only to their own great hurt, but also to the hurt of others; as that spirit always brings darkness, and tends to harden in sin.

3d mo. 16th, was at Colchester, the place where dear James Parnel suffered so much, and laid down his life for the testimony of Jesus. The spirit of the world prevailing here, I was led into a close searching communication among the people, but felt peace in my labours. Thence went to the Quarterly meeting at Ipswich for Suffolk county; the meeting of ministers and elders was held in the afternoon; it was small, and a mournful time to me, things appearing much out of order, so that the complaint formerly might be applied to them: "The leaders of the people cause them to err." Deep inward suffering has been much my portion in this land, under a feeling sense of the low state of society; yet not without a comfortable hope, at times, of a revival, believing some of the youth are under the forming hand, and in due time will be fitted for vessels of use in the Lord's service, as they come forward with uprightness of heart.

21st, I was at a meeting at Beules, which consisted mostly of other societies, there being very few there under our name. I was led to treat of the ne-

cessity for both preachers and hearers to wait to know the Lord to open their hearts, in order to their being rightly benefited; beginning with these words: The tongue cannot speak to profit, until it is unloosed,—nor the ear hear, until it is unstopped,—nor the heart receive to advantage, until it is opened by him who hath the key of David. By keeping to the opening of my gift, I was, through holy help, enabled to get along greatly to my humbling admiration; and after meeting, was informed there was a Methodist preacher and many of that society there, also two other teachers of other societies; and as these people feed much upon words, I felt great inward peace in minding the gentle leadings of the precious gift. 23d, was at Yarmouth, where I was concerned to point out the danger of yielding to the cunning, subtle nature of our own wills. After this, I went to Norwich, and attended the Quarterly meeting for Norfolk held there, in which my spirit was baptized into a mournful suffering sense of the great declension of our society in that place. As I abode under this exercise, I found a necessity to stand up with these words: They served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and of the elders which outlived Joshua; and while they served the Lord it went well with them. And was led to point out the state of that once highly favoured people, and the bondage and suffering they brought upon themselves by departing in heart from the Lord; and then to apply their condition to us as a people, whom the Lord had called and supported by his all-sustaining power; many having, through their faithfulness to the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, been brought under great outward sufferings, but obtained the vic-

tory; and a time of outward ease and tranquillity ensuing, many of their successors had departed in heart from the law and the testimony, setting down in the possession of houses they had not built, and vineyards they had not planted,—joining themselves to idols, and forgetting the Lord who had thus marvellously wrought deliverance for his people.

It was, through divine favour, a time not only of close labour, but of renewed mercy to a backsliding people in that place; who, though accounted great and wise in this world's wisdom, are much estranged from the Divine life and power which made their ancestors honourable in their day. It was also a season of favour and fresh visitation to the youth, many of whom are entangled in customs which greatly obstruct their coming forward in the work of righteousness. Lamentable indeed is the departure, in a general manner, of the professors of truth in that city and places adjacent, from that simplicity and plainness which Truth leads its followers into; so that with many there is little else retained but the name: for which my spirit often mourned in secret.

On the 29th, my companion, John Pemberton, again joined me, and we attended meetings at Norwich, Lamas, Northwalsham, Holt, Walsingham, Fakenham, and divers other places. They were mostly small of Friends, but attended by a considerable number of other societies, unto whom the gospel was preached, and they behaved with solid attention. But, alas! the spirit of the world, and a conformity to the customs thereof, have so prevailed over our society in these parts, that though there is a willingness in the people to hear the testimony

of Truth, and in many of them great tenderness appears, yet they are stumbled when they look at the conduct of the professors under our name. Under a sense of this I travelled from place to place in great mourning and heaviness of heart, yet not as one without hope, having at times a secret belief raised in me, that the Lord would form to himself a people in this land that will show forth his praise. Although a highly favoured people may withstand the day of his merciful visitation, until the things which belong to their peace may be hid from their eyes, and they be rejected for following after lying vanities and forsaking their sure mercies, yet there is a living remnant preserved who are mourning in secret, and with whom I felt near sympathy, encouraging them in a steady reliance upon Him who has mercifully visited and supported them.

I find by experience, that being brought into a fellow feeling of inward sufferings doth unite in the bonds of gospel love, and in that fellowship which, at times, is mercifully experienced to be with the Father and with the son, in which the true unity of the one spirit is known.

Having attended all the meetings in the county of Norfolk, and laboured therein according to the ability received, I may just remark, that they are in general very small meetings, and the life at a low ebb, by reason of the general conformity of Friends to the spirit and customs of the world, so that it is difficult to discover many of them, by their appearance, to be professors with us.

In the exercise of the ministry there is great care necessary, in order to keep down to the gift. When one sentence is delivered, it requires care to wait

for another to be clearly opened, whatever may be the thoughts and expectations of the people. When the life lies low, if a proper care is not observed, there may be an overrunning of the gift, and ministering of our own, instead of that which proceedeth from the openings of the pure gospel spring. Thus, the life is obstructed, though there may be a great warmth of zeal and sound of words; and while those who are preserved alive are burdened and oppressed, in others the creaturely part may seem affected. But if what is delivered doth not proceed from the spirit of Truth, it cannot minister to the spirit, nor reach further than to that which is of its own nature, the creaturely part.

We attended about twenty meetings in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, many of them small and exercising; indeed this is generally the case, the the life of religion being low; so that the poor servants who are honestly concerned to keep under a feeling sense of Truth, are often baptized into sufferings. At one of these meetings, when I stood up to speak, a Presbyterian minister wrote for some time; but, feeling my spirit raised above the fear of man, I was, through Divine assistance, enabled to set forth the excellency of the spiritual dispensation above that of the law, with all its shadows, rites, and ceremonies,—seeing they made not the comers thereunto perfect: but this of the gospel, as there is a coming unto it, brings life and immortality to light. The people generally behaved with solid attention, considering the mixed multitude, and the minister laid aside his pen and also sat very solid.

We then were at a monthly meeting in Hertfordshire, and also had meetings at Buntingford,

Royston, Ashwell, Baldock and Hitchin; at all which my mind was led into a mournful sense of the degeneracy and departure from the living fountain of all good. There is, however, in most places, a livingly concerned remnant unto whom my spirit was united.

On the 8th of the 5th month, had an evening meeting at Stotford, in Bedfordshire, and taking meetings on our way, proceeded to the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, where we met with Robert Valentine, from our land, Catharine Phillips, and many others who came to attend the said Yearly Meeting, which lasted four days. In one of the sittings, I was largely opened on the call and qualification of a gospel minister, influenced by true gospel love, and free from all sinister views. After meeting, I was informed there were many hireling teachers there, among them one called a bishop, and a large number of young men who were studying in the college for that purpose; as though the gospel was to be learned by study or purchased with money, as some formerly thought of the Holy Spirit. May the praise be ascribed to him who not only calls and sends forth his servants to labour in his vineyard, but qualifies for the service, furnishing suitable matter for those unto whom they are sent to minister.

After a meeting at Lawrence Weston, and attending the meetings in Bristol, we went to Frenchay to the Quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire.—In the women's meeting for discipline, John Pember-ton and I had some close labour, and were instrumental in getting some solid Friends appointed to visit the several monthly meetings, in order to strengthen the faithful in supporting our ancient tes-



timonies;—a service, which I believe to be much wanting in this nation: for the number of the faithful are so few in most places, and the task so arduous, that they give way to, and sink under discouragements; and the cause and testimony for which our worthy predecessors deeply suffered, is let fall as in the streets; on which account my spirit mourned as I passed along. Thence, taking meetings at Melksham, Marlborough, Reading and Uxbridge, I rode to London, and was affectionately received by my kind friends, Joseph Row and wife.

On the 7th of 6th month, the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders began, and was held by adjournments to the 16th, in which time we had many solid, favoured opportunities; wherein many things came under weighty consideration, and the business was for the most part conducted with great concord; although there were, at times, some who are accounted wise in this world, that opposed the testimony which some believed they were called to bear against wrong things.

After the Yearly Meeting ended, we set forward toward the north; attended the Quarterly meeting at Leicester, and divers other meetings, till we reached York; where, on the 24th, 25th and 26th of the month, was held the Quarterly meeting, that for discipline continuing two days, and public meetings for worship each evening. This was a large meeting of plain Friends, somewhat like ours in America. After this we attended the Quarterly meeting held at Durham, and that at Kendal; in both which I had some close labour, but found my spirit united in travail with the honest hearted and faithful among them, which I always esteem a favour. Thence we

went to a monthly meeting at Lancaster, and in the evening were at the Quarterly meeting of ministers and elders. Next day a public meeting for worship was held in the morning, and in the afternoon the meeting for discipline; which was the case at two of the three last Quarterly meetings we had attended. Being grieved thereat, we laboured with them to proceed to the weighty business of the meeting, at the close of the meeting for worship, without separating and going home to dine. In all which places we succeeded so far as to have a minute entered, to make trial at their next meetings.

On the 13th of 7th month, we were at Liverpool, and next day went on board a brig that was about to sail for Dublin, but not yet ready. After attending a monthly meeting at Warrington, and the week-day meeting at Liverpool, on the 18th we sailed, and reached Dublin the 21st. On our passage, the vessel three times struck on a bank of sand in the sea called the Kish. On this bank, a vessel with more than a hundred persons on board, was lost a little while before, and they all perished. But through the kind mercies of God, we were preserved safe to land. We attended the meetings in Dublin; but indeed the life of religion is at a low ebb in that large city, the world and its entanglements having captivated many. We then set out for the province meeting held at Enniscorthy, sixty Irish miles from Dublin. It began the 1st of 8th month with a meeting of ministers and elders, and next day a Quarterly meeting for discipline. Thence we proceeded to visit all the meetings in Ireland, sometimes together, and sometimes apart, as our concerns seemed to lead us. I was at about two hundred

meetings in this nation, and travelled upwards of two thousand five hundred miles, besides visiting many families. In all which I endeavoured to discharge my duty faithfully among them, and doubt not that some of my labours will be sealed to some, and remain in their remembrance when I am no more in mutability. With many dear friends there I felt nearly united through the baptism of the one spirit, and we were made fellow feelers together of the pure life of Truth. I had the satisfaction also before I left the nation, of hearing some in public testimony, who had long laboured under discouragements; unto whom I had been sent, and for whose help and encouragement I had been led in a particular manner, though an entire stranger as to the outward. May the Lord have the praise of his own work.

On the 20th of 5th month, 1784, I went on board a vessel bound for Liverpool, accompanied by divers Friends going over to the Yearly Meeting in London. We had a good passage of about thirty-six hours; and, taking coach from Liverpool, arrived at London on fifth-day evening. Next day attended the week-day meeting at Gracious-street, where I met with Robert Valentine and Nicholas Waln; and that afternoon arrived my beloved friends, Thomas Ross, Samuel Emlen, George Dillwyn and wife, Rebecca Jones and Mehetabel Jenkins, from America, on a religious visit to this nation. We were mutually comforted and refreshed in meeting with each other. Next day the Yearly Meeting began, and was large. There were ten of us from America there. It was a memorable meeting, at which many things were under weighty consideration, one of which was the

establishing of a Women's Yearly Meeting, to receive accounts from the Quarterly meetings of their own sex. This had not heretofore been the case, for which I felt much sorrow of mind, almost from my first landing, apprehending I saw that Truth would not flourish until it was done. As I dwelt under the weight of the exercise, I found it my place to go to the women, when met, and lay it before them.— It was a solemn, humbling season to many; and women Friends getting under the weight of the concern, deputed twelve of their number to attend the men's meeting, then sitting, and proposed the subject to them. This was attended with such life and power, that there were but few who publicly opposed it; though there were some who plead the example of former meetings on proposals of the same kind. But the power of Truth coming over all opposers, a meeting was established, to be a meeting of record, called the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends in London, to correspond with, and receive accounts from all the Quarterly meetings of their own sex, in counties and places where the men's meeting corresponds, and to issue such advices from time to time to their own sex, as may appear to them to be requisite.

Thus, a work was brought about, which many had heretofore laboured for, and that not by the wisdom of the wise, nor strength of argument of the eloquent, but in a way that the Lord was pleased to cast up. A solid, solemn time it was! for which the hearts of many bowed in thankfulness to the Father of all our mercies.

Another subject which was weightily before the meeting, was the case of the poor Africans. Friends

having petitioned and addressed the government in order to have a stop put to the slave-trade, were now engaged in a consideration what further steps to take. During which an exercise attended my mind, that way opened to express as follows: "I believe the case of those poor, oppressed people demands the care of Friends, and I wish all Friends in this nation may be clear of encouraging slavery by reaping the benefit of their labours. I desire this meeting, therefore, to recommend to Quarterly meetings, and also monthly meetings, to make a narrow inspection how far their members are clear in this respect: for, if any amongst us are reaping the benefit of their labours (which I apprehend to be the case) while we are labouring with those in authority to put a stop to it, it will weaken our hands." The proposal was, at first, opposed as unnecessary; but in the course of the consideration and debate thereon, it came out, to the great surprise of many, that such as held estates in the West Indies could not do without slaves, and that their estates would be worth but little, if it was not for the negroes they had on them. Whereupon a minute was made, directing a close inspection in each Quarterly and monthly meeting, and an account to be rendered to next Yearly Meeting. Thus, some of the secret, hidden works of darkness were made manifest, in a manner little expected when I first opened my concern.

After the close of that in London, I attended the Yearly Meetings of Woodbridge and Norwich, each of which held four days. Some of the public meetings were large, and a living, powerful invitation extended, to the humbling the hearts and contriting the spirits of many of the youth. Thence through

a part of Yorkshire, to a yearly or general meeting held at Ackworth. After the public meetings were over, we requested a meeting next day with the family, consisting of school-masters, mistresses and scholars; there being upwards of thirty masters, mistresses and servants, and about three hundred and thirty scholars of both sexes, and several Friends of the committee who have the oversight of the institution. We had a clear, open time with the children, being led to speak in a plain easy manner, suitable to their capacities; after which, the children being requested to withdraw, we had a full opportunity with the other parts of the family, being enabled to discharge our duty towards them in faithfully warning against a spirit of pride, that to us appeared likely to do harm, and frustrate the good design of the institution; which, if carried on under the direction of pure wisdom, may be a blessing to the youth of our society: but there is great danger of the enemy getting advantage, without a deep and watchful care being maintained by those who are the managers thereof.

In the beginning of the 8th month, I was at Ship-ton, the place where once lived that martyr, Marmaduke Stevenson; the field he mentions, in which he was at plough, is about half a mile from the town. The same day I had also a meeting at North Cave, the place where John Richardson lived in the early part of his time. There are now but few Friends at either place. I was also at Bridlington, which John Richardson mentions as being so highly favoured in his day, as to be called a school of prophets, but now there is only one man, three women, and three children in membership with Friends, there.

8th month 30th, 1784. Being the day on which I completed the fifty-second year of my age, I was led into a serious consideration how swiftly my days pass over; with secret breathings to the Lord for his help to enable me to spend the few remaining ones to his honour, and in his service. In a retrospect of my life, I was induced to believe it would have been better for me, had I kept single to the Divine Guide, and more out of a desire after the things of this world, in earlier life. Being in the chamber where that devoted servant of Christ, William Hunt, finished his course, I remembered his example, and wished to improve thereby, so that my latter end may be as his was, having an evidence that Truth is over all. Were all those who are called into the work of the ministry, to keep near to the humbling power of Truth, and, by example as well as precept, to preach to the people the advantages of a self-denying life, and that a little is enough for a christian,—truth and righteousness would more abundantly spread and increase in the earth.

On the 3rd of the 9th month, I went into Scotland, and attended all the meetings of Friends in that nation. In several of them there are very few, not more than five or six owned as members. Having travelled upwards of three hundred miles in twelve days, I returned to Edinburgh, and thence went into Cumberland to the general meeting at Carlisle, and the Quarterly meeting held at Cocker-mouth, where was a brave appearance of plain Friends; and through the condescending goodness of the Father of mercies, we were comforted and refreshed together.

After this I was at a meeting at Pardshaw, where

they showed me the craggy rocks that Friends in the beginning used to meet at, or under, and as the wind changed they changed sides, in order to be sheltered from the storms. Thence, taking meetings almost daily, I went on to the Quarterly meeting for the county of York, held at Leeds. It began in the evening of the 28th of 12th month with a meeting of ministers and elders, at which were four of us from America, Nicholas Waln, Rebecca Jones, Rebekah Wright and myself; also many Friends from that and the adjacent counties. I thought the meeting for discipline was much hurt by Friends' spirits being so far spent in attending their monthly and select meeting, previous to their entering on the business of the Quarterly meeting. Yet, through the continued regard of the Lord of mercies, ability was given to labour amongst them; and, of a truth, it may be said he has not cast off nor forsaken his people, but is still following us with the offers of his grace; under a renewed sense whereof, the hearts of many were bowed in thankfulness before him.

On the 2d of the 1st month, 1785, I was at Sheffield, a large manufacturing town, where abundance of youth are placed, some as apprentices and others as clerks. It is a large meeting, but the life was low among them, and I had a close searching time. In travelling through the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, I found the meetings of Friends very small, yet divers of the few that remain appear to be livingly exercised members. After this, taking meetings on the way, I went to London, where I continued upwards of six weeks, and attended more than fifty meetings; many of which were seasons of comfort and refreshment, and I had the satisfaction



to see that the labour had not all been in vain: a visible alteration was manifest in the appearance and dress of some of the beloved youth, unto whom a renewed tender visitation was extended. About the 20th of the 3rd month I left London, and visited a number of meetings and places in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and was at the Yearly Meeting held at Bristol. Thence took meetings on my return to London, to attend the Yearly Meeting there, which began the 14th of 5th month, and continued, by adjournments, till the 23d. It was a large and favoured meeting; to which came my dear friend, John Pemberton, whom I had left in Ireland. Ten of us from America, on a religious account, were at this Yearly Meeting; shortly after which, Thomas Ross, John Pemberton and Patience Brayton, set out for Scotland; Samuel Emlen, George Dillwyn and Rebecca Jones, for Ireland, and Mehetabel Jenkins, for Bristol. I passed into the county of Sussex, and visited all the meetings there; found the state of society low, meetings all small, and many of the few Friends left, but little concerned for the cause of Truth, being carried away by the spirit, customs and maxims of this world. Indeed, in many places, especially the large trading towns in England, the riches and grandeur of this world appear to prevail among the professors of Truth, so as to stifle the good seed, and they retain little but the name of Friends, having neither form nor substance. Hence the minds of the people are in a very different state from what they are in some places of less account in trade, and where the meetings are mostly made up of poor fishermen, labourers, &c.

In the 8th month, I travelled into Cornwall, and

had some large and favoured meetings, mostly among the poorer classes of the people, such as fishermen and others. I had also a meeting at the Lands End, where Friends have a meeting house, though none of our society reside there. Formerly, it is said, there was a large meeting here; but many of them removing to Pennsylvania, in the early settlement thereof, and others dying, the meeting was dropped. I have found it generally the case, that in places where meetings are often held, though the people attend in large numbers, and generally behave well, yet the testimony of Truth doth not go forth so freely, nor have so much reach on the mind, as in some places where they have not had such frequent opportunities of hearing the gospel declared. After this I returned to Devonshire; and on the 1st of the 9th month, as I was looking over my travels in the West, and reflecting on the many baptisms I went through, and how I, a poor creature, had been helped,—found I had abundant cause to bow in reverence of soul, and acknowledge that the Lord is worthy of obedience and service forever; for he is good to all those who, in sincerity of heart, are given up to follow him and trust in his power. He frequently manifests his strength in our greatest weakness, and the riches of his grace in times of great poverty and distress. Oh! saith my soul, that I may more and more cleave to him in uprightness of heart, and lean not to my own understanding; for he hath taught me that his works are in wisdom, and his ways past finding out; and that deep baptisms of spirit are necessary, in order to become qualified for the ministry of the gospel, which is a spiritual dispensation, and can only be performed by the

help of his holy spirit, renewing the mind in a feeling of the Divine life, wherein all former experiences are done away so far as to have no dependance on them.

Having been diligently engaged in attending meetings in Gloucestershire and other places, I rode to Worcester, where I met my dear cousin, Ann Jessop, from Carolina, now on a religious visit here. We rejoiced in meeting, after an absence of more than five years; and were at several meetings together. Then parting in near fellowship, I passed into Wales, and was at about ten meetings in that principality—and may say the state of society is remarkably low there; there being few that bear our name, and but a small part of that few who are concerned to feel after the quickening virtue of Truth. Yet was my mind, at times, livingly impressed with the remembrance of that saying of our dear Lord, “Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.” And fervent desires were raised in my mind that the Lord might be pleased to hasten the time of this ingathering to the true fold.

On the 5th of the 11th month, I was at Shrewsbury, where I again met my cousin Ann Jessop and Deborah Darby. We sat with the few professors there, and had some close labour. Thence to Colebrookdale, where we had a precious meeting; the baptizing virtue of Truth was experienced among us in a manner I have scarcely known before, since being in England; under the holy, cementing virtue of which, many hearts were greatly tendered, and many tears of joy flowed freely forth. We had also

a public meeting in the evening, which was likewise a precious season to many seeking souls: a gracious visitation is extended to the people there, and there-away, being mostly poor miners, colliers, &c. Next day, we had a very large meeting at New-dale, mostly of other societies, and of the above description; which was a blessed, instructive season; much brokenness appeared; and divers after meeting came to me with tears in their eyes, and expressed their thankfulness for that favour. At this meeting was a Methodist preacher; and although I had been, in an uncommon manner, led to speak against forms and ceremonies, and people preaching and praying in their own wills and times, hoping thereby to render themselves acceptable to God; yet, at the conclusion, he came to me, and in an affectionate manner expressed how he felt, and said, "Had it not been for fear of giving offence, I should have publicly declared my unity with you, and what you had to deliver amongst us."

I had much close labour and exercise in many meetings, on my way to London, where I arrived on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of 12<sup>th</sup> month, and remained in and about the city till the 14<sup>th</sup> of the 3<sup>rd</sup> month, 1786; constantly attending at least six meetings in a week, and sometimes more, besides those for church affairs. I was also at the burial of our ancient friend, Claude Gay, at Barking. I also had seven public meetings appointed on first-day evenings, for the benefit of other societies; they were very large, solemn and instructive seasons; the hearts of many being open to receive the glad tidings of the gospel. Thence I set out to visit some places to the north, and was at divers meetings in Lancashire, Westmoreland and

Cheshire—and returned to London to attend the Yearly Meeting. In this journey, I travelled near fifteen hundred miles in about seven weeks, and attended forty-nine meetings. Though low and poorly in setting out, and having to travel through much rain and snow, so that my clothes were wet for many days successively,—yet, through the gracious continuance of Divine regard, I was enabled to get along to my own admiration, being helped to labour in a faithful discharge of duty, so as to return much released in spirit, and mended in my bodily health: for which, with manifold other mercies and favours, I desire to dedicate my heart to his service who is a strength to the needy, and a present help in every proving season,—God over all,—blessed forever.

On the 3rd of the 6th month, the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders began, and ended the 12th. This Yearly Meeting was the largest and most solid of any I have attended in the nation before. My heart was often humbled under a sense of the continuation of gracious kindness to us as a people; notwithstanding there has been such a revolt from the law and testimony. I had many precious opportunities in meetings for worship, wherein I was largely opened in communication, both for the instruction of inquirers, encouragement of the true travellers, and reproof of those who, notwithstanding the abundant labour bestowed on them, were unwisely preferring temporals to spirituals, and a little sensual gratification to eternal felicity. I had also some close labour in the meeting of ministers and elders; in which I was led to point out the snares that are laid to catch the unwary, even after they

have been called to the work of the ministry. I also informed them of the deep sufferings I had passed through, in part occasioned by some in that station not keeping down to the spring of true gospel ministry. It was a baptizing season to many minds; in which I had also to rejoice in the evidence I had, that from my first arrival in this land, I had laboured to keep in the patience, and under a feeling sense of the state of things amongst them.

I also had a very open, heart-tendering season, in a visit to the Women's Meeting; in which I reminded them of the establishment of that meeting, and that it was not brought about by human contrivance, nor fleshly wisdom, but through the power of Truth: showing the necessity there was for them to know the gospel authority of pure love, in all their movements towards forwarding the reformation, and returning to primitive purity. Apprehending my service in this land was near a close, I took leave of Friends at the Yearly Meeting, as never expecting to see them again. — Thus the Lord, my gracious Helper, was pleased to favour me, recompensing me for all my varied trials, labours, and sufferings, with the overflowing of his love, to my great joy and consolation.

I tarried in and about London till the 18th of 7th month, when, accompanied by divers dear friends, I went to Bristol, and took my passage in a ship bound for New-York. While the vessel was lading and waiting for a fair wind, I went through great distress of mind, which, as it increased on me, induced me to believe that the right time had not come for my returning. After advising with several Friends, who all encouraged me to mind my own

feelings, I went to the captain and informed him thereof, and got my things out of the ship on shore again; after which they soon sailed. This was a very proving season; but as I laboured after patience and resignation, I found an opening toward some meetings in Somersetshire; where I met with Rebecca Jones and companion, who were surprised to see me, expecting I was on the ocean. But the Lord raised sympathy in their hearts, so that we all sat down and wept together. After being at several meetings, we again met at Gloucester, where the circular Yearly Meeting for seven counties was held. It began the 9th of 9th month, and continued until the 12th, the several sittings were large, but Truth did not seem to be in dominion. The continuation of these meetings having been under consideration in the last Yearly Meeting at London, a large committee was appointed to attend this, and confer with Friends of the counties composing it, as also weightily to consider whether Truth was likely to be advanced by the continuation of it. After the service of the meeting was over, the committee met, with many other Friends from the counties, and it was with much unanimity agreed to report, that those meetings have had their service, and to propose to the Yearly Meeting their discontinuance. At this conclusion I rejoiced; having been at several of these Yearly or general meetings, and being fully persuaded that if Friends would turn their minds towards their families, and making a reformation where things are out of order amongst us, it would be more likely to reach and convince the judgment of others of the purity of our principles. At those large mixed gatherings, it too frequently happens that not only

the conduct and appearance of many of the youth and others, greatly contradict our profession of a self-denying life;—but the forward, light, and unsavoury appearances of some in the ministry, being without life and power, bring our profession of feeling a Divine influence into disrepute. For many are quick-sighted, and have a sense of what is delivered under right influence, and what is not.

Feeling an engagement to unite with a committee appointed at the last Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and monthly meetings, in some parts of this nation, I accompanied them to seven Quarterly meetings, and a number of monthly meetings. We travelled in near unity and fellowship, and laboured for the restoration of order, and the revival of concern for the support of the discipline, which is placed as a hedge about us.

In the 11th month, I was at Nottingham and Sheffield, at the latter, had a meeting with the apprentices and servants, and another with the heads of families. They were large and satisfactory opportunities; my dear friend Rebecca Jones attended them, and was much favoured in communication. Thence to Ackworth, and sat with the committee who have the care of the school, to some satisfaction. Thence to Kendal, Lancaster, and divers other places, and reached London in the 2nd month, 1787. After staying about a month in the city, I went to several Quarterly meetings, and tarried in and about Norwich nearly five weeks, attending meetings; many of which were large, and graciously owned to my humble consolation. I was also at many other meetings, as well as the Yearly Meeting in London, which was a large, solid, good meeting.



In the 7th month, 1787, I left London, and embarked on board the ship *Pigou*, for my native land. There were five of us in company, returning from a religious visit; Zachariah Dicks, Ann Jessop, Rebekah Wright, Patience Brayton and myself. About fifty Friends accompanied us to Gravesend, where we had a comfortable refreshing time together, in the sense of which we took leave of our dear friends, and the next day put to sea. Through the mercies of the Lord, we had a safe, good passage, and arrived at Philadelphia in the 9th month, to the joy of our friends and our own comfort. I concluded to tarry the Yearly Meeting which began shortly after, and was a solid, good meeting. Here I met with many dear friends whom I rejoiced to see, as also my wife who came to town a few days before the meeting. After its conclusion, we went directly home; when my heart was filled with Divine consolation, and overflowed with the love of him who called me forth and was graciously pleased to be my support through many trials and difficulties; enabling me to labour for the promotion of the cause of Truth and righteousness. My soul bows before him in reverent humility, and my desire is, that the few remaining moments I may stay in this probationary state, may be spent to his glory and honour, who is worthy now and forever.

WILLIAM MATTHEWS.

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*Letter to Peter Yarnall.*

*York, 11th mo. 29th, 1789.*

Beloved friend,—Although it has been a very sickly time in general, and many elderly people have

been removed, yet no Friend has been buried in this place since thou left us. Being much recovered, and feeling a draught in my mind to attend the Quarterly meeting in Baltimore, I went, and was glad I was there. Though the meeting was small, many Friends being poorly with the influenza, yet the Ancient of days condescended to be with us, to our comfort, enabling us to get through the business in a good degree of harmony; among which, divers things relative to our junction with them, and the accommodation of the Yearly Meeting were attended to.

Dear friend, I have thee often in my remembrance, with desires that the mighty God of Jacob may be thy shield and buckler, giving strength and wisdom proportionate to the work of the day, so that, under the humbling influence of his power, thou mayest be the means of cherishing that good which remains, and in some is ready to die. The nearer we keep to him who called us forth, when on his embassy, waiting for a renewal of our commission and a fresh supply of strength, the more we are fitted for the work, and the easier are hard things made to us.

Expecting this to reach thee in the neighborhood of Cane Creek or New Garden, in Carolina, I wish to be affectionately remembered to Zachariah Dicks and wife, John Carter, David Vestal, my cousin Ann Jessop, and others. With dear love to thyself and companion, I remain thy friend,

WILLIAM MATTHEWS.



# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 7.]

TENTH MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VII.

## NARRATIVE

*Of a Journey to Sandusky, Ohio, to visit the  
Wyandot Indians residing there.*

### PREFACE.

We are safe in asserting that the principles of righteousness, coeval with society and the probationary state of man, will ever continue, unchangeable in their nature. Through the attention and obedience of minds enlightened to see, and hearts prepared to feel, the excellence of the fruits of goodness, justice, mercy, and truth, the principles of righteousness have been called into action, and human society has been benefitted and improved. Social order, friendship, and mutual confidence have increased, and the bands that unite man to his fellow-creatures have been strengthened, approximating to one great and general brotherhood, the state of the whole human family.

To record, for the encouragement of the present, and the advantage of succeeding generations, such instances and examples of the prevalence and increase of the effects of these immutable principles, as have come to their knowledge, is a duty devolving on some, in the performance of which, though no immediate effect should be manifest in others, they feel a secret satisfaction and peace, as the reward of their labours.

These reflections have been excited by the perusal of some of the accounts that have been preserved by individuals, exhibiting the labour, privations, fatigue and sufferings that have been sustained by benevolent persons, in the disinterested pursuit of promoting the comfort and happiness of their fellow-creatures. But while the heart glows with approbation of the persevering efforts of others in works of righteousness, mercy, and peace, let us not forget the obligation, within the sphere of which we are placed, and according to our ability, to "go and do likewise."

The Journals of several Friends who, in furtherance of the sympathetic, benevolent views and feelings of the society towards the

Indian natives, had travelled into their country, have already been published in the Miscellany, and exhibit testimony of the deep interest manifested for their welfare. We have recently been furnished with another Journal, written by a young man who accompanied a committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting on a visit to the Wyandot nation of Indians, residing at Sandusky. This occurred in the year 1799, before much settlement had been made by white people in the country west of the Ohio river—many parts of which were then an almost trackless wilderness.

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#### INTRODUCTION.

As there now seems to be scarcely a doubt, that the Indians residing east of the Mississippi will, in a short time, either become extinct, or be compelled to remove beyond that river, into a country too remote to receive much, if any, efficient aid from the society of Friends,—it is due to this society, that some evidences should be preserved of the efforts made to improve the condition of the Indians, and to avert their extermination.

At the time of the visit to this settlement of the Wyandots at Sandusky, they were a numerous tribe, confederated with several other nations, amongst whom were the Shawnese and Delawares, and had then recently been engaged in a war with the United States. By the force of circumstances, however, their numbers have become greatly diminished,—their ancient lofty spirit has been broken, and the few that remain have been compelled to abandon the country of their forefathers, and to seek a resting place in a distant region, prescribed to them as their future residence.

The condition of this once numerous race of people, which, not more than two centuries ago, were spread over nearly the whole of the North American

continent, is calculated to awaken the sympathy of every feeling mind. Their extinction, which may be looked for in a few generations more, will be a lasting reproach to our country; and while the beautiful names they have conferred upon our noblest rivers and loftiest mountains, will for ages yet to come attest the sublimity and grandeur of their language, posterity will not fail to deplore their extermination, and to lament the policy under which it was permitted.

The last interview that took place between the committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting and a part of the Wyandot confederacy, immediately before their removal to the west, was highly interesting. The Indians manifested on the occasion a deep sense of gratitude for the aid they had received from Friends, and their principal chief, in concluding a speech addressed to the committee, after referring to the dangers that awaited them in their proposed long journey, remarked, "I hope the Great Spirit will have compassion on us; it is him who made this world and all of us who live in it, that we might dwell together as friends and brethren. He is the master of the world he has made; we cannot resist his power; and when it is his will that our existence should terminate, it becomes our duty to submit with resignation."

In the year 1798, a speech was forwarded to Friends of Baltimore, from the principal chiefs of the Wyandots. This speech led to the measures which resulted in the visit referred to in the following Journal; and as it affords an interesting demonstration of the feelings of these greatly injured people towards our society, as well as an authentic speci-

men of Indian elocution, it is considered worthy of preservation.

*9th month, 1835.*

Speech delivered by Tarhie, (*the crane*,) principal chief of the Wyandot nation of Indians, in behalf of the whole of the said nation, the 8th day of September, 1798.

Brethren, Quakers!—You remember that we once met at a certain place, and when we had there met, a great many good things were said, and much friendship was professed between us.

Brethren! You told us at that time, you not only took us by the hand, but that you held us fast by the arm—that you then formed a chain of friendship: You said it was not a chain of iron, but that it was a chain of precious metal—a chain of silver, which would never get rusty, and that this chain would bind us in brotherly affection forever.

Brethren! You told us that this chain of friendship would bind us together so fast, that we should never part:—It is our sincere wish that this chain may never be broken; no, not even by the efforts of the evil spirit himself.

Brethren! These are only a few words that I recollect of a great many that were said at that time; we have no records or place of security for our speeches as you have, nor can we write as you do; our belts of wampum are our only records. But if you examine your old books and papers, you will there find written all that passed between your forefathers and ours.\*

\*The chief is here believed to refer to the Treaties between William Penn and the Indians.

Brethren, listen! The Wyandot nation, your brethren, are happy to hear that you have not forgot what our grandfathers agreed on at that time; we have often heard that you were a good and faithful people, ever ready to do justice, and to do good to all men, whether they be white or black; therefore we love you the more sincerely, because of the goodness of your hearts, which has been talked of among our nations long since.

Brethren! My brethren, the Wyandots, are happy to be informed that some of you express a wish to pay us a visit; when you do come forward for that purpose, we will then show you a belt of wampum which was given to us by your forefathers, with a piece of written parchment affixed thereto.—When you see that belt of wampum, and shall have read the writing on the parchment, you no doubt will then perfectly know us, and will consider us brethren, united by a chain which can never be broken whilst memory lasts.

Brethren, listen! As I have mentioned before, so let us proceed; we are much pleased to hear that you still hold in remembrance our nephews, the Delaware nation. The promises and obligations made between your grandfathers and ours, included our two nations, the Wyandots and Delawares, in the chain of friendship and brotherly love, considering us as one and the same people; which chain we pray the Great Spirit will never permit to be divided.

Brethren, listen! By strictly adhering to the treaty of brotherly love which our grandfathers, who now exist no more, formed for us and our future generations, we will the more peacefully and quietly wander upon the earth, on which the Great Spirit,

the master of life and of all things, was pleased to plant us;—our women and children will also walk the longer, as well as our young men and old people, upon the earth.

Brethren, listen! You have informed us that you intend to visit us, that even in our tents and cabins you will take us by the hand—You, brethren, cannot admit a doubt that we would be very happy to see you; but it will be necessary to acquaint you that as the season is now far advanced, and the cold weather approaching fast, it would be a difficult task for our brethren to find our places of abode, as during the winter we will all be scattered abroad for the purposes of hunting in the wilderness; but in the beginning of June you will find us all at home, in our cabins and tents, ready to see you.

Brethren, listen! It is but proper to propose to you at this time, that when you do come forward to see us, you will pass by my place of residence at Sandusky; I will then take you not only by the hand, but by the arm, and will conduct you safe to the grand council fire of our great Sasteretsy, where all good things are transacted, and where nothing bad is permitted to appear.

When in the grand council of our Sasteretsy, we will then sit down together in peace and friendship, as brethren are accustomed to do, after a long absence, and remind each other, and talk of those times and things that were done between our good grandfathers, when they first met upon our lands—on this great Island.

Brethren! May the Great Spirit, the master of light and life, so dispose the hearts and minds of all our nations and people, that the calamities of war



may never be felt or known by any of them—that our roads and paths may never more be stained with the blood of our young warriors, and that our helpless women and children may live in peace and happiness.

Delivered on a large belt and ten strings of white wampum, in behalf of the Wyandot and Delaware nations.

Signed { TARHIE, (the crane)  
 SKA-HON-WAT,  
 ADAM BROWN,  
 MAI-I-RAI, or Walk on the Water.

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*Journal of a visit to the Indians.*

The Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Baltimore, having, in the year 1798, received the preceding speech and a belt of wampum from the Wyandot confederacy of Indians, with an invitation to visit them at their next grand council, in order, as they expressed it, to brighten the chain of friendship which then united them to us, and consult together upon the means the society of Friends might employ to be serviceable to them—it was concluded that a deputation from the committee on Indian concerns should be sent out for that purpose. Evan Thomas, George Ellicott, Joel Wright and Rees Cadwalader, were appointed for that purpose. This committee were joined by Gerard Brooke, Andrew Ellicott, and Philip E. Thomas, who, with the consent of these friends, accompanied them on the visit.

On third-day the 7th of the 5th mo., 1799, Evan Thomas, Andrew Ellicott, and Philip E. Thomas,

proceeded from Baltimore, on the journey. We were joined at Ellicott's mills by George Ellicott, and at night arrived at Joel Wright's, on Pipe creek, forty-two miles from Baltimore, where we remained the next day.

9th. Accompanied by Joel Wright and Gerard Brooke, we proceeded on our journey; and passed Graceham, a Moravian town containing sixty or seventy houses. After crossing the Kitaukten and South mountains, and descending the Conogocheague valley, we passed through a small town lately laid off, called Waynesburgh, consisting principally of log houses.

10th. We passed through Greencastle, which contains about one hundred and fifty houses, generally built of hewn logs. Thence to Messersburgh, near the North mountain. This is a flourishing town, containing about one hundred and twenty houses, built generally of stone or brick.

After leaving Messersburg, we ascended the North mountain, which we crossed at Cove Gap. The valley between it and the South mountain, is here about forty miles wide, exceedingly fertile, but very much broken with limestone laying near the surface of the ground.

From the top of the North mountain we had an extensive view of the two valleys that lay along its sides; the one on the western side is called McConnell's valley, and that on the eastern side which we had just passed, Conogocheague.

McConnell's valley is here one mile wide, and abounds with limestone,—nearly in the middle of it and ten miles from Messersburg, there is now building a town called McConnell's town, which contains

forty or fifty log houses and a few of brick and stone. We next passed over Scrub mountain which consists of two ridges. The land between this place and Sideling hill, which is nine miles further west, is hilly and barren, having but little timber except dwarf pine and shrubby oak. On arriving at the foot of Sideling hill, we came to the waters of the Juniata river, which run in a contrary direction to those we had passed that emptied into the Potomac. At night we arrived on the top of Sideling hill mountain, about thirty-seven miles from our last night's lodgings.

11th. We descended this mountain, which is eight miles over, and then passed over Ray's mountain, which begins to rise immediately at the foot of Sideling hill; after this, we passed a hilly barren country for four miles, when we arrived at the Raystown branch, one of the principal head waters of the Juniata. At this place considerable quantities of shad are taken, although to follow the windings of the river, it is here not less than four hundred miles from the tide water of the Chesapeak Bay. The land lying on this river is fertile, though hilly—after travelling eight miles further, we arrived at Warren mountain through a gap called Tusses narrows, where the soil is very rich, and well supplied with limestone.

We followed the course of that river which is exceedingly serpentine, and passed a valley two miles wide, called Snake Spring valley, tolerably rich and abounding with lime stone. We next came to a pass between two mountains that rise very high, and so steep that they appear to be entirely inaccessi-

ble—the one on the right is called Dunnings Creek mountain, and the other Cove or Terras mountain; after leaving these, six miles, we arrived at Bedford, the county town of Bedford county, Pennsylvania, which contains upwards of one hundred and fifty houses, some of them neatly built. This town is in the valley between Wills and Dunnings creek mountains.

12th. This being first-day, we attended an appointed meeting in the court house, and in the afternoon proceeded on our journey; passing round the end of Wills mountain and one other ridge, and still pursuing the course of a stream tributary to the Raystown branch of the Juniata, which is here bordered by very fertile land. After leaving this river we crossed a rich though hilly tract of country for about three miles, when we arrived at a spur of the Alleghany mountain, called Dry ridge, which shoots out from that mountain in an oblique direction, running a N. E. and S. W. course. We rode up this ridge, and continued on its summit for about seven miles, when it becomes broken by several deep valleys that lie between it and the main ridge; having crossed these, we arrived at the foot of the Alleghany mountain. The woods on Dry ridge were on fire for several miles; and as we passed along we were very much incommoded with the smoke, and frequently threatened with danger from the falling of burning trees across the road; but reached the top of the Alleghany safely, where we lodged in a house that stands in a small gap of the mountain. In the morning I walked up to its summit which was half a mile distant, and enjoyed a most exten-

sive prospect to the S. S. W. From this point the ridges we had passed may be seen ranged beyond each other for a vast extent, and may be traced on either side as far as the eye can reach, until they finally lose themselves in the far distant horizon. The prospect is indeed most beautifully picturesque and sublime; there are perhaps few spots in the United States, which afford a more grand mountain scenery; yet elevated as this spot is, I found there con- creted rocks of marine shells, and other evidences of its having once been covered by the ocean. After breakfasting, we proceeded on our journey, and crossed a stream of water, which is the most western branch that falls into the Susquehanna, and is a tri- butary of the Juniata. We here observed a quarry of mill stones, and saw several that were cut out and finished, but they appeared to be of an inferior quality.

A few hundred yards west from this place, we crossed a branch which runs a western direction, and falls into the Alleghany river; it therefore appears that the eastern and western waters here interlock, and approach very near to each other.

Although it was the middle of the 5th mo., all the streams that we saw until nine o'clock in the fore- noon, were frozen, and the air was very cool;—this being the dividing ridge, and consequently the high- est land between the eastern and western states.

After descending the Alleghany mountain some distance, we came to the Stony creek Glades, which abound with the sugar maple and other timber— these glades are level, and produce great quantities of grass. After passing through Somerset town, we crossed a deep muddy stream, which is the western

extremity of the glade lands. The soil from here to the declivity of the mountain is very good; the land is not hilly—being generally covered with lofty timber, some of which is fourteen or fifteen feet in circumference.

14th. We this morning crossed the Laurel hill, which is an irregular ridge of mountains, well timbered, and generally fertile; there is also near its summit a vein of coarse limestone. From the stream that flows at the eastern foot of this mountain to Indian creek at its western base, the distance is twelve miles. Immediately after crossing Indian creek, we began to rise Chesnut ridge. This mountain extends eleven miles over an irregular broken chain of hills to its western base; two miles further we arrived at Connell's town, on the Youghiogany river. Our company here divided, part of them went to Brownsville, and the others to Beeson town. This town is built on a very handsome situation, and contains about three hundred houses; the country is called "Red Stone," from the Youghiogany to the Monongahela river; the land is generally fertile, and well covered with timber, but broken by hills.—It is amply supplied with limestone and stone coal, both of which lie a small distance below the surface, so as to occasion no disadvantage to the soil.

15th. We proceeded to Brownsville and Bridgeport, where we rejoined our friends. Brownsville is situated on the Monongahela river, and contains about one hundred houses: at its south end, flows a stream on a N. W. course into the Monongahela and separates Brownsville from Bridgeport, which has lately been built and contains about eighty houses.

16th. Finding ourselves much fatigued by our journey over the mountains, we remained the latter part of yesterday and to-day at our friend Rees Cadwalader's. There is a considerable body of Friends settled in this neighbourhood, and several meetings are established. The country contains salt springs, which are capable of furnishing more of this necessary article, than would supply the wants of the inhabitants; and from the Alleghany mountains, westward, sugar maple grows in abundant quantities.

Near the spot where Bridgeport stands, there is still plainly to be observed the remains of an old fortification which might have contained two thousand men. The ground within the moat is nearly covered with a kind of shell, which the people here call muscle shells, about as large and nearly the shape of a clam, but of a beautiful glossy pearl colour. There are many of these ancient forts in this country. From the Monongahela river, they extend as far westward as has yet been explored. These fortifications are laid out in regular order, but by no means on situations that would now be thought strong.

17th. We were joined by Rees Cadwalader, and proceeded on our journey, crossing the Monongahela, which is here two hundred and twenty yards wide: the land on the western side appears to be more hilly than in Redstone, though equally fertile, the fields being every where covered with luxuriant verdure, and the forests abounding with heavy timber.

18th. Crossed Chartier creek, which flows by Cannonsburgh, and after passing through a very

rich district of country, empties into the Ohio four miles below Pittsburgh. Cannonsburgh is built on the west side of this creek, and contains about sixty houses. After leaving this stream, we found the lands of an inferior quality, and the country has but little good timber. About ten o'clock at night, we arrived at West Baltimore, situated on the east shore of the Ohio, having travelled to-day forty-two miles.— This town is situated nearly opposite to where Little Beaver empties into the Ohio, and contains about forty or fifty houses.

19th. Being first-day, we attended an appointed meeting, and spent the afternoon at this place. The Ohio river is here seven hundred yards wide. During the twenty-four hours that we remained here, the river rose twenty-five feet, by a freshet in the mountains.

20th. Crossed the Ohio at George-town, and passed the Pennsylvania State line, which runs due north, and crosses the Ohio near the mouth of Little Beaver creek. The seven Congress ranges begin at the point where the line of the State of Pennsylvania crosses the Ohio river, and run a west course forty-two miles, then south until the line intersects the Ohio again, nine miles above Marietta. The tract of country called Connecticut reserve, is bounded on the east by the west line of Pennsylvania, and runs to the meridian of Sandusky, in the forty-first degree of north latitude; the lands that lie between the ranges, Connecticut reserve and the Pennsylvania line, have never been surveyed, nor settled, and our course passed through this tract. We found the country very hilly near the Ohio river, but after passing those hills it becomes more level. The



path we travelled is an old Indian path, about one foot wide, and from ten to two inches deep; we pursued our journey along this until six o'clock, and then encamped near a fine spring. After cooking our supper, we made a very agreeable meal, but the novelty of the scene prevented our sleeping much through the night; we however rose early the next morning in good health and spirits.

Our horses having rambled off two or three miles, we did not recover them until near nine o'clock. There was in the morning a small sprinkle of rain, but the weather cleared off, and we pursued our journey along the path without any material occurrence through the day. It was sunset before we found a suitable place to encamp; of course we had not sufficient time to entrench ourselves very well. Soon after our fire was kindled, we were visited by a heavy gust of rain, which for a considerable time beat through our tent. It continued raining until near midnight, with very little intermission, when we were exposed to a tremendous tempest, accompanied with incessant peals of thunder, and an almost constant blaze of vivid lightning. Notwithstanding all our exertions, our fire was nearly extinguished with the torrents of rain that fell; we, however, by the aid of our umbrellas, succeeded in preserving it until morning, when we dried ourselves as well as we could; and thinking it appeared likely to clear off, proceeded again on our journey.

22nd. Before noon it again began to rain, and continued with but little intermission through the remainder of the day, in very heavy showers. We passed many trees that had been shivered to pieces by lightning the night before; and in the afternoon

we were stopped by a stream of water which had been so raised by the rain as to be impassable. Finding ourselves unable to proceed, we concluded to encamp near the side of this stream, and accordingly pitched our tent on a spot of ground, a little elevated, where we remained until the next morning.

23rd. The water having raised so much during the night that it flowed entirely around us, we found ourselves this morning on an island: had the river risen a few inches higher, we should have been covered with water, as we found that the bottom of our tent was but little above the level of the stream. The weather clearing off, we had an opportunity of reconnoitring our situation, and found the bottom on which we had encamped, to be about five hundred yards wide. At its farther side there flowed a large stream; but upon examination, we ascertained that by cutting down some tall trees that grew upon its banks, we might transport ourselves over; to accomplish this, we had no tools except a light hatchet; but, going to work with good spirits and a firm determination, we succeeded by falling several trees in constructing a bridge that could bear us over.

We transported our baggage on the bridge, and swam our horses through the creek; one of them being carried down by the violence of the current a considerable distance, and becoming entangled in some brush wood was with difficulty rescued from being drowned; we however finally succeeded in getting him out alive, and again resumed our journey, thinking our greatest difficulties were past. But we had not proceeded more than one mile, when we found ourselves stopped by a large river, the low grounds near to which were covered with thick

woods, and being now entirely overflowed, we could not ascertain its size, but supposed by the distance we could see, that the water covered a space not less than a quarter of a mile wide. These low lands were found, upon sounding, to be covered four feet deep with water; and as the rivers in this country uniformly have deep worn channels, the stream itself we estimated could not be less than twelve or fifteen feet deep, so that we could have no hope of being able to ride through it.

Our situation here was truly discouraging. We had come four days journey through the wilderness; a dangerous stream which we had just passed with great difficulty being behind us, and an impassable river before us; we were also in an uninhabited country, of the localities of which we knew nothing; our route being through a tract that had then been traversed by few, if any white people, and of which no map or description had ever been published; we, however, comforted ourselves with the hope that we were not very far distant from a Moravian Indian town on the Muskingum river, called Gnadenhutten. Encouraged by this expectation, we again had recourse to our little hatchet, and by patient perseverance, we succeeded in cutting into proper lengths a fallen tree, and split it into suitable slabs, with which we set ourselves to build a raft; it being impossible at this time to reach the bank of the river, or to attempt to make a bridge over it, we were in hopes that we might be able to ferry ourselves upon a raft. We continued at work until near night, when another gust of rain coming up, we retreated to our encampment. The rain continued only a short time, so that we were not much incommoded with wet,

but passed the night comfortably, being now accustomed to fatigue and disappointment.

As we had no knowledge of the country in which we now were, we did not know our distance from the settlements of white people, but supposed it to be about sixty miles. The tract over which we had passed, is generally fine farming land, and is mostly clear of stones of every kind. Many of the trees on the sides of our path were marked with Indian hieroglyphics, such as turtles, lizards, and other animals. We also passed by several old Indian hunting camps, and some deer licks.

24th. The weather still continued showery until near noon, when it appeared to clear off; we, however, notwithstanding the rain, resumed our work upon the raft early in the morning, and before night we had completed and launched it; but to our great mortification, as soon as it entered the water it sunk to the bottom. We were much chagrined at this result of our labours; but, no doubt, it was all for our advantage; for had we attempted to raft ourselves across the stream, we should have most probably been drowned. Towards night the flood began to abate, and we were again cheered with the hopes of being able to get over the river before our provisions would be wholly exhausted.

25th. The weather still continued unsettled, and there fell several showers through the day, which prevented the waters from falling very much; they however still continued to subside, so that we ventured to explore the low grounds, and reached the main body of the river, which we found to be very rapid and deep, and about one hundred feet wide. A place was discovered where it was believed to be

narrow enough to be passed on a tall tree, if felled across it; but as the banks were about twelve feet high perpendicular, we foresaw that it would be very difficult to get our horses out, should we attempt to swim them through. Another place, however, was found, where a small rivulet emptied into the river, and where we expected our horses could effect a landing. Having recourse again to our hatchet, we cut down several trees before we could secure a bridge that was capable of bearing us and our baggage across; and night coming on before we could get over, we returned to our encampment.

On the west side of the stream which we crossed on the 23rd, we were a considerable time employed in arranging our baggage before we were ready to start; during the whole of this time, there was a rattlesnake nearly under our feet, which we had frequently passed before we discovered it. Just as we were about to remount our horses, I observed it in an angry posture, very near me, and killed it. This was the second instance in which I had been exposed to danger from these venomous reptiles.—Having, while we were encamped on this river, left the tent in search of water, I went to a brook, and while stooping down to dip some up, I observed a very large snake coiled up within a few inches of my hand, and darting out his tongue violently at me: as it lay in the kind of coil that these reptiles fall into when they prepare to bite, I am of opinion that it was on the point of striking; but, providentially, I observed it in time to escape the danger that menaced me.

26th. As soon as we had breakfasted, we struck our tent, after having been detained three days by high

water, resolving, if it were possible, to get across the river. Being nearly out of bread, we were driven to the necessity of exerting ourselves to avoid starving. Our bridge had sunk considerably during the night, and appeared to be in danger of being washed off, which made it very difficult and dangerous crossing with our baggage; we however effected a passage over it; and, having cut off our bridle reins and tied them together in order to make a string long enough to reach across, we pulled our horses to the place where they could get out; by one o'clock we had, with great labour and hazard, transported ourselves and horses safe over, and again set forward in hopes of reaching Gnadenhutten.

About eight miles after passing this river, we again found ourselves stopped by another stream which was very rapid and deep; our path crossed this branch, but observing a path leading to the right and which did not go over it, we determined to pursue the latter, since our situation could not be rendered worse than by remaining where we then were, as we now could not return, nor had we any means of crossing this river. The path which we followed passed along the course of this stream, and generally very near to its border: after pursuing it for several miles, we finally arrived on the banks of the Tuskeraway river, a branch of the Muskingum, opposite to an Indian town, called Tobago, seventy-five miles from George-town, on the Ohio river.

We found that the Tuskeraway, as well as the other waters which we had passed, now overflowed all the low grounds along its margin, so that it was not possible for us to approach near to the usual border of the river; we however advanced far enough

to be heard by the people on the other side, and were answered by them. After waiting a considerable time, we had the satisfaction to see a woman and boy coming towards us in a small Indian canoe.

On ascertaining that this woman could not speak English, and understanding from some signs she made that there were persons in the town that could, it was determined that a part of our number should go over and endeavour to procure some provisions, and make other necessary arrangements.—Rees Cadwalader, Joel Wright, and myself, embarked in the canoe with the two Indians, making together five persons. After paddling some time through the woods, we reached the main river, which was rushing along with a tremendous current. We soon discovered that our boat was too heavy loaded to navigate so rapid and wide a stream, and urged the woman to return to the land; but she became alarmed, and in a little time lost all command of the canoe; a state of confusion then followed that was very near terminating in the loss of all our lives, as the canoe was in the most imminent danger of foundering; we however drifted upon a small island, where our party landed, and desired the woman to return to the village, and send some person who could speak English. We had not remained long here before the boat returned with two men, one of whom spoke English. He informed us that there resided in the village an aged Moravian minister, who had gathered a considerable number of Indians to his religion. We returned back to our friends with these Indians, when they promised us that they would come over again the next morning, and would give us every assistance in their power;

in the mean time, they advised us to take our lodgings in an old Indian hut which had been some time past vacated.

Tobago is situated eighteen miles from our late encampment, which we were here told was on Connoton creek; the land between this place and that creek, is generally hilly and stony; there are however some level districts which are fertile, and on a high ridge that we crossed we observed iron ore.

It may be proper to observe that Gnadenhutten, the town which we had expected to pass, and where we had hoped to recruit our stock of provisions, is situated eight miles south of this place. Upon inquiry, we were informed that at present it has no inhabitants except a Moravian missionary and two or three Indian families, who being extremely poor themselves have not the means of furnishing any assistance or accommodation to strangers; consequently, even could we have gone there, we should not have been supplied with the necessaries of which at that time we were in the utmost need. It was therefore considered a providential circumstance that we were turned from our path that led across Stillwater creek to that place, as we were destitute of provisions, bewildered in an unknown region, remote from civilized habitations—and ignorant of the country, having ventured to cross this wilderness without any other guide than a pocket compass.

27th. This morning, Charles Killbuck, who had visited us last evening, came over agreeably to his promise, and informed us that the river was still so high, and the adjacent grounds so much overflowed, that it would be impossible to take our horses across



without great danger of losing them. He also stated to us, that there was a deserted Indian town about two miles distant, where there was abundance of good grass, and where they might find food in plenty; we accordingly concluded to send them there. Having thus disposed of our horses, we were safely conveyed by the Indians, with our baggage, across the river to the town, and were received by the Moravian minister and the other inhabitants with great kindness. The bed of the Tuskeraway river is here one hundred and fifty yards wide, and the water was at this time fifteen feet deep; we were, however, informed that when it is not swollen by rains, it may be forded in some places.

After taking measures for obtaining such supplies of provisions as this town would afford, we occupied ourselves through the day in conversation with the minister, whose name is David Ziesberger, and with the old chief whom they call captain Killbuck, and also with such other of the inhabitants as we had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with. They were all very communicative and friendly, and a disposition was generally manifested to contribute, as far as was in their power, all the provisions we might want.

Captain Killbuck and the Moravian minister gave us an affecting account of a Moravian Indian settlement on the Muskingum, which had about seventeen years before been broken up by the massacre of the Indians that had embraced christianity, and resided there under the protection of the government of the United States.

From the information received from them of this inhuman transaction, it appears that a number of

Indians who had resided at Wyhaloosing on the Susquehanna, and who were by the Moravian missionaries converted to christianity, requested permission of the American government to remove to the Tuskeraway branch of the Muskingum, and urged as their reason for wishing to change their residence, the impossibility of keeping their young men from the too frequent use of spirituous liquors in their then situation; as they were surrounded by ill-disposed white people, who were always ready to furnish it, in order that they might have an opportunity, when the Indians became intoxicated, of cheating them out of their furs and other property.

The government having given them liberty to go, and granted them lands to live on, they accordingly, about thirty years past, went thither, accompanied by their Moravian friends, and settled three towns, Gnadenhutten, Schonbrunn, and Salem, where they lived in peace among themselves and with all the world, until the year 1782. At this time a party collected, opposite the Mingo bottom on the Ohio, which was headed by one Williams. This party consisted of about one hundred and sixty persons, and without any other incentive than a thirst for plunder, swam their horses over the river, and proceeded to these towns, where the Indians were employed in gathering their corn. Williams and his associates immediately made prisoners of all they could find, without any resistance being offered. Even after this was done, the Indians were so unconscious of having done any thing to deserve hostility from the white people, that they did not suppose injury was intended them, and disclosed to Williams, that a number more of their brethren were

at the next town, also employed in gathering in their crops. A part of these marauders were instantly despatched in search of them, and soon returned with all they could take; they were then informed, that they would be put to death immediately! But upon its being represented that most of these people had embraced Christianity, it was concluded to give them until the next day to prepare themselves for death; and accordingly they were shut up, and closely guarded in the meeting house until next morning, when they were led out, one by one, and the whole of them, without any resistance, were deliberately butchered!

It appears from authentic accounts of this dreadful massacre, that forty men, nineteen women, and thirty-four children, making together ninety-three persons, were thus, without ever having done any injury, or given the least cause of offence to the white people, inhumanly murdered in cold blood. Williams and his party then collected the plunder, among which were eighty horses; these they loaded with whatever they found valuable, and after burning the dead bodies with the houses, returned home, and were never called to any account for the shocking outrage they had committed.

We spent the day in a very friendly intercourse with the Indians, and in the evening I attended their meeting. They have a house of worship, and hold meetings regularly every first-day; they also have public prayers every night.

The Indians sung some hymns, and the minister delivered a short lecture in the Delaware language, to which they listened with great attention; through

the whole service, they appeared exceedingly devout, and I certainly believe them to be truly conscientious and sincere in their religious professions. Their manner of assembling and separating at their worship house, was sober and orderly, and without the least appearance of levity or any indecorum whatever. After meeting, we returned to our tent, which was near the town, having left all our baggage exposed, without missing a single article.

28th. The necessary arrangements being completed for continuing our journey, we engaged a guide to pilot us from this place to Sandusky, and Andrew Ellicott and myself were despatched in company with an Indian, in search of the horses. On arriving at the Indian town where they had been turned loose, we ascertained that they were not there; the Indian, after closely examining the premises, discovered by their tracks where they had entered the woods, and under his direction we pursued them about ten miles before we overtook them. With the assistance of this Indian, we succeeded in bringing them all safely back to the town.

In the course of our excursion in search of the horses, we encountered the largest snake that I have ever seen in this country. It was, I believe, not less than seven feet long, and of great thickness around the body; upon our attempting to kill him, he ran towards us so fiercely, that we gladly retreated, and left him without further molestation.

During the whole time we remained in this village, the Indians continued to manifest the most friendly disposition towards us; they omitted no efforts to obtain for us such provisions and other necessaries as we were then in need of, and made every

exertion they could to assist us—though poor themselves and having but little to bestow, yet in our situation their kindness and hospitality were of the utmost importance to us, and entitled them to our warmest gratitude.

Having taken leave of our friends in this village, we resumed our journey in the afternoon; and after crossing two streams of water that empty into the Muskingum, one of which was so deep as to swim our horses, we encamped about sun-down.

There is no path or road between Tobago and Sandusky; of course, we were compelled to ride through a thick forest, over a hilly, stony country, very much covered with brush wood. This rendered our progress slow and fatiguing.

29th. We pursued our journey nearly a N. W. course, still over a hilly country, until we came upon the waters of Sugar creek, where the land is more level and fertile. All the small branches that fall into this stream, have extensive bottom lands which are very rich, abounding with walnut, oak, ash, and other valuable timber. Towards the approach of night, we came upon some of the branches of Killbuck creek, and here found the uplands rather hilly, but the bottoms rich and extensive. At the spot where we encamped, we measured a walnut tree, sixteen feet ten inches in circumference, which was the largest we had seen. In the course of the day, we passed a vein of blue limestone, apparently of an excellent quality.

We continued our journey through the woods, not having yet met with any road or path: the country was hilly until we came to Killbuck creek, which is bordered by very rich and extensive bottoms. We

found this stream to be forty-five yards wide, and twelve feet deep. On ascertaining this, our guide turned his horse loose to feed, and all the rest of us did the same, expecting to remain there until the next day; he however went off, as he informed us, to build a canoe. Being desirous of acquainting myself with their manner of constructing these boats, I accompanied him; after searching some time, he found a tree which he supposed would answer his purpose, and having first cut the bark round near the ground, he then prepared two wooden forks with lateral prongs from the bottom to the top of them, which served as steps upon which he could rest his feet; these he placed against the tree, and then walked up them, and cut the bark round the tree about eighteen feet higher; he then, after splitting the bark from the top to the bottom, peeled it off. He next shaved off the rough outside of the bark at both ends, and, after making the proper holes at suitable places, he drew up the ends into a bow and stern, with hickory bark ropes, which completed his work; so that we returned down the river with a boat that was capable of carrying three persons.

We immediately embarked, transporting ourselves and baggage over the stream, and swam our horses through it; having been detained here only about three hours. After leaving the river, we still continued to travel a north-west course, and found the country more level and fertile. At night we encamped on a fine rich bottom near to an excellent spring of water, which was very acceptable to us, as we had met with but little that was good, since we crossed the Ohio. This place was, however, very much infested with musquitoes.

31st. About one mile from our encampment, we came into an old Indian path, leading in the direction towards Sandusky; after having rode three days through woods, and travelled without any road way, according to our computation, forty-six miles. For about six miles, the country is poor and hilly, and thinly covered with dwarf timber; the ground generally descends in very steep and high precipices from the uplands to the river bottoms, which renders the travelling both disagreeable and dangerous. About a mile further, there is a small prairie, containing about ten acres, which was the first we met with; but after passing this, we rode through several others, and at length came to one which contains more than one thousand acres, covered with the richest verdure, and affording a most enchanting prospect. Our path passed obliquely over the upper end of it, across a beautiful rivulet which flows through it with agreeable murmuring, in a serpentine course. Several small hillocks rise about the upper part, which are covered with trees, and give a diversity to the scene; below these it is an oblong square or oval, for about one mile long and half a mile wide, without the least irregularity, except where the stream winds through it, and this is shaded by willows that grow along its banks. To complete the beauties of this delightful spot, there is at its lower termination, a little lake formed by the waters of the rill that flow through it, called "Mohickon John's Lake," which is half a mile wide, and two miles long; so that at one time we enjoyed all the beauties that the richest land and water view could afford: to heighten the scene, we were amused

with the gambols of a considerable number of deer that were feeding on both sides of our path, and we also saw one swimming across the lake.

There had formerly been an extensive Indian town at this place, but it had been abandoned many years ago. We were so much pleased with the situation, that we determined to spend a little time here; after enjoying ourselves a few hours, and taking some refreshments, we resumed our journey and travelled six miles over a fine level tract of heavily timbered land, on which we found a spring of good water. We then crossed White Woman's creek, and two miles further, came to an Indian warrior town, which was inhabited by about forty Delawares, scattered over a district of one or two miles.

From our computation, this town is situated sixty-six miles from Tobago. When our guide approached near to a cabin, he uniformly saluted the premises with a yelling kind of whoop, which was responded from the house before he could venture to proceed. This etiquette, the custom of these people had established as absolutely necessary before a stranger can venture to enter their domicile, especially if the visiter expects to secure to himself a civil reception.

Although it was early in the afternoon when we arrived at this Indian town, yet we could not prevail upon our guide to go on further, and were therefore obliged to encamp. We found the land here to be very fertile, and every where beautified by prairies, which are as handsome, and indeed have very much the same appearance as our most highly cultivated and richest meadows.



We were informed by the Indians at this place of the manner they kill deer on Mohickon John's Lake; they commonly select a dark night, and while the deer are feeding on a plant growing in the shoal water around the borders of the lake; they place a high staff in the bow of the canoe, with a lighted torch on its top; they then paddle their boat softly, so as to make no noise, until they arrive within a few yards of the deer, who, the Indians say, keep their eyes on the light, without noticing the canoe, so that the hunters shoot their game without difficulty.

Early in the evening we were disturbed by the Indians frequently whooping in different directions around us, which, added to the suspicious appearance of a very ill looking Frenchman whom we observed skulking about our tent—and this being a warrior town—gave us no inconsiderable uneasiness; accordingly we kept up a watch through the night, and were very much annoyed by them; and although no injury was offered to us, or perhaps intended, yet our time here was spent very uncomfortably.

6th mo. 1st. Our pilot being ready to move forward this morning, we resumed our journey nearly a S. W. course, and proceeded twelve miles over a fertile tract of country; when we arrived at a deserted Indian town, on the west branch of White Woman's creek. There was also near to this place, an Indian sweat house, built of a conical form, sufficiently high in the middle for a person to sit erect in it. It is their custom to place the patient in these houses, and to cover him with a blanket; they then pour water on hot stones, in the steam of which

he is kept enveloped until a profuse perspiration is obtained, which in most cases affords relief; as these people are afflicted with scarcely any other than inflammatory disorders.

Our path terminated at this place, and our guide appeared to be uncertain or ignorant of the course we should here take; he, however, after considerable deliberation, went forward in a direction which we thought much too far south, but we followed him until night, when we encamped, under strong apprehension that we were travelling out of our direct course.

We found the country through this day's travel, in some places hilly, though generally very fertile; and estimated this place to be about twenty miles from our last night's encampment.

2nd. We had travelled only a short distance this morning, when we crossed a deep sluggish stream, which our guide recognized as a water of the Sciota river, and which enabled him to ascertain our actual situation. We immediately turned our course more towards the north, and in a short time fell in with an old Indian path which we followed, but with some difficulty, as it appeared to have been long out of use, and could now scarcely be traced in many places. About noon, we passed a very large deer lick, where the ground was every where thickly indented by their feet, and we every day saw great numbers of them, especially as we began to approach the plains, where they find food in abundance, and security from the openness of the country, which protects them from a sudden surprise.

Pursuing our course to the N. N. W. over a district of excellent land, we at length reached the

plains of Sandusky. Having for many days been almost constantly immured in a dense forest, through which the eye could scarcely penetrate more than a few hundred yards, it was an agreeable relief to view those delightful meadows. Their general course is from N. E. to S. W.; the part of them called "the plains of Sandusky," is between fifty and sixty miles long, and from twenty to thirty miles broad. The prospect here is continually interrupted, or rather it is improved by the frequent intervention of lofty groves of forest trees that stand in detached clusters, so that under their boughs we have a prospect of the plains on the other side, which at this season of the year is every where covered with the deepest verdure, intermingled with a variety of the richest wild flowers. In some places there is nothing to obstruct the view; as for eight or ten miles these meadows are perfectly level. After having proceeded about six miles upon the plain, we encamped, having travelled thirty miles to-day. From the time we crossed the west branch of White Woman's creek, which is thirty-eight miles distant, we have only seen one running stream that does not go nearly dry every summer or autumn, and we have not met with one fountain of good water.

3d. We proceeded twelve miles further over the plains, when we came upon the east branch of the Sandusky river. At this point we re-entered the woods, and after travelling ten miles further through a very fertile tract of country, we arrived at Upper Sandusky, or Niagara town, which we found to be a large Indian village, extending nine or ten miles on both sides of the river, and containing about one thousand inhabitants. It is situated seventy-two

miles S. W. from the warrior town on White Woman's creek, fifty miles above Lake Erie, and five hundred and seventeen miles W. N. W. from Baltimore. As we entered this place, three Indians came running and whooping towards us, and inquired where we were going, our business, &c. Two of them appeared much intoxicated, and seemed disposed to be insolent, but the other, who spoke good English, was very civil to us. After he was informed of our desire to see their chief, Tarhie, he told us the chief was not then in a condition to attend to business, and that it was his opinion we had better defer calling upon him until the next morning, when he would be ready to receive us. Upon our still expressing a desire to see him, he consented to pilot us to his house; and having obtained a horse, we all started together.

The chief resided five miles out of town, on the west side of Sandusky river; after riding about half the distance, we heard a hideous yelling and whooping behind us, which continually approached nearer to us; soon after, we saw a considerable number of Indians riding at full speed towards us, and hallooing most vehemently; several of them took our path and directly pursued us, while the others divided as if they intended to encircle us, part of them riding to the right and the others to the left. Our guide, upon seeing this, seemed much embarrassed; but he still continued to ride on, and we to follow as fast as the feeble condition of our horses would permit, until we were overtaken by such of them as were in immediate pursuit of us. When they had come up, some rode before and desired us to stop; one of them had a bottle of whiskey or rum, from which

they began to drink, and then offered us some; but we refused, and proceeded on our journey with considerable anxiety, as from their appearance and conduct, we had reason to apprehend they might incline to do us some mischief. One of them, who was entirely naked, and very drunk, came up to me again, and having compelled me to stop, demanded, in an imperative tone, what was my name. I told him.— He then said, “Where you come from?” I informed of this also; and with a hope of conciliating him, I in return asked him civilly, what was his name? After knitting his brows and contracting the muscles of his face, so as to exhibit as much ferocity as he could, he sternly answered, “My name is *Kill white man.*” It is unnecessary to observe that I did not feel the smallest disposition to pursue any further conversation with him, but rode on as fast as I could, until we reached the chief’s cabin, where we found a great collection of Indians, many of whom were nearly naked, with their faces and bodies painted of various colours, so as to exhibit a most hideous and frightful appearance. We observed amongst them, those that had circled around us on the plain, probably in order to arrive there before we came, for the purpose of giving notice of our approach.

Upon entering the house of Tarhie, we found him as the Indian had apprized us, quite incapable of any business; we therefore retired a little distance from his cabin, amidst the greatest clamour and tumult that I ever witnessed. A great number of Indians were gathered about the chief’s house, and there were few of them sober; several were fighting, and nearly all were engaged in some excess or violence.

In many instances two, and sometimes three, were mounted on a single horse, riding at full speed, and apparently without any object, in every direction—the one behind carrying a bottle of rum, and the one before, endeavouring to guide the horse. They several times during the night rode very nearly over us, as we lay in our tent; but we received no material injury, only were very much disturbed by their uproar.

4th. A number of the Indians this morning had become sober, and finding that we were Quakers, they gathered about our tent, and professed great friendship for us; none seemed more disposed to be kind to us than “Kill white man,” who now told me that he was my brother; he also said, if I would go to his house, he would give me some milk. Several others came to us, and inquired if we were Quakers; and upon being informed that we were, they would grasp our hands and say, “you my brother.” We were therefore under no uneasiness on account of our personal safety.

As our provisions were nearly exhausted, it became indispensable that we should exert ourselves to obtain a further supply; several of us accordingly returned into the town, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure some. But, notwithstanding there are more than two hundred families here, we were unable to find any one who could furnish us with a single morsel of meat; we however met with a Frenchman who supplied us with thirty-seven pounds of flour, and from three chiefs, we received presents of a sufficient quantity of corn for our horses. These were all the provisions we could procure, which, added to about three pounds of meat, and a small

stock of coffee, chocolate and maple sugar, remaining on hand of our former supplies, constituted all that we could muster, to support us on our journey back through the wilderness. The Frenchman who sold us the flour informed, that there had been a quantity of rum brought to the village some days before our arrival, and that the Indians had not since then been sober; of course none of them had gone to hunt; and this was the reason of there being now no meat in the town.

With this small additional stock of provisions, we returned to our encampment at Tarhie's about one o'clock, and found that he had summoned a council of the chiefs to receive us, and take into consideration such matters as we might have to communicate. There were three chiefs collected, and Tarhie presided: after sitting some time in silence, which was employed by the Indians in smoking, Evan Thomas opened the council by informing the chiefs that we had received their speech and wampum, and had come pursuant to their invitation to consult with them upon the means which we should employ to be of service to them; at the same time he fully explained the views and purposes of the Society of Friends in relation to them.

In reply, Tarhie expressed his gratitude for the care and friendship which his beloved brothers, the Quakers, had always manifested for the Indians; and added, that he listened with great joy to the proposals we had now made of furnishing them with implements of agriculture, &c; but as the grand council did not meet until the middle of the month, he could not enter into any definitive arrangements before that time; he, however, would not fail to lay the

subject before the council, and as soon as it should be decided on there, he would send us a speech with their determination; and concluded with hoping the Great Spirit would protect us, and bring us back to our homes and friends in safety. This speech was delivered on four strings of white wampum, which he desired us to take to our great men. After this we made him and the other chiefs some presents, which concluded our conference.

On returning to the village in search of provisions, I was shown the spot where col. Crawford, with about eight hundred Americans, had been defeated in the year 1784, by the Wyandot and Delaware Indians. A considerable part of this force was cut off, and many of their bones still lie scattered over the plains.

The Wyandot confederacy of Indians consists of seven different tribes, which speak five languages or dialects; several of which are so radically different, that the intervention of interpreters is necessary in the transaction of business among them. Their government, like that of other American Indians, is as described by Jefferson, "a kind of patriarchal confederacy; every town or settlement has a chief; the several towns that compose a tribe have a chief who presides over them, and the several tribes composing a nation or confederacy, have a chief who presides over the whole nation. Their chiefs are generally men advanced in years, and distinguished by their prudence and abilities in council. The matters which merely regard a town or family, are settled by the chief and principal men of the town; those which regard a tribe, such as the appointment of military chiefs, and settling of differences between different



towns and families, are regulated at a meeting or council of the chiefs from the several towns; and those matters which regard a whole nation, such as making war, concluding peace, or forming alliances with the neighbouring nations, are deliberated on and determined in a national council, composed of the chiefs of the different tribes, attended by the head warriors and chiefs of the towns.”

They appear to be free from avarice, and seem to be fully contented if possessed of a gun, a scalping knife, and a tomahawk; these three things, added to a scanty stock of wearing apparel, constitute the whole wealth which they deem worthy of their possession; and if we except certain ornamental trinkets, they aspire to no other.

During the summer, they generally reside in their villages; but when the hunting season comes on, they mostly separate, each going off and locating himself with his family at such place as has, in council, been allotted for them respectively to hunt during the fall and winter. By this regulation they avoid interfering with each other. They build, at their several hunting stations, a small temporary cabin of bark, in which they live until spring, when they pack up whatever skins and furs they may have taken. The man then marches off to his village, without any incumbrance except his gun; while his wife, metamorphosed into a pack horse, follows him loaded with the skins and furs. In this manner they are frequently seen entering their towns, he going on before with the utmost self consequence, and she trudging after, borne down, and hardly able to support herself under the load which is imposed upon her. From the observations I had an opportunity of

making at the several villages we have visited, I do not think that they are generally fond of society, but seem rather to cultivate a lonely solitude; indeed in their present wild and wandering situation, they seem incapable of relishing the pleasures of social life.

The only domestic animals which they have, are a few horses, some horned cattle, and abundance of dogs; the latter they keep so lean that they can be of little use, either for hunting or other purposes. I have seen some so poor that their hair had almost entirely come off; this we were informed is the safest condition for them, since, when any of them come into tolerable good order, their owners upon any emergency kill and eat them.

The Wyandot language is coarse, harsh, and guttural; but the Delaware abounds with vowels, and is very harmonious and soft. The words in this language appear to be generally long, and there rarely occurs a monosyllable.

The committee having concluded their business with Tarhie, and our presence at Sandusky being no longer necessary, provisions also being very scarce, we began to make arrangements for returning home. After taking leave of the chiefs, and all other persons with whom we had formed any acquaintance, we took our departure about four o'clock in the afternoon. By evening we were eight miles from the residence of Tarhie, and encamped on the plains. Our small stock of provisions rendered it necessary that we should take the nearest possible direction towards the settlements; we therefore, after consultation, determined to pursue the course of the Sciota river, in hopes of falling in with some of the fron-

tier settlements that were then forming upon its borders;—not one of us had, however, been over this district, nor had we any other knowledge of the country than what had been derived from general information or reports, no map having then been published of it; and owing to the condition of the Indians at Sandusky, we could procure no guide there on whom we could depend.

5th. We were not able to find any water near the place of our encampment, except some stagnant ponds filled with insects; we therefore resolved to set out as soon as possible this morning, and endeavour to procure some that would be better; we however did not meet with any until near noon, when we fell in with a small stream that drained off from the plains, and was full of animalculæ, but being unable to find better, we were reduced to the necessity of cooking our breakfast with it. After allowing our horses some time to graze upon the plains, we continued our course nearly two miles farther, being escorted by a wolf who happened to be travelling the same route, until we arrived at a deserted Indian town, situated on the bank of a small creek that empties into the western branch of the Sciota river, and flows along the southern border of the Sandusky plains.

Crossing this stream we immediately entered the woods, still continuing nearly a south course, until we arrived on the banks of a considerable river, which we supposed to be the Sciota. Our path lay along this river for several miles, and then, leaving the stream, suddenly took an eastern direction: we continued to pursue it, ignorant whither it would lead us, until night, when we encamped by the side

of a muddy stream of stagnant water, which we were obliged to use for the purpose of kneading our flour and for cooking, as we could find none better, and hunger left us no alternative. The disagreeableness of this place was further greatly increased by its being infested with myriads of gnats and mosquitoes, which continued to deprive us of sleep by assailing us the whole night. We estimated that we had travelled thirty miles.

6th. Our path still led a S. S. E. course, and we continued to pursue it, not however without considerable doubt of its leading the right course for us; but after riding about seven miles, we came to the great sulphur spring, near the forks of the Sciota river. Two of our party had before been at this place, and as they knew the direction to the settlements, we concluded to spend the remainder of the day here, and drink the waters of this fountain. Our horses, as well as ourselves, were in great need of rest; and as there had formerly been an Indian town here, they could find plenty of good grass.

This spring is situated fifty miles S. E. from Sandusky, and about five hundred and thirty miles distant from Baltimore. Notwithstanding it is almost on the highest land between the rivers Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and at least six hundred miles on a direct line from the nearest ocean, and lays perhaps two thousand feet above the level of the sea, yet in its vicinity is found abundance of petrified marine shells.

Since leaving Mohickon John's Lake, we compute that we have travelled over one hundred and twenty-six miles; during this distance, we have not met with any wholesome good water, but were reduced

to the necessity, a great part of the time, of drinking and using stagnant pond water, frequently full of insects; this, added to the many other privations and hardships we have suffered, had reduced us to a very emaciated condition; and Joel Wright had become so much exhausted that he could with difficulty sit up; we however comforted ourselves with the hope that a rest of a day or two, and drinking the sulphur water would restore him.

7th. We found our invalid friend this morning labouring under a considerable fever, and our stock of provisions being now reduced to one scanty meal, it became indispensable that we should exert ourselves to reach some place where he could be nursed, and where a supply of food could be procured. Compelled by this necessity to leave our encampment, we placed Joel Wright on a horse, and proceeded down the west side of the Whetstone branch of Sciota river, having in the course of the day consumed our last morsel of provisions.

As night approached, we came to a spot where a man had just been employed in splitting fence rails; this evidence that we again were on the borders of civilization, reanimated our spirits, and we pushed forward in hopes that we should reach some habitation before dark. After proceeding a short distance further, we arrived at a place called Franklinton, where we found a young colony preparing to form a settlement: they had yet no house enclosed, but received us with great kindness, and freely supplied us with such provisions as we wanted. As there was no house in this place more tight than our tent, we determined to lodge in it, and encamped on the

east side of the river, one mile below the town,\* near a fine spring; where we also met with a number of different kinds of marine shells.

As soon as we left the plains of Sandusky, and entered the woods, we found the land very fertile and well timbered, but nearly destitute of fountain water, until we arrived at the sulphur spring. A few miles above that place, we observed the ground a few feet below the surface, to be paved with a flat limestone rock, running nearly parallel to the surface, for about eighteen miles extent along the river, which has washed away the earth as low as this rock. In our passage from George-town to Sandusky, we measured some of the largest trees of the different kinds we met with; an oak that we saw on the waters of the Sandusky river, we ascertained to be seventeen feet three inches in circumference; but we measured one on the Sciota, which was eighteen feet four inches round, and we found a black walnut tree sixteen feet ten inches. Both of these trees were measured above the spurs of the roots, four feet above the ground, and carried their thickness, without a limb, fifty feet high. From this circumstance, I am of opinion that the Sciota lands are the richest of any in this country; and indeed we found the whole surface of the ground here covered with the most luxuriant verdure of any tract that we had met with. The grass and other vegetation in the woods cover the earth so entirely, that over an extent of many miles we never see the ground, except where the soil is washed off into gullies. It also abounds in buffalo clover, a species not unlike our white clo-

\*The place on which Columbus, the seat of government of Ohio, has since been built.

ver, but much higher and more luxuriant in its growth. Among this beautiful herbage, there are every where interspersed great varieties of the richest of flowers. But all these beauties, and even the extreme richness of the soil, furnish but a small equivalent for the disadvantages the inhabitants must suffer from a want of fountain water. And there are on the plains of Sandusky, vast numbers of a species of fly, not unlike the sand or beach flies on marshes near the sea; these insects will become a great annoyance to cattle, as their bite is severe.

8th. We had intended this morning to have resumed our journey, but J. Wright being too ill to travel, we were under the necessity of making some longer stay.

9th. The whole of our company were now, by a plentiful supply of food and rest, considerably recovered, except Joel Wright, whose indisposition still continued. This being first-day, we held a meeting which was attended by most of the inhabitants. It having been concluded to hire a canoe, and endeavour to get Joel Wright to Chilicothe by water, one was procured, and after meeting all our company, except him and myself, having started on horseback, we soon after took our passage down the river.

10th. We pursued our journey, Joel Wright and myself by water, and the others by land; he still continuing dangerously ill. We did not arrive at Chilicothe until near eleven o'clock in the evening, and as the night was cold, and he was exposed to a heavy fall of dew, I was greatly apprehensive that the exposure would be fatal to him; and indeed at one time I almost despaired of his reaching the place alive.

12th. Joel Wright began to recover, but was still unable to travel, and finding good accommodations at this place, it was resolved to remain here until he should be in a situation to accompany us. We amused ourselves during this leisure in examining the different curiosities which are to be found near the town, particularly the burial places of some people who once inhabited this country: there is one of them nearly in the middle of Chilicothe; its shape is conical, being one hundred and thirty feet in diameter at the base, and rising thirty feet high to a point, having trees growing on it as large as are to be met with in the circumjacent woods. The Indians are unable to give any account, either of the time when these mounds were thrown up, or even for what uses they were intended. We had an opportunity of examining one which was opened last year, and found the bones of the deceased had been laid in regular order on the surface of the ground, at the bottom of the mound, but not piled much on each other: there was then a vast pile of stones raised over them, and these were covered about five feet thick with earth. Near to most of these mounds, notwithstanding they are very numerous, there is always to be traced an ancient fortification regularly laid off, similar to those I have mentioned on the Monongahela river. These circumstances prove that this country has, at some former period, been inhabited by a race of people different from the present natives, and who, no doubt, had made greater improvements in the arts, than the latter have done; since it is the opinion of all who have had an opportunity of examining those ancient works, that they could not have been raised without the use of iron tools, or at



least some harder instruments than are now in use among the Indians.

14th. We again resumed our journey this morning, and about six miles from the town, passed through a very extensive old fortification, which covers upwards of twenty acres and is defended by a mound about ten or twelve feet high. It is surrounded by a ditch three feet deep, with an entrance on the west side, extending down to the Sciota river; being no doubt selected in order that the besieged might, if entirely blocked up on the land side, have an opportunity of drawing subsistence from the water by fishing.

Nine miles after leaving Chilicothe, we crossed Killikinnick creek, and fourteen miles further, passed the east end of the Pequa plains—at night we encamped in the woods, near a small branch of very poor water, being unable to find any better, after having rode twenty-three miles to-day. After we crossed the Sciota, our route was along Zane's road, which has yet but few inhabitants, sometimes forty miles distant from each other; so that effectively we were now again in the wilderness.

15th. About noon we crossed the Hockhocking river, a branch of the Ohio, and arrived at Rush creek, where we encamped, twenty-seven miles from our last night's station. The land, after we leave Killikinnick, is generally poor until we come near to Hockhocking, when it is very fine, especially the bottoms: the high grounds between this branch and the Killikinnick are also mostly of good quality.

16th. We arrived near night at the Muskingum river, and crossed it with great danger and difficulty, near to where Licking creek empties into it. We

however, all got over safe, and lodged in a house occupied by an Indian family on the east side, thirty miles from our encampment on Rush creek. Between this place and Hockhocking, which is forty miles distant, we found no inhabitants. The land as we approached the Muskingum, gradually rises into hills, until we come near to the river, where it is very rugged and barren.

17th. We pursued our journey twenty-seven miles over a very hilly tract of country, to Wills creek, where we met with a cabin, in which we lodged.

18th. For several miles after leaving Wills creek the soil continued thin, and the country very hilly; but after passing this, the land is better, and in many places well supplied with limestone. There are scattered near the Ohio, a few inhabitants, and we lodged at a house thirty-four miles from Wills creek, situated near the sources of the Stillwater river.

19th. After riding about seven miles this morning, we came to a spring, where we stopped and refreshed ourselves and horses: after which, we pursued our way until night, when we found ourselves on the west bank of the Ohio river, at a place near to the mouth of Indian Wheeling creek, where we lodged, being unable to get across. The tract which we rode over to-day is mostly very fertile land, and appears to be well watered.

20th. We crossed the Ohio this morning at Zane's Island, which contains four hundred acres of rich bottom land, and arrived at Wheeling.

[Thence they returned to their several homes, having been absent nine weeks, and travelled near twelve hundred miles.]

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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

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No. 8.]

ELEVENTH MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VII.

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## MARGARET BISHPAM'S

### *Instructions to her Daughters.*

I have often thought, whilst in health, of writing something that might serve as an imperfect guide to you, my daughters, to keep you, when you come to have the charge of families, from falling into disorder and confusion, that is to be seen in most if not all that have no steady rule observed in them. As it was not done in health, I now set about it in much bodily weakness, not expecting to be long able to do it.

The fear of the Lord is the first and only foundation to build upon; and though we cannot teach our families that saving knowledge, yet we can teach them as far as we are able to honour and adore the sacred name. Keep none under your roof if you can avoid it, who will wantonly profane or speak lightly of holy things. Teach your children above all things to attend to the spirit of Truth within them. How much pains have I seen taken to instruct children in what is called plain language, and in colours and cuts of clothes: often, it is to be feared, whilst the mind is turned outward to these, the poor soul remains uncultivated and ignorant: and were some of those so instructed to be asked by what means they hoped for salvation, they could give no better reason than the Pharisees of old, "I do such things, there-

fore am better than others;" but know not that saving grace that is the gift of God through faith in his Son. But as for you, do you endeavour to turn their tender minds to God; teach them that all saving knowledge must come from him. Strive to turn their attention to that eye which ever beholds them, and sees their secret thoughts—and this will consequently produce an awe upon their minds that will more safely preserve them from sin, than all the formal rules and restraints you can lay them under.

I have often remarked that parents are apt to be blinded to the failings and weaknesses of their own children, and if they do see them, think when they are older they will see the folly of it themselves, and as much as in them is, try to cover and hide what they see amiss. What strengthens vice more than covering it? It begets infidelity in the mind towards God; his fear is lost, and vice grows stronger and stronger: but on the contrary, when you discover a weakness or error in a child, endeavour to paint it in its true colour; endeavour to beget an abhorrence in its mind towards the wrong. Let not the least leaning toward it escape your notice without admonishing; then if they will not hear, you will be clear. Some of you perhaps may not marry, then you will be more at leisure to attend to spiritual things, and be virgins espoused to Christ. If you should have proposals of marriage, ask counsel of the Lord; implore his direction in a matter of such importance; lean not to human counsel; for such are often deceived, though prospects have looked pleasing.

In regard to family rules, as soon as married form some regular plans for yourselves, as well as those

under you, and cause them to be kept to. If the civil power is trodden under foot, all goes to confusion. I mean, in the first place, keep yourselves and families steady in attending the public worship of God: let it be seen that you honour him above all; not that I think the worship and adoration of the Most High consists in attending our public meetings only, and riding from one to another, as I have often with sorrow seen some do, leaving their families in great disorder. But, on the other hand, beware you suffer not a worldly spirit to hinder you from attending to that necessary duty, with a view that you may be more fitted to worship him eternally in heaven. I have thought necessary, in my young days, to say to the intruding cares of the world as Balaam did to the Moabites, Tarry here, whilst I go to seek the Lord yonder; and to my inexpressible comfort have found him, when I have gone in this seeking, humble spirit.

Ever endeavour to live in the spirit of prayer. Often in the day, when your hands are usefully employed, lift your souls to the mighty Rock of ages, that he would preserve you from the frailties of nature. This is that watch recommended by our Lord, and to pray without ceasing; not that we should be always on our knees, but that the eye of the mind and soul should be turned to the Lord in breathing after him, the first and last, all in all. This state cannot be attained in noise and confusion: you must first bring the mind to thoughtfulness and meditation on heavenly things. Let this be the food of your souls, and they will become stronger and stronger, and your heavenly Father will give you such saving knowledge of himself as you are capable of

receiving from time to time. Oh! may your souls hunger and thirst after it, and you will be filled, and your countenance will be an awe upon the family, as well as your example a pattern to them; then disorder and confusion will not find room therein. If thy husband fear not the Lord, use thy endeavours with him. How knowest thou, O woman, but thou mayest save thy husband?

In regard to household affairs, I have made some observations that I will put down in writing, that they may be better remembered. Keep to certain rules, as I have observed; first, take proper care of all that comes into the house. If your health will admit, see to the business, and that those who are about you do their duty. If more than one maid, divide the work between them according to their capacities: let each know their business, and see that they do it. Have a certain place for every thing, that they may know where things are when called for, and so not spend a great deal of time in looking for things that they have no certain place for. Have certain times and seasons for doing every thing, that your family may not be at a loss, if you should be sick, how to go on with business.— Good rules in household affairs lessen the work and care of a family, when kept to. Dont give yourselves a habit of speaking cross in the family; scold no body; give orders with mildness; at the same time let them know they must obey: if the command is trampled upon, all order and authority are lost, and harmony therewith. With your children let your word be irrevocable; let no entreaty of theirs suffer you to make a break upon it; for if they once can conquer, you will be rather ruled by the children

than they by you; remember parental authority must be early established, or else the work will be very hard indeed. If your husbands dont join in it, it will make the work harder; yet dont let that discourage, but ever have their future good in view. Outward happiness is very desirable, which few seem to know the means of attaining; it is generally believed to be in outward treasure that we have not yet gained, but this is a delusion. I have believed few have enjoyed a greater share of this happiness than myself; and I have found it to consist in a mind resigned to the will of God; steadfastly believing he will not suffer any thing to befall me but what is some way for my good. If a sparrow falls not but by his permission, and the hairs of my head are numbered, which I cannot doubt, as the Son of God has said so,—then how shall I distrust the all-wise Providence concerning me! I do not mean by resignation to the divine will, that we are to let our hands hang down, and say Providence will provide for me if I keep my place. I say you will not keep your places without you exert the capacities and talents that Providence has given you for the support of your families, and the good of the community you live in; but remember to have your eyes to the Lord for all these blessings, and be resigned as to the event. Labour is profitable for all; and the good will be usefully employed in some way or other, for themselves or their friends. Avoid needless visits, and as much as you can, unsuitable company: never give way to gadding abroad; yet I would have you visit friends, and entertain them with a kind heart; but be sure they are well chosen: for a person is known by the company he keeps. Never

let your own house get into confusion, and go abroad for happiness; for if you find it, it will be at home in well ordering yourselves and families. Live in love and harmony one with another, visiting and assisting one another what is in your power. Visit your father; make his solitary hours as happy as you can; consult him on all occasions, as a sure friend.

I would have you set apart some time for meditation and prayer. I have been struck with a pleasing thought at the note of time mentioned by the prophets, about the evening sacrifice. I have made it a rule, as much as possible, between day light and candle light, to lift my heart in silent thanksgiving and prayer to the Lord for the mercies and blessings of the day, as well as to implore pardon for weakness and frailties. If I had company, I mostly retired to a window; if not, I sat as much in silence at that time as possible. There will be interruptions; but accustom yourselves often to meditate on the Lord; it will be the most effectual means of drawing near to him. "Acquaint thyself with God, and be at peace." Oh! that peace, that none can take away; which is my support and comfort at this time, beyond what I can express: may you all be gathered into it, is the prayer of your loving mother,

MARGARET BISPHAM.

*Mount Holly, 29th of 7th mo. 1782.*



*A short Account of Deborah Bond.*

DEBORAH BOND, daughter of Joshua and Ruth Bond, near Goshen meeting house, White Water, Indiana, deceased on the 4th of the 8th mo., 1833,



in the twenty-fourth year of her age. About three months before her death, she appeared in the ministry in Friends' meetings, which were then held at her father's house. Her public communications were lively, often in them bearing a testimony against self and selfish motives,—saying they must be subdued, and that the great Creator requires the whole heart and mind given up to him, that he may prepare it to do his will. Previous to her last illness, she expressed an apprehension that she had not much more time to stay in this world; but said she had given up to suffer all her days, so that she might be happy at last; that she was resigned unto the will of the Lord, and that if she was taken off it would be happiness to her.

During her illness, she called her two little brothers, William and John, to her—charged them not to forget her,—to be good boys,—to be kind to one another, and to their father and mother, and to every body. She desired all the family to be faithful in the attendance of their religious meetings—to be faithful when there, and at all times; saying, that she ought to have warned the people ever since she was fourteen years of age, to forsake their evil ways; and since she had given up to the requirings of the Lord, she had found the crown to be greater than the cross. She particularly charged her elder brother, Abijah, and her sisters, Anna, and Phebe, and Mary, to be faithful; and gave good advice to her relations that came to see her, saying there might be more valuable ones amongst them, if they would be faithful. At another time she said, “Behold the Lamb of God is within you, that taketh away the sin of the world.”

In the latter part of her sickness, her father asked her if it would be too much for her to have Friends hold meeting in the house where she was?—and it being agreeable to her, it was accordingly held; and she had a good testimony to bear, saying, There is honey enough for all that will come taste and see how good the Lord is—all that will come may come; and that she often wondered all the world does not seek after an acquaintance with God their Creator; for he is with them that seek him, and far transcends all other things; and that he is able to unite all nations and people, and take away the partition walls; saying that her love to the souls of the people reached to the ends of the world. After the meeting closed, she said to her father,—“I feel stronger than I did before meeting;”—adding, that Christ, the bread of life, was her support.

Four days before her departure, Amos Peaslee and his companion, Benjamin Griscom, had a precious opportunity in the family, and she said to them, “By the grace of God I am what I am.—Though I am but a youth, yet I have had to shout for joy, as on the banks of deliverance.”

On taking an affectionate farewell of the family, she said, “My dear mother, happy am I:” a while after added, “Is not the happiness of heaven to be felt while in this body?” After requesting her love to be remembered to divers of her connexions and friends, she lay still a little while, and then said, “I have seen the angels of God standing with my white clothing, ready to receive me.—Come, most Holy One, and clothe me with thy wedding garment.” Soon after, she requested her father to pray for her

that she might have an easy passage—then lay pretty much still till she departed.

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The following was found in a letter written by her to her aunt and cousins, when about the age of eighteen, dated 16th of 6th month, 1828.

“I have often thought of the young and rising generation, and of my cousins in a more particular manner, with desires that they may be preserved through this trying season: though the billows roar, and the raging of the waters is great, yet I believe if we will wait for the still small voice, we shall be preserved through all.”

In a letter to her grandmother, Hepzibah Coffin, written probably in the forepart of her last illness, she says:

“This body lies here, a poor suffering worm. I often think of thee; my soul salutes thee in that love that knows no bounds. May the Lord bless thee in time and in eternity, and give thee strength to bear all thy afflictions with patience. Remember it was the poor and needy, the lame and the blind, which the Lord of life came to save. Then let us not be discouraged; but seek the Lord with all our might and strength. Whilst we remain here, we are liable to pain and misery—we have many battles to fight, and many thoughts to command. My pen cannot express the love my soul bears toward thee in thy lonely situation. May the Lord be with thee to the end, and give thee the reward of peace, is the desire of thy poor suffering grandchild,

DEBORAH BOND.”

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## WILLIAM MATTHEWS' EPISTLE

*To Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly meeting,  
and the monthly meetings thereunto belonging.*

Dearly beloved friends, brethren and sisters,—In the love of Christ Jesus, our holy head and high priest, do I dearly salute you; fervently desiring that we may so improve by the mercies of God vouchsafed to us, as to be found in a state of acceptance at last, and receive the welcome sentence of “Well done, good and faithful servant—enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”

Although I am far separated from you in body, yet are you often brought near to me in spirit, with secret breathing desires that you, my dearly beloved friends, on whom the weight of the burden lieth,—who have been my companions in affliction, when by the one spirit we were baptized together into the fellowship of the sufferings of the true seed,—may live under an humbling sense of his adorable mercy and goodness to us, who forsook us not in the day of distress, but remembered us with an everlasting kindness. He suffered not the discourager to prevail, so as to hinder from a faithful discharge of duty, nor to frustrate the gracious designs of his Providence towards you. And now, by daily abiding in a watchful care over your own spirits,—minding the gentle openings of Truth, and following the leadings thereof, may you be found as faithful watchmen upon the wall,—sounding a certain alarm in the camp to the awakening of those that are asleep in sin, and dead in trespasses; that so they may arise, and come to Christ who giveth life. Look not too much at your own weakness, nor seek great things for

yourselves; but humbly trust in Him who hath promised that he will be with his disciples always, even to the end of the world.

Although his word was, in the beginning, in some of our hearts as a fire that burned, yet experience hath taught me that as we become acquainted with his will, he frequently calls into service as by a still small voice; which, as it is attended to, leadeth along, and openeth the mysteries of the kingdom, in a manner far surpassing all our conceptions. His strength is perfected in our weakness, and his power is made manifest in our humiliation. Labour, therefore, from day to day, after a fresh supply of heavenly help, in order that you may come forward in the work whereunto you are called; that so you may receive the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. I know that many are the discouragements cast in our way; the weight and burden that are often felt, and the little prospect of good being done by all our labours,—all tend to dismay and to hinder our coming forward: but, as the eye is kept single to Him that hath called us, we shall find that he is faithful, and rewards us with peace. Leave, therefore, the event unto him who knows best how to order all things.

My heart, at this time, is nearly united to you in that love which we have experienced to give us the victory over the powers of death; and by which we have been made each others joy in the Lord, when favoured with that heavenly union and communion that is with the Father and with the Son. This is known only to those who have experienced a death to their own wills, and a being quickened together by the will of God. I fervently pray for

your preservation in the line of Divine appointment; that so when the great Shepherd of Israel appeareth, you also may appear with him arrayed in white robes; which is the righteousness of saints, wrought by the obedience of faith.

Beloved friends, my heart is renewedly replenished with that love which wisheth the prosperity of Zion, and the enlargement of her borders; in which I am engaged to put you all in mind of the manifold grace bestowed upon you, through his adorable mercy, who, though he suffered a day of trial and probation to come, in order for our refinement, yet was graciously pleased to support and sustain in the season of conflict, when the powers of the earth were combined together against us. So that we may say of a truth, "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us; then the waters had overwhelmed us,—the stream had gone over our souls. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth." May a sense thereof deeply impress every mind in such a manner, that if a day of ease and tranquillity be restored, there may not be a going back, and forsaking him who hath thus marvellously wrought for our deliverance; nor an eager pursuit after the perishing things of this world indulged in by any: for experience hath taught that they are uncertain to us, and liable to be wrested from us. But may all be concerned to press forward after a thorough purification of heart. And may the careless and lukewarm be stirred up and animated to a more lively concern to improve by the things they have suffered, and by the mercies that have been

vouchsafed, through the adorable goodness of Him who hath indeed been, to many, long-suffering and kind;—renewing his call from time to time, both immediately, and instrumentally through instruments whom he hath raised up and qualified to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God. Remember, I beseech you, the many awakening calls that have been sounded in your ears,—the many pressing invitations to arise from your beds of ease, and state of supineness;—let the time past suffice, wherein you have indulged yourselves, and, for the time to come, give all diligence to make your calling and election sure, before you go hence, and are seen of men no more. Remember there is neither wisdom, nor knowledge, nor work, nor device, in the grave, whereunto you are hastening with swift advances. I feel a renewed concern of mind for such of you as have been often digged about and watered, but who are yet barren and unfruitful in the fruits of righteousness, purity, and holiness;—trusting in a name to live, but not concerned to labour after a feeling sense of the quickening virtue of the word of life, whereby the victory is obtained, and redemption from the corruption of our own heart's lusts experienced: for without this, our profession of the Truth will be but as a fig-leaf covering, or as a broken reed, whereon if a man lean, it will pierce him in the end.

And, O ye dearly beloved youth, for whom my spirit was often exercised in a deep inward travail, by day and by night, while I was amongst you, and hath been since my separation from you;—let me entreat you, by the mercies of God, to prize the day of your visitation, and submit your necks to his

yoke, that would yoke down all high-mindedness, pride, vanity, and lightness;—and bring all into subjection to him who saith, “Learn of me; for I am meek, and low of heart; and ye shall find rest to your souls.” Give not way to a light and airy mind: for that leadeth from an awful sense of God’s goodness, and of our duty to him. Indulge not a desire after the vain customs and fashions of a degenerate age; for that will lead you to shun the cross, which is the way to the crown of immortal glory. Many, by indulging themselves in a conformity in small things, have been led gradually along into those things that have brought sorrow on their friends, shame and disgrace upon themselves, and in the end, their own destruction; and these have had to lie down in sorrow. Remember, I beseech it of you, that the way to eternal rest is under the daily cross to your own wills, and knowing a death to that disposition in us, that is ashamed to confess Christ before men, in our words, actions, and deportment. Let none of you rest in, or trust to a traditional profession of the Truth; but be concerned to experience the sanctifying virtue thereof; that your religion may be the religion of your judgment, and not barely of your education. For want of this concern being properly lived in, much darkness hath been brought on our society: too many have rested in an outside show, without knowing the inward work of grace in their own hearts.

And may you, dearly beloved young friends, who have tasted of the good word of life, and been measurably brought into obedience to the Divine will, in the sanctifying power of Truth wait to know a preparation for the work and service into which you



may be called. Be not impatient under sufferings; for such seasons are often preparatory to service. Think not that you are forsaken, because you do not always feel Divine love to abound; for there must be a suffering with Christ, as well as believing on him, in order to our being formed into vessels of honour. Wait, therefore, in the temple of your own hearts, until he appeareth that can turn darkness into light: at the brightness of whose coming, all the clouds vanish away, and the soul is again enlightened to see the excellency of that glory which he revealeth to his humble children who wait for him in the way of his coming; then will you feel of the renewings of ancient Goodness, to your unspeakable joy and consolation. The oftener we are reduced, under a sense of our insufficiency and our wants, the more we become prepared for the revelation of his holy will. Many that have been mercifully visited with the day-spring from on high, for want of abiding in the patience, in seasons of inward poverty and stripping, have frustrated the designs of Providence, and been as vessels marred upon the wheel: when, if they had kept the word of patience, and abode the day of trial, would have come forth as gold tried in the fire, and have shined with brightness.

I feel you all near to my life, and fervently pray for your preservation in the way that is cast up for the ransomed and redeemed to walk in,—a way of holiness, though under the daily cross. I dearly salute you in a fresh feeling of that love which many waters cannot quench,—wishing grace, mercy and peace, through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ,

may be multiplied and increase amongst you; and  
am your friend and brother,

WILLIAM MATTHEWS.

*Clonmel, in Ireland, 10th mo. 17th, 1783.*



### LINES

*To the memory of Elizabeth Leggett, daughter of Thomas Leggett, of West Farms, who died in the City of New York, on the 25th of 1st month, 1835.*

Through the ties that entwined thee, tho' painful to sever,  
Thou hast burst—and the skies are thy dwelling forever!

Around thy low couch there was weeping and wailing,  
While Seraphs thine entrance to Eden were hailing:  
“Come away, come away! thou art passing the portal  
Of Sorrow and Time—thou art now an immortal!  
In the land of the seasons, autumnal and vernal,  
There is change—but from henceforth *thy* joys are eternal.  
Here the silver-hued moon is not waxing nor waning,  
Nor the sun his bright splendor is losing and gaining,  
But a full tide of glory, refulgent, is swelling  
From the Throne, where the Ancient of Days hath his  
dwelling!

Thou shalt join with the loved ones, who entered before  
thee,

Who were not left behind, upon earth, to deplore thee;  
Where anguish comes not, nor repenting, nor sinning,  
Where the years have no end, nor the days a beginning.  
Come away, come away! thou art passing the portal  
Of Sorrow and Time—thou art now an immortal!”

Such sounds seemed (in vision) to break on mine ear,  
As I saw thy lov'd kindred encircle thy bier:

And the view, in my bosom, beamed clear as the day,  
 As the clod tumbled down, on thy pillow of clay ;  
 And methought, as the weeping grew longer and loud,  
 That the gloom of the grave, and the pall, and the shroud  
 Were to them the dark symbols of sorrow and blight,  
 But to thee were the pathway to mansions of light !  
 So we weep, when a dark heap of ruins is made  
 Of the home where the feet of our childhood have played—  
 Though a far fairer mansion rise up in its place,  
 And be crowned with more beauty, and lightness, and  
 grace !

Though the morning no more break in freshness for thee,  
 Nor the noon beam in brightness o'er meadow and lea,  
 Nor the twilight and pensiveness come with the even,  
 Nor the moon hang her urn of soft light in the heaven—  
 What of these?—thou hast left them without a regret,  
 For the land that thou liv'st in is lovelier yet ;  
 And the ear hath not heard, and the eye may not see  
 The glories that wait us, if gathered with thee !

But say, from thy calm place of brightness above,  
 If to spirits be given mortality's love,  
 Does a ray of remembrance steal backward to earth,  
 To revisit the desolate home of thy birth ?  
 Where thy father, whose locks are now blanching with  
 years,  
 Proves again that he treads a dark valley of tears ;  
 And thy mother, of comfort bereft, and dismayed,  
 Still deplores the sad void which thine absence hath made—  
 That, in thee, the decree of decay is reversed,  
 And the child who should follow, hath faded the first !  
 May *He* heal up the wounds of the parents who mourn,  
 " Who tempers the wind to the lamb that is shorn ;"  
 And whisper thy kindred, by tones of His voice,  
 That are quiet, and clear, and convincing, " rejoice !"  
 And impress on their minds, both of aged and youth,

With his signet of love, this unchangeable truth :—  
 If they walk with an humble dependance and trust  
 In the highway of Holiness, marked for the just,  
 When a few fleeting seasons their courses have rolled,  
 The once scattered flock shall come home to the fold,  
 Where the weary from trouble are centred in rest,  
 And the wicked no longer the soul may molest !

Bright maiden, farewell !—On a far distant shore,  
 Where thy footsteps have wandered, in moments of yore,  
 There are those who remember the mildness and grace  
 That dwelt in thy movements, thy form, and thy face—  
 There are those who can feel for the bosoms that yearn  
 For the daughter who went, but who may not return—  
 Who would not let thee pass from the beings that live,  
 Without the faint tribute that friendship may give—  
 Who, if for a moment thy lot could be theirs,  
 Would scorn this cold earth, with its cankering cares ;  
 Would quit the bright sun—the dominions of day—  
 And soar, with the wing of an eagle, away !

Through the ties that entwined thee, tho' painful to sever,  
 Thou hast burst; and the skies are thy dwelling forever !

R. H. T.



*Letter from Owen Biddle to Clement Penrose.*

Owen Biddle, the writer of the following Letter, resided in the city of Philadelphia. He was an active and zealous advocate for improvement in school education, and the literary instruction of the youth. In the prosecution of this concern, he was engaged during several of the latter years of his life ; he wrote and published an outline of the advantages and benefits to be derived from a public boarding school ; and he suggested a plan for the institution which was afterwards located at West-town in Chester county, and conducted under the care of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia.

His nephew, Clement Penrose, at the time when the Letter was written, resided with his mother and step-father (who was a Swiss) at Berne, in Switzerland, whither they had gone on a visit—and to which place the Letter was directed.

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*Letter from Owen Biddle to Clement Penrose,  
residing at Berne, in Switzerland.*

Philadelphia, 10th month 10th, 1789.

DEAR NEPHEW,—

As I have written before to thy dear parents, this opportunity serves to pay some of the debt due to thee in the epistolary way. And as I have little knowledge of political or commercial subjects, in their present state, I omit these to communicate some useful hints for the government of thy future conduct through life, founded on some experience, and not the result of empty speculation.

The great object, dear Clement, that we ought to have in view, is to fulfil, in our journeying along through time, the intention for which we were called into being. That we are dependent creatures cannot be doubted;—that we stand in need of a daily renewal of our strength, in order that we may act aright;—and that we need counsel and instruction to direct us in the right way, so as to fulfil the righteous intention of the Supreme Being respecting us,—cannot be doubted. Hence it is that we are brought to seek unto him for a supply of those things which we stand in need of; either by prayer in the manner recommended by our Saviour, that of a retirement into our closets, or to wait upon him in a state of silent meditation and resignation to his will, until we find our minds quickened and animated with renewed vigour. This may be done, either by

ourselves, or in a congregated capacity: and there are many passages of Scripture which make it appear to have been the practice of the prophets and righteous men in all ages. To bring us to this it sometimes requires considerable disappointments; and I hope it is for thy spiritual interest that the early part of thy life has been a scene of adversity in degree.

Wisdom is of great value, and if we can but attain to the possession of it by this means, we shall have reason to rejoice that such a cup has been dispensed to us. Solomon has set forth in terms very inadequate to its worth, yet very beautiful, the advantages of wisdom, and the importance of an early acquaintance with her. Many and contradictory have been the sentiments of mankind respecting wisdom, and the school in which she is to be obtained. But if thou wilt attend to the Scriptures throughout, thou wilt find that it is a principle within ourselves, that is to be sought after, not in the jarring and contradictory systems of men, or their voluminous productions, but from an experimental knowledge of the dealings of God with our souls. For, in order to make us acquainted with it, there is a necessity that we become attentive to what passes in our minds; that we observe the gentle reproofs, which we sometimes experience for our deviations, and be instructed by them. Thus speaks one of the prophets: "It is shown unto thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Hence we see the path is plain, and the way to instruction as accessible to the lowly cottager as to the greatest potentate. And the humble peasant

in his humble residence may experience that indwelling satisfaction, by attending to this principle, and listening to the reproofs of instruction conveyed to his understanding by it, which the inhabitants of courts and possessors of palaces may be strangers to, in consequence of slighting this simple means of receiving instruction. That Solomon had his information from this source cannot be doubted. It was the desire of his mind to be instructed in wisdom, rather than to be possessed of riches, honour, or length of days—and he was accordingly endowed with it in an eminent degree. When this desire possesses our minds, we are willing to purchase it on any terms; as it is to be purchased, but without money and without price. It is a gift, and that from above: it is to be sought after, and that devoutly. “Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you, ask and ye shall receive.” These are the terms which our dear Lord and Master, Jesus Christ mentions, on which we are to obtain spiritual gifts, of infinite importance to us, and which he styles the pearl of great price. The wise and the prudent could not receive these things, as thou may remember, but they were revealed unto babes and sucklings. Beware, my dear Clement, of that spirit which cannot receive these sayings of his, because of their lowly appearance. Be humble and docile.

It is by attention to this principle that we come to know what our states and conditions really are, and what we stand in need of; and from a knowledge of our wants spiritually and temporally, we are induced to cast about in order to see how they are to be supplied: in which we have abundant occasion to admire his providential care of his poor de-

pendent creatures, from his bounty manifested to us in the many instances of unexpected supplies and wonderful support amidst temptations. We are induced to place our confidence on him alone, so that notwithstanding our natural connexions may forsake us, and all our pleasing expectations on human aid be nearly expiring, yet we shall have reason to magnify that power who hath wonderfully and invisibly been making provision for our wants, and hath guarded us from danger. This, dear Clement, has been and is the foundation of true worship and adoration; and under a sense of these favours and mercies, we are brought to prostrate ourselves in his presence, with mental, and sometimes as we find ability, vocal expressions of praises and thanksgivings, as David and others have done. For to be rightly qualified for worship, it is evident that some previous recollections of the mercies and favours of God to our souls, and of our own unworthiness of his mercies, are necessary. In order to this, Friends sit down together in silence, and sometimes it is so ordered that some one has something to say, either by way of instruction, exhortation, reproof, &c. or perhaps in supplication or thanksgiving, as the spirit giveth them ability and utterance. This is a mystery to the wise and prudent. Let me remind thee what our Lord said to his disciples, "that where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst;" and when we consider that it is not the God of the dead but of the living that we worship, and that he is with such, can it be strange that he should inspire his people with sentiments suitable to such an occasion. To me it appears rational, consistent and scriptural, and by having our



minds turned inwards, to wait upon him, we find that he is pleased with these marks of our affection and devotion, by the favours we experience; hence we perceive that he delights to be sought unto, and that worship is required at our hands, in a spiritual way, such as our Saviour told the woman of Samaria, “that the hour cometh and now is, when those that worship the Father, should worship him in Spirit and in Truth, and that he seeketh such to worship him.”

Now, my dear Clement, I have just hinted these things to thee, as thou art among a highly professing people that would tithe mint and anise, and cummin, and neglect the weightier matters of the law,—in order that thou might not be led captive by a routine of forms; but that thou might come to seek for thyself, and not rely upon the opinions of others. There is an infallible guide which I wish thee to attend to; for God hath not left himself without a witness in our hearts, and this, if attended to, will lead us into the knowledge and understanding of spiritual things;—will give us a clear view of the duties we owe to the Supreme Being as well as to one another;—will prove a source of comfort when every other hope or consolation may fail,—and will not leave us until it lands us safe in the mansions of unfading felicity. To this principle of light and grace, dear Clement, I commend thee, with sincere desires that thou may cleave to it through the remainder of thy life; and may thou, when thou readest any religious books, be favoured to see the necessity of having the key of David to open thy understanding, so as to comprehend them aright. And now I would recommend to thee a frequent perusal

of the Sacred writings, as being they that testify of Christ, and to his keeping I wish to recommend thee, thy dear mother and father; to whom please to present my affectionate love, and I should be pleased to hear from them and thyself when opportunity suits.

Since the date above, our dear father, thy grandfather, has been removed by a short illness, and was interred in Friends' burying ground the 31st inst. in a good old age. My wife and family have been mostly favoured with health since my last, till lately, when a disorder called the influenza, had nearly deprived me of thy aunt, but through mercy she is on the recovery; the rest are well. Adieu my dear nephew.

OWEN BIDDLE.



*Brief account of the last sickness and death of  
Hannah Wickersham.*

Hannah Wickersham, daughter of Abel and Sarah Wickersham, of Chester county near London Grove, departed this life the 31st of 7th month, 1780, aged about thirteen years and six months. During her last sickness, she expressed herself, at divers times, after such a manner that her parents thought it their duty to preserve some account of her exercises for their own benefit, as well as for that of her brother and sisters;—that they might keep in remembrance what a concern she had for their welfare and prosperity in the things appertaining to everlasting happiness.

About the third day of her sickness, she desired that several of her near relations of her own sex might be sent for;—and in conversation with her parents, seemed to signify that she thought she was on her death bed, and desired her mother to bring up the rest of her children in due obedience and subjection, and not let them have their own wills too much. “For,” said she, “children should render their parents due obedience. That is what I am afraid I have not done to my parents—nor have been submissive enough to them in some respects.” But she hoped her Maker and her parents would forgive her.

As her sickness increased, she seemed desirous of her change; “for,” said she, “my pain is more than I can well bear,” and she hoped the Lord would take her. Her parents desired her to pray to her Maker for support in this time of trial; she replied, “how shall I pray? I have neither strength nor power to pray.” She then covered her face for a few minutes—and then uncovered it again. Now she seemed as if in these few minutes new life had been added to her soul, and transported her into the spirit of prayer, so lively as though her pains were taken away; and she expressed after this manner. “I pray the Lord to have mercy on my poor soul—and send my Redeemer to me, to help me, that I may not sin; for I am afraid I have committed some sin against him. And I pray that my good Lord and Redeemer will forgive me for my disobedience against him, and let me have a seat with him in his fine heavenly place, where all good and just people go to, so that I may rest with them. And

I pray that my brother and sisters may go to as good a place as I shall go to.”

At another time she observed—“It is a great sin for one person to despise another”—and added—“I have been despised and derided by some of my playmates—and if such go on and do not repent, satan will come and carry them away, and vengeance will take hold on them when it will be too late to repent.” Soon after, she desired her father not to pay any of those muster fines demanded of him, for she thought it was not right for him to do so.

Observing her parents to be affected with the prospect of her departure,—she said she did not know but that it would seem pleasant to her, if it should be pleasing to the Lord to raise her again, so that she could be with her parents and brother and sisters and acquaintance. But added, if that should be the case, which she had no expectation of, she never would do as she had done heretofore: for if young people came to entice her to their diversions, she would not consent, but would stay at home with her parents.—She then signified, she did not desire to live longer, except it was to live better—but said she was afraid she never should be fitter to die, than she was now, and for that reason she would not desire to live.

She told her mother she desired when she got any body to help her in the house, to be careful not to have such as are of bad repute and corrupt conversation, for such often corrupt and spoil children.

She was frequently engaged in prayer and supplication, and her soul seemed at times so redundant as to overflow beyond her strength to utter. After a considerable time of repose, she aroused up, and

being asked how she was—she said, “I have received a promise of peace, and an assurance of entering in at the strait gate, which is everlasting happiness.”

She lay three days almost speechless—Nearly the last words she uttered were to her father, as he was leaning over her on the bed, when she looked at him and said—“Father I love thee!”



## LINES

*Addressed to a friend, descriptive of a sorrowful heart.*

Where shall I rest this aching head?  
The tide of life is ebbing low:  
Shall I be numbered with the dead  
Or e'er my sorrows cease to flow.  
O heavenly Father, now sustain  
My deeply tried and troubled mind;  
To thee alone let me complain,  
For I have always found thee kind.  
Thy face, in vain, I never sought;  
My suppliant soul be pleas'd to hear,  
And Oh! preserve in word and thought,  
And keep me in thy holy fear;  
Till all these bitter cups are past,  
And my poor languid spirit rise;  
How long will this baptism last,  
Can neither sighs nor tears suffice?

The soul sincere thou wilt not leave,  
It may on thee its burden cast;  
Thou never, never, did deceive,  
But wilt sustain it, to the last.

And though thou hide thy face awhile  
That faith and patience may be tri'd,  
Thou wilt return again and smile,  
And in thy goodness I confide.

Oh! may the christian spirit reign  
And rule and govern all below;  
Its peaceful principle maintain,  
And fruits of justice ever show.

That there may be no blemish brought  
To hurt the cause I love so dear;  
With sorrow's pangs my heart is fraught,  
I tremble for myself and fear.

The weeds seem wrapt about my head,  
Down to the bottom I must go;  
Baptiz'd in spirit for the dead,  
May they the resurrection know.

Sweet sympathy of faithful friends,  
United in the life divine,  
Communicates and strength extends,  
In nice sensations pure and fine,  
Which human art cannot descry;  
This way no lion's whelps have trod,  
Nor is it seen by vulture's eye,  
But plain and clear,—cast up by God.

With barley loaves and fishes blest,  
I gather'd fragments, stor'd them by;  
The safe deposit was my breast,  
And he that blest them too, was nigh.

They rise before my mental view  
 With invitation for repast;  
 He condescends to bless anew,  
 Whereby the soul no longer fasts,  
 But finds a place for secret prayer;  
 And passive to his presence brought,  
 The light discovers every snare  
 That so ingeniously is wrought.

My heart was full, but some relief  
 Is gain'd through medium of my pen;  
 A faithful friend assuages grief,  
 Though it resumes the seat again.

To crave the prayer of the just  
 Seems rational, and may avail,—  
 But more than all in God to trust  
 Will surely never, never fail.

H.



*Elizabeth Levis's Letters to her children.*

DEAR CHILDREN,—

I have often longed to be in company with you, but it is my duty to be resigned to the will of God; for which state, I find it necessary to labour daily, that I may be given up in all things. The great enemy of souls is daily striving to draw the mind from duly waiting upon God, as we ought to do; thereby, if he can, to keep us from receiving strength to enable us to come up in our duty to God. Oh! he is a crafty enemy: be aware of him; and let it be your chief concern to know the will of

your heavenly Father concerning you. Be careful not to move, or do any thing but what you have good cause to believe the Lord owns you in. As we dwell under this concern he will favour us with his love; and that will unite our hearts to him, and one to another, and cause us to be true helps one to another.

Dear children, let us wait for this love: it will sweeten all our bitter cups, as we receive it from the Fountain of love. Blessed be the name of our God, who is a God of mercy, and a tender Father unto all them that are more concerned to witness his love in their hearts, than for any thing in this transitory world. May those who are thus concerned, not be discouraged if they should meet with close trials, and sometimes of the nearest or most afflicting kind. When we cannot feel that sweetness and comfort which is desired, then let us remember the words of the apostle, who said, we have need of patience, that when we have done the will of God, we may receive the promise: which is life and peace, and joy in the holy spirit.

Dear children, let us be willing to suffer with Christ, in taking up the daily cross; and let us examine and see what it is that we have laid down for his sake; so that we may witness his living presence in our souls, and have strength to follow him where-soever he may be pleased to lead us. It is with me to say, the Lord loves them that are willing to suffer for him; and as they travail in spirit to be kept near to him, they will, in his own time, come to reign with him. And, dear children, let us labour for patience; it is an excellent gift from God. As we let patience have its perfect work in us, we shall



come to be strengthened and settled in the will of God.

Dear children, my heart is affected with the goodness of God, and in the sense of it, I find freedom to let you know that the Lord hath enabled me to be given up to his holy will in all things. Oh! saith my soul, let him be praised for all his mercies and favours, for they are many. I believe it is for your sakes that I am thus opened; and I desire that your trust may be in the Lord, and that when it is well with you, I may be remembered in your prayers, that my dwelling may be in the will of God all my appointed time.

These may inform you, that it nearly affected my mind to hear of the removal of several Friends out of your monthly meeting, who, I believe, were concerned for the honour of God: and, especially, one who was a near companion of mine, when amongst you. But, before I had time to consider how great a favour it was to her, my mind being deeply affected, it seemed as though I heard a voice say, mourn not, for it is well with her. She is removed out of all trouble, and is gone to receive the reward of the honest concern of her mind. At which, my spirit was revived, and some of her expressions came into my mind, when she said the custom of using spirituous liquors had been very burdensome to her mind for many years. Sometimes we had to sympathise one with another under this concern; believing the practice to be displeasing to God, who is the author of all our mercies. And it came into my mind, that when Jesus sent out his disciples, he said to them, The harvest is truly plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest,

that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. Dear children, the earnest desire of my mind is, that the labour and breathings of your spirits may be to the Lord, that he may be pleased to raise up many more labourers in his harvest; for indeed the harvest truly is great, and the faithful labourers are too few. But I have to believe, that if the professors of the holy truth were faithful to God, he would yet raise up many more witnesses of his power, in the room of them he hath seen meet to call away. And I have to believe that some of these would be sent amongst such as do not profess with us; for the Lord hath sown a good seed amongst them, and in his own time he will gather in his harvest.

I desire that none of you may be discouraged, nor ashamed to confess Christ before men; but remember the command, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And, dear children, let your endeavours be to bring about a reformation of those things that, in our Society, have been as stumbling-blocks, and still remain to be in the way of other people; and not only so, but to them that are lingering behind, among ourselves. Their eyes are open to see the example of those who appear as leaders among the people, and if they see any thing that does not agree with the profession we make, it is cause of discouragement. But such as labour faithfully in their several allotments, may be helpful to the weak; and even if they are only helpful to one poor soul they will have to rejoice in the day of account.

I conclude, with dear love to you and yours, and

to all friends as if named, and remain your affectionate well wishing mother,

ELIZABETH LEVIS.

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MY DEAR CHILD,—

I was very glad to have a few lines from thee; but it affected my mind, to hear of your affliction. But I consider that when we are under trials, it is a token that we are under the notice of the heavenly Father's eye; and that he is working in order to wean us from the love, and anxious cares for the things of this life, that we may be more and more concerned for his honour and the good of souls, and that we may become fitted for his pure and holy kingdom. It is with me to say, dear children, be not discouraged; for I feel that the Lord is near to you, and is drawing you nearer to himself, that your love may be fixed on heavenly things; so that you may come more and more to enjoy the comforts of the holy Spirit, which will drown all the afflictions that we meet with here.

Dear child, as thou signifies thy desire of our being together, I could say amen to it. My desire was great to be in company with you all; but as I was thinking of the satisfaction it would be to me, I thought I heard a watchword in my inward ear, thus: Be content to wait the Lord's time, and if he sees meet to bring you together in this world, if you are concerned for his honour and the promotion of his holy Truth,—then you will have comfort in the Lord, and one in another. Dear child, be not discouraged; for the Lord is near to help thee thro' all thy difficulties, as thy eye and confidence are stayed on him alone. And as to the hint thou gave

of thy fears and doubts that often presented, I say again, be not discouraged; for the Lord is near to them that are walking before him in fear. It is good for us to think meanly of ourselves; but let us have a care of sinking below trusting in God. Let us wait humbly before him, as poor worms, having no strength of our own, but as he is pleased to strengthen us, and raise our spirits, producing a willingness in us to take up the daily cross, and not regard what men shall say of us.

Dear child, I cannot well omit making some mention of the goodness of God to my poor soul. He is often pleased to renew his visitations of tender love to me, and bring to my remembrance the times and seasons in which I was ready to shrink from him, when he was pleased to make known to me what he required of me. But Oh! blessed and praised be his holy name forevermore; his tender mercies are over all his works, and he is not willing to cast off any of his children that will be wrought upon by his Almighty power. And, dear children, it is on my mind to mention something of my own experience by way of comparison. A tender, natural parent, that is truly concerned for the welfare of his children, when pleasant things will not do is under a necessity to use the rod, or more severe measures. But when the child submits, such parent rejoices, and administers that which is good to his child, according to his ability. So our heavenly Father rejoices over those that submit under his holy hand; though he may see meet, at some times, to use the rod; yet when they submit, he administers at times and seasons of his good things to them. And though he may see meet in his wisdom, at seasons, to hide

his face a little, as behind a curtain, for the trial of our faith and love,—yet he will appear again; and when he appears, his reward is with him, even the reward of peace and joy in the holy Spirit.

And, dear children, it is my earnest desire that you may solidly wait upon God, in the secret of your hearts, that so he may enable you to be true help-meets one to another, in the great work of the soul's salvation. And labour, as much as you can, to be helps to your children in that great work, which is to be wrought out with fear and trembling. And may your dear child that has lost her companion, and has several small children, not be discouraged; but remember the blessed promise of our heavenly Father, that he will be a father to the fatherless, and a judge of the widow. My desire is that you may comfort and encourage her (not from an apprehension that you are careless of her, but) as I have to sympathize with her in her close trials, it came into my mind to stir you up by way of remembrance. For, we have great need to keep a strict watch against the many hindering things, or else something may be forgot that ought to be remembered. And it is with me to say, that those who make it their chiefest concern to be prepared for their great change, will not be unprepared to meet the trials that may be suffered to come in their way; for the regard of the Lord is to them that are labouring to be freely given up to his will; and, as we read in the scriptures of Truth, they are to him as the apple of his eye.

I conclude, with dear love to you and your children, and remain your tender mother,

ELIZABETH LEVIS.

*To Thomas and Mary Hanson.*

DEAR CHILDREN,--

It is in my mind to write a few lines to you. As a renewed remembrance of the many mercies of God is fresh in my heart, I feel a concern, in the love of God, that you may ever keep these things in remembrance. And, dear children, my earnest desire is that you may unite together as true help-meets to the great work of the soul's salvation; then you will be supported under all your trials. And, may you often be concerned to search, and see how you are coming up in your duty to the great Lord and Master, from whom we have received many and great favours. O my dear children, that you and I may often search, and see how we are coming up in faithfulness to him, who is not only a great and powerful One,—but he is a tender Father to all them that love him more than any thing in this world. But he is looking for obedience at our hands, even as we look for obedience from our servants. If they should go and do their own business, and neglect ours, or take to their own ways to their hurt,—Oh! let us consider that it offends us. But if they submit and turn again, are we not ready to forgive, and pass by their offences? Now it is with me to say, how much more is our heavenly Father in compassion to his children, who, upon a narrow search, do find they have fallen short. If they are willing to double diligence, he is a tender father, and ready to pass by many weaknesses, as they are willing to submit under his hand. Of this my soul is a witness: blessed and praised be his holy name forever.

My dear children, it is with me yet to press it home to your minds, that you may be earnest to know your duty to God; and that your cries may be to him for strength to come up therein. Be not dismayed at the tumults and noises amongst men; but trust in the living God, who in all ages hath been a support to the righteous in their deepest trials.

I now conclude, with dear love to you and your dear child. Give my love to my companion S. N. and her husband, and to all my friends, as if named; also to any who may ask after me, whether black or white. I remain your loving mother,

ELIZABETH LEVIS.

*Kennet, Chester county, 17th of 11th mo. 1772.*

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*A Letter to her daughter, exhorting to patience and resignation, under affliction.*

DEAR CHILD,—

It is my desire that we may be given up to the will of God in all things, for that is well pleasing to him. As it is he that gives, so it is his right to take away when he pleases; and our duty is to resign all up to him that is his own. I expect thou hast heard of the death of thy dear sister, Lydia; and, dear child, it is in my mind to give thee some account of my satisfaction in her departure. It seemed to me that the Lord received her into his fold of rest among his lambs: which was a great comfort, and bore me up in that great trial.

I will give thee some account of what thy dear sister had to say on her death-bed. Being from home, I was not present, but had it from one of her near friends. I should have been glad to have had an

opportunity with her, while she was capable of speaking her mind to me. But, while I was closely engaged in this sort, it came under my consideration that the Lord works as he pleases, and that we ought to submit to him in all his dealings with us. Thy dear sister, when near her departure, said it would be hard for her dear sisters when they heard of it; but added, "We must part." And again she said, "It is hard for near and dear friends to part; but we must part; yet we shall meet again, where we shall never part." Having a desire to be helped up on her feet, and being weak, she was held up while she said, "The Lord will raise up some to preach the gospel of glad tidings to the people." At another time she said, "Why don't you let me go? I want to be gone."

Her sickness was short, and her body not much wasted by it, and therefore it was not convenient to keep it long; so that we could not have the opportunity of your company, which would have been very acceptable. Though the time was short, there was a large gathering; but, being late, we had not the opportunity of gathering into the meeting house. We, nevertheless, had a solid time at the grave, and the people were warned to prepare for such a change.

I conclude, with affectionate love to thee and all relations and friends, as if named;—and remain thy loving mother,

ELIZABETH LEVIS.

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## A SHORT ACCOUNT

*Of the life, character and last illness of Mary Lundy, late of Burlington county, State of New Jersey.*

It is a tribute due to the memory of the righteous, and may be a means to stimulate survivors to follow their footsteps,—to preserve some account of their lives and conversation, desiring that others, and especially their children, may be encouraged to walk by the same rule, and mind the same things. It is thus that “the memory of the just is blessed.”

Mary Lundy was born at Westbury on Long Island the 24th of 10th month, 1779. Her parents, Richard and Abigail Titus, were concerned to give their children a guarded education, and to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and their labours appear to have been blest. From manuscripts which are left, written when she was young in years, it is evident that her mind was seriously impressed with an idea of the necessity of making a right use of the time allotted her for her own improvement and the good of others. She was particularly concerned to bear a faithful testimony against the changeable fashions of the age, and endeavoured by example and precept to influence the minds of her acquaintance to a willingness to walk in the same way; often expressing the regret she felt, in observing the departure of many from the principles and practice of that plainness and simplicity, into which Truth leads its dedicated followers.

In the twenty-fourth year of her age, she was married at Westbury meeting, agreeably to the or-

der established amongst Friends, to Joseph Lundy of Sussex county, New Jersey, to which place she removed shortly after to reside.

In the important station of one of the heads of a family, her example was worthy of imitation. She was deeply concerned to train up the children under her care in the right way, from which they would not need to depart when they were old; often gathering them around her and reading to them in the scriptures, or other books written by pious authors; and endeavoured to impress their minds with a love for truth. Being herself of a grave and serious deportment, she often endeavoured to draw her family into silence, knowing in her own experience that to watch unto prayer was the only way to be preserved from temptation, and to receive strength to overcome our evil propensities. She was diligent in the attendance of our religious meetings, and careful to take all her family with her that she could, saying if she left more at home engaged in the concerns of the family than there was need of, she felt little or no satisfaction in going herself: when there, her deportment was solemn becoming the occasion, and her countenance evinced that her mind was centred on God. Calm and patient under trials, she was instrumental in consoling the minds of others under affliction, often repeating an expression that she found safe to practice, namely: "Do thy best, and leave the rest to Providence."

In the year 1810, they removed to Burlington county, and became members of Burlington monthly meeting.

When her children arrived to years of understanding, she explained to them the necessity of attending

to what they believed from the evidence of truth on their minds to be right; telling them that it was the only way to know good from evil, and to receive strength to withstand all wrong things; often reminding them, that though little things were little things, yet to be *faithful* in little things was the way to be made rulers over more. Nor was her concern limited to her own family, it extended to all, and she sometimes felt herself constrained to call unto others to “come taste and see that the Lord is good;” encouraging them to place their whole trust and confidence in him.

Love so pervaded her mind that she felt no satisfaction in hearing evil of any, nor a disposition to report the failings of her fellow beings, unless there was a necessity to do so. She was a kind neighbour, and helpful to the poor, sympathising with them in their trials, and relieving them as far as was in her power.

A considerable time previous to her last illness, she appeared to feel but little enjoyment in any thing of an earthly nature, and much lamented the many and great deviations observable in the professors of Christianity from that humility and self-denial into which Truth leads the minds of the faithful, often saying, that “having food and raiment, let us therewith be content.”

On the 23rd of 3rd month, 1832, she was taken ill with the catarrh fever. During the short period of her illness, she manifested much patience and resignation to the Divine will, often expressing a desire to be still. The night previous to her death, she told one of her daughters who was watching with her, “that every thing in this world was stained in her

view." On its being remarked that the God who had been with her all her life was with her yet, she added, "I hope it will continue to be so to the end." The next day her throat which had been swelled considerably before, became much worse, so that in the evening it was difficult for her to speak so as to be understood; but when any thing was done for her, she manifested a sense of the kindness by an interesting and expressive countenance. A few hours after, the swelling still increasing, the family gathered round her, (excepting her husband, who lay ill in another room,) she looked upon them severally with a sweet and composed countenance, and moved her lips, but was unable to speak; then gently turning her head on her pillow, she quietly breathed her last, and we doubt not her spirit is centred in that state, where the weary are at rest.

Her remains were interred in the burial ground of Friends at Ancocas, the 3d of 4th month, on which solemn occasion, an affecting testimony was borne.



*William Blakey's Letter to his brother.*

22d of 2d month, 1777.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have felt my mind in a degree of love drawn towards thee, with desires that thou and I may be preserved from the many temptations and snares that abound in this time of trial and difficulty; wherein I have been made to believe that nothing short of the Lord's teachings would stand us in any stead, however specious. If we have that sure word of prophecy to rely upon, and

fully confide therein, where it is said, "When thou passest through the waters, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee;"—however painful our exercises may be, and afflicting, as to the outward,—we shall be preserved through all the storms and tempests that may assail us.

Methinks, if ever there was a time in which it was necessary for us as a people to dwell alone as Israel did,—it is so now. I have found myself, at seasons, after mixing in conversation in regard to the times, that I have been left in great weakness and poverty; under which, I have been ready to conclude, that I would try even to dwell without converse: but through unwatchfulness I have often been caught to my hurt.

I am persuaded, that through the prevalency of the spirit of the world, whereby the prince of darkness gets the upper hand, many will be much hindered, and, I fear, some quite stopped in their spiritual progress. If we would but come to the resolution that Joshua did, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord;"—we should be preserved in safety, where the storms and tempests would not shake us, so as to jostle us off the sure Foundation and safe abiding place. These shall have a covert from heat, and a shelter from storm to flee to, when others that have no sure abiding place will be ready to flee to the hills and mountains for a refuge, and will find no place of safety; but will be as a vessel without anchor, tossed by every wind;—sometimes thinking they are safe in one place, and sometimes in another; but still fearful of all.

Let us remember that gracious promise contained in the expressions, where it is represented that though it were possible for a woman to forget her sucking child, yet it is not possible for the Lord to forget those that love and fear him.

From thy brother,

WILLIAM BLAKEY.



### EXTRACT.

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. 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.

J. WOOLMAN.













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